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A

TRUE AND EXACT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

GREAT ISLAND

Belchrijving der

CEY LONDE

der selver aen grensende Koninckrijchen en Vorstendomm byda oock heckeiserrijch CEYLON

CEYLON

PHILLIPUS

BALDAEUS

Heijdenen.

Manual Bribliga

A new and unabridged translation from the edition of 1672

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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Phillipus Baldaeus from an engraving by A. Blooteling.

A

True and Exact Description

GREAT ISLAND

OF

CEYLON

bv

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

being the section relating to Ceylon of the

"Beschrijving der Oost Indische Kusten MALABAR en CHOROMANDEL der Zelver aangrenzende Ryken en het machtige EYLAND CEYLON Nevens een onstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de AFGODERYE DEN OOST-INDISCHE HEYDENEN"

by the Revd. PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS published in Dutch in Amsterdam, 1672.

A NEW AND UNABRIDGED TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH

by

PIETER BROHIER

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY S. D. SAPARAMADU

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INTRODUCTION

Ву

S. D. SAPARAMADU

Editor, the Ceylon Historical Journal

SEVENTEENTH century Ceylon was fortunate in that she was visited by three Europeans who left behind graphic and keenly observed accounts of the country. These three individuals, a Dutchman Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus, an Englishman Captain Robert Knox and a Portuguese Captain Joao Rebeiro each spent a number of years in the Island and on their return wrote books describing the country of their sojourn. All three writers were intelligent and accurate observers and had near ideal conditions from which to study the country. These descriptions of seventeenth century Ceylon are invaluable to the student for the historical, sociological and other information they contain, while the personal experiences of the authors which are also included in the books make them interesting to the general reader. The three books have a further advantage, each of the authors lived in and describe one of the three different geographical and social units into which seventeenth century Ceylon was divided — the Maritime Provinces, the Kandyan Kingdom and the Tamil provinces of north Ceylon. They thus supplement each other and provide the reader with a comprehensive view of all aspects of Ceylon, and all sections of the people in a particular given period — the mid seventeenth century.

Curiously enough all three books were completed within a few years of each other between 1672 and 1685. The best known work of the trilogy is the *Historical Relation of Ceylon* by Captain Robert Knox published in London in 1681. Knox was an English sailor captured by the King of Kandy in 1660 and detained as a prisoner in the Kandyan Kingdom for twenty years. His book published in London after his escape in 1680 describes the Kandyan

Kingdom and its people. Captain Joao Rebeiro who dedicated his Historical Tragedy of Ceilao to King Pedro IV of Portugal in 1685 was a Portuguese soldier who spent eighteen years with the Portuguese garrison in Ceylon. His book describes the society of the low country Sinhalese of the Maritime Provinces then under Portuguese rule. Apart from the two Sinhalese communities, the only other major society in Ceylon was the Tamils of the northern provinces and the final book of the trilogy, Phillipus Baldaeus' Description of Ceylon, which incidentally was also the first to be written, deals with them.

The "Description" or to give the work its full name, A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Choromandel. As also the Great Island of Ceylon and the Religion of the Heathens of the East Indies was written by the Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus, a Dutch predikant who came to Ceylon on the conquest of Colombo by the Dutch in 1656. After a year at Galle he was appointed predikant responsible for converting the Tamil communities of northern Ceylon to the Dutch Reformed Religion, a position he held for eight years interrupted only by a few visits to the Dutch possessions in South India. As a missionary Baldaeus moved closely with the people and in order to preach he mastered the Tamil language and was able to converse freely with the inhabitants. His account of Ceylon being based on personal observations is thus as accurate as that of Knox of the Kandyan people or Rebeiro of the low country Sinhalese. Baldaeus' book, unlike these two works does not deal exclusively with Ceylon but also with South India and the religious beliefs of the Hindus. The material for all three sections was however based on a stay of ten years in the East of which nearly nine years were spent in Ceylon.

This book on writing which Baldaeus spent the last six years of his life was published in Dutch in Amsterdam in 1672. It was translated into German in the same year and an abridged English translation which first appeared in 1703 was reprinted thrice more, the last time in 1752. Since 1672 the book has not been reprinted in its entirety in any language.

This total neglect of Baldaeus' work for over two hundred years is surprising as it constitutes a valuable source book for students of seventeenth century Ceylon. This neglect is in fact

particularly so since the two other books of the trilogy, Knox's *Historical Relation* and Rebeiro's *Historical Tragedy* have seen several reprints, the former being brought out in a new edition as recently as 19581 while the latter which was first printed in 1836 has seen four reprints in the present century in a translation by the late Sir Paulus Pieris.

The present edition of the section relating to Ceylon of Baldaeus' book is an attempt to remedy this defect. It consists of an entirely new translation without any abridgements of the section on Ceylon and includes all the original maps and illustrations as well as the introductory matter of the book such as the Privilege, Dedication, Preface, etc. It is hoped that the present edition will help to create some interest in the early years of Dutch rule in this country and also in the history of missionary activity in the Tamil Provinces of northern Ceylon. The Ceylon Historical Journal would have very much desired to publish a translation of Baldaeus' entire work but considerations of cost as well as the absence of a translator has not made this possible.

THE LIFE OF BALDAEUS²

Phillipus Baldaeus was born in Delft, Holland, in October 1632, the son of Baelde and Maria Junius.³ His parents died in

^{1.} An Historical Relation of Ceylon. Published by the Ceylon Historical Journal 1958.

^{2.} In writing this section on Baldaeus' life I am indebted to the article on "The Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus and his Book on Ceylon" by Donald Ferguson published in the Monthly Literary Register Vol. III. 1895, page 144 et. seq. This article deals comprehensively with both Baldaeus and his book and still remains the only research material published on him. For this article Ferguson depended largely on the biography of Baldaeus published in Dutch by P. J. Veth in his "Outdekkers and Onderzoekers" (Leiden 1884). Information as to Baldaeus' work in Ceylon can be gathered from his book as well as from contemporary Dutch records and from writers such as Valentyn, Wouter Schouten, etc.

^{3.} The Baldaeus (really Baelde) family was of Italian origin but settled in Ypres, Flanders from the end of the thirteenth century. The family had several distinguished members, notably Phillips Baelde, a dean of one of the leading guilds in Ypres who led the Yperlings to victory at the Battle of the Golden Spurs in July 1302 and Michiel Baelde Nikolaaszoon, Baldaeus' great grandfather who was Schepen at Ypres in 1584. For the sake of religious liberty, the latter left Ypres in 1584 when that city fell to that Catholic Prince of Parma, and moved on to Holland. In the dedication of his book to Cornelius de Witt, Baldaeus refers to this incident with some pride.

November 1636 within four days of each other of the plague and the four year old orphan was brought up by relations. Baldaeus' grandfather Michiel Baelde Michielszoon first cared for the boy and after his death in 1640, it appears that he was attended to by Robertus Junius who was either a brother or a close relation of his mother. Robertus Junius was a predikant in Formosa from 1629 to 1643 and it is likely that the young Baldaeus chose the career of a missionary due to his early influence.

The young Baldaeus at first attended the Latin school at Delft where he made good progress and at the age of sixteen enrolled for a degree in philosophy at the University of Groningen. After studying there for one and a half years he entered the University of Leiden as a divinity student. During this period he appears to have also made the acquaintance of the well known predikant Arnoldus Montanus who was much concerned in East Indian affairs and Baldaeus' final decision to go East may well have been due to him.

In 1654 Baldaeus, now 21 years old and a duly appointed minister of the Dutch Reformed Church was, to use his own words "sent to the distant regions for the sacred service and extension of the glory of God in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ." Before embarking for the East however Baldaeus married his cousin Maria van Castel and on 20th October 1654 sailed for Batavia as an employee of the Dutch East India Company with his wife on the ship "Wapen van Amsterdam". He arrived in Batavia on the 1st July 1655 and a few months after in October, his young wife died. It appears from Valentyn that the sending of predikants from Europe was not looked on with favour by the Consistory in Batavia but the objections which were raised to Baldaeus seem

INTRODUCTION

to have soon disappeared. Little is known of Baldaeus' work in Batavia, but it appears that during this time he went at least once to Macassar in the Celebes.²

In May 1656 the news of the capitulation of Colombo to the Dutch was brought to Batavia and on 18th September Baldaeus and another predikant Joan Ferreira were ordered to Ceylon to which place they sailed from Batavia on the 6th November. Before sailing however Baldaeus was married again on board ship to Elizbabeth Tribolet, this union like the former one, proving childless. After arriving at Galle, Baldaeus remained there together with three other predikants who were waiting to be assigned parishes in the other areas of Ceylon which were shortly expected to fall to the Dutch. Though he stayed for a year at Galle little is known of the work done by him during this time. The period was one in which the Dutch were preparing for their final onslaught on the remains of Portuguese power in Ceylon and South India and it is very unlikely that he did any religious work, except among the troops and the members of the Dutch community.

In January 1658 the long waited expedition against the Portuguese possessions in South India and Northern Ceylon was got going under Ryckloff van Goens (Snr.)³ and Baldaeus was selected to accompany the expedition as chaplain to the troops. This expedition against Tuticorin, Mannar, Jaffna and Negapatam is described in Baldaeus' book, suffice it to say that the expedition

^{1.} Valentyn, Zaaken Van Formosa, pp 86-88. Baldaeus, Ceylon, Chap. XLIII, Hough, History of Christianity in India, Vol. III, p. 55.

^{2.} See Preface to the Book.

^{3.} The Dutch East India Company was founded by a Charter from the Netherlands States General on March 20th 1602. The aim of its chief promoters, Prince Maurits and Johan Oldenbarneveldt, was to reduce the mutually destructive competition between the different Dutch companies trading in the East and also to strike against the Portuguese in Asia with a view to weakening the power of the combined Spanish-Portuguese empire of Phillip II from which they had just obtained their independence. In both aims the Dutch Company was eminently successful. Dutch trading attempts were from the inception centred round the East Indies and the City of Batavia was founded on the ruins of Jakatra in 1619. Batavia soon became the administrative capital of the Dutch possessions in Asia.

^{1.} See Valentyn, Juvaansche Zaaken van den Godsdienst p. 52 et. seq. The civil administration under the Governor General and his Council were in constant friction with the religious administration of the Consistory and the bringing of predikants to the East by the civil authorities was one among many points of difference between the two bodies.

among many points of difference between the two boards.

Veth points out that it was customary for newly arrived predikants who were not assigned stations to work in the camp or the fleet. On this assumption, and since Baldaeus refers in his book to having been associated with Hulft in battle and also since the account of the Siege of Colombo given by Baldaeus is so detailed, Veth assumed that Baldaeus was with the Durch forces besieging Colombo. This however does not appear to be correct for Baldaeus himself states that he was in Macassar at the time. The account of the siege of Colombo given by Baldaeus as an appendix to the part on Ceylon is, it is now established, a translation of a Portuguese eye witness account.

eye witness account.

3. Ryckloff van Goens (Snr), born 1619, came East at the age of ten and retired in 1681 as Governor General of Batavia. He conquered the Portuguese possessions in South India and was Governor of Ceylon with two interruptions from 1660 till 1675. See Ryckloff van Goens by J. Aalbers.

which left Negombo in January 1658 captured Tuticorin easily in early February and Mannar after some severe fighting on the 22nd of the same month. On June 21st the ort of Jaffna capitulated and thereafter the Dutch fleet sailed to Negapatam which surrendered without fighting. After this the expedition returned to Ceylon, the majority of the Portuguese possessions in South India and in Ceylon being now in the possession of the Dutch East India Company.

On his return to Ceylon, Baldaeus was appointed predikant over Jaffna and the adjacent islands and entrusted with the responsibility of converting the inhabitants, who were both Hindus and Catholics to the Dutch Reformed Religion. To understand Baldaeus' work in the next seven years it is necessary to state the background in which his missionary work was undertaken.

In the sixteenth century Calvinism had taken a very strong hold on the highly commercial society of the Northern Netherlands. In the long war for independence which the Dutch waged shortly after against the Catholic power of Phillip II of Spain, Calvinism had played a major part and throughout the seventeenth century it continued to dominate the policies of the young republic. Though Calvinism was not a proselytising religion like Catholicism, Dutchmen who came out East did bring with them a certain desire to spread their religion. What gave a special incentive to do this was the fact that the Dutch had to fight the Catholic Portuguese power in the east for supremacy and on capturing Portuguese held territory, like in Ceylon, they frequently found large native Catholic communities which were possible threats to the Company's political power. The presence of these communities forcibly brought the

religious question before the East India Company and the policy was formulated to try to bring these communities, as well as the non Catholic inhabitants, into the Reformed Dutch religion.

This policy of the Dutch East India Company to propagate their religion in the East in opposition to Catholicism was thought of as early as 1617 when the Board of Directors instructed the Government of India to draw up regulations for the propagation of the Christian religion and for the construction of good schools to be run by predikants sent out from Europe. The Batavian Code for the Dutch East India Company issued in 1642 stated that "no other religion will be exercised, much less taught or propagated, either secretly or publicly, than the Reformed Christian Religion as it is taught in the public churches of the Netherlands." The Code further laid down the punishment for violating this law as "confiscation of property" and according to circumstances "put in chains, expelled from the country or receive a punishment involving limb or life." The severity of these laws were however directed not so much against other religions as against Catholicism, the reason for this opposition being largely political.1

Though the Batavian Code required that the Reformed Religion be propagated by the Company, the Company did not approach the task of conversion with any zeal, comparable to say that of the Portuguese. Several reasons contributed to this half hearted attitude. The Dutch possessions in the East were owned by the East India Company which was an organisation founded by the wealthy middle classes of the Netherlands for the express purpose

^{1.} The Dutch had from the inception of their trade in the east, cast covetous eyes on the Malabar Coast of South India which produced the best and most highly priced pepper in the world. From their base at Batavia an attack on Malabar was not possible but once Colombo was in Dutch hands in 1656 a very convenient base for effectively attacking Malabar became available. Three expeditions were made against the Malabar Coast in 1658 and 1661 and a final assault in 1663. Baldaeus accompanied the first two expeditions as chaplain to the troops. The expedition of 1658 was provoked by a war of succession to the Rajahship of Cochin in which the Dutch took the side of the dispossessed prince. See Malabar and the Dutch by K. M. Panikkar, page 3 et. seq. A further reason for capturing the Portuguese possessions in South India was the fear that attempts may be made to recapture Ceylon.

See Malabar and Choromandel Chap. XXII and Ceylon Chaps. XLII
and XLIV. Baldaeus records that he preached a thanksgiving sermon at
each of these places after their capture.

The severity of the religious laws of the Dutch Government was directed chiefly at the Catholics. Catholic power as symbolised in Phillip II of Spain had been the traditional enemy of the Dutch Republic in Europe while it was necessary to crush its power in newly conquered countries in Asia as Catholic communities would always strive to bring about a return of the Portuguese. In 1658 a Placaat was published prescribing the death penalty for anyone who harboured or concealed a Catholic priest and in the same year a Jesuit priest, Caldero, was beheaded in Jaffna for being involved in a plot against the state. This depriving of the ministrations of priests was the severest blow against the Catholic community. Baptism according to Catholic rites and meetings of Catholics were likewise prohibited while all the numerous Catholic churches throughout the Maritime Provinces and the Jaffna peninsula were handed over to the Dutch Reformed Church. For Dutch religious policy towards Catholics see Robrecht Boudens, Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch Rule and Fr.S.G. Perera, Life of the Venerable Fr. Joseph Vaz also Boudens "Catholic Church in Ceylon 1656-1687" Ceylon Historical Journal Vol. II.

of trading in the East and securing profits for its shareholders. The propagation of religion had therefore to take a secondary place and attempts were frequently made to keep the costs of the ecclesiastical establishments, which had to be met from company funds, at a minimum. The difficulties arising from such a situation could have been reduced to a great extent by the Church if the company was willing to permit the Church to grow up independently of the political power, as was done by the Catholic Church under the Portuguese. But this the Company, which was completely autocratic and jealous of its power was unwilling to do, with the result that the Reformed Religion never acquired a vitality of its own and remained at best a mere appendage of the Company.

When the Dutch conquered the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon they were taken aback by the large Catholic community which the Portuguese left behind. These Catholics were well organised communities and attached to their religion. Almost every village had a church which was often well endowed with land for its upkeep. A church invariably had a school attached to it where children were given religious education. The Catholics were particularly well organised in the northern provinces of Cevlon. where Baldaeus was appointed predikant in 1658, due largely to the missionary efforts begun by St. Francis Xavier. The peninsula itself had been under continuous Portuguese occupation for over forty years and at the time of its conquest by the Dutch in 1658 as many as forty Catholic priests were actually working in the area. As Dr. Arasaratnam remarks "The Dutch were not replacing a decadent and inactive church, as they had replaced a declining political power. On the contrary, they saw that the Catholic Church was a living entity and had penetrated the life of the country with great intensity in certain parts of the country."1

In such a situation it became absolutely necessary for the Company's security to try to weed out Catholicism and replace it with the Dutch Reformed Religion, since this Catholic community would always strive to bring about a return of the Portuguese power. So shortly after the Dutch conquest of Galle predikants arrived in Ceylon and began their work in the environs of that town. After 1658 the number of predikants was increased and

the church establishment put on a firmer footing. Four church bodies or Consistories were set up in Jaffna, Galle, Colombo and Mannar. Each consistory had a Council or Kerkraad which consisted of the predikant, the minor church officials, important members of the laity and a representative of the Government who was usually a very influential member. The Council dealt only with purely doctrinal affairs.¹

The religious establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon was paid for by the Company. It consisted of two grades of clergymen, predikants and krank bezoekers. Predikants were fully qualified preachers who were selected by the different classis in Holland and formally appointed by the Dutch East India Company to the colonial service. The selected predikant was usually first sent to the Colombo Consistory which then fixed him in a station in consultation with the Governor in Council. A predikant was a salaried official of the Company and drew the same salary as a Senior Merchant or Opper Koopman of about 90 to 100 guilders a month apart from allowances and was a man of considerable influence in the community.2 The second grade of clergy were the krank bezoekers or zieken troosters who were also recruited from Holland, their duties being to work as visitors to the parish and comforters of the sick. Krank bezoekers were however frequently used as substitutes for predikants and in addition to their normal duties also instructed people in simple articles of faith, conducted Sunday Schools, Bible readings etc. This grade of clergy was largely an economic device to avoid the expense of getting down fully fledged predikants from

^{1.} Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687, p. 217.

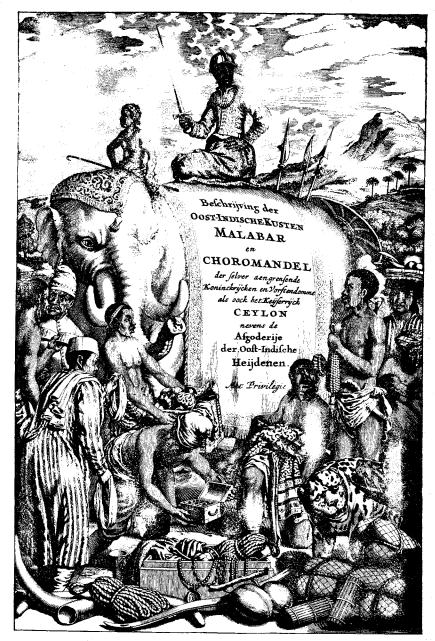
^{1.} For the ecclesiastical organisation of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon during the government of the Dutch East India Company see Anthonisz, Dutch in Ceylon p. 186 and J.D. Palm "An Account of the Dutch Church in Ceylon" Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I. and S. Arasaratnam, Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687. p. 215-236.

^{2.} The predikants were very well looked after by the Company. Apart from their salary they were provided with a free residence and were entitled to draw rations of butter, wine, cheese, rice etc. from the Company's stores. Evidently all predikants did not take their work as seriously as Baldaeus for we find the Governor General and Council in their instructions to Anthony Paviljoen referring to ministers who "live in great style keeping beautiful palanquins and horses and a suite of 16 or 20 soldiers and who did not hesitate to pose as lords in the villages" See Instructions from Governor General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon 1656-1665 p. 72.

Europe. It had a further advantage in that the krank bezoeker was usually a young man educated in theology in Holland who on arriving in the East was able to learn and preach in the indigenous languages, in contrast to predikants who were usually older men on arrival, and with the exception of a few like Baldaeus, rarely cared to learn the 'native' languages. The krank bezoeker was after a few years made a proponent or semi-ordained minister and then a fully fledged predikant. In addition to these two grades was a third grade of clergy of native proponents whose chief duties were to preach to the people in Sinhalese and Tamil. These native proponents were Ceylonese youths trained in missions in Ceylon and sometimes in Europe. This category of clergy were however rare in Baldaeus' time.

The Catholics had done the major part of their proselytization through the medium of the schools that were attached to the churches. The Dutch Reformed Church which took over these churches and schools followed the same practice. Both adults and children were required to attend and were given education in Christianity. The elementary education was primarily religious and secular subjects only given a secondary place. The native schoolmasters were instructed by the predikants as to what to teach, while teaching duties were also frequently taken over by krank bezoekers. The main weakness of this schools system was that the government was not willing to bear the expense of their maintenance since this would cause a severe drain on the Company's finances. Schools were expected to be self sufficient, being run on fines which were imposed on persons for non-attendance. The schoolmasters had to secure their wages from these fines and also by fees for performing other duties such as solemnising marriages and baptisms and as acting as registrars of the tombos. These latter duties however, made the schoolmasters persons of some power in the administration and able to wield considerable influence on behalf of the Protestant religion, if they so desired.

The Company also assisted the propagation of Protestantism by certain discriminatory legislative measures. Thus for instance Catholicism was very firmly put down since the existence of this faith was a political threat. Similarly only converts to the Reformed Religion were given positions of power under the Company as only such persons were considered politically reliable. Baptism



Bastard title page of 1672 Edition.

and marriages were considered valid in law only if they had been solemnised according to Protestant rites, while non-Protestants found it difficult to lay claim to property since the maintenance of the tombos was entrusted to schoolmasters who also performed certain religious functions. The large number of Catholic churches and schools which the Portuguese left behind in Ceylon were all handed over to the Reformed Church, while in the sphere of trade, in shop-keeping and other employments, Protestants were given preference over others. This policy of the government providing material inducements to converts was consistently pressed for by the predikants but the Company was not willing to go beyond certain limits in this respect.

It is in this context that the missionary work done by Baldaeus in the Jaffna peninsula from 1658 to 1665 should be appreciated. When he began his work after his return from the South Indian expedition with an inaugural sermon at the Church of Telippalai in August 1658, the task he faced was a difficult one. The area entrusted to him had been under continuous Portuguese possession for over forty years and there were a large number of Catholics, most of them attached to their religion. He had besides to work single handed in an area which had previously been attended to by as many as forty Catholic priests.1 He did have certain obvious advantages however, the most important being the fact that all the Catholic churches and schools with their organisation and endowments were now vested in the Reformed Church. He thus had a ready made organisation while he had behind him the full authority of the victorious Company which had ousted the Portuguese from the possessions in Ceylon which they had held for over 150 years.

Baldaeus now settled down to the task of conversion and propagation of the Dutch Reformed Religion with zeal. The

methods adopted by him were very similar to those of the Catholics and in fact he refers on several occasions in his book to the success of the methods of the "Popish" missionaries and admits that he "approved of all their maxims and followed their footsteps in every work of reforming all the schools and churches of Mannar and Jaffnapatam, so far only as it was consistent with the doctrines and tenets of our own religion."

One of his first actions was to acquire a knowledge of Tamil so that he could preach to the people in their own language. He also learnt Portuguese which was widely understood in Jaffna which had been under Portuguese occupation for a considerable time. As he says "The surest and most efficient means which lie open for extending the truths of the Gospel, are not so much in our endeavour to teach the natives our language as the necessity for a minister to learn and make himself familiar and conversant with theirs......for it is more befitting and seemly that a teacher or minister masters the language of his congregation, rather than for the congregation to learn the language of their minister." Baldaeus evidently was soon able to speak in Tamil and even acquired some knowledge of the grammar and other intricacies of the language as is evidenced by the supplement on the "Malabar" language that appears in his book.

But particularly in the early years when the number of preachers available for the area were few, even though Baldaeus soon learnt Tamil and Portuguese he could not physically address all the congregations of his vast parish. He therefore decided to compile several books in these two languages so that native proponents, schoolmasters and others could address the congregations. The first such compilation on "The Principal Precepts of our Religion" was approved by the Governor General and Council of India and the Governor of Ceylon and was subsequently by an Act passed in the General Assembly on the Church Affairs of Ceylon held in Colombo in 1659 adopted for use throughout the churches of Jaffna, Mannar, Galle, Colombo, Negombo and Matara while manuscript copies of the Tamil version were even sent to South India. Apart from this work which was written on instructions from the Government, Baldaeus had prepared on his own initiative a large number of other religious works in Portuguese which were

^{1.} Shortly after the expedition returned Ryckloff van Goens wrote to the Governor General Johann Maatsuycker and the Council of India as follows "We informed you that the residents of the newly conquered districts were for the greater part Christians. The Rev. Phillipus Baldaeus who has been present during the whole of our expedition will remain in charge here of the divine worship. His wife has been sent for from Galle. He is now trying to learn the Malabar language. He preaches also in Portuguese but in order to attend properly to the duties another pastor will be wanted in these parts." See Paul E. Pieris, Some Documents Relating to the Dutch Power in Ceylon 1602-1770. p. 262.

translated into Tamil by one Francisco Fonceka and "duly revised" by him.1

One of Baldaeus' chief difficulties was the fact that he had no European assistants to help him in his work. From 1658 till 1661, a period of over three and a half years, Baldaeus had to do the entire ecclesiastical work in the entire Jaffna peninsula by himself, an area which had been covered by forty Catholic priests in Portuguese times. In 1661 however Baldaeus was given the assistance of one colleague, Joannes A'Breyl who had for some time been working in Mannar and came to Jaffna in that year. On his return from the second expedition of Van Goens against South India in the same year a second assistant, Joannes Donker was appointed. The work however was too vast even for three persons, particularly considering that Baldaeus had for certain periods also to oversee the ecclesiastical work of the Dutch territories in South India.2 The three preachers were badly overworked and Baldaeus records that they were "obliged to deliver three sermons on Sundays and one on week days besides their frequent visitations to the churches at the outstations."

After 1658, Baldaeus' religious work in Jaffna was interrupted once in 1661 when he accompanied, as chaplain to the troops, the second expedition of Ryckloff van Goens against the remaining Portuguese possessions on the Malabar Coast. The Dutch fleet with Baldaeus left Colombo in November 1661 and the following month captured Quilon after severe fighting. Cranganore was then attacked and captured on January 15, 1662 and the fleet sailed for Cochin which was attacked several times by the Dutch but without success. After a month of these attempts during which the Dutch forces lost a large number of men, the siege was raised and the fleet sailed home to Batavia.1 Baldaeus left the fleet near Cape Comorin to return to Jaffna together with a certain Lieutenant Harman Egbertszoon. On the way back when passing through the Island of Rameswaran he had a brief adventure when he and his companion were seized by the people and imprisoned until released after the intervention of a person from Mannar known to Baldaeus. Apart from this brief interruption to his work Baldaeus also appears to have accompanied Jacob Hustaert in 1664 on an embassy to the King of Porca (Porakadi) whom he describes in his book. Nothing is however said of the object or results of this mission though in all probability it was to deal, as Ferguson suggests, with the "pepper" question and the submission of the King of Porakadi to the Dutch.2

In spite of these difficulties however, Baldaeus was largely successful in his task if we are to judge by the accounts given in his book of the number of converts and the number of children

^{1.} In chapter XLV of his book Baldaeus lists these works. He adds "I had an abundance of other sermons which were written by me in the Portuguese language, but as there was only one interpreter upon whom I could have relied for accuracy and as he was then fully employed, there was no opportunity left for translating them as could have been wished, though at the same time I never thought it advisable to encumber these people with too many books, whilst they had enough with them to work out the salvation of their souls."

Baldaeus later records that some of these works were printed in Amsterdam by Joannes Borstius in 1671 but no record exists of these works. Ferguson notes that the preface by Bronsveld and Fybrands to the Tamil New Testament published in 1759 in Colombo refers to a translation of the gospel of Mathew by the "Very Reverend and Very Learned Mr. Phillip Baldaeus who by his own zeal and benevolence made himself master of this language as hard as difficult and to Europeans most troublesome." This translation was evidently never printed but circulated on olas. See also Journal of the Ceylon Branch of Royal Asiatic Society 1847 p. 124.

^{2.} After the conquest of the Portuguese possessions in South India, the ecclesiastical work in this area was also entrusted to Baldaeus. In July 1660 he left Jaffna for Negapatam to "reform" the churches there and "cleanse them from the leaven of Popery." It is not known how long Baldaeus stayed at Negapatam, but it appears that he and Fredericus Fontenius, predikant at Paliacatte paid periodical visits there until a permanent minister was appointed.

^{1.} Some information on Baldaeus' part in this expedition is found in Wouter Schouten's Oost Indische Voyagien. Schouten was a surgeon attached to the Dutch fleet and he records of Baldaeus during the siege of Cochin, "The pious predikant Dr. Phillipus Baldaeus, a man faithful, zealous and unwearied in the work of the Lord came here twice a week into this Church where he remained with all the wounded to give a comforting exhortation." Bk ii. Chap. II. Schouten also records Baldaeus' leaving the fleet at Comorin to return to Jaffna.

^{2.} See Malabar and Choromandel Chap. XXI.

attending the church schools.¹ In his own day he was evidently considered a particularly successful predikant for we find references in contemporary records to this effect and that Baldaeus should be given every assistance to further his work.² The success of his work even came to the notice of Johan Maatsuycker, the Governor General of Netherlands India himself, who wrote a congratulatory letter to Baldaeus in 1662.

The work of conversion to the Dutch Reformed Religion which Baldaeus attended to with such zeal in the Jaffna peninsula did not however have any lasting effect.³ Several causes were responsible for this. Calvinism by its very nature was unsuitable for introduction to the East. It was not a proselytising religion in the same way that Catholicism was and with its heavy dependence on the Holy Bible as the ultimate guide to the religion it required a degree of education and understanding which was not available in the east. Calvinism also offered a very stern exterior and lacked the ritual and other external ceremonial which had their appeal to the eastern mind. Catholicism like both Hinduism

and Buddhism offered these external observances in ample measure and it was largely this factor which contributed to the ready acceptance of Catholicism in the east.

The second reason for the failure of Calvinism to take root in Ceylon was the conflict between the government and the Church which developed almost immediately after the Dutch conquest and was responsible for frittering away the initial enthusiasm with which early predikants such as Baldaeus began their work. As already noted, the Dutch Company which was highly autocratic in its organisation, was not willing to let the Church develop on its own independent of the political power. On every occasion when the clergy attempted to acquire some organisation and independence the Company refused to countenance these moves. For example very shortly after 1658 the four Churches of Jaffna, Mannar, Galle and Colombo which were independent bodies sought to get together and have a centralised church administration with a presiding church. This move was stopped promptly by the Batavian Government which ruled that the Church should be subordinate to the government and only serve as an instrument of the political authority, predikants being Company employees rather than members of a collective Church.

A more serious matter of dispute between the Church and State which if satisfactorily decided in favour of the Church would have considerably helped the spread of Calvinism was the subject of schools. The Company considered the schools as something for which they were solely responsible. The clergy felt that the schools fell within their purview since this was the most powerful instrument available for spreading the faith. The predikants therefore wanted the government to concede them the right to appoint and dismiss teachers, fine absentees, inspect the schools etc. The Company did not agree and entrusted this work to political officers called scholarchs, on the ground that the predikants would use these powers to oppress the people. Similarly the government did not accept the responsibility of financially assisting the schools by paying the schoolmasters, though they were requested on

^{1.} In a report to the Governor General dated 1663 Baldaeus reports that there were 15,012 native children attending schools in Jaffna and 1315 in Mannar and the Vanni. He records that there were 62,558 Christians exclusive of 2587 Christian slaves in Jaffna, while the number of persons baptised from 1658 to 1661 were 5799 infants and 36 adults while 2158 couples were married in Church according to Protestant rites. By the date of his departure in 1665 the total number of school boys had increased to 18,000 and in the same year the number of baptisms was 12,387. See Chap. 45. Baldaeus' figures do not appear to be exaggerated, for Anthony Paviljoen the Dutch Governor of Jaffna in his memoir to his successor dated 1665 says that of a total population of 120,000 persons in the Company's territory in Jaffnapatam 100,000 were Christians. See Instructions from the Governor-General and Council in India to Governor of Ceylon 1656-1665 p. 107.

^{2.} See Instructions from Governor General and Council of India to Governor of Ceylon 1656-1665. Instructions to Anthony Paviljoen reads "the Clergy must be assisted as much as possible in all branches of their work, especially the Rev. Baldeo who has had much opposition and in spite of this has brought about great changes" (p. 72). "Therefore our religion may be safely promoted without any change in the manner introduced among the children with success by the devout and zealous minister Phillipus Baldaeus Reede, as we find that the best foundation must be laid there. The grown up people must be instructed as far as possible. Dr. Baldaeus has proposed several points on which he wants assistance" (p. 92).

^{3.} Seventy years later Heydt, a German who spent 2½ years in Ceylon and left in 1737 says with reference to Baldaeus' account of his converts. "I for my part have never seen any such great zeal among the local folk...... In truth Herr Baldaeus would wonder greatly should be come today to these parts." Heydt Ceylon p. 83.

^{1.} The scholarch was usually the Dissawe of the province who did this work in addition to his other duties. Governor van Goens expected the scholarchs to act in close consultation with the clergy but this does not appear to have always taken place in practice. Instructions from the Governor General and Council p. 81-82.

numerous occasions to do this by Baldaeus and other predikants.1 Another point of dispute was the fact that the Company did not get down fully qualified predikants from Europe to save expenses, and instead got down younger and less salaried persons as kiank bezoekers who were to be ordained as predikants in Ceylon after some years. This procedure was not viewed with favour by the predikants of Ceylon and they refused to ordain krank bezoekers. These numerous disputes between Church and State, where invariably the Church came out second best, were not conducive to improving the morale of the clergy and in course of time the more energetic and sincere predikants such as Baldaeus departed from the Island giving place to others of lesser calibre.2

Baldaeus from the beginning of his work in 1658 had strongly urged that the clergy should be given a freer hand in their work and it was over a dispute with the civil government on the inspection of schools that Baldaeus finally decided to leave the country. In 1665 when instructions were issued giving the scholarchs and not predikants the authority to inspect schools, Baldaeus protested and refused to conform. He decided to leave rather than subject himself to this humiliation.³ He had by 1665 been over ten years

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in the East while his contract had also expired. He and his assistant Joannes A'Breyl therefore both decided to return to Europe and applied to Batavia for release. From correspondence in the Dagh Register¹ it appears that the authorities who were short of predikants attempted to get the missionaries to stay two more years but this attempt appears to have been unsuccessful, for shortly after another predikant Bartholomeus Heyne was sent to take over their work. Baldaeus thereupon paid his farewell visits to the churches of his parish and in late 1665 sailed for Holland on the ship "Venenburg". He was back in Holland by December 1666, having spent three months at the Cape of Good Hope on the way. Baldaeus had been East for over ten years of which nine years had been spent in Ceylon with brief visits to South India.

On his return to Holland, Baldaeus probably settled down at the Hague and began the writing of his book. No record is available of his work in 1667 and 1668 except the fact mentioned in the Dedication of his book that he took part in a Thanksgiving Service at the Hague in July 1667 to celebrate Admiral de Ruyter's victory at Chatham. On February 4, 1669 Baldaeus was appointed predikant at Geervliet a small town on the Island of Putten in South Holland where he remained as predikant until his death three years later in his fortieth year. The cause of his death or the date is uncertain but it is possible that it took place at the end of 1671 or in early 1672.2

THE BOOK AS A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

Before proceeding to a description of the book and its subsequent history it may not be out of place to discuss briefly the value of Baldaeus' book as a source for the study of seventeenth century Ceylon. Its use can be broadly divided into two different categories. First as a source of factual information and second as a document indicating the writer's attitude and the attitude

^{1.} Baldaeus submitted elaborate proposals for the conversion of children through the schools. He suggested compulsory education of all children, compulsory church attendance on Sundays, repairs to the dilapidated churches and schools, that a school master be given to every parish at the expense of the Company and that 'diligent' children be encouraged in their studies by small prizes. The Company refused to accept any of these suggestions in view of the expense involved and ruled that all these payments should be met out of the fines collected from the enforcement of the school rules. See *Instructions from the Governor General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon* 1656-1665 p. 92-94.

^{2.} The subsequent predikants were evidently not as devoted to their work as Baldaeus was. Cases of misbehaviour were not infrequent while some predikants were removed from office for drunken behaviour. Others were accused of indulging in private trade. See Arasaratnam, Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687 p. 224.

^{3.} Dr. Arasaratnam remarks that Baldaeus' refusal was interpreted by Governor van Goens as an affront to his dignity and authority, and it was decided to summarily pack him off to Europe on the next ship that proceeded there. The Governor later tried to besmirch Baldaeus' character by making various allegations against him. It was alleged that he had tried to constitute himself as a dictator and had even been guilty of dishonest financial dealings. In the interests of peace between Church and State he had to be sent away. These accusations do not appear justified considering Baldaeus' past record. See Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687 p. 224.

^{1.} Quoted by Ferguson. Dagh Register for 1665.

Veth states that family records place his death in 1672 while the records
of the Geervliet parish place the event in late 1671. More credence
could be given to the latter.

of his contemporaries to current events. These two aspects of the book are discussed separately below.

Regarding factual information, the book contains a great deal of material which cannot be gathered from any other source, while it also has information which supplements material already available from other existing records. This factual information contained in the book can itself be divided into two broad categories. Material on events prior to the year 1656 which Baldaeus is quoting at second hand and descriptions and information after 1656 which the author is giving from his own personal observations. The second category of material can be taken generally as correct though the reporting of them is somewhat biassed, while the material on the pre-1656 period should however be accepted with greater care.

The material prior to the year 1656 is contained in the first forty chapters of the book. The first chapter gives background information about Ceylon and traces the history of Ceylon from earliest times to the arrival of the Portuguese. This information is of no value to the modern reader except in that it indicates what Europeans in Ceylon in the mid seventeenth century, considered to be the early history of this country. Chapters two to seven describe the events that occurred in Ceylon from the arrival of the Portuguese to the first visits of the Dutch in the early seventeenth century. The information contained in this section is more accurate and evidently Baldaeus has relied on Portuguese sources in compiling it as is evidenced by the fact that Rajasingha I is treated adversely, in almost the same way, as he is dealt with by Portuguese writers. From chapter eight to forty Baldaeus continues to describe in detail the historical events in Ceylon from the arrival of the Dutch till the capture of the City of Colombo from the Portuguese in May 1656. These thirty two chapters contain a great deal of information which cannot be gathered from other sources, while it also helps to supplement other available records.

Regarding the factual information contained in these thirty two chapters which can be checked from other available records, one finds that Baldaeus' statements are by and large correct. In writing this section it is clear that he has relied to a considerable extent on official documents in the Company's archives to which

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he had some access. This is evidenced particularly by the fact that he quotes verbatim a large number of letters between Rajasingha, the Dutch and the Portuguese, while chapter forty two of the book is almost a verbatim transcript of a letter written by Governor Adrian van der Meyden to the Governor General of Netherlands India. In quoting these documents however Baldaeus has not given complete and accurate transcriptions with the result that they should be accepted with some care. For the rest of the information in this section Baldaeus has obviously relied on information gathered from his contemporaries, this being particularly so in the lengthy account of the great Siege of Colombo in 1655-1656 which took place just before Baldaeus arrived in Ceylon.

In the second category of factual information contained in the book can be classed the accounts of Ceylon after 1656 when Baldaeus arrived in Ceylon and which he records from his own personal observations. These comprise the last ten chapters of the book. Into this group would fall the accounts of the capture of Mannar and Jaffnapatam in which Baldaeus personally took part as chaplain to the troops, the chapters on the natural history of the island, the accounts of the people of Jaffnapatam among whom he worked as a missionary for eight years and the record of the attempts of the Dutch to introduce Protestant Christianity to Ceylon in which Baldaeus played a major part. The factual information given by Baldaeus on the last two items particularly is very valuable to the student for there are very few other contemporary records which deal with them.

What makes Baldaeus' accounts of the people of Jaffnapatam specially valuable is the fact that he had unrivalled opportunities for learning about the people of the peninsula. As a missionary he learnt the Tamil language and was able to converse freely with the people while he travelled widely in the northern provinces of Ceylon visiting his extensive parish and thus moved closely among all classes and sections of the people. His account of Jaffna is thus not a mere traveller's tale but a record of close personal observation spread out over a period of eight years and which

Dr K. W. Goonewardena mentions several such inaccurate or incomplete transcriptions given by Baldaeus. References to the more important omissions are given in the footnotes to the text. See Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon.

were also recorded very shortly after leaving Ceylon when the facts were still fresh in his memory. In his account of the attempt of the Dutch to introduce Protestant Christianity, Baldaeus had similar advantages though being personally involved in this work his writing tends to be biassed. Thus the chapters of the book which contain descriptions of the people of Ceylon and of the Dutch proselytising efforts contain a large amount of sociological, ethnological and other information which is very valuable to the student and which can be accepted as accurate.

The value of the information contained in the book cannot be assessed without a statement of the author's attitude to the events described by him. As a writer Baldaeus is unfortunately, heavily biassed, and the chief defect of the "Description" as a source book for students of history lies in this fact. This bias springs from three different reasons. Baldaeus was first and foremost a Dutchman. He was strongly nationalistic like all Dutchmen of his generation and imbued with the feeling for his country that had inspired the Dutch Republic to revolt and secure their independence from Spain a short time before. Baldaeus was also a servant of the Dutch East India Company which was the expression of Dutch nationalism in the East. He thus had a strong bias for everything Dutch and for the Company which comes out clearly in his book. He has no sympathy for the Portuguese and even less for the Tamils and Sinhalese, as is evident in the accounts of the wars that preceded the Dutch conquest of the Maritime Provinces. It must however be acknowledged that when referring to the nature and characteristics of the Tamils and the Sinhalese in chapters 46-48 he is not incapable of appreciating their finera ualities.

The second factor which creates a bias in Baldaeus the writer is the fact that he was a Protestant preacher. As far as religion was concerned his mind was already made up and he had no sympathy or understanding for other religions. Catholicism he positively disliked (though he did adopt its methods of conversion) and his main task in fact was to convert Catholics to Protestantism. He had even less sympathy for the indigenous religions. It is true that, unlike other missionaries, Baldaeus did attempt some sort of study of the Hindu religion which is contained in the third part of his book, but this study is more an anthology of Hindu myth

and legend and does not deal even in passing with the deeper philosophical meanings that lay beneath them. Baldaeus in fact had absolutely no comprehension of Hindu philosophy and he could not answer even the simplest question from his congregation in terms they understood, but had to resort to extensive quotations from the Bible which could have meant very little indeed to his listeners. Thus for instance in chapter 46, when the question of transmigration of souls was being discussed and Baldaeus was "endeavouring to refute this erroneous opinion" the members of the congregation posed this question to him, "That it was impossible that a child could be born either blind, dumb, lame or deaf or a monster unless having in it a soul that had been guilty of very gross sins, for the child they maintain had not committed any sin, and that God does not punish anyone but for their sins, and the punishment is therefore to be attributed to the sins of the soul which entered the body of the child which had its lodging elsewhere before." To this simple question which summarises the whole basis of the Eastern belief in the transmigration of souls, Baldaeus had no logical answer but "refuted" it with numerous quotations from John, Josephus, de Belle Judaico, the Rabbi Moses Maimonidas, Mathew, Joshua and various other scriptural authorities who could not possibly have meant anything to the inquiring congregation. It is not a matter for surprise that with such ineffectual methods, the Dutch did not succeed in establishing Protestantism among many of the native inhabitants of the country.

The third factor which tends to create a bias in the book is that as a Predikant Baldaeus was personally involved in the Dutch attempt to introduce Protestantism to northern Ceylon and his accounts of his own work tends to be somewhat exaggerated. This charge could particularly be made on the numbers of persons which Baldaeus gives in his book as having been converted to Protestantism in the Jaffna area. The figures could not possibly be of actual practising converts but rather of nominal Christians, in which case Baldaeus is being only ingenuous and not dishonest.

In considering this bias as reducing from the value of the "Description" as a source book it should however be borne in mind that his bias for the Dutch, the Protestant religion and for

himself is not a hidden and subtle one. It is quite openly expressed and the reader will find no difficulty in recognising it.¹

The Dutch language in 1762 when Baldaeus wrote was still in its formative stages and no better comment could be made on his language and his style than to quote from Dr. P. J. Veth, a Dutch scholar who made a study of Baldaeus and his book in the last century. "The style of Baldaeus is not free from faults; his construction of sentences is often faulty, and his mode of expression not always exact. But nevertheless that style is deserving of high praise, when we contrast it with the manner of most of the writers of his time, at which our language was even by the ablest men, as a rule so badly written and disfigured by the use of so many useless foreign words. From the last fault Baldaeus was almost entirely free; and contrasted with the tattling manner and the platitudes of Valentyn, his style is to be praised as manly and nervous. In the spelling and linguistic forms we find the same uncertainty that at the time still universally prevailed."2

- 1. Possibly the best way to maintain a proper perspective on the historical information in Baldaeus' work is to read it alongside the two valuable and outstanding books recently published by two Ceylonese scholars in Holland. Taken together both books deal with the fifty years from 1636 to 1687 and they constitute the substance of theses submitted by the authors, K. W. Goonewardena and S. Arasaratnam, for doctorates in the University of London. The great value of these books particularly of the work by Dr Goonewardena on the earlier period 1636-1658 is that they try to assess the Sinhalese viewpoint of the events, a particularly difficult task considering that no Sinhalese archives or records have survived for reference. An appreciation of the Sinhalese viewpoint is particularly necessary on the twenty years preceding the establishment of Dutch power, since without exception all books hitherto written on this period only contain uncritical statements from either Dutch or Portuguese records. To the student familiar with the older literature on the subject. Dr Goonewardena's keen analysis and assessment of events comes as a revelation. The much maligned Rajasingha II of European writers becomes an able and intelligent ruler making a bold fight against impossible odds. We have frequently referred to both these works in the footnotes throughout the text and the student of this book would find reading them an invaluable help in understanding the history of the period on which Baldaeus writes. Dr K. W. Goonewardena, The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638-1658 and Dr S. Arasaratnam, Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658—1687 (Djambatam, Amsterdam, 1958) published under the auspices of the Netherlands Institute for International Cultural Relations.
- 2. Quoted by Ferguson, Ceylon Literary Register.

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BALDAEUS' BOOK AND ITS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The book on which Baldaeus had evidently spent a good part of his time since his return to Holland in writing was published early in 1672 in the form of a folio volume divided into three parts dealing respectively with the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, Ceylon and the religious beliefs of the Indians. Each part had a separate pagination and distinct title pages. The book was published by Johannes Janssonius Van Waasberge and Johannes Van Someren in Amsterdam and had a "Privilegie" or copyright signed by Johan de Witt and Herbert Van Beaumont dated March 18, 1669 giving the exclusive rights to the book to the publishers for a period of 15 years.

According to the "privilegie" of the book it is said that Baldaeus' work was to be the first part of a major undertaking by the same publishers which was to consist of two or three volumes comprising a description of the whole of Asia, this latter part of the work being compiled by one Lambertus Bidlo. Although in the preface to the German translation of the book published also in 1672 it is said that the larger work was on the point of publication, no such work appears to have been ever printed. Ferguson also notes that it is curious that Lambertus Bidlo, who was then only 26 years of age and who was subsequently to become a well known scholar, should have been mentioned in this connection.

The book itself is dedicated to Corneiius de Witt¹ the dedication having evidently been made to him as Geervliet where Baldaeus was then the predikant fell within the jurisdiction of the Island of Putten over which de Witt was Governor. The dedication is dated 15th August 1671 and is followed by "A Foreword to the Discreet Reader" by Baldaeus himself who explains how he came to take up his appointment in the East and how he took pains to learn the languages, customs and beliefs of the East, being stimulated

Cornelius de Witt, brother of Johan de Witt, Grand Pensionary of the United Netherlands was a member of the 'States' of Holland and West Friesland and afterwards Governor of the Island of Putten and bailiff of Beierland. The de Witt brothers were murdered at the Hague on the failure of their policy towards France in 1672, the very year in which Baldaeus dedicated his book.

and guided in this work by the example of Abrahamus Rogerius,1 St. Francis Xavier and other Catholic missionaries. The 'Preface' is followed by a poem "On the Description of India published by Mr. Phillipus Baldaeus, Predikant at Geervliet" by Johannes Vollenhove who was at this time a predikant at the Hague and was well known as an orator and poet. The poem praises Baldaeus' word among the 'heathens' and records the several noteworthy features of his book.

To come to the body of the book, as already mentioned it is divided into three sections and the first part which runs into 190 pages deals with the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. It is divided into twenty five chapters and in it the author describes briefly the different important places on the Indian Coasts and also relates in some detail the principal events that occurred in these areas since the advent of the Portuguese in India. Ferguson remarks that the most valuable part of this section is Baldaeus' references to his own experiences and where he quotes from various official and other documents. This section of the book also includes two maps and twenty four other engravings illustrative of the text as well as a supplement entitled "Introduction to the Malabar Language." In this supplement which is particularly valuable. the author explains his reasons for learning Tamil and gives an account of his work in the Jaffna Peninsula. It is illustrated with an engraving and also includes a statement of the elements of Tamil grammar followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in Tamil. Accompanying this supplement are three double page engravings containing the whole of the Tamil alphabet. This portion of Baldaeus' work is specially noteworthy as the earliest example of the printing of Tamil in Europe.

The title page of the second section of the book which deals with Ceylon reads as follows2:-

Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge

CHOROMANDEL,

Der zelver aangrenzende RYKEN,

En het machtige EYLAND

Nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdek-king en wederlegginge van de

Afgoderye der Oost-Indische

Waar inne der zelver grootste Geheymenissen, zoo uyt de eygene Geschriften, als t'Zamenfunk, en Bywooninge der voornaamste Bramines, en andere Indiaansche Wet-Geleerden, getrouwelijk werden aan 't licht gebracht,

Zijude bier by gevoeght een

MALABAARSCHE SPRAAK-KONST;

Zeer dienstigh voor alle die het lust met dien Landaard om te gaan. Met Kaarten, en afbeldingen van Landen, Steden, Drachten, Boomen, Vruchten, na het leves in Indiën afgeteekent, en kurieus in kooper gesneden.

Door PHILIPPUS BALDEUS, Dienaar des Godlijken Woords, Eertijdts op Ceylon, en nu tot Geervliet.



PAMSTERDAM, ANSSONIUS VAN WAASBERGE, ByJOHANNES van Someren. Anno 1672.

Title page of 1672 Edition.

^{1.} A Dutch clergyman who wrote a book on Hinduism, Open deur tot de Verborgen Heydenena in 1651. This book was extensively used by Baldaeus in the third part of his own work on the religions of India.

^{2.} As translated by Mr. S. A. W. Mottau.

"Description of the Great Island of Ceylon with its subordinate principalities, towns and fortresses, the country's principal harbours, buildings, pagodas, fruits, animals, etc., the stature, manners, dress, domestic economy, ceremonies etc. of its inhabitants together with a true account of the events in and around this Island since the first arrival of the Chinese till the year 1665, including the principal sieges of Point de Galle, Negombo, Colombo, Jaffna and other places, and particularly also the siege and capitulation of Colombo, according to the account left by the Portuguese themselves in a daily register of events. Illustrated with maps and representations of the principal towns, fortresses, costumes, animals, fruits etc. in the Indies, drawn from life and accurately engraved in copper plate. By Phillipus Baldaeus, Minister of God's Word, formerly in Ceylon and now at Geervliet."

The section on Ceylon consists of 240 pages including eight unnumbered pages which appear between pages 44 and 45 of the book, these eight pages having evidently been inserted after the main work was printed but before it was actually published. This section is divided into fifty one chapters. The first chapter contains introductory historical and general information on Ceylon and is followed by chapters two to seven which describe the events that occurred in Ceylon from the arrival of the Portuguese to the first visits of the Dutch in the early seventeenth century. From chapter seven onwards Baldaeus continues in detail with the historical events in Ceylon from the arrival of the Dutch. The great Siege of Colombo in 1656 which lasted seven months is dealt with at length while the events subsequent to the capture of the city such as the conquest of Jaffna and Mannar are detailed next. From chapter forty three onwards Baldaeus describes the Jaffna Peninsula and states the religious work done by him there. A chapter is devoted to the religion and customs of the Sinhalese and the final three chapters deal with the flora and fauna of Ceylon and with her reptilia, minerals, fishes and marine products. The 'Description' of Ceylon ends here and is followed by an appendix containing a 28 page translation of an account of the Siege of Colombo in 1656

written by a Portuguese who took part in the siege.1

The section on Ceylon is well illustrated and includes 57 engravings and 11 double page prints containing maps and views of the principal cities of Ceylon, etc. Two portraits are also included of Baldaeus and General Gerard Hulft both engraved by the well known artist Blooteling, the two engravings being based on portraits drawn by the artists Sydervelt and Govaart Flinck respectively. A detailed map of Ceylon also appears at the beginning of the section, though as Ferguson remarks, it does not show any particular advance on earlier maps. This map was reproduced by Robert Knox in his Historical Relation of Ceylon after a reconstruction of the central portion. Some of the other maps given by Baldaeus are however useful, particularly deserving of mention being the map of Jaffna and the islands which is the first recorded map of the area, and the plans of the Forts of Negombo and Colombo. The illustrations however are not too accurate and are certainly not "drawn from life in India" as is claimed in the title page of the book.

The third and final part of the book deals with the religious beliefs of the Indians. This section, which Baldaeus according to the preface considered the most important part of his book, is divided into two parts, of eight and eighteen chapters respectively. In it he gives some of the more popular stories of Hindu mythology and describes the religious ceremonies and customs of the Indians. This entire section is freely interspersed with scriptural and classical quotations and is illustrated by twelve engravings of Hindu deities

^{1.} This account of the siege of Colombo was written by a Portuguese eye-witness who took part in the siege and was communicated to Baldaeus by Matheus van den Broek, a Director of the Dutch East India Company and a former Councillor of India. The Portuguese original of this document is now in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon (52-viii-9) and a copy in the Library of the Academia das Sciencias (Frades No. 252). Several other accounts of the siege are available besides the above and the lengthy account given by Baldaeus himself in the body of his book. See Fitzler, Cerco de Columbo, Queyroz, Conquest of Ceylon. p. 943. Rebeiro, Historic Tragedy of Ceylon, p. 360-383 and Johann Jacob Saar, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch Vol. XI. etc. The Portuguese account given as an appendix by Baldaeus was translated into English by the translator of the present edition, Pieter Brohier, and was published in toto in the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union Vol. XLI Nos. 3 to 4, 1951 and Vol. XLII Nos. 1 to 4, 1952. English readers interested in the subject will find this translation useful, particularly as the translation in Churchill's edition of Baldaeus is a very incomplete one.

which have obviously been copied from 'native' originals. For this portion of his book Baldaeus has freely used other sources without acknowledgment.1

1. Regarding the third part of the book which deals with the religious belief of the Indians, recent research conducted by Professor Jarl Charpentier of Uppsala University has shown that this entire section is a compilation made without acknowledgement by Baldaeus from two different manuscript sources. The fact that Baldaeus had made heavy use of one such source was first suggested by Dr. A. J. de Jong who edited this section of Baldaeus' book in 1917. De Jong noticed that Baldaeus' description of Hindu mythology very closely resembled that given by Olfert Dapper in his Asia of Naukeurige Beschryving van het Rijk des Grooten Mongols en een groot gedeelte van Indien. Since this book was also published in 1672 it was considered highly unlikely that Baldaeus could have seen Dapper's work or vice versa. De Jong therefore assumed that both authors had used a common source which he suggested was a manuscript of a Jesuit priest, Fr. Manoel Barados.

Shortly after, Professor Jarl Charpentier found two manuscripts in the British Museum, which he was able to prove conclusively, were the two sources used almost exclusively by Baldaeus for the third section of his book. The first of these sources is a manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane 3290) titled Beschryvingh van den Nachfolgenden Figuren Getrochen uyt der Heydenen Geloof Book Geheten Deex Autaers. This work was compiled by an unknown Dutchman in Surat sometime between the years 1647 and 1657. The book deals with the ten avatars of Vishnu and also contains the popular stories of Hindu mythology such as those of Rama and Krishna. Two copies were evidently made of this manuscript of which one fell into Baldaeus' hands, possibly on one of his journeys to South India while the second copy found its way to Europe, was used by Olfert Dapper, and finally found its way to the Library of Sir Hans Sloane and from there to the British Museum.

The second source which was plagiarised by Baldaeus was a manuscript entitled Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientaes also found in the British Museum (Sloane Mss 1820). This manuscript which is a voluminous description of Hinduism in Malabar was compiled in Portuguese by a Jesuit priest Fr. Jacobo Fenicio, a Neapolitan born at Capua in 1558, who came East in 1583 and subsequently lived for 40 years in the Court of the Zamorin of Calicut where he died in 1632. Fr. Fenicio's work was subsequently copied by another Jesuit Fr. Manoel Barados and evidently one of these copies fell into Baldaeus' hands, possibly when on a visit to South India or even from the Portuguese Archives at Cochin which were handed over to the Dutch on the surrender of that city in 1663.

Baldaeus in his book vaguely records that he made use of the manuscripts of Portuguese priests but he is not precise about the authors or the extent of the use made of these sources. Professor Charpentier who made a full comparative study of all three works states that large extracts, without even minor alterations, from both the anonymous Dutch author and Fr. Fenicio have been incorporated by Baldaeus. The latter's injudicious compilation has also resulted in a few incongruities, for example he has put together the South Indian Hinduism of the Fenicio manuscript with the North Indian descriptions of the Dutch writer. Also where Fenicio is concerned, Baldaeus has made such a faithful transcription that he even uses the Jesuit's arguments

INTRODUCTION

The entire book has marginal notes which are very useful in elucidating the text while it also contains at the end three indices for the three different sections of the book.

In 1672, shortly after the publication of the Dutch edition of Baldaeus' book, the same publishers brought out a German edition. This edition was also printed in folio form and according to the new preface to the book "carefully translated" from the Dutch. This preface is also important in that it informs us of Baldaeus' death, referring to him as "unser (numehr in Gott ruhender) Author"—our Author, now resting in God. In spite of the publisher's assurance however the translation into German is not a very accurate one, chiefly due to the translator's ignorance of oriental words. This is significant because the English edition by Churchill which was based on the German edition and not the original Dutch perpetuated these errors. The German edition also differed in a few other respects, for example regards division of chapters, pagination, imprint, illustrations etc. from the Dutch edition.1

While the Dutch and German editions were never subsequently reprinted in toto, an English edition which was first published in 1703 was reprinted thrice more in 1732, 1745 and 1752. In all these four editions the book comprised the last part of Volume III of Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels. In the "Preface to the Modern Reader" which appears at the beginning of each of the four English editions it is said that most of the modern East India Voyages that have been "published of late years are very defective either in respect of the many fabulous relations that are inserted frequently rather to please the reader than to pursue the

against Hinduism and gets into the unenviable position of a Protestant preacher having to quote from St. Thomas Aquinas!

Professor Charpentier in dismissing the third part of Baldaeus' work as of little original value notes "It is simply a patchwork of extracts from the work of Father Fenicio and the anonymous Dutch author of Sloane Ms 3290 with occasional quotations from Abrahamus Rogerius and some other authors, and Baldaeus never in any way deserves the reputation for being a conscientious and reliable writer in which he has for a long time rejoiced" For a full discussion of the subject see the two articles by Professor Jarl Charpentier in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Vol. II page 731 et. seq. and Vol. III p. 413 et. seq. Also introduction to A. J. de Jong's edition of Afgoderye den Oost Indische Heydenen.
Ferguson carefully notes these points of difference in his article.

rules of Truth" but that Baldaeus' work is "absolutely worthy the public view, it being agreed by all who have had the opportunity of travelling in those countries, that the same may in respect of its sincerity and exactness challenge the Prerogative before any other hitherto published upon the same subject." The publishers conclude by saying "We have only this to add, that to avoid all unnecessary prolixity, it was judged requisite to omit many digressions tending not so much towards the elucidation of the History, as (we suppose) to show the author's criticism in the Holy Scripture."

The English edition of 1703 and the subsequent reprints of it in 1732, 1745 and 1752, is a translation of Baldaeus' book from the German edition and not the original Dutch. The translator has occasionally omitted large portions from the German, this being particularly so in the first and third sections on Malabar and Coromandel and on the religious belief of the Indians. Fortunately the omissions from the section on Ceylon are not numerous. About the quality of the translation Ferguson says "it is often delightfully quaint; but unfortunately the translator has in many places grievously misinterpreted the "High Dutch" and in some cases has had the presumption to make additions or alterations of his own, thereby exposing his ignorance of oriental words or customs. The following are specimens of the two classes of blunders, of which a careful comparison of the translation with the German version would doubtless reveal many more." The editions of 1732, 1745 and 1752 are merely reprints of the edition of 1703 with very minor alterations.2

Since 1672 there has been no reprint of Baldaeus' work in its entirety in any language but sections of the book have been published

XXXVIII

BESCHRYVING

Van het machtige

CEYLAND CEYLON,

Met zijne onderhoorige Vorstendommen, Steden en Sterkten. Der Landen voornaamste Havenen, Gebouwen, Pagoden, Vruchten, Beesten, enz. Der Inwoonderen gestalte, zeden, gewaat, huyshoudinge, ceremonien, enz.

Nevens

Een waarachtigh verhaal van het gene in en omtrent dit Eyland is voor-gevallen, zints d'eerste aankomste der Chinezen, tot op het Iaar 1665. en onder dit devoornaamste Belegeringen, van Punte Gale, Negumbo, Columbo, Jasnapatnam en andere. Ook in het byzonder het belegh en overgaan van Columbo, zoo als het van de Portugezen zelf in een Dagh-register is na-gelaten.

Verciert met Land-kaarten en Afbeeldingen der voornaamste Steden, Sterkten, Drachten, Beesten, Vruchten, enz. in Indiën zelf na het leven af-getekent, curieus in koper gesneden.

> Door PHILIPPUS BALD & US, Dienaar des Godlijken Woords, eertijds: op Ccylon, en nu tot Geervliet.



t'A M S T E R D A M,

{ JANSSONIUS VAN WAASBERGE,
En
{ van Someren. Anno 1672.

Met Privilegie voor 15 Jaren.

Title page of Section on Ceylon, 1672 Edition

Ferguson in his article gives a number of mistranslations in the English edition. These errors are due to misreading of the German, the translator's ignorance of oriental words and customs and techical matters, for example fortifications, and frequently unwarranted substitutions, one of the most absurd being the translation "Areek is a certain Indian fruit of which they make strong liquors" for "Areek is a fruit which the Indians chew."

^{2.} See Ferguson's article for these points of difference.

on four occasions. In 1816 the Wesleyan Mission Press published in Colombo A Short Account of Jaff apatam in the Island of Ceylon by the Rev. Dr. Baldaeus, "a chaplain to the Dutch East India Company." This book was not available for reference by Ferguson but the present writer has been fortunate enough to study the copy which is now found in the Colombo Museum Library. It consists of a few extracts from Churchill's edition relating to Jaffnapatam and has 18 pages of introductory matter and 52 pages of text. The size of the book is 4" by 3". Besides the introduction and text the book contains an appendix of an "estimate of the Romish churches, and Mahomitan and Heathen Temples in the province of Jaffnapatam as officially communicated to the Honourable Sir Alexander Johnstone." It was during this time that the Missionary Societies were establishing themselves in the Jaffna peninsula and the intention of issuing the book was to serve as introductory matter to the foreign missionaries going into the field. The text is taken from Churchill and the publishers say "we have not considered it advisable to make any alteration in the style of the English translators employed by them and consequently are not responsible for any grammatical inaccuracies or inelegancies which may be found in it."2

The next publication of Baldaeus took place some time in the latter half of the 19th Century and is referred to by Ferguson as follows:- "In my list of writers on Ceylon there is the Entry, "Brohier, Pieter—Translated portions of Revd. Phillip Baldaeus Description of Ceylon, Pamphlet, 'Ceylon Times' Press'. I have not seen this pamphlet so can give no definite details regarding it." In spite of several efforts the present writer too has not been able to trace this pamphlet. It would in any case be a print of sections of the present translation.

In 1917, Dr. A. J. de Jong published in Amsterdam the third section of Baldaeus' work Afgoderye Den Oost Indische Heydenen together with a valuable introduction and notes. In the introduction Dr. de Jong discussed the possible sources from which Baldaeus had compiled part three of his work and also dealt with the early attempts by European writers to interpret the Hindu religion to the West.

The last reprint of Baldaeus' work was an abridged version of the present translation by Pieter Brohier which was published by R. L. Brohier and Vernon Grenier in the *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union*. The translation which was published in six different issues of the Journal contained besides the extracts from Pieter Brohier's translation a brief introduction and annotation.¹

NOTE ON THE PRESENT EDITION

An excuse is hardly necessary for this new English edition of the section relating to Ceylon of Baldaeus' book. The absence of such an English edition has been badly felt by students and others interested in Ceylon history for a considerable time. Copies of Churchill's English translation, when they do appear on the market fetch prohibitive prices quite beyond the general reader, while as already noted this translation is inadequate in many ways, being based as it is on the German edition and not the original Dutch edition of 1672. This translation itself is poor while in many places the text has been abridged thus detracting from its value as a historical source.

The present edition gives a complete and unabridged translation of the section on Ceylon in Baldaeus' book and also reproduces all the maps and illustrations on Ceylon in the original edition. The account of the siege of Colombo which is given by Baldaeus as an appendix to the section on Ceylon has however been left out, partly as it is only a translation of a Portuguese eye witness account and not written by Baldaeus himself and also since a good unabridged English translation done by the present translator

^{1.} Ferguson's article contains reference to another edition of Baldaeus as follows. "In my manuscript additions to the abovementioned list I have noted that an English translation of Baldaeus appeared in Barrow's Collection of Voyages (1756 and 1765); and that a French translation from Barrow was published in volumes 6 and 7 of Targes' Abrege Chronologique, &c. &c. (Paris 1766); but I cannot find whence I obtained the information, nor can I verify it, the British Museum Library apparently not possessing either of the works mentioned." Unfortunately the present writer has also not been able to trace either of these works in spite of several attempts.

^{2. 1816} Edition p. XII.

^{1.} Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union, Colombo. Volumes for 1956 to 1959.

Pieter Brohier himself, is already available in print. The present translation as will be shown later, is for several reasons better than the Churchill translation while it has not lost in value by being abridged. Our introduction too will be of some assistance to the student as it summarises all the available knowledge on Baldaeus and on his book. This together with the glossary of proper names by Mr. C. W. Nicholas should help to guide the interested reader.

A word should be said on the present translation of the book. Sometime ago when the Ceylon Historical Journal was considering the possibility of getting a new translation made of Baldaeus' work on Ceylon, Mr. Lyn Fonseka, Librarian of the Colombo Museum brought to our notice the fact that an unpublished translation of the section on Ceylon done by one Mr. Pieter Brohier in the last century was already in existence and that we try to secure its publication. The manuscript which is the property of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was subsequently read by us and its publication is now being made by the kind permission of the Society. Though the present translation was done by Pieter Brohier over hundred and twenty five years ago this is the first time that it is being made available to the public in its entirety. Brohier's translation itself has had an adventurous career since it was written and we give a brief account of it below.

Pieter John Isaac Brohier, the fourth son of Captain John Brohier of the Dutch Army was born in Jaffna in 1792. In later years he entered the service of the colonial government and was employed in the office of the Controller of Revenue in Colombo. After his retirement from the public service he spent his time for many years in making a translation of the section of Baldaeus' work relating to Ceylon. The draft translation was revised by a friend J. B. Siebel and "copied out on demy sheets of paper, the entire volume being some five fingers thick." After the translation was completed however, Pieter Brohier was informed that an English translation (evidently Churchill's edition was being referred to) was already in existence. It is not known whether Pieter Brohier's intention in translating the work was to publish it, but if this was so, this latter piece of information resulted in the manuscript being virtually ignored. Subsequently the translator's son R. A. Brohier (Snr.) to whom the manuscript had come down lost it, "it being loaned to a friend and never returned." The manuscript of the main book thus passed out of the hands of the Brohier family and disappeared, though the translation of the Appendix on the Siege of Colombo remained among other family papers. Ferguson who wrote his article on Baldaeus in 1897 makes two different references to Pieter Brohier's translation and noted that a "translation of the part referring to Ceylon by a Burgher gentleman was presented by Mr. Advocate Weinman to the Ceylon Asiatic Society some years earlier."

The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society had in fact received an English translation of the section on Ceylon by an unnamed translator from Mr. Weinman but the identity of the translator as Pieter Brohier was not established till 1937, when R. L. Brohier, a great grandson of Pieter Brohier, who examined the manuscript together with other family papers was able to establish the identity of the author. This identification was made possible largely by a comparison of the manuscript with the manuscript translation of the Siege of Colombo which had not been attached to the main translation and which had come down with other family papers to R. L. Brohier, in whose possession it now remains. After 1937 the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society made several unsuccessful attempts to publish both these manuscripts, while attempts made thereafter by R. L. Brohier to have them published, both in Ceylon and abroad, met with the same fate.

As a translator Pieter Brohier had several distinct advantages which make the present translation an accurate and useful one. He was born in Dutch times, learnt the language as a boy and continued to use it for a considerable time, for Dutch was the spoken language of the Burgher community well into the British Period. He thus had a sound knowledge of the language and was closer to the "High Dutch" of Baldaeus by well over a hundred years than present day translators. Similarly, as a public servant under the British colonial administration and having lived during the British occupation of Ceylon for over fifty years, Brohier had a good knowledge of English which enabled him to render the translation from the Dutch into English accurately. Besides as a Ceylonese he was able to translate properly oriental words,

customs and descriptions given by Baldaeus, which for instance were wrongly rendered in Churchill's English translation.

Mr. R. L. Brohier who had for a long time been contemplating the publication of this translation consulted the eminent historian the late Revd. Father S. G. Perera, s.j. as to its value and received the following reply which is being published in full by kind permission of Mr. Brohier. It confirms our own opinion as to the value and accuracy of Pieter Brohier's translation.

"St. Aloysius' College", Galle, Ceylon, 23rd December, 1937.

"Dear Mr. Brohier.

I am exceedingly sorry for the delay in writing to you about the manuscript translation of Baldaeus, which Mr. Weinman very kindly loaned to me.

I should recommend you to invite the Royal Asiatic Society to publish this translation in a Journal of the RAS.CB. As it is we have so far no translation of Baldaeus. The translation in Churchill's Collection of Voyages III is not from the Dutch of Baldaeus but from a German version of it. Moreover Churchill's translation is only a summary one, omitting and abbreviating sentences. Your manuscript on the other hand is a complete translation. No doubt it is in the style of the last century and someone will have to edit it, this editing consisting chiefly in spelling proper names as in the original and occasionally changing the roundabout paraphrases into direct and literal rendering. This you can well do yourself, or you might possibly invite Miss Juriansz to do it. I shall be quite ready to help.

In case the R.A.S. undertakes to publish this Ms. I would also recommend you to include your other Ms. translation of the Siege of Colombo. It is, as you know, a Portuguese original done into Dutch by Baldaeus. This Portuguese original is now in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon (52-viii-9) and there is a copy in the library of the Academia das Sciencias (Frades No. 252). As this text has now been printed I shall be able to help the Editor.

Yours sincerely, Sgd. S. G. PERERA".

INTRODUCTION

The defects of the translation as noted by Father S. G. Perera were that the language was that of the last century, that proper names should be spelt as in the original Dutch and that "roundabout phrases" should be changed to a more "direct and literal rendering." The last two defects have been removed from Brohier's translation as now presented but we have left the style of the last century, which does have a certain quaintness and charm to recommend it, as written by Pieter Brohier, except where an alteration was necessary to render the translation accurate.

In the present edition all proper names have been spelt exactly as in the original Dutch edition of 1672. Since many of these proper names, particularly place names, are unintelligible to the modern reader a glossary has been included which should help identification while explanations are also available in the footnotes. The punctuation has been modernised though words which appear in italics in the 1672 edition are printed in italics in this edition also. All the maps and illustrations relating to Ceylon in the 1672 edition have been reproduced including prints of the different title pages and the frontispiece of Baldaeus, together with translations of the side notes. The page numbers of the original Dutch edition also appear in brackets at the margins so that reference to the original text could be easily made. Translations of the Privilege, the Dedication of the book to Cornelius de Witt, the Preface and the Poem to Baldaeus by J. Vollenhove which appeared as introductory matter to the 1672 edition have also been included.

In conclusion I wish to record my thanks to those persons who have assisted us in the preparation of this work. Our thanks are chiefly due to Mr. Vernon Grenier who sacrificed many precious hours of leisured retirement to prepare the translation for the modern reader by revising Pieter Brohier's translation and annotating the text. This work of comparing the translation with the original Dutch and making the necessary alterations was indeed a tedious one, particularly considering the short time within which the task had to be accomplished. An equal debt is owed to Mr. R. L. Brohier a great grandson of the translator Pieter Brohier, but for whose enthusiasm the work of publishing this translation would not have been possible. He prepared the typescript of the manuscript and assisted us in numerous other ways. Mr. S. A. W. Mottau, retired Senior Assistant Archivist of the Ceylon

Government also helped us considerably in the publication and he very willingly translated for us at short notice the 8 unnumbered pages between pages 44 and 45 in the 1672 edition which had been left untranslated by Pieter Brohier and the Privilege, Dedication, Preface and Poem to Baldaeus which appear at the beginning of the book. Our sincere thanks are likewise due to Mr. C. W. Nicholas who also prepared at little notice the valuable glossary of explanations of place names mentioned in the book.

The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society very kindly permitted the publication of this manuscript which was in their custody and our thanks are due to them for this. We would particularly mention in this regard the Rt. Revd. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Bishop of Chilaw and President of the Society and Mr. A. R. Tampoe, the Honorary Secretary who took considerable personal interest in seeing the manuscript in print.

But possibly the largest debt of all is owed to the Asia Foundation which very kindly agreed to assist this publication by guaranteeing the purchase of a number of copies. This generous gesture has made it possible for us to bring out this work without abridgements and without leaving out any of the relevant illustrations or maps, while it has also helped to keep the price of the book within the reach of the average reader in spite of its size and consequent high printing costs. We record here our very sincere gratitude to the Foundation and to its representative in Ceylon, Mr. Louis Lazaroff.

In conclusion we would record our thanks to Miss Nimal Wijayaratne who very kindly prepared at little notice the valuable index to the text and who also helped us considerably in the typing of the large number of manuscripts of the book. Our gratitude is equally due to Mr. G. M. K. Perera, Librarian of the Ceylon Government Archives who obtained references to Baldaeus from the Dutch Records and Mr. B. N. Jayawardhana and Mr. Behan Perera of Messrs Saman Press, Maharagama who took a personal interest in the printing of this book. The quality of the production of this book is solely due to them.

Glossary

of

Place-Names in Ceylon

Mentioned in the Text

with their Present-Day Equivalents

By C. W. NICHOLAS

Baldaeus' name	Present-day equivalent	Baldaeus' name	Present-day equivalent		
	A	$\mathbf{B}^{\!$			
Acciapato	— Akkaraipattu	Badule	— Badulla		
Accuras	— Akuressa	Baigams	Beragama		
Achiavelli	— Atchuvely	Balane	— Balane		
Aleputti	— Allaipitty	Baligamme	— Weligama		
Alican	— Alutgama	Ballane	- Balane		
Alicaon		Ballaney	— "		
Alicon		Barberijn	— Barberyn		
Alikan			(Beruwela)		
Allago	— Alagalla	Batecalo	— Batticaloa		
Ambatane .	— Ambatenne	Batecotte	— Vaddukoddai		
Amorayapore	— Anuradhapura	Bategedre .	— Batugedera		
An alativa	— Analaitivu	Belantot te	— Bellantara		
Anangepore	— Anuradhapura	<i>Beligam</i>	— Weligama		
Angeretotsche	- Anguruwatota	Belligam me			
Angretotte	 ,,	Belligam me	¥		
Anguratotte	— ,,	Province	Valikamam		
Annavolundane	— Anaolandewa	Bentot	— Bentota		
Anoryapore	— Anuradhapura	Bentotte	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Aripiture	— Arippu	Berberin	— Barberyn		
Aripou		*	(Beruwela)		
Ariputure		Boemboele	- Bombuwela		
Atapeli	— Attapitiya				
Attapitin	,,		C		
Auguratotte	Anguruwatota	Caho de Fradr	es - Friar's Hood		
Axcepan	- Harasiyapattu	Cajuel	— Kammala		
pan-		J	1		

XLVI

XLVII

GLOSSARY

Baldaeus' na:ne	Present-day equivalent	Baldaeus' name	Present-day equivalent
Calarme	— Kalmunai	Cottamale	- Kotmale
Caleture	Kalutara	Cottegore	— Kotuwegoda
Caliture	 ,,	Coutjare	— Kottiyar
Callamoende	— Kalamulla	_ •	-
Calmon	— Kalmunai		D
Calmony	,,	Dambadan -	Domhodonius
Calpentyn	— Kalpitiya	Dambadany -	— Dambadeniya
Calpetij n	,,	Dennevaque	— " — Denawaka
Candea	— Kandy	De twee	— Denawaka
Candy	- ,,	Gebroeders	- Iranaitivu North
Caradiva	— Karativu	Georgeaers	& South
Caravanelle	— Karawanella	Dilege	— Diyatilaka
Carcel	— Karical	Dinavaca	— Diyatilaka — Denawaka
Catajar	— Kataragama	Dinavaca Dodangodde	— Denawaka — Dodangoda
Catavelli -	- Kattaiven	Dolleswagge	— Dolosbage
Cathy	— Kachchai	Donders Donders	— Dondra
Caymel	— Kammala	Donaers	(Devundara)
Cays	- Fort Hamenhiel	Drembra	— Dumbara
Ceta Vaca	— Sitawaka	Dumbra	Dunioara
	(Avissawella)	Duranura	— " — Devundara
Ceytavaca	,,	Duranura	Devulidara
Changane	— Chankanai		E
Chavagatzery	 Chavakachcheri 		
Chilao	— Chilaw	Erkelampatti	— Erukkalampiddi
Chilaon	,,		307
Chilau	 ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '		\mathbf{F}
Chilauw	-,,	Forago	Sabaragamuwa
Chundecouli	— Chundikkuli		Date and an
Cockelcorle	- Kukul Korale		G
Columbo	— Colombo	<i>~</i> .	.
Condremale	Radiialialat	Gale	— Galle
Copay	- Kopuy	Galkisse	— Galkissa
Coriwitty		Galquisse	– "
Cota	110110	Ganetena	— Ganetenna
Cotemale	2200111111	Gannatari	— "
Cotiar	,	Gannero	- Gannoruwa
Cotiarum	,,	Ganneroe	•••
Cotomale	— Kotmale	Gannoor	,,
	XLV	111	

GLOSSARY

Baldaeus' name	Present-day equivalent	Baldaeus' name	Present-day equivalent
Guiramibula	— Gurubebila	Mangel	
Gurheville	— Gurubewila	Correlsche	- Mangul Korale .
	(Hanwella)	Manipay	- Manipay
	` '	Manikeroweri	— Menîkkadawara
	H	Mankewe re	_ ,,
Hakman	— Hakmana	Mannekewarr e	
Halgrad oje	— Halgranoya	Mantea Ravan	
Harcipate	— Harispattu	Mantotte	- Mantai
Harispate		Mapati	— Mapitigama
Harkepatte	***************************************	Marua Goma	— Maniyangama
Horne	— Horana	Matalte	— Matale
	-	Matarette	— Maturata
-	I	Matecalo	— Batticaloa
Illondi Matual	- Eluthumadduval	Matecola	,,
Irkelampatti	— Erukkalampiddi	Matele	- Matale
2	•	Mateli	,,
	J	Matere	— Matara
T I .	— Yala	Mattelap e	— Batticaloa
Jaele	— Tala — Jaffna	Matual	- Mutwal(Modera)
J afnapatan	— Janna — Yala	Matule	— Matale
Jala	— Yatinuwara	Mature	— Matara
Jatteno Jattenore		Mavilgang i	- Mahaweli Ganga
Janenore	,,	Mayletti	— Mayiliddi
	K	Meddema Hon	ore — Medamaha-
			nuwara
Karsel	— Karical	Mewater	— Miwatura
Kockele Corle	- Kukul Korale	Mewatre	,,
	М	Migonne	— Migamuwa
	1 V A.		(Negombo)
Mabelle 🐬	— Mahabellana	Milagre	— Milagiriya
Macoene	Maggona	Miwitigae l	— Niwitigala
Madamp e	— Madampe	Modeni	— Meedeniya
Mallagam	— Mallakam	Mogomm ale	— Mukamalai
Mallimande	— Malimmada	Montual	- Mutwal(Modera)
Malvane	— Malwana	Mousilipatto	— Musali Pattu
Manaar	— Mannar	Moutupelle	— Mottappuliya
Manaer	- ,,	Mulipatto	— Mullippattu

XLIX

GLOSSARY

Baldaeus' name	Present-day equivalent	Baldaeus' name	Present-day equivalent	Baldaeus	' name	Present-day equivalent	Baldaeus' name	Present-day epuivalent
Nacclegam me	N — Nagalagam	Paneteripou Paneture Pangergame	— Pantattarippu — Panadura — Pangara-	Saffra (Samant Samma	ture	— Sabaragamuwa — Sammanturai — "	Vallare	V — Wellassa
Nacolegamme Nagar Kojel Nainativa	— " — Nagarkoyil — Nayinativu	Panoa Panua	gammana — Panama	Sete Co Setecon		Seven KoralesCheddikulam	,	— Vannarponnai — Wellassa — Bintenna
Nalour	— Nallur — Nanaddan	Paretiture	— " — Point Pedro			S	Velare	Wellassa
Nanatam Nani Legange	— Mahiyangana	Pasdum Corle Pasgrame	— Pasdun Korale — Pasgama	Setevac	ca	— Sitawaka (Avissawella)	Velaren Velase	
Navacouli Negumbo	— Navatkuli — Negombo	Passadun Corle	— Pasdun Korale — Pachchilaippali	Setteva Sette C		— " — Seven Korales	Vellene Ventane	— Velanai — Bintenna
Nindundiva	— Neduntivu (Delft)	Patoveta Peixale	— Pata Hewaheta — Pesalai	Sofrage Sundec	aen	— Sabaragamuwa — Chundikuli	Veta	— Hewaheta — Viyaluva Korale
	0		— Perunkali	Sunaec		T	Vier Corles Vintana Vintane	— Bintenna
Ode	— Udunuwara		- Adam's Peak	Tamba		— Tampakamam	· mane	
Odogodas Odogodaskary	UdugodaUdugoda Korale	Podere Poelepalle	— Putur — Puloppalai	Taprob	oane	— Taprobane (Ceylon)		W .
Odogo d'Asker	ri— "	₹.	— Pooneryn	Telipol		— Tellippalai		— Vadamaradchi — Walallawitti
Ody Oucatte	— Udunuwara — Ukwatta	Polveraincatti	(Punakari) — Pallavara-	Tellem Tenma		— Talaimannar — Tenmaradchi	Waelwitty Walane	- Balane
Oudewil	— Uduvil		yankaddu	Tiboen		— Tebuwana	Waranni	— Varani
Oue	— Uva — Uratturai	Pongardiva Ponta des Pedro	— Pungudutivu	Tiboen		— " — Tumpane	Welane Welekande	VelanaiWelikanda
Ourature	(Kayts)		- Putur	Tinipar Tottav		— Tottaveli	Wellikande	- ,,
Ouva Ouvah	— Uva	Punte Gale	— Point de Galle (Galle)	Tottav	aly ielemal <mark>e</mark>	— " — Trincomalee	Willegamme	— Weligama
Ouvasc he	— " — "	Putelaon Putulaon	— Puttalam	Trinqu	iena m	- "	Wilwela Wluat Gamme	— Wilpola — Alutgama
Ove	— "	Fututaon	— " Q	Tripan	ie	— Tumpane U		Z
	P	Ouatre Corles	— Four Korales			— Udupiddi	Zetivaca	Sitawaka
Palagan Paletivu	— Palukamam — Paletivu		R	U Rep Uva	ouiii	- Badulla town or	3.6	(Avissawella) — Seven Korales
Palugam	— Palukamam		— Yatinuwara			Uva province	Zeven Corles	- Setti Mordies
Palugan Panciapato	— " — Pansiyapattu		— " — Rayigama					
D	Domoduna	D.,11-	Davis arrealla					

GLOSSARY

Ruanelle

- Ruwanwella

— Panadura

Panatursche

Α

True and Exact Description of the GREAT ISLAND

of

CEYLON

by

Phillipus Baldeaus

A complete English translation of the section on Ceylon in the Dutch Edition of 1672 together with the Privilege, Dedication, Preface and Poem on the Book by J. Vollenhove, which appeared as introductory matter to the original edition

PRIVILEGE

Proclamation made by the States of Holland and West Vriesland;

Whereas Johannes Jansonius van Waasberge and Johannes van Sommeren, both booksellers at Amsterdam, have represented to us, that on a request made to them, they have undertaken the publication of a certain work, which will run into two, three or more volumes in folio, containing the description of the whole of Asia, including also the sea-coast of Goa along the entire district of Malabar, and also Ceylon, and the siege of Colombo and other places, compiled by Philippus Baldaeus, Minister of Jesus Christ, formerly in the Kingdom of Ceylon, and now residing at Geervliet, and the warrantry of the said work by Lambertus Bidlo appearing in the title thereof:

And whereas the applicants have had to incur many heavy expenses both on account of the printing of the said work and volumes, as well as on the engravings etc. that were necessary for the illustrations in the same; and since they are apprehensive that the said work or the entire volumes which have already been prepared and have yet to be prepared and printed by the aforesaid persons respectively at much labour and expense may be republished by others, and that such action may not only be prejudicial to the value of the said work but more especially cause much loss and damage to the applicants and to the sale of the said books and their reputation, all of which could be remedied and prevented by the issue of our special letters patent and licence;

And the petitioners being thus obliged to apply to us for the same, requesting most humbly that it may please us to permit and authorise them and their respective legal heirs and attorneys, to enjoy the sole rights of publication and sale, to the exclusion

PRIVILEGE

of all others, of the said works and volumes now partly prepared and to be further compiled by the said authors respectively, in any language or dialect, for the period of the next twenty years or for a longer or shorter period according to our will and pleasure, either in whole or in part, whether in a great or little way, and in any form whatsoever; and to forbid anyone to reprint the same, or, having reprinted it, to offer it for sale or exchange here, or in our Provinces of Holland and West Vriesland, or enjoy or benefit in any other way, on certain heavy penalties to be duly imposed thereon, and that they (the petitioners) may be issued Letters Patent or a certificate of licence in the proper form;

Therefore we, having considered the said application and request, and being inclined to allow the same, by virtue of the powers and sovereign rights and authority vested in us, have authorised and permitted the said petitioners respectively, and we do hereby licence and certify the same by these presents, authorising them and their legal heirs or attorneys to print, publish and sell the aforementioned books by the said authors on the said subject, which have already been prepared and are still to be printed, in any language and form, during the next fifteen years, in our Provinces of Holland and West Vriesland, forbidding all others to reprint, publish or sell the said books in any form whatsoever, or else having printed the same, to bring, handle or sell the same in our said Provinces, directly or indirectly, in any form whatsoever, upon the penalty of confiscation of the copies produced, sold, handled or bartered, and of a further fine of 600 'Charles' gilders, to be allotted as follows: one-third part to the apprehending officer, one-third part to the poor of the respective judicial district, and the remaining one-third part to the petitioners.

And we do hereby enjoin each and every person whom it may concern to observe the same.

Given at the Hague under our Great Seal which is attached hereto, on this 18th day of March in the year of our Lord and Saviour One Thousand Six hundred and Sixty Nine.

JOHAN DE WITT,
By order of the States General
Herbert van Beaumont



An den Eed. Gestrenge wel-wijze HEERE

DEDICATION

To: The Honourable, Worshipful and Prudent Lord Cornelis de Wit,

Privy Councillor of Their Excellencies The States General of Holland and West Vriesland, Governor, Bailiff and Chief Dyke-Reve of the Lowlands, Sheriff of the City of Geervliet etc.

DEDICATION

My Lord,

May it please you to receive this 'paper' infant, which is really in need of a good foster-parent.

It is begotten chiefly on the field of Your Excellency's benign demesne.

The weak always seek to lean upon the strong: the wine chooses the wall; the creeper chooses a firm tree; and so have the most outstanding men from ancient times published and dedicated their works to those whom God has placed in positions of greatness. So did St. Luke dedicate his Gospel to the excellent Theophilus and the famous Cyrillus Alexandrinus to the illustrious Theodosius the Second with these words: "Most mighty Theodosius, while others profer you victories, crowns, congratulations and eulogies, so shall it be our duty to dedicate to you books compiled for the honour of the Almighty God. These provided such remarkable light for protecting mankind in some measure against the cruel fangs of vindictive men, that there is a greater obligation on my part although I could hardly be regarded as a firefly or a willow-the-wisp among such shining lights.

I venture to assure myself that my humble work will not be displeasing or disagreeable to Your Honour, for Your Honour is well aware that it is designed for the establishment of God's Church and the conversion of many an erring soul.

I believe that no man has been born and created by God in vain, and that man can not (according to the saying of Cicero) say "Satis vixi", or 'I have lived enough'. For one part of our lives we owe to our friends and kinsmen, and particularly for the progress of God's Church, without which the foundations of good government must surely totter and completely break down. And so have we all been created by God in order that we may do some good, otherwise we are not worthy to live, because an idle man is a living corpse (vivum cadaver). And what honour does a man indeed achieve by boasting of, and glorying in the arms, the bearings, the status and the portraits of his forefathers? Surely these can never make a man a real gentleman!

"Stemmata quit faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice longo Sanguine censeri, Pictosque ostendere vultus

Majorum et stanteis in curribus aemilianos? 'Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus'."

God Himself by His almighty power has made this manifest to Your Honour — if I may say so with all due respect and humility — in the famous battle at the River of Chatham, for which we publicly offered our thanks to God in the Hague on the 6th of July 1667. So is it not enough for brave men to develop a noble spirit and a sincere mind — for the soul is not given to be preserved for oneself (literally 'for salting') — but to endeavour at all times to see that posterity does not deteriorate into a degenerate brood.

"Et genus et Proavos et quae non fecimus ipsi, Vix ea nostra voco"

It is our godly and bounden duty to do good at all times. Such deeds bring glory to an honourable race, although it may cause physical poverty. "Fuimus Troes", said the great Joseph Scaliger. He soon forgot his ancient race of Verona which had fallen into decay, but he soared to still greater heights of nobility by his outstanding erudition, whereby his memory is still alive and will ever live.

It is good to be descended from pious forbears if one continues steadfastly to be virtuous, for the onslaughts of misfortune do not affect such a man. So was it with my forefathers who died honourably. For in 1584 A. D., when Alexander de Farnese so ruthlessly besieged my native city of Yperen that they were obliged to surrender, my great-grandfather, together with three other eminent men, did not hesitate to offer themselves as hostages at the castle of Gent, in order to preserve the devout and faithful burghers from trouble and from the ravages of rapine and lust, and to save the City from plunder, abandoning everything that was near and dear to them, yea even their Fatherland, because they were not allowed their liberty of conscience.

I would fain follow in their footsteps. For it is a great privilege to be able to serve one's State or Church; and it is my sincere wish that the constant prayers of Your Honour and Your Honour's beloved lady may not have been offered up in vain, that the children may revere their forefathers and emulate them, and that Your Honour, together with your loved one and

DEDICATION

Monica, the mother of the Grand Director of Hippone (Augustyn) may be preserved in safety.

"Filii et filiae tantarum lachrimarum perire non possunt."

I believe that all will go well with us if we strive after such holy purposes, not aiming at things beyond our reach, but for the good of the Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of our Fatherland.

In fact we indeed wish that all reformers (modernists), dogmatists and debaters, who have in fact frequently manifested themselves in this last century, had endeavoured to this end, so that in these critical times we may all be of one faith for the welfare of our beloved Fatherland and our dearly-bought physical and spiritual freedom particularly.

With this object in view, Honoured Sir, have I undertaken this work, which has been completed by the Grace of God, and which is now dedicated to Your Honour. Receive it, I pray you, in the spirit in which it is given.

From Your Honour's humble and willing servant in Jesus Christ.

Philippus Baldaeus.

Geervliet. 15th August 1671.

PREFACE FOR READERS

Dear Reader,

When, in the twenty-first year of my age, in 1654 A.D., at Amsterdam, after lawful appointment, I was sent out for Christian service and for the glory of God and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in distant lands, I presumed—and not wrongly too—that a heavy burden was placed upon my head and shoulders, especially that I might fulfil the Commission which I had received from the Lord.

Having thus meditated over these matters, the responsibility of my office in respect of its dignity, and that noble object, viz: the conversion of souls that were caught in the snares of Satan, these and other things made me feel diffident as to my fitness to undertake them. The letters of friends, devout and learned men, sent to me every year from the Fatherland nevertheless provided me with no little encouragement and spurred me on considerably in my work. In this respect, I am even more greatly indebted to the examples of the Roman Catholic missionaries, whose zeal (by the Grace of God) I shall always, but whose errors I shall never, emulate.

I reflected that I could not perform my duties satisfactorily in view of my ineptitude, but who else beside myself is there who is competent in these lands which I have traversed, visiting the heathen sanctuaries and shrines as far as possible in the course of my work. And I indeed dared to make certain after much experience since the beginning of my sojourn as a foreigner in these parts, that I not only entered the precincts of their temples, but even further into their secret places; yea, I have even had one of the learned Brahmins living with me for some time, and obtained the authentic and original writings of their religion and pictures of their idols for my use, fain willingly seeing others at the foot of

PREFACE FOR READERS

the Rev. Abraham Rogerius and myself proceeding further in order to equip myself usefully for evangelical work among the heathens, for which a preliminary knowledge of their language is a primary requisite, in order to be able to oppose and destroy the wicked and erring ones with their own weapons. Arnobius, Lactantius, Panthenus, Frumentius, and in the preceding century Xavier too, have trod this royal highway. For this reason, I have annexed at the end of this work a Tamil grammar, the value and utility of which is explained in greater detail in the introduction to the same appearing on folio 191.

We had indeed undertaken a dangerous task, as all faithful servants in the Lord's vineyard have done; But who is the man who would count his life dear unto himseif for the sake of Jesus Christ from whom he has received salvation and life? St. Paul would fain suffer temporal loss in life "that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry, which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the Grace of God" (Acts 20:24). In fact, we can see quite clearly how the Roman Catholics defy both the sea and storms and danger in order to proclaim their doctrines. To quote a recent example, here is a copy from the letter dated 1st April 1668 written from Canton in China by the Jesuit Stanislaus Torrenti to Sr. Paulo de Vado, sent to me recently by a friend in the Indies, which briefly reads as follows:—

"Here in Canton a terrible persecution has been launched against our Holy Religion by the four Governors now ruling this Kingdom during the minority of the King, who have been won over through avarice and by the bribes of the bounders and the Moors, and who have in a sealed letter ordered all preachers of the Gospel to be apprehended and harassed and brought to court, where they have immediately been assaulted and held in custody. Fr. Jan Adams, the Director of the Faculty of Mathematics, who was hitherto regarded with such favour and high esteem. No better treatment was accorded to all the other priests in the whole Kingdom, one of whom was Stanislaus del Torrente, who was put into prison and remained there for two and a half months in much vexation and sorrow, after which he was bound with iron chains round his neck, his hands and his feet. Father Adams, who was hitherto the King's favourite, had already been sentenced to be quartered when,

PREFACE FOR READERS

in order that those living among a wicked people who trust in God may not lose their faith, behold, God worked a miracle in the Heavens to confound the raving heathens; for above the the terrible firmament, after the young new King had given orders for the priests to be whipped with forty lashes, two of which (according to the report of Stanislaus) were sufficient to kill a man, and while he was still holding his pen in his hands (according to the custom of the country) to sign his assent to this godless act, it so happened that at that very moment there was a most dreadful earthquake, shaking up the whole Court as if Hell had broken forth in all its fury, and the earth trembled, and its foundations tottered, setting the Oueen's palace on fire, without any sign as to how and whence it originated. The innocent cattle started a frightful and piercing bellowing. The King and the Queen Mother were quite scared and terrified at these happenings, so that the Heavens compelled them to abandon the unrighteous sentence and to proclaim a general amnesty throughout the entire Kingdom. The young King later, when he was fully established in his Kingdom. ordered the first of the four Governors or administrators. being the chief persecutors of the Christians, to be strangled, and all his children to be quartered alive."

Thus God shows that He does not slumber, but like the avenging hero, in His own good time, wakes up; and therefore must all faithful servants always trust in God in their adversities.

With this intention, dear Christian Reader, have I traversed the lands of the heathens and braved the dreadful waves, and finally, by the Grace of God, I was conveyed to the beloved Fatherland; and I have also presented to the world that which for a long time lay written on paper, reckoning that it would be a great and heinous crime to keep one's talents to oneself, and in order that others may have a beaten track to enable them to go on from strength to strength. And thus I intend, by the Grace of God, to spend the remaining years of my life; and if the Lord God blesses me with life and health, as I now enjoy through His Grace, I shall indeed make known a short and practical way of converting the heathens, which several people have often written about without either visiting or having even seen the heathens.

PREFACE FOR READERS

The brave knight of Rotterdam, our particular friend, has enlightened me on the subject of the conversion of the Christians from heathenism by his recent work "The Christian Abashed" (Beschaamd Christen), which I am unable to gainsay, save only to quote some examples of the present-day Indian heathens. I am well aware that in this wise age any work whatsoever will be criticised, attacked and pulled to pieces by someone or other; but that does not worry me much. It is easy for one to find fault, but difficult to emulate.

Dear Reader, religious work being thus our principal object, I found it also expedient to include in this work the necessary information about the land whose idolatry we expose; the more so because, in the course of our research on the several records dealing with the subject of religion, I found among them many important documents regarding the state of the East Indies, including diaries of daily events, maps and descriptions of lands, cities, people etc.; so much so that I have ventured to relate these matters too in much detail, especially as I myself have lived in and travelled through several of these places, and having accompanied the several invasions and military expeditions I can speak with more authority as an eye and ear-witness on these matters.

And since I had the best knowledge particularly of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and the mighty Island of Ceylon, where I had resided for some length of time, I deemed it advisable to restrict my description to these and the neighbouring Kingdoms.

Wherefore, we, refraining from further explanations, would refer the Reader to the book itself, requesting him kindly to give this work of ours his best attention and use, and meanwhile await the further description of the Asiatic Kingdoms and countries, on which the printer of this work is already busy.

Praying further to the Father of Light that the treatise on religions may be read with the purpose for which it has been written by me, viz: for the salvation of the heathen and the advancement of our establishment. Amen.

Your devoted servant in Jesus Christ

Geervliet.
15 August 1671.

Philippus Baldaeus.

On the Description of the Indies by Mr. Philippus Baldaeus, Predikant at Geervliet

(Aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem, eoasque domos).

Baldaeus, full of fervour like the rays of the sun, full of power, like the sun, for infusing others with his spirit, and abounding in energy (like the sun on high), travelled eastwards across the sea.

His zeal in braving tempestuous seas was not kindled by greed, which from ancient times found no restricted pathway while it blazed on the Golden Fleece of the Indian Colchis, but by Thomas' holy footprints in his Apostolic labours. In Thomas' footprints there appeared to him no dreams of human genius among the Asian people, like Xavier, but the vision of interpreting the wisdom of Heaven and the secret of the Cross, on which the shrewd mind of the wisest of Brahmins doted.

Then, indeed, men saw how, before the clear truth of the light of Christ, the darkness of heathenism was put to shame and quickly vanished when he beamed forth and shone with such radiance and with more than the brightness of mid-day in the earth's morning hour. Men witnessed a mighty power (lured at first by the abyss of craft and evil and living gaily under its spell) conquered and won over for the Kingdom of Christ, when he strove for the honour and the dominion of the Saviour of the world.

Even Alexander's power, which proudly meets Porus, animated by plunder in the bloody field of battle, cannot be compared with the hero who consoles and blesses souls even through defeat with the compelling power of love.

But this good fortune does not attend Ceylon for all time. For Baldaeus departs and returns to his dear Fatherland which indeed needs his services. All the Churches grieve over it as they are deprived all too soon of the Messenger of Heaven. What counsel can reasonably offer them comfort in their grief!

But this suits Baldaeus himself, and he alone knows what to do in order to compensate by means of his pen for the loss of speech—a pen prepared and destined for the profit of mankind.

ON THE DESCRIPTION OF THE INDIES

He offers you the Indies in a bundle of pages right up to where the Ganges flows, fully portrayed to life. He describes the nature of the people as seen by him through a series of years, and what the ground of the land most naturally yields and produces. He also unfolds that which he has discovered through much labour of searching, viz: the forts and cities and villages, all accurately portrayed, and the histories of the various lands, from books ancient and modern, completed with much toil, thought and skill.

Here one sees the Batavian sailing on with his fleets. He fills his purse full of gold by land and sea and teaches kings to rule according to his commands, while prudence and courage excel in highest degree. And above all, religion, turned into frenzy by the heathen and the Moor, takes a prominent place in his work, so that Church of Christ may now penetrate with more glorious rays where they braved the infernal night with their thousands. And they also made their church message to be proclaimed in Tamil, with letters not hitherto seen by us in print. Holy Zion builds on that foreign tongue (the curse of the Tower of Babel), and now it serves as a blessing.

Take courage, Ceylon, take courage! Baldaeus who edified and comforted you serves you in Holland to the utmost of his powers. He who was so dearly attached to you, even more strongly than the sweet flavour of your cinnamon, will never leave nor forsake you. He not only worked with indefatigable zeal in your district and fortiess, but now does so at Geervliet entirely in your best interests. Neither time nor place can bind pure love!

We behold here the day that has dawned in the East to the joy of every living being, more happily and flagrantly revived for you with the everlasting fountain of all light. We behold you more enlightened than at dawn of day. We see the blessing of our richly-laden fleets; now richly laden with treasures which are not mercenary like the gold of Ophir, poured out into our laps, viz:- the unfathomable good of the everlasting happiness of souls. So can the reader of this not only build a church in the East, but through the efforts of many readers together all can build churches.

May each and every one truly say: "Long may he live to render such service in the cause of freedom, and particularly in the service of the Kingdom of Christ!"

J. VOLLENHOVE

TEXT

A

True and Exact Description

OF THE

Great Island

OF

CEYLON

Chapter One

Ceylon its situation, Extent and first Settlement

THE Island of Ceylon described by Joannes Barrius¹ as the Ceylon. ancient Taprobana,² was, owing to the City of Ceylon and its extent of land lying on the same island, recognised under that name by the Portugezen and also by all foreigners, but the inhabitants of the Island called it Lankawn.³

Ceylon situated between 6 and 10 degrees to the north of the Its situation. Equator was formerly 400 miles in extent, but the sea had made such inroads on it that it washed away about 40 miles of land on its northern extremity (as will be shown in the description of Manaar) so that it seems to be beyond all doubt that Ceylon was in ancient times connected with the adjacent coast.

2. Taprobana was the name by which Ceylon was known to the Greeks and Romans. The word probably derives from the Pali 'tambapanni' or 'copper coloured'.

3. Lankawn. So spelt in the original Dutch edition. The final 'n' is perhaps a misprint for 'a'.

^{1.} Joao de Barros, a Portuguese historian of the 16th century who compiled a history of the Portuguese in Asia. His three books or *Decads* covered the period from the "discovery" of India by Vasco da Gama in 1497 to 1526. (See J.R.A.S.C.B. Vol. XX).

In shape it is not so oviform, as (Petrus Maffaeus) would have it) but is much more like a Ham, and it is for this reason that the Out-Fort of Jafnapatan is called by the Nederlanders Hammen-hiel.

Extent.

Kingdoms Principalities there existing.

[p. 2]

Maffaeus proceeds to say, that it embraces an extent of 240 miles, being 78 in length and 44 in breadth. But our Nederlanders who are now in peaceful possession of it after the conquest of Columbo, Manaar and Jafnapatan in the years 1656 and 1658 have ascertained that it is 360 miles in circumference. It has many fine harbours, towns and defences, and is divided into several kingdoms and principalities, as is to be seen by the titles which the Emperor bears, styling himself Raja Singa Emperor of Cevlon. King of Candea, Ccta, Ceytavaca, Dambadan, Amorayapore, Jafnapatan, Prince of Uva, Mature, Dinavaca, the Four Corles. Grand Duke of the 7 Corles, Matale, Count of Cotiar, Trinquelemale, Batecalo, Velase, Vintana, Drembra, Panciapato, Veta, Putelaon, Vallare, Gale, Belligaon, Marquis of Duranura, Ratienura, Tripane. Acciapato, Lord of the havens of Alican, Columbo, Negombo. Chilau, Madampe, Calpentyn, Aripiture, Manaar, and of the Fisheries of the Gems and Pearls, Lord of the Golden Sun.

These places will be noticed hereafter (as well as many other considerable stations) when we come to describe the different sieges.

The Island of Ceylon has many fine rivers, as those of Chilau, Negombo, Matual, Columbo, Alican, Mature, Batecalo, Trinquelemale, etc. some of which empty into the sea, and the course of some is obstructed at the beach by the sand but cleared and reopened at the termination of the monsoon. It is rich in various gems, and the soil is extremely fertile particularly in the growth of Caneel² and Cardamom. The Ceylon elephant is perhaps the finest in all India. These and all matters relating to its natural history will be noticed hereafter in the proper places.

The Chinezen are supposed to have been the first Nation who settled in Ceylon in ancient times. The tradition runs thus.3 **DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON**

Certain Chinezen who were cruising along the Ceylon coast The were shipwrecked and their junks were driven ashore, and it is were the first believed that when the nation of the Island inquired of them as settlers, to their origin and seat of empire they alleged that their sovereign suffered was the son of the sun, which, it will be observed, was an object shipwreck of veneration with the nation of Ceylon also. The Malabaren call their deity Eswara from the Moon's reclining on him and deriving all her brightness from Him. On hearing their story, Their Chief the Chinezen had not only their lives spared them, but the chief himself of the junks was, by unanimous consent of the inhabitants Ceylon. proclaimed their King.

made King of

From him there sprang the race of the Kings of this Island, Subsequent (who bore the Title of Lord of the Golden Sun), and of the Emperor nobles desand great nobles. They called this first Chinezen King well cended from beloved Son of the Sun who is ever active. Of him sprang Lankauw Pati Mchadascyn signifying well beloved great Lord of the whole Island, he begot another son who was named Lankauw Singe Mahadascyn meaning the Lion of the well beloved Island, this prince had a son named Marasinge Mahadascyn, or well beloved Lion Slaver. The latter dying left 2 sons, the one called Lankauw Patti Mahastane or the Apple of the eye of the whole Land, and the other Radiora Adascyn, that is well beloved King who after the demise of his father Marasinge Mahadascyn was at variance with his brother and carried on many heavy and bloody wars, but without, however, obtaining an ascendancy over him, when Radiora Adascyn retained the Kingdom of Candy in his power and his brother held the sway of the other realms and manors.

These two Kings had many sons and daughters who were all in the life-time of their father secured in their possessions, the eldest sons being considered the chief head of the family, and the younger were bound under an oath to pay them all duty and obedience. Lankauw Patti Mahastane died at the age of 70 years and his eldest son Marandonna Madgora (you shall kill the Apple of the eve) having succeeded to the throne took up arms against his father's brothers and this feud eventually terminated in a peace, by the marriage of Malabande Wandige (or Eerst-ziende Koninginne) to the son of Marandonne Mahastane (or Eerstziende Koning).

A Dutch cartographer of the East.

i. e. Cinnamon.

The tradition that Ceylon was first colonised by Chinese was an error first circulated by Portuguese writers. It persisted well into the 17th century and even Knox records it in his book. As Ferguson remarks, this error accounts for the early illustrations in Baldaeus' work representing the Sinhalese and their buildings with a purely Chinese aspect.

From this union sprang many daughters and a posthumous son named Fimala Darma Soria Adascyn which means vou shall subdue the whole Kingdom and the sequel would show that he made himself master of the whole Island, thus proving the truth of what his name indicated. On his coming to years of discretion. he not only declared all those who would not submit to his sway his enemies, but he took up arms in a hostile manner against them, and the consequence was, that the other kings and princes allied themselves together, in order to defend their righteous cause. They met Fimala in person and endeavoured to resist his power, but Fimala having finally subdued them, destroyed all their great and eminent men who proved refractory and rebellious to his rule and appointed his favourites in their stead. He carried away with him as spoil, his sister's daughter Rokech Wandige or beautiful Oueen whom he married and by whom he had afterwards many sons and daughters and it is from these that the later kings and princes are descended.1

Chapter Two

First Arrival of the Portuguese under Laurentius Almeyda.

Portugezen under Laurentius Almeyda in Ceylon. [p. 3]

URING this contention, it fell out that Laurentius Almevda, by command of his father gave chase to the fugitive Moors who fled from Malacca and Sumatra through the Maldiven to Arabien.² These Portugezen who were a very shrewd and cunning set of people and like skilful fishers who know that good draughts can be hauled in troubled water, took advantage of these civil wars that were going on to secure to themselves. the treasures, riches and conquest of the entire Island. After severe and bloody struggles they at length became masters of the best cinnamon lands, and exported a vast quantity of that

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spice yearly, not however without great risk of losing their lives, and of enduring a great deal of apprehension, annoyance and opposition on the part of the natives, and this opposition was strongest in the time of Raja Singa Adascvn who was the most powerful and unrelenting adversary they ever had.

Raja Singa Adascyn1 was the son of a king and nephew of Raja Singa the King of Cotta, although I have heard it said by the Portugezen attacks them. and by my own people (Nederlanders) while I resided in Ceylon, that he was a barber, and was skilled in different languages. Raja Singa Adascyn succeeded to the crown while very young. Military glory was his ruling passion and he was so successful in his wars that in a very short time he reduced the entire Island under his sway and no sooner was he crowned Emperor than he beheaded all the great men of the state and appointed others in their stead.

Being a great enemy of the Portugezen he laid siege to, and Besieges so encompassed the Fort of Columbo with a powerful army, that the beseiged suffered extremes from the want of provisions. The Portugezen soldiers seeing themselves reduced to such narrow Revolt of straits and well knowing that their Governor will not listen to Portugesche surrender, resolved that in the absence of relief from Goa, or elsewhere, within 8 days more, they should put to death their* lords and masters, and then throw themselves on the generosity and protection of Raja Singa. Their plot was discovered to the Governor by a page of his, and even the offensive language made use by the rebellious soldiers was disclosed, which in substance ran thus, "Ben Servimos" (that is in a jeering way) We have fine work here, "Mal Merendamo", though without a good supper, "Pois filhos de put as que esperamos" well now vou sons of a whore what can we expect (for so they complimented each other amongst themselves and these words dwelt on their tongues as a dead load) whereupon another said, "esperamos Oito dies que nossos amos vaon dormir en entaon vamos" that is wait but another 8 days, until our friends go to bed and then we shall get through this business.

The Governor and Council cautiously watched their move- The Governor ments, endeavouring with all kindness to bring them to a sense tries to quiet

^{1.} This account of the early Kings of Cevlon is too confused to be of much use. It would appear however to be a record of then existing traditions on the subject.

Lourenco de Almeida, son of the first Portuguese Viceroy of India arrived in Ceylon in 1505 A.D.

^{1.} Rajasingha I, King of Sitawaka from 1582 to 1592 A.D. Baldaeus' statement that he "succeeded to the crown while very young" is not correct. Rajasingha was however associated from his youth with the campaigns of his father Mayadunne against the Portuguese.

Columbo relieved by the Portugez-

Raja Singa defeated.

Raja Singa expels the lawful Empercyn.

Who scatters treasures and iewels along the road.

And Vinne Lamantia is appointed over certain areas.

tia takes up arms against [p. 4] Is named Vinne Ladurma Soria. Delight of the Portugezen over this discord.

Raia Singa plans to regain power.

of their duty and obedience, but in a short time however relief arrived from Goa and other places both in provisions and reinen from Goa. forcements which obliged the Emperor to raise the siege, and after a vain endeavour to attack with his ships the Portuguese Fleet the latter favoured by a good breeze evaded the Cingalezen and anchored close to the Fort of Columbo. Thus was Rajaas completely thwarted.

Raja Singa Adascyn being now sole master of the whole Kingdom excepting Gala and Columbo expelled its lawful sovereign or Mahadas- Mahadascyn1 from his possessions so that it is not known what had become of him. Mahadascyn on being himself thus persecuted caused his boxes and chests to be opened and his treasures and jewels to be scattered all along the way after him, so that his pursuers being captivated by these treasures forgot to pursue him further. Raja Singa being now sole lord and master of the Island, appointed as manager over the upper lands one of his orincipal councillors named Vinne Lamantia (Unwearied Councillor).2 This councillor was father to Don Jan3 who was subsequently Vinne Laman- Emperor. Vinne Lamantia took up arms against the Emperor Raja Singa and a great many persons flocked to his standard who Raja Singa. were exasperated with the atrocities of the tyrant and Lamantia soon constituted himself King and, with the consent of the nation, Emperor under the appellation of Vinne Ladarma Soria that is * Saviour of the Kingdom.

> The Portugezen rejoiced over this protracted war, as affording them time for respiration without however giving the ascendency to Raja Singa who considered it prudent to enter into a sham contract with Vinne Ladarma Soria, promising him all the jewels and other valuables which he became possessed of during the war with the Emperor Mahadascyn, on condition that the Raja was

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acknowledged the supreme ruler and Emperor.

In the meantime while this peace was concluded Vinne Vinne Ladarma begot a son who was named after his father, and who invited by subsequently became Emperor. When the child was a year old Raja Singa Raja Singa had the father of the child, by various means and strategy decoyed to his Court at Candy (not however without some opposition and fear on the part of his Vinne Ladarma's courtiers in Candy that some snare or other was intended him as the result Senarated manifests). On Vinne Ladarma's arrival at Raja's Court, he from his had to pass several enclosures and partitions which Raja had and produced caused to be made, here he was laid hold of and separated from before his retinue, and brought a prisoner before Raja Singa who caused and comes to him to be buried breast deep in a hole dug in the earth and in whose a miserable presence his head was pelted at with wooden balls, so that after much acute suffering, he died. His Lords and adherents after undergoing many torments, were also put to death.

to the Palace.

Raja then proceeded to Candy and soon subdued it — he Raja Singa made slaves of all the inhabitants without discrimination (the advances on nobles as well as the common people), and divested them of all he conquers. their arms to prevent a rebellion against him. He also made making slaves prisoners of the Empress and her children and very austerely inhabitants. enquired of her (as if he had been a great sorcerer) the precise [p. 5] time at which her children were born respectively. The Empress, who had already been made acquainted with their horoscopes, replied that she could not possibly give that information as those writings were lost during this contention.

The Cingalezen were now oppressed and very hardly dealt Cingalezen, with by this tyrant, they were obliged to carry earth on their enslaved by heads and to assist in the building of the fort and defence at Raja Singa, Settavacca¹ a distant neck of land. Impatient of this tyranny resolve to negotiate and oppression they were determined to shake off the yoke, and with the with this view they negotiated with the Portugezen, whose protection and assistance were readily secured. The Portugezen on this application being made to them despatched Andreas Furtado a Furtado celebrated man with a respectable force to Jafnapatan. Andreas marches made a sudden attack on the town and carried it by storm, and Candy and made prisoner of the King, and intended to press on towards takes it by

^{1.} Mayadunne, King of Sitawaka 1521 to 1582. Contemporary writers such as do Couto, Linschoten, Spilbergen and the Culavamsa record that Rajasingha murdered his father for the throne. This appears unlikely as Mayadunne was well over 80 years in 1582 and the real power in the kingdom had in fact passed to his son long before his death.

i. e. Virasundara of Peradeniya, a Kandyan Chief who assisted Rajasingha I, in his successful war against the Kandyan Kingdom in 1582. Shortly after annexing Kandy, Rajasingha put Virasundara to death.

^{3.} Konappu Bandara, son of the murdered Chief Virasundara of Peradeniya fled to the Portuguese on his father's death and was baptised a Christian under the name of Don Juan of Austria. He subsequently became King of Kandy as Vimala Dharma Suriya I. (1592-1604).

^{1.} i. e. Sitawaka, Rajasingha's capital on the banks of the Kelani River about 35 miles from Colombo.

The Execution of Virasundara by Rajasingha I

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

Candy for the relief of its oppressed inhabitants as though with the joint aid of the captive King.

Candynezen much puzzled at this.

Those in Candy were now much surprised at the sudden interposition of the Portugezen or Parangijs¹ as they term the foreigners, inasmuch as they had not till then entered into any sort of definitive agreement or contract with them, fearing lest they might be oppressed the more and it was not until some time after, that they found to their cost, that the remedy applied instead of healing the complaint only aggravated it the more.

Furtado prudently reassures them.

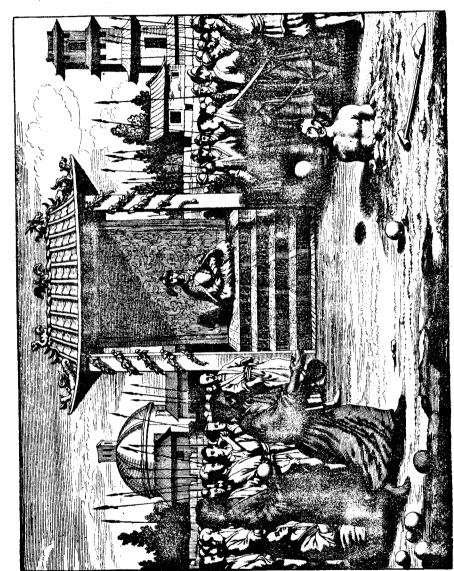
The witty and ingenious Admiral Don Andreas Furtado. anticipating what their feelings would be, thought it proper to transfer to Candy the nephew of Don Jan and Dona Catharina.2 both being royal children, natives by birth, brought up and initiated in the Roman faith, in order the better to reconcile their prejudices and allay the ferment of their minds, and thus they sought to induce them to make common interest with them. They appointed the nephew of Dona Catharina King, and he was baptized by the name of Don Philippus.3 They also made Don Jan Commander in Chief, leaving Dona Catharina, daughter of the lawful, but ejected Emperor Mahadascyn, and heiress apparent to the crown, at Manaar. This state of affairs was privately communicated to the principal inhabitants of Candy, and a promise was held out to them, that they would be freed from the servile yoke of their tyrant king. This proposition the people accepted on condition of common protection against the fury of the Emperor Raja Singa Adascyn.

Makes Don Philipo King and Don Jan Commander in Chief.

When the tyrant was informed of these proceedings he marched with a powerful army with all speed to *Jafnapatan* to prevent the advance of the *Portugezen* to *Candy* imagining that having deprived its inhabitants of all the means of resistance they could no longer dispute or oppose his authority — but

Raja Singa marches to Jafnapatan.

3. See note 2 above.



^{1.} The word is derived from "ferringhi" a corruption of the word "Franks" to which people it was originally applied by the Turks and Arabs during the Crusades. Later it was applied to the Portuguese in India.

^{2.} When Rajasingha I annexed the Kandyan Kingdom in 1582, the dispossessed king Karaliadde Bandara fled to the Portuguese at Mannar. Before his death of small-pox shortly after, he entrusted to them his nephew and heir Yamasingha and his infant daughter. These two children were baptised by the Portuguese and renamed Don Phillip and Dona Catharina. It was to install the former on the throne that the Portuguese expedition was made to Kandy in 1592.

however before he reached Jafnapatan, the Portugezen were already in Candy and the moment they entered the town, they crowned Don Phillippo king, and appointed Don Jan Commander in Chief under the express condition that they should both marry and have Portugesche women for their wives, and that the inhabitants should swear allegiance and pay homage to the King of Portugal.

Don Jan's hatred of the Portugezen.

When Don Jan perceived that Don Philippo was more highly favoured by the Portugezen than himself, he conceived a mortal hatred against him, but prudently concealed this within himself and continued to discharge all the duties of his high station. until an opportunity was afforded him for revenge. The City of Candy was the same time made so strong and so well fortified. that Raia Singa Adascyn could neither venture to take possession. or undertake any expedition against it. The Imperial Palace was rebuilt by Don Jan (for it was razed to the ground by Raja Singa) for the residence of the new King Don Philippo. In the meantime Don Jan consulted a magician as to the best manner of dispatching the new King Don Philippo by poison—and this design was duly carried into execution.

Chapter Three

Don Philippo poisoned. Don Jan becomes Emperor. He defeats Raja Singa who dies shortly after. His private secretary Janiere takes the field against Don Jan.

The Portugezen build a Fort. [p. 6]

Don Philippo conducted to Candy.

HE Portugezen in the meantime erected a strong Fort at Gannoor¹ to oppose the advance of Raja Singa who however made his appearance there with a formidable army. The Portugezen finding themselves unequal to resist his power dispatched Captain Joan de Melo and some of their ecclesiastics with a strong convoy to Manaar for reinforcements, and also for arms for the inhabitants, of which they had been deprived by Raja Singa, but prior to their departure they transported the King Don

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Philippo to the capital of Candy with great pomp and parade. This proceeding gave much satisfaction to its inhabitants, who imagined that they were for ever released from their bondage.

Don Jan observing that the major part of the Portugezen Don Philippo had gone, such was the impetuosity of his ambition that he in concert with another dispatched Don Philippo at once, without waiting for the slow working of the poison which had been administered to him. A very great number of people also flocked to his standard in the hope of obtaining full freedom.

The Portugezen, on being apprized of Don Jan's act, dispatched several posts to Manaar with the intelligence that Don Philippus was murdered, and that much people had gone over to the army of Don Jan — and requested Jan de Melo to return to their fortification with all possible speed as they were then in a perilous situation owing to the mortal hatred which Don Jan had conceived against them. Don Jan having caused the roads to be intercepted, detained the Portugesche messengers and by all fair words and promises succeeded in gaining them over to his side, so that those in Candy recognised him as their Emperor, and gave him the name of his father Vinne Ladarma Soria,2 whom Raja Singa had caused to be buried alive, and then dispatched by means of wooden balls hurled at his head.

Don Jan being now acknowledged and recognised as Emperor Don Jan refused all countenance and friendship to the Portugezen and becomes through a herald called upon those who were still at Gannoor forces th to disband themselves within 5 or 6 days as it was his determination to exercise his authority over his possessions as supreme ruler and that in case they refused compliance with his orders, he would altogether extirpate them as faithless traitors and perjurers; seeking by all foul means and stratagem to wrest the country from the hands of its legitimate owners. The Portugezen perceiving their inability to cope with the Imperial arms considered it advisable to evacuate their stronghold in favour of Don Jan and on the surrender of the fort to Don Jan, they were permitted to withdraw themselves with their side arms only, leaving behind them the baggage and all their booty.

^{1.} i. e. Gannoruwa.

^{1.} Vimala Dharma Suriya, King of Kandy 1592-1604 A.D.

Don Jan de Melo arrives with succour.

On the day following the surrender Don Jan de Melo arrived with the expected succour, but it was unfortunate, for some of the Portugezen had entered the service of Don Jan and had sworn allegiance to him (as did all his other subjects). In the meantime Raia Singa assembled all his forces together and was pushing towards the capital of Candy, bent upon devastating the country and of indiscriminately putting all the inhabitants to the sword.

The Emperor takes the field against Raja Singa.

When this rumour reached Don Jan he was somewhat at a loss and disconcerted as he had been deprived of the aid of the Portugezen and more deeply did he feel his want, when he learnt that the enemy's force had already advanced as far as the country of Ouatre Corles.1 But nevertheless, having gathered all his people, and having taken their oath faithfully to stand by him in his defence he gave directions to all those who had been deprived of their firearms to equip themselves with bows and arrows of the areek tree, charring their points or edges in order to render them the more tough. Thus prepared he led his army into the field to meet Raja Singa who then lay encamped at Walane,2 Raja Singa who was so unprepared to witness such bravery and prowess on the part of Don Jan came forward and addressing Don Jan said that he had much better recollect the example he had made of his father Vinne Ladarma Soria, and that unless he submits and sues for mercy he would sever him limb from limb.

Raja Singa's boldness.

> Whereupon Don Jan with a reproachful laugh replied that he Raja Singa would not be able to carry his threats into execution for as much he Don Jan was not then in his hands. Truly it might well be said here as the King of Israel said of old, to Benhadad the King of the Syriens, "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that pulleth it off." For so it fared with Raja Singa. Don Jan further added, that if his father had been less confiding in him (as he had intended), he Raja Singa could not have treated him in the way he did, and that it was his father's death that he was now going to be avenged of to the uttermost. He further admonished Raja Singa to submit himself to his sway.

The Emperor's valour. (p. 7)

The inhabitants in like manner assured Raja Singa that they des-

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pised him and were not disposed to submit themselves to his tyranny any longer, and that they would revenge his cruelties: even their women clamourously shouted forth that they would crush his head with their rice pounders for the butchery of their children.

Raja Singa on hearing this scornful reproach was fired with Raja Singa indignation, and said "whoever he might be that dares to dispute my authority, will yet repay it with his life." He then led on his forces and made an unexpected rush upon Don Jan. The attempt proved abortive for Don Jan was so well prepared to receive him, that notwithstanding the inferiority of his forces (which he took care to conceal from the enemy) he returned Raja Singa's charge with great effect. Boldly did he make his appearance in the field with all the insignia of imperial power, having sombrevros or sun-shades borne over his head, namely 2 white rondeelen and one round white shield, just as were used by the Commander of Jafnapatan, it being an ancient custom of that Kingdom. The Company succeeded to these rights in 1658 when they took the place from the Portugezen.

Jan repelled his first charge, with a resolution either to conquer amazed at or die, was surprised at the coolness and intrepedity which Don intrepidity. Jan had displayed on this occasion, that he, Raja Singa exclaimed, "Of a truth he is a warrior possessed of courage, fortune favours him too, he will yet become Emperor, for never was there one so daring against me." He then further burst out in this doleful plaint: "Oh Raja Singa, where is your house now, your state and grandeur, your courage surpassed by none? The wheel of fortune is turned over, and another steps into my government, where am I? Where is my lineage? How to hold up my head? Oh fortune why runnest thus so counter to thy favourite, on whom thou heretofore has deigned to smile? Fie, fie, Raja Singa, what adversity has now befallen you?" Don Jan now closed in upon the enemy and encountered them in admirable style, and falling back a few paces in order to evade the first fury of the enemy's He is

Raja Singa was so struck with the bravery with which Don Raja Singa

charge he pressed forward with such determined courage that defeated and put to flight.

Raja Singa's force was soon obliged to give way. Don Jan was seen in every part of the field at the head of his bodyguards

The Four Korales.

Balana, the pass leading into the Hill Country near the modern Kadugannawa.

and put to flight despite his best efforts to rally and encourage his men

The victorious Don Jan pursued the fugitive enemy and put to the sword all those within his reach, and many arms also came into his possession, which the enemy had dropped in the confusion of their flight. These successes gave great encouragement to his men. He then returned in triumph to Candy which was thus relieved of Raja's tyranny. Here he lived for some time in comparative ease and tranquillity. The loss on Raja's side amounted to 3000 men, and on Don Jan's to 700.

Raja Singa's distress over

his defeat.

This defeat was so keenly felt by Raja Singa and he was so exasperated that he thrust his foot against a sharp thorn, and wounded himself, preferring death to dishonour. He then came to Settevaca, and never left the room of his palace. He did not even permit his wound to be dressed and the consequence was treatment and that it brought on a mortification which eventually cost him his life.

Iniured by a splinter he refuses [p. 8]

No regret for his cruelties and the burning of some priests, and the reason therefor.

Priests of Paraneydeyo spared.

He never regretted the cruelties he had perpetrated, save the burning of the Priests of Daldowanze,1 which is ascribed to the following cause. After he had made away with his uncle, mother-in-law, and his brother, he asked these priests, if there was no forgiveness of sins to such a person, and when the priests frankly told him that there was not, the Emperor in a fit of passion exclaimed, "well, then, I see I may do anything I please." He then caused these priests to be assembled in a house which was ordered to be set fire to, with the exception of one, who is by the Cingalezen designated Tireanco,2 (that is, nearest to God). After this piece of barbarity had been perpetrated he sent for the Priests of Paraneydeyo,3 and put the same question to them, which had been put to the other, and these priests awed by the example that had been made of their brethren, replied, that such a person

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cannot enter heaven, but if he feels compunction and regret, that by their prayers and intercessions, he would be held in suspension, hovering between the wide space of heaven and earth, and be freed from the plagues of the devil. This answer somewhat restored the Raja's peace of mind, and saved the lives of the priests, to whom he now paid great honour and addressed them as follows "Your brethren the Priests of Daldowanze told me that God was bad, and I have therefore destroyed them, but as you say that he is good and forebearing, I shall always look upon you as my friends." Prior to his death he implored the surviving Asks forgivepriests to forgive the inhuman butchery he had made of their ness of the surviving brethren. He also offered them very valuable presents, which Priests. the priests declined to accept, but they forgave him the misdeed he had committed against their brethren and themselves. He then went to Candy where he was well received, and died at the advanced age of 120 years.1

No sooner had the tidings of Raja's death reached Don Jan, Raja Singa's than he assembled his forces with the intent of subjecting the Private Secreentire Kingdom to his sway. But the Private Secretary of Raja his treasures Singa had been also for a long time aspiring to the crown, and and assumes having now become possessed of all the treasure of the deceased under the monarch, he assumed the crown, styling himself Janiere Wandaar.2 name Janiere But a consciousness of his inability to compete with Don Jan induced him to solicit the aid of the Portugezen with whom he He makes entered into a league. The Portuguese shortly after (with the advances to hope of ultimately subduing the Island under the dominion of the gezen. King of Portugaal) despatched their General Pedro Lopes de Susa from Goa with a force of 12,500 whites, besides the mystice³ (or They assemble a large mixed band) and other Indians, but before their arrival the force. King Janiere Wandaar had with the assistance of the Portuguese at Gale and Columbo already mastered most of the low countries or lands. Don Jan, who lay encamped at Walane, finding

Wandaar.

^{1.} The Buddhist clergy. Baldaeus' refers to them as Daldowanse as the Sangha in his own time were those having as their chief temple the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy. The priests whom Rajasingha had murdered were those from Sitawaka and the real reason would appear to be not that given by Baldaeus above but that they were involved in a political plot to oust the King. See Culavamsa Ch. 93 and Pieris, Portuguese

Terunnanse or High Priest.

The "Old Gods"—Rajasingha favoured the Saivites after renouncing 14

^{1.} Baldaeus' figure appears incorrect though Rajasingha was an old man at his death.

Jayavira Bandara. On Rajasingha's death, the most powerful figure in Sitawaka was his Indian General Aritta Kivendu Perumal or Mannamperuma Mohottala. On the failure of his attempt to secure the throne of Sitawaka, he allied himself with the Portuguese and raised a rebellion, taking on the title of Jayavira Bandara. The rebellion failed.

^{3.} i. e. Mixed. The offspring of mixed marriages.

himself unable to prevent it, awaited the arrival of the Portugezen Army in great trepidation.

Pedro Lopes seizes the Low Country lands.

When Pedro Lopes was informed that the Low Lands were already conquered, and when he found that there was but little advantage to be gained which could add to the glory of his name (as he considered the capture of the Low Lands of equal if not of greater importance) he resolved to withdraw his forces. In this however he was opposed by the other commanders, who stated that it was at Candy they were to look for most profit and advantage, and that it was with this view that it had behoved them therefore first to reduce the power of the minor princes. which they have done, both by force of arms and by treaty, Pedro Lopes being now satisfied with the wisdom and policy which guided the others, jointly took the field with them, against Don Jan.

Totals of men and beasts in Janiere's armv.

[p. 9]

The King of Cotta brought to the field 6800 men, 4 war elephants 50 alias, (or untusked elephants) 1800 baggage oxen and 1000 colys or labourers. The King Janiere Wandaar Ragora 28, 980 armed men, 24 fighting elephants, 200 alias, 5000 baggage oxen, and 3000 coolies. The King of Jafnapatam contributed 19,900 men, 10 war elephants, 40 alias, 3000 draft oxen, 2000 colys or labourers. The King of Cotiar, 7980 men, 600 colys, 1000 oxen, 30 war elephants, 25 alias. The King of Palagan 5890 men, 1000 colys, 25 alias, 3 war elephants. The King of Batecalo 9800 men of war, 2000 colys, 2500 oxen, 4 war elephants and 30 alias. The King of Panua with the other Princes, brought jointly 59,896 men, 2140 colys, 630 alias 16,000 oxen, so that the entire army consisted of -

151,086 heads, of which there were 139,346 men of war 11,740 colys or labourers with 75 war elephants 1000 alias (or untusked elephants) 28,500 baggage oxen.

Strength of Pedro Lopes' army.

The army of General Pedro Lopes consisted of 1474 whites, 1280 mixed or misticen and 1224 natives of the country. He had also 47 war elephants, 945 alias, 19,900 oxen to carry the baggages. He marched this stately army together to the capital of Candy erecting as they went on for security's sake defences at Manikeroweri, Mapati and Gannatari,1

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Chapter Four

Don Jan takes the field against Janiere and the Portuguese. He defeats their army and is himself at length repulsed and loses Walane. Dona Catherina declared Empress. Janiere assassinated.

HEN the Emperor Don Jan heard that the king of the Don Jan low countries and the *Portugezen* were on their march *Portugezen* against him, he began to be very apprehensive as attack. he well knew he could not lead into the field more than 30 or 40 thousand men. He nevertheless awaited their arrival with great resolution and repulsed them twice with great slaughter. But the Portugezen made another desperate Meets them effort for the third time falling on the enemy with great fury a reverse and and took possession of the city of Walane (though not without loses Walane. much resistance however) with a loss of 49 of their men, and 1500 of the inhabitants. They also took possession of the lands in more remote situations without opposition, except Dolleswagge1 which they could not conquer.

Don Jan now with his Empress sought refuge in the Candy Flight of Don iungles and where his enemies could not so easily overtake him, Empress to subsisting himself on fruits and herbs. The Portugezen having the jungles. now these lands in their power determined that the inhabitants should swear allegiance to the King of *Portugaal*, whereupon the nation earnestly solicited that Dona Catharina who was then at Dona Manaar may be made their Empress, she being the legitimate desired as daughter of their lawful King Mahadascvn.² To this solicitation Empress. General Don Pedro Lopes consented and King Janiere himself, whose opinion was taken on the point in like manner, acquiesced, buoyed up with the hope that for the services he Janiere had rendered the Portugezen he would ultimately succeed in espousing the Empress Dona Catharina, agreeably to promise.

^{1.} i. e. Menikkadavara, Mapitigama and Ganetenna.

i.e. Dolosbage in the present Sabaragamuwa Province.

Here the reference is to Karaliadde Bandara, King of Kandy who was dethroned by Rajasingha I in 1582.

Her departure from Manaar.

Portugesche ship wrecked.

A strong party was now detached to Manaar in order to escort Dona Catharina as Empress to Candy and a ship was at the same time ordered to set sail with 150 soldiers, many slaves, and 2 boxes of treasures. The ship was unfortunately lost in a storm, and one Portugees and two blacks alone survived to relate the woeful tale. When the commander of the ship, Louis Perere, saw that death was enevitable, he consoled himself it is said thus: "Ah! Don Louis Perere! Cabo de valiesse andais no mar pera morar? O Criste salva minha alma sendo vossa vontade assi que faremos?" That is, "Oh Louis Perere, Fount of Courage must thou then thus end thy life in the Sea? Christ save my soul! as it is thy will, who can dispute it?" In the meantime great preparations were made (at Manaar) to convey Dona Catharina in great state and splendour to Candy; when everything was thus ready for her departure and scarcely had she taken her seat in a costly palenqueen when its bamboo (or pole) gave way and the Empress considering the accident as a bad omen exclaimed "Wada, forbear and remove me not thus, for it portends a great calamity." The chief in command of Manaar and who was also to accompany the procession remonstrated with her Majesty and observed that as they were Christians and not heathens, they should not permit themselves to be unsettled by such trifles, that God would protect Her Majesty and that such ideas were merely fables and were not to be heeded in the least. The palenqueen being now refitted Her Majesty proceeded on her journey and after the lapse of eight days, arrived safely on the frontiers of Candy.

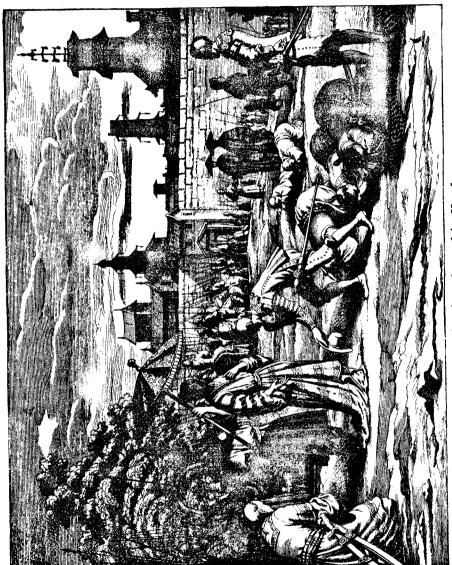
Dona Catarina alarmed at the breaking of the Palanquin pole.

Advised to continue. [p. 10]

Resumes her journey.

Conducted in great state to Candy.

General *Pedro Lopes* together with all the principal men of the state went a great way off to meet and conduct Her Majesty with all possible honour and when the General met her he paid his respects to Her Majesty kneeling on one knee, and by offering her his best wishes and congratulations to which the Queen in a few words returned him her thanks. All the other kings, princes and nobles of the lands also prostrated themselves on the ground and did her *sambaja*¹ or homage according to the fashion and custom of the country. She then resumed her seat in the palen-



D. W. Ferguson suggests that the word is evidently intended to represent the Sanskrit "sambhavana".

queen and was conveyed to Candy accompanied by General Lopes, and all the native kings, dukes and princes. As the procession moved on, gold and silver coins were scattered on the roads to obtain which the inhabitants scrambled in great numbers. The expense incurred on this occasion is estimated at 19 tons of gold, being the treasure of the deceased King Raja Singa Adascyn. Dona Catharina after an interval of three days rest was crowned with great pomp and all due solemnity (Empress of Candy). Thus was everything now restored to quiet and order, and the several princes returned to their respective provinces.

Crowned as Empress.

Pedro Lopes offers 20,000 Rix Dollars for capture of Don Jan.

Disguised as a beggar he comes to Candy and sets fire to many places. [p. 11]

Portugezen recklessness and oppression.

General Pedro Lopes reserved to himself 17 or 18 hundred men besides the Portugezen, setting a price on the life of Don Jan of not less than 10,000 pagodas, which is full 20,000 rix dollars. In the meantime Don Jan famished and greatly disfigured resorted in disguise to Candy as a beggar, and set fire to various places of the town, which soon burst out into flames. No sooner had the one fire been extinguished, than others were seen blazing in an opposite direction. This kind of conflagration lasted the whole night without their being able to discover the true source from which they sprung, despite all their best efforts.

The Portugezen finding themselves masters of the place could now scarcely restrain their innately selfish nature. They began so to oppress the inhabitants that complaints were made to the Empress but without redress. This state of things induced them to cut off all means of obtaining supplies. The General, and King Janiere Wandaar in order to thwart their intention dispatched 2000 Cingalezen and 1000 Portugezen to the Princedom of Oue1 for provision, they also detached 2000 natives with 2000 white Portugezen to Laleluya a place in the rear of Candy for supply of rice.

Gross wantonness.

Notwithstanding the generous hospitality shown by the inhabitants of Candy to the Portugesche troops, they grew insolent and troublesome and committed various acts of depredation, such as plundering their property, ravishing their women and killing their children and those who opposed their will, and

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also setting fire to several of their villages. The nation, no longer able to bear these aggressions and suspecting that the object of the Portugezen was to oppress them with a heavier Inhabitants voke than that of their own deceased monarch, convened a counter-meameeting and resolved wholly to annihilate the Portugezen in case sures. of further violence. For this purpose they entered into a league with the consent of the majority to carry the plot into effect at a stated period.

He is refused.

In the meantime King Janiere solicited Dona Catharina in Janiere seeks marriage at the hands of General Pedro Lopes. The latter Pedro the excused himself by saying that he could not sanction their union hand of the without the express permission of his lord and master the King marriage. of Portugaal, and that he (the General) would in requesting instructions from His Majesty on that matter befriend Janiere's suit. Janiere, who understood the drift of this evasion, then requested that he might have his sister's daughter for wife, which request was in like manner refused. On this Janiere conceived an inveterate hatred to the Portugezen and asked the General if Janiere enrathat was a fair return for all his faithful services, swearing that ged thereby. he would yet repent it. The General seeing King Janiere thus greatly disturbed addressed him in a kindlier tone thus, "My Lord King, deign to take this denial in good part, inasmuch, as He is it does not lie in my power, to bestow the hand of Dona Cutharina an Empress by birth, and heiress to the realm upon you who temptuously are but an usurper king and who had overpowered the country by means of the wealth of Raja Singa Adascyn. If therefore there are any other good offices besides which I can do for your Majesty, it shall fain be done." The King became more than Heated ever irritated at this remonstrance, and said, "I comprehend exchanges your reasonings well enough and could clearly see what passes two. across your minds eye, the sum and substance of your discourse is that you who are but a stranger have with my assistance accomplished all your schemes of ambition and now endeavour to trample me under foot", but recovering his self-possession he abruptly changed the topic of conversation. In the evening however he despatched a letter to Don Jan who then lay concealed Janiere writes in the jungle awaiting an opportunity to be reinstated in his and offers him kingdom. In this letter he gave a complete account of what had the Kingdom.

^{1.} i.e. Uva.

an agreement.

taken place between him and General Lopes and offered the Empire to Don Jan, on condition that he (Janiere) be allowed to They arrive at reign under him as king of the low countries. To this proposition Don Jan assented and they now privately resolved to rid the country of the Portugezen yoke by destroying them all for their perfidious acts.

Don Jan not

Don Jan who was now not slumbering or overconfident or dilatory in his movements communicated his views to the Candenezen¹ and the people of the adjacent countries. The latter, who had conceived a bitter feeling of disgust against the Portugezen on account of their injustice and oppression, were easily prevailed upon to swear fealty to him and it was agreed upon that they should muster all their forces and get themselves in readiness by the time that Janiere takes the field. Janiere was all this time on a secret correspondence with Don Jan and it so happened that some of his letters fell into the hands of the Portugezen who were much alarmed on hearing their contents, and began to apprehend that unless they consented to Janiere's union with Dona Catharina, they must expect to be ere long deprived of their possessions. This matter gave rise to much debate and dissension, and the Portugesche assembly were divided in their opinion. Some seemed to think that the marriage should be consummated rather than risk their possessions but others were of opinion that the union should not take place even if all were to be lost. They finally resolved to make away with Janiere under pretence that

[p. 12]

The Portugezen assembly discuss the matter.

Resolve to capture Janiere.

The Plan.

The murder accomplished.

It so happened that while Janiere was in company with the General and the other commanders were carrying on a friendly conversation the General asked the King for the loan of his krits2 which was beautifully ornamented with various precious stones, alleging it as a reason that he wanted it to have a similar one made for himself. Janiere who entertained no suspicion of any evil design, having been thus divested of his weapon of defence a Portugesche chief on a given sign and command of the General

he meditated the assassination of both the Empress and the

General, and for that purpose they produced forged documents

in order to give the matter weight and importance.



^{1.} Kandyans. 2. Krits. A Malay word meaning a dagger. Also spelt Kris.

planted a dagger in his heart, and then treacherously slaughtered many others of his retinue who were with him. The King's guards on hearing this bustle gave an alarm calling out, "haddv. haddy", which is "treachery, treachery", "Radjore Janiere marapue", "the King Janiere is murdered" whereupon they all took to their heels, and no one ever after adhered to and joined the Portugezen, except the King of Cota and his retinue who were not then acquainted with this villainous act of treachery.

[p. 13]

Portugezen inform Dona Catherina of Janiere's death.

words.

The Empress on being apprised by the Portugezen of Janiere's death, and also of what had induced them to perpetrate the bloody deed, she (though very young at this time) was far from being satisfied with this foul act, and said that though he had been a traitor, yet he ought not to have been thus murdered. but should have been kept in durance for life, or dragged before a lawful tribunal. "Believe me", she added, "that this deed of yours will be the cause of your own destruction, for all who hear of the fact will not only hold you in abhorrence but become your enemies and repose no further confidence in you. Oh! to what extremes have you reduced me, and caused so great a loss to your own King, be therefore on your guard for the result will tend to your cost, on account of your foolish deed, and the shameful manner in which you have rewarded the good services King Janiere had rendered to you." Truly a prophetic augury on the part of a semi-heathenish woman, for in the lapse of time, by the interposition of God's justice, this saying was fulfilled to the very letter.

Methinks I hear another Nebuzarhaddan speak in her, so true alas, and so complete was the fulfilment of her saying. In a short time the Portugezen were expelled from Batecalo, Gale, Columbo and Negombo and Jafnapatan, so that in fact, they had not a foot of ground to call their own. When all that scum of Portugual and that motley band were, so justly for their fornication, perfidy, perjury, murder, and villainous treachery, expelled and banished from the shores of Ceylon, with bleeding hearts did we behold the fallen captives pass the gates as prisoners, some limping from old age, and all exclaiming in their language, "Saon tres vezes", that is, "we are now for the third time disturbed in

our nests." Such incidents have we also witnessed for the fourth time at Cochin.1

Is it then to be doubted, that God can in a similar manner shower his wrath upon us, sweep us off with the broom of perdition, and cause us to be spewed out from this beautiful country, when we no longer have at heart His Honour and Glory? Nor will it be sufficient for us to go on conquering cities and towns without an endeavour on our part to advance the cause and interest of Christ and of His Kingdom.

It behoves us therefore before we attempt to take possession of a place to take our recourse to God and supplicate his divine assistance, and after having subdued it, we ought never to be forgetful of His Honour, nor despise His holy ordinance as the veriest of heathens do, as if the Almighty will not in his own good time visit us with his displeasure. With respect to myself individually, having the Company's welfare at heart, I take heed lest such ungodling be brought home to us. What need is there for flattery here? B de la Casa, and other excellent men, from their zealous sense of duty and conscientiousness, have not tacitly overlooked the abominations of their own nation but we go astray of the prophetical saying of Dona Catharina. God grant, that it may be averted from us, and may the Island, which had been conquered by us after so much bloodshed, loss of property and time, long tend to serve as a blessed diadem to the Honourable Company.

Chapter Five

The Portugezen abandon Candy, are beaten by the Cingalezen. The Empress taken prisoner. Don Jan subdues the entire Kingdom and marries Dona Catharina. Jeronimo Oviedo routed.

THIS murder (of Janiere) tended greatly to the advantage Don Jan of Don Jan who took this opportunity of assuring the benefits by inhabitants, that unless they were then prepared to death. rid themselves of the Portugezen in whom confidence could now no longer be placed they would be subjected to worse

^{1.} Baldaeus evidently refers to the successful seige of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663.

slavery than they had undergone in the days of Raja Singa from whose tyranny he had rescued and delivered them. He assured them also that he was as yet willing to rescue them from their present bondage, and that this could now be easily effected as they had not altogether divested themselves of the means. This proposition was received with universal joy and the people promised to stand bravely by Don Jan as they had formerly done against Raja Singa.

The Portugezen quit Candy.

[p. 14]

When the Portugezen were informed that Don Jan had assembled a large force which was on their march to Candy. they repented of their past foolish acts, and wished that the murder of Janiere had never been attempted. Being thus sufficiently conscious of their approaching ruin they evacuated the city of Candy and took refuge in the fort of Ganoor, sending various messengers to Columbo for reinforcements.

The Cingalezen attack and of them.

The Cingalezen on learning the flight of the Portugezen became more embittered against them, and slew some of those, who had mutilate some then returned as they said from Goa and Halmalmia with provisions. and sent 50 others mutilated (their noses, ears, and some of their more delicate organs being cut off) in revenge for the insult and violence offered by them to their wives and daughters to communicate to their comrades that impending ruin was inevitable. The Portugezen finding themselves in such narrow straits with little or no relief at hand, resolved to quit Ganoor for Walene and this they did on a Sunday in the year 1590 after setting fire to the place, so as to be able to effect a safer retreat, but the Cingalezen being made acquainted of this movement by their spies they were beset on all sides and attacked with great fury. The Portugezen finding themselves so completely surrounded, defended themselves with great ability, but were eventually routed, and many Portugesche soldiers and chiefs were taken prisoned amongst whom were General Pedro Lopes and his son, the Empress Dona Catharina, and a number of their faithful subjects. The General died of his wounds on the third day, having previously commended his son to the care and protection of Don Jan who according to his promise sent him to Columbo. The Candenezen acquired much booty in this battle, of small arms and metal guns, which went far to strengthen Don Jan's force.

Portugezen. finally defeated.

The Empress and the General are captured.

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Don Jan while prosecuting his victory, in a short time reduced Don Jan all the adjacent forts and defences of the Portugezen, taking whole some by storm and leaving none alive there, and others by treaty. country. The neighbouring kings and princes hearing of his prowess came of their own accord to meet him, bringing with them many presents in token of their submission and did sambay to him after their manner by prostrating themselves with folded hands on the ground, and imploring his forgiveness for the aid which they had rendered to the Portugezen. Don Jan having now settled everything satisfactorily and re-established himself on the throne, married Dona Catharina who was then but 10 or 12 years old, Marries Dona in order the better to secure his country against such a malevolent enemy. The marriage was celebrated with great magnificence and rejoicing, the festivities were continued for 110 days at an expense of 5005 pagodas, besides that contributed by the inhabitants according to the usage of the country. Various were also the gifts made by the Emperor to the inhabitants and many notabilities were promoted to offices of great honour as a reward for former services. He also made them grants of lands and manors the better to secure their good will, so that all the gifts bestowed on this occasion as shown by an account kept amounted to 968,754 pagodas1 making according to our rule of calculation 43,595,383 guilders.

Don Jan also fortified his country with three new fortresses. and erected a new palace with ramparts, besides various other new buildings at which the Portugezen prisoners were obliged to work. [p. 15] He also displayed round about his palace the captured Portugezen banners and ensigns in commemoration of his notable conquests.

After he had achieved this victory, he ruled over his posses- Jeronimus sions very peaceably for a considerable length of time, until the d'Oviedo in arrival of Don Jeronimo d'Oviedo2 as General in Ceylon who devised many schemes for the total subjection of the Island under the directions of the King of Spain. A formidable army of the

^{1.} Pagodas. The value of a pagoda varied. At this period says Anthonisz, it seems to have been rated at 120 stuivers or 2 reals. The real a Spanish coin was equivalent to a rix-dollar which was valued at 1sh. 6d.

Don Jeronimo de Azavedo, Governor of Ceylon from 1594 to 1612 was possibly the ablest military leader of the Portuguese in Ceylon. de Azavedo was appointed Viceroy of India on leaving Ceylon.

Preparations against Don Jan.

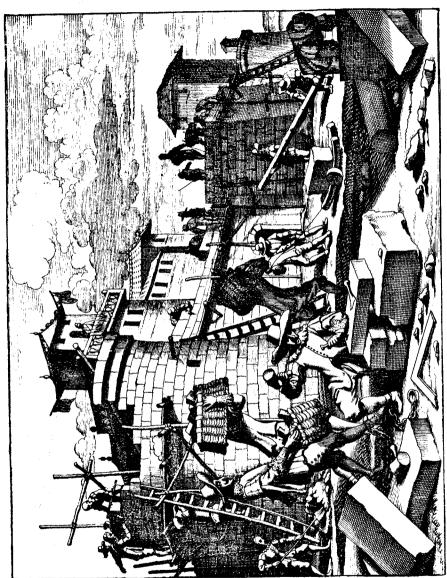
Portugesche soldiers, and nobles from Goa and places adjacent the Indian coasts, was organised with the intent of utterly overwhelming the entire Empire of Candy and by bribes and fair promises they succeeded in gaining over to their side the authorities of the low lands and countries. For security's sake the General rebuilt various defences which were demolished by Don Jan in order to have recourse to them when needed. But Don Jan did not regard these fortifications with anything like serious apprehension but simply observed "Let them build it for me, and I shall soon raze them again."

He nevertheless marshalled his men and proceeded to meet

Don Jeronimo who was then on his way to Walane with intent after he shall have mastered the capital of Candy to erect strong forts at Triquenam and Palugan in order to keep in awe the people of the adjacent lands. These proceedings were anticipated by Don Jan who no sooner came in sight of the enemy than he gave them instant battle with great vigour and right good earnest so that the victory seemed for some time doubtful but the Portugezen were finally vanquished and retreated, being pursued by *Don Jan for 5 days together to the very precincts of Columbo. But as they effected their retreat, in close and uniform order, the major part of them escaped safe not without the loss of many of their chiefs and Fidalgos (nobles) and their General Don Jeronimo severely wounded, and but for the King of Cota who had secreted him, he would inevitably have fallen into Don Jan's hands. The Cingalezen though fagged and weary in their pursuit after the enemy, nevertheless took immediate possession of the constructed tanqueros or trenches, putting to the sword all those who opposed their progress. In short Don Jeronimo's force was so crippled and their strength so prostrated in Don Jan's time that

They are defeated.

[p. 16]



during his life no further attempts were made to molest him.

Chapter Six

Dominicus Corre deserts to Don Jan. Goes as Commander in Chief of an Army to Gale. Is defeated. Symon Corre's flight to Columbo. Treachery of Emanuel Dias. The Portugezen prisoners executed. Joris Van Spilbergen arrives in Cevlon.

Dominicus Corre deserts to Don Jan.

Is made a Prince.

Becomes Commander in Chief and 10 Gale.

contrary to agreement, is killed. Don Jan

enraged.

BOUT this time there appeared before Don Jan one Dominicus Corre,1 commonly called Goliade, a bold and celebrated warrior who had fled from the Portugezen in consequence of some injustice done him. He avenged himself by cutting off the noses and ears of several of their monks and other ecclesiastics and by many other indignities offered to them. He brought a prisoner with him, a prince, called Corke Bandaar who had formerly been ring leader in many tumults and seditions. Don Jan felt himself vastly pleased with Dominicus Corre's act and appointed him in the room of the prince and ordered the prisoner to be executed after much torture as his deserts. In the course of the installation of Dominicus Corre (whose name was now changed to Idel Soria Bandaar) it happened that a large tree burst spontaneously into fragments. This incident was viewed by the inhabitants as a bad omen. The Emperor regardless of the phenomenon marched an army under the command of Dominicus Corre, and his brother leads an army Symon Corre, appointing the former as Commander in Chief to attack and reduce the town of Gale. But the forces under Defeated and, him were shamefully repulsed and scattered, and Dominicus Corre himself was taken prisoner and subsequently put to death at Columbo in violation of the promise of the Portugezen. The Emperor on hearing of this became so exasperated that he ordered some Portugezen with him to be trodden by the elephants and sent others deprived of their noses, ears and of their secret organs

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to Columbo declaring that if the Portugezen there did not liberate their captives the rest of the prisoners with him would be dealt with in a similar manner.

The soldiers at Columbo on seeing the wicked ill-treatment of Revolt of their brethren in arms wanted to assassinate their General, as the *Columbo*. prime cause of these mutilations consequent on his breach of promise in the execution of Dominicus Corre, and they now simultaneously roared out "Matta, Matta este Caon", "destroy, destroy this dog." The General on seeing the indignation of the

mob was so greatly alarmed for his life, not knowing a means of escape, that he cried out on the very top of his voice, "Senhores Soldados Misericordia", "Gentlemen soldiers, mercy, mercy." Some of the infuriated soldiers rushed upon him sword in hand,

and would inevitably have killed him on the spot, had it not been for the timely interference of their monks and priests who at the hazard of their lives with clasped hands implored to spare the

life of the General, saying "Senhores Soldados, per amor de Jesu Christo nosso Senhor, vede que faces naon vos lavais contra Coroa

de Portugal, ten Misericordia en non faceis esta perdicaon," "Gentlemen soldiers, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, consider

what you are about, and turn not thus against the Crown of Portugal, shew mercy, and render not yourselves guilty of such a

crime." In the meantime they thrust the General into one of their cloisters and held him there till the commotion, which had

lasted for about 16 days, had somewhat subsided and order restored.

Shortly after Simon Corre's flight to Columbo as if to avenge Simon Corre the death of his brother, he was received by the Portugezen with flees to Columba. great honour and becoming courtesy. They gave him the govern- in 171 ment of a county and a Portugeesche lady in marriage, but on her being found with child by him, she was then safely kept by them in Columbo. Corre now instead of avenging his brother's death, seemingly took up arms against the Emperor and the realm of Candy, whilst he was secretly informing Don Jan to be on the lookout. When the Emperor was apprized of this, he consulted one Emanuel Dias formerly a servant of General Pedro Lopes and subsequently promoted Chief Modeliar in Candy, a

^{1.} Domingos Correa, also known as Edirille Bandara, was born and bred among the Portuguese and was Commander in Chief of the Lascarins before he revolted against the Portuguese.

man who was much beholden to the Emperor for the many favours heaped on him.

Emmanuel Dias' pretended desertion.

Decieves the Portugezen.

Emanuel Dias undertook to repair to Columbo and deceive the Portugezen pretending he had escaped from Candy, and so as to ensure success the project was to be kept a profound secret. He arrived at Columbo on an Easter day in the year 1602 and made his appearance before General Don Jeromino to whom he suggested various schemes to entrap and do away with the Emperors person, the General was highly delighted with his suggestions and devices, and his plans were so deeply laid and with so much earnestness that the General believed all he had said and his ultimate proposal to Don Jeronimo was, that he Dias with 5 other *Portugezen* including three of their captains of the names of Christiaan Jacobo, Alberto Primero and Casper Perere, should betake themselves to Candy pretending to be deserters and be there located until an opportunity be afforded them of carrying their project into execution, and it was also agreed upon that after the fulfilment of his engagement that Emanuel Dias should be recognised sovereign of the Candyan empire, it being resolutely kept dark by them how they would act in the event of the death of Don Jan. Thereupon Emanuel Dias received a large sum of money and after many assurances and protestations of fidelity, in the performance of his engagement which he ratified with an oath upon a silver cross, he sent away his associates to Walene, with instructions that they should pretend to have escaped from Columbo on account of bad treatment they had received from the Portugezen.

Comes to Candy and tells Don Jan of the deception.

But he Don Emanuel himself came to Eardy and gave the Emperor a full detail of the arrangement he had made with the General Don Jeronimo, namely that the General was to conceal a gang of soldiers near and around the precincts of the fortress Walane, in order that as soon as His Majesty was murdered they might then take the fort by surprise to which end the proposed force was to be despatched with the least practicable delay, also that, to make opportunity for the murder, His Majesty should be called into a sense of security. His Majesty set out forthwith in person, escorted by a select party of his soldiers at night to the fortress Walene, where the aforesaid Portugezen emissaries were

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also found. They were met and welcomed by Emanuel Dias with cordiality, and when they were ushered into the Emperor's presence, they were found armed with keen-edged Japanesche The Portugezen knives (called trassados). They were instantly deprived of miserably them and forthwith bound and secured. Those within the walls betrayed. of the fort now discharged a musket, the preconcerted signal to those who lay in ambush. The Portugezen on hearing the given signal and not doubting that the deed had been accomplished advanced with great haste towards the direction of the fort. when one of their deserters informed of what had then just taken place, on which the party in the utmost confusion abandoned their project and precipitately fled towards Columbo leaving behind them many stands of arms and most of their baggages and stores which was afterwards distributed amongst the soldiers.

For this confidential service Emanuel Dias was raised to posts of consequence, he was also honoured by His Majesty with various manorial rights and also the title of Modeliar or grand nobleman was conferred upon him. The aforesaid 5 Portugezen prisoners after a lingering imprisonment and great sufferings [p. 18] were eventually executed.

There arrived at this period in Ceylon Admiral Joris Van Joris van Spilbergen with 2 ships. He proceeded personally to Candy comes to to pay his respects to His Imperial Majesty, and offer him on behalf Ceylon. of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands and His Princely Excellency Mauritius de Nassau of happy memory, all good will and friendship. He had a cordial reception from Don Jan and was honoured also with many presents. The Admiral left in the Emperor's service one Erasmus Martens, and Mr Hans Pempel men skilled in various instruments and prosecuted his voyage with great satisfaction from Matteco to Achin on the 3rd September 1603. Full particulars respecting the voyage may be learnt from a printed journal which was published. The advent of the Hollanders in Ceylon was a matter of no small regret to the Portugezen who had very strong misgivings

^{1.} Spilbergen's expedition which was financed by a group of Dutch merchants left Europe in May 1601 and arrived in Batticaloa on 31st May 1602. See Anthonisz, Dutch in Ceylon, page 8.

that in the probable case of a treaty being entered into by them with the Emperor, they might expect to be ere long expelled from the Island, which great event was under Divine Providence achieved in the year 1658.

Chapter Seven

Sebald de Weert arrives in Ceylon. Discontent between the Emperor and himself. The former assassinated. Don Jan's sickness and death. The peculiarities of his character.

Sebald de Weert in Ceylon.

Unpleasantness between him and the Emperor.

[p. 19]

Worsened by Incitement of the king's

THERE arrived now Sehald de Weert1 Vice-Admiral of Wybrand van Warwyk in Ceylon, who after entering into a contract with Don Jan, sailed for Achin to organise a force and subsequently arrived at Matecola on the 26th April 1603 with 7 ships. The Emperor on being apprised of his return, proceeded thither with the view of entering more fully on the subject of their contract. On his meeting the Admiral, the first enquiry he made was as to what had become of the Portugezen prisoners he the Admiral had received on board his 4 vessels, de Weert who had inadvertently set them at large excused himself by saying that in consequence of an arrangement he had no other alternative than to release them. Don Jan on hearing this became greatly excited and his suspicions were greatly augmented by the account given him by his envoy who had long experience of the Hollanders and had come with the Admiral Ambassadors. from Achin. The former informed His Majesty that during his stay amongst the Hollanders, he had discovered no less a circumstance, than that they were in league with the Portugezen and were only seeking to deceive His Majesty by false pretences, and to subdue his lands, and that in the whole course of his envoyship, he was never regarded or esteemed as such, but was, contrary to



^{1.} Sebald de Weert first arrived in Ceylon on 28th November 1602 as the commander of a group of 15 ships despatched East by the newly formed Dutch East India Company. He returned to Ceylon in January 1604 and again a few months later when he was murdered. See Anthonisz, Dutch in Ceylon, p. 18.

accepted practice, indifferently treated, to the disgrace of His Majesty, whose person he then represented, by always being assigned lower seats at table than the Portugezen prisoners, by all which His Majesty can easily fathom that it was the Vice Admiral's intention to invite and entertain him and his chiefs on board his ships only to get him into his clutches, that he is so well assured of the fact, that he considered it his bounden duty to caution His Majesty against trusting him, so that he, his princes. and lords, are not betrayed into their hands, the country laid waste, and the nation subjected to slavery. Further protesting himself as having then discharged his duty as a faithful and loyal subject of his lord and master, and well wisher of his country. that nothing might hereafter be laid to his charge regarding the impending danger, he then fell prostrate at the imperial feet, and did him sambaye or reverence.

Don Jan, having listened to these protestations, consulted his chiefs as to the best expedient to be resorted to on the occasion. de Weert in liberating the Portugezen prisoners having thereby forfeited his trust, and violated the treaty, and whether they consider it still prudent to have any further dealings with him, or shake off all intercourse at once. After much deliberation they came to the conclusion to use all possible means and prevail upon the Admiral to proceed and lay siege to Gale according to his agreement, and then warily watch his conduct and proceedings with the *Portugezen* in this siege.

de Weert invites the Emperor to inspect his ships.

Which is refused.

Sebald de Weert, having waited on the Emperor, and after a long discourse about ships, invited him on board his ship, which invitation was declined by his Majesty as his nobles would not appreciate it nor did he himself care about it. Sebald perceiving that the Emperor was not inclined to come on board, he then requested that His Majesty should come and have a distant view of his ship from the beach, that there was a splendid tent fitted up for His Majesty's reception, this request was likewise not complied with, the Emperor entertaining great suspicion. The envoy who was full of spite against the Admiral for the supposed indignities shown to him, and the liberation of the Portugezen prisoners, availed himself of the opportunity and observed, "Do you now see my liege, that what I told you is

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true, he endeavours to entangle Your Majesty in his net, therefore beware" he thus succeeded with many such and other arguments to strengthen and confirm the Emperor's suspicions more and more.

The Admiral felt himself much hurt at these refusals and De Weert's observed, that as His Majesty was not willing to come on board, or and rude to attend the beach to view his ship he would not give him any language. assistance in his war against the Portugezen; on hearing which [p. 20] Don Jan became greatly excited, but concealing his anger however he returned that he ought to proceed to Gale with his ships in accordance with his promise and that he himself was to return to Candy to the Empress who owing to the departure of his half brother Cenuwieraat Adascyn to the frontiers was left alone, and that he too was soon to join his brother with his main forces.

Sebald who at the time had imbibed more than was good In a drunken for him, incautiously replied, "Oh, as for the Empress, she will state he speaks rashly. never be at a loss for men," and that he was not willing either to go to Gale, and act against the Portugezen, ere his Majesty will view the ships and do him due honour. Don Jan who was a very hasty and cruel man, was now boiling with rage and indignation at this unseemly answer, and hastily started up from his seat saying at this "Banda lapa mebal", which is "bind this dog", when four of his nobles essayed to seize the Vice-Admiral in order to Whereupon have him secured; he resisted with some violence and laying his hand on his sword made a great bustle for help from his men, who were left by the Emperor's command at some distance on the sea shore, Sebald was however secured from behind, and with a broad sword his head was cleft into two and his body fell a lifeless trunk to the ground. None of them dared to communicate this occurrence to the Emperor, except the Prince of Ove.

Don Jan was much surprised at what had taken place saying "why did you not secure the Admiral's person as I had commanded?" when the Prince said that it was impossible owing to his having taken recourse to his sword, whereupon Don Jan exclaimed "Well then, since he is dead despatch the rest likewise that they The other Hollanders might partake the same reward with their master." This are also command was immediately carried into effect, so that of all the killed. men who were on shore, only a youth named Issac Plevier of [p. 21] Vlissingen was spared and subsequently taken into the Emperor's

The Murder of Sebald de Weert.

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

service on the 22nd November 1614, besides some few who made their escape by swimming to their ships.1

After the perpetuation of this deed the Emperor quitted the place for *Candy*, dispatched a note to the commanders of the ships, containing these emphatic phrases in *Portugezen*, "Que bebem vinho noa he bon Does fes justicia, se quisieres pas, pas, sequires guerra, guerra", that is, "He who drinks wine is not safe, and therefore has God executed judgement. If you desire peace, let there be peace, if war then war."

Don Jan becomes sick.

Has unbearable sense of internal heat.

Dies in agony.

His children.

His figure, appearance and characteristics,

Don Jan survived Sebald but a short time for he fell sick, and was sorely afflicted with an overwhelming and keen sense of burning heat in the interior parts of his body which obliged him to sit constantly immersed in cold water, without however obtaining the least relief — the water which he drank was conveyed to him from a rivulet called Halgradoje2 lying between Ove and Matarette and it was so intensely cold that it could hardly be put into the mouth but it could not mitigate the intensity of the heat he felt. He often regretted the death of the innocent Nederlanders whom he had so unjustly caused to be massacred, but the fate of the Admiral de Weert he considered as fully merited. He scarcely had any rest during his illness which disabled him from giving his attention to the public affairs of his kingdom, and after great pain and suffering he died in the year 1604 leaving behind him a son named Mahastanne Adascyn and two daughters, the name of the one was Soria Mahadascyn, or "well beloved sunshine" and the name of the other Cathan Adascyn, that is "well beloved peace", whom he had by Dona Catharina, the latter also called in Cingaleesch Mahabandige Adascyn or "well beloved Empress".3

Don Jan was a bold and experienced warrior, as his life evinces, he was tall, of a black complexion, with a beautiful symmetry of body and a deep and commanding voice. He



Though Baldaeus' account places the responsibility for the murder largely on de Weert's behaviour, the latter's Dutch contemporaries felt that the King was not entirely guiltless. For a full discussion see Anthonisz,
 i.e. Halgranova.

Of Vimala Dharma Suriya's children the son Maha Astana was murdered by Senerat to make way for his own son Rajasingha's accession to the throne. One of his daughters was married by Senerat on the death of Dona Catharina.

amassed vast treasures in money and jewels, erected many defences. pleasure gardens and rest houses or inns for travellers called by the Cingalezen ambolan, preserved excellent order during his reign, was rigid and implacable towards the guilty, and on the other hand extremely generous and liberal in his rewards to the meritorious who had distinguished themselves in civil or military capacities amply rewarding them with money and honourable employments. He was a discerning statesman and knew well how to preserve and maintain friendship, and respect the treaties and contracts entered into with foreign kings and princes, excepting the Portugezen of whom on account of their jealousy of his power in Ceylon, he was a constant enemy. He ridiculed the idea of all religious tenets, permitting every one a free exercise of it according to their own will and pleasure. In fact, he was in every sense of the word a finished courtier.

Shortly after the termination of the funeral obsequies of the Emperor, which had been observed with great magnificence and state, there arose a great contention amongst the several nobles and their adherents, each secretly aspiring to the crown. The most powerful of them was the Prince of Ove1 who openly declared himself King, his title was disputed by Cenuwieraat,2 the half brother of Don Jan who considered that he was trampling upon the just rights of the young Emperor his nephew, by claiming the sovereignty to himself as protector of his brother's posthumous son till he shall have arrived to years of discretion. But Dona Catharina perceiving these conflicting movements and dissensions established herself on the state chair as mother and guardian of the young Prince, causing some of the principal ringleaders to be executed, by which expedient, this excitement and internal commotion was for a short time quelled and peace and order restored.

1. Vidiya Bandara, Prince of Uva.

Nobles

contend for

the crown.

Pacified by

Catharina.

Dona

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Chapter Eight

Animosity of the Native Lords. The Prince of Ove assassinated by Cenuwieraat. He married the Empress Dona Catharina.

[p. 22]

HE Portugezen were highly gratified with the intelligence of The Don Jan's death, they dispatched various posts to Goa request an informing the Vicerov of it, who then resolved upon agreement entering into a compact with the Empress and then gradually Empress. attempting an invasion of the whole Island. Catharina, justly anticipating their design and moreover desirous of swaying the sceptre of her hereditary possessions herself, prudently declined all negotiations with them. This induced the inhabitants of the low lands clandestinely to attach themselves to the Portugezen in order to escape the thefts New rivalry and extortions of the Prince of Ove and the Emperor's between the brother, both of whom were now again aspiring to the throne, and thereby causing the inhabitants of the low lands to suffer great Cenuwieraat. hardship.

she would then be ousted, she therefore summoned to court

all the state officers, who accordingly made their appearance,

excepting the Prince of Ove and Cenuwieraat Adascyn who were

in consequence by proclamation declared traitors and their

the principal chiefs obtained a pardon. These princes abandon-

ing their propensities for war, now attended the court each having, however, his several adherents and followers for his

safety and without anything like reciprocal confidence. The

goods confiscated. But Cenuwieraat subsequently so

Refused.

The Empress being much grieved at this internal commotion Both and fearing that were one of the party to gain the ascendency Proclaimed traitors.

accounted for his absence that he was pronounced free. The They are Prince of Ove had in like manner through the intervention of pardoned.

Prince of Ove secretly contemplated the destruction of Cenuwieraat Prince of Ove and resolved on stabbing him to death and marrying the Empress is entired to and taking the Empire. Cenuwieraat who had a presentiment Cenuwieraat of it in one way or other affected much friendship for the Prince with a view

Senerat was a half brother of Vimala Dharma Suriya I. He ruled as King of Kandy from 1605 to 1635.

in order the better to keep him unsuspicious, to which end he also sought the friendship of all the principal nobles in order to draw them also the more easily to his side.

Their insincere compliments

When these two princes had attended the court to take leave of the Empress and on their return had reached the outer gate of the palace, the Prince of Ove requested the Prince Cenuwieraat to take precedence of him and pass on, saying "This mark of honour justly becomes due to your Excellency, considering your close affinity to the late Emperor by blood." Prince Cenuwieraat hesitated, however, saying "Such a mark of respect is more due to Your Excellency, considering your advanced age;" after many excuses on both sides, the Prince of Ove stepped forward when he was briskly stabbed by Cenuwieraat who exclaiming "Lie there false traitor" then precipitately left the city with his attendants. The retinue of the Prince of Ove seeing their lord murdered took to their heels, calling out "Treachery, Treachery", when there arose a great uproar amongst the people, the one killing the other, vaguely surmising that the Empress had been assassinated, but on her showing herself to them the stir then somewhat subsided, every one shouting however that they would pursue Prince Cenuwieraat for the murder of the Prince. The Empress apprehending that this state of things would be productive of yet greater evils, forbade on pain of capital punishment all those who should attempt aught against Prince Cenuwieraat, declaring that the murder of the Prince of Ove was perpetrated by her commands, which declaration pacified the public ferment.

Great excitement in Candy because of this murder.

Stabbed by

himself.

Cenuwieraat

Quieted by the Empress foresight.

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Cenuwieraat protests innocence.

Marries Dona Catharina.

Whatever might have been the Empress's outward conduct with respect to the murder of the Prince on this occasion she felt an inward disgust at Cenuwieraat's act and was bent upon avenging the wrong on a fit occasion. Cenuwieraat being made acquainted of the Empress's displeasure stood always on his guard, demonstrating at the same time by various reasons that what he had done was with the best of intentions, as tending to the general weal of the country, preservation of the realm and protection of Her Majesty and her children and this affair and later by the advocacy of some of the nobles a marriage was arranged between the Empress Dona Catharina and Cenuwieraat

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Adascyn in order that peace and tranquillity may be restored in the kingdom. Cenuwieraat on being crowned was called Camapati Mahadascyn, a title or name which all preceding Emperors had enjoyed.

When he was now established as Emperor, he anxiously sought the friendship of the Nederlanders and entered into a contract with them to aid him against the Portugezen; regarding which this history will deal later.

It fell out at this period 1609 that their High Mightiness The the States General of the United Netherlands, had concluded General a treaty or contract with the Archduke Albertus and Izabella makes a Clara Eugenia the Infanta of Spangien, for a term of 12 years, 1 Treaty with with an understanding that the said treaty was also to extend the king of to the East Indies whereupon Their Lordships the Directors of the East India Company with a view to render their position in the East more secure, during this treaty, applied to their High Mightiness the States General and His Princely Excellency for letters of advice to all the Indian kings, princes and potentates, so as to enable the Company to enter into contract with them, and thereby more closely secure Their Honour's interests. These letters of advice together with articles of the contract were dispatched by Their Lordships the Directors to India by the yacht called Hazewint, Commander Wemmer Van Berchem. They equipped in the meanwhile a fleet under the direction of the first Governor General of India Pieter Both2 which sailed from General Both Nederland on the 30th January 1610 and arrived on the 18th sent to India with November following at Bantam, with instructions from their instructions. High Mightiness the States General and His Princely Excellency to enter into alliance and contracts with all kings, princes and potentates excepting only the Portugezen using every possible endeavour to check them and hinder their trade.

^{1.} On 18th April 1609, a truce for twelve years was signed at the Hague between Spain and the United Provinces, constituting for the first time a formal admission of the independence of the latter.

Pieter Both was appointed first Governor General of the East by the Dutch East India Company and left Europe in January 1610.

Chapter Nine

Letter from the States General and Prince Maurits sent by Marcellus de Boschhouwer to the Emperor of Ceylon.

HE Contents of the letters addressed by their High Mightiness the States General and His Highness the Prince of Orange to the Emperor of Kandy were to the following purport:

Great and August King,

Letter from their High-Mightinesses to the Emperor of Ceylon.

It has pleased the Almighty and Eternal God, of His Heavenly Mercy, to bless our arms against the King of Hispanien and Portugaal in defence of our country, its just rights and freedom with great success and after a protracted and bloody war which had lasted for nearly 42 years both at sea and land, the aforesaid King, seeing our unity, power and perseverance, and our might augmented from time to time with the assistance and friendship of the neighbouring kings and potentates our allies has thought fit to concede to us that right for which we have thus long contended, viz. our country's independence without any pretension whatever on his part, to which end he was willing and contented to conclude a lasting peace with us, or enter into a specific contract for many years to come, which offer having been deemed by us as godly and honourable has been accepted and with the advice and counsel of the aforesaid kings and potentates our allies we have ultimately ratified a treaty with the said King of Spangien and Portugaal on the 9th April last for a term of 12 years, wherein it is agreed and stipulated that we shall not only have access of free navigation, dealings and commerce throughout his kingdom and territories and with all people therein as heretofore prior to the war but likewise with all other Kings, Potentates and Princes without exception whatever, with the full understanding that he the King of Spangien and Portugaal, his officers, subjects, or dependents, shall in consequence of this in no wise cause our subjects nor that of any other Kings, Potentates, or Princes with whom we have intercourse, or might hereafter have intercourse

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directly or indirectly, any let or hindrance which will tend to prevent, mar or impede our said intercourse, so that Your Majesty, as well as all the other Kings, Princes and Potentates and all other high Personages, Republics, and People in India or elsewhere are also therein comprehended and secured against all future hostilities consequent on our intercourse during a period of 12 vears. Should however the King of Hispanien and Portugaal undertake ought against Your Majesty or subjects or against our own people who are in friendly intercourse and are engaged in commerce with each other, either at sea or by land, in direct contravention of the solemn promise made and confirmed under his hand and seal (which is not to be supposed possible) Your Majesty may then rest assured, that there will be no lack of will on our part nor of means with ships, guns, ammunition, and all other utensils of war, and troops of our own, as well as those of the Kings, Potentates, and Princes our allies who have pledged themselves to see this treaty maintained in all respects, to assist and defend Your Majesty, your subjects and our own and to cause every reparation to be made for any infringment of or innovation on the terms of this treaty. And in order to ensure the stability of what has now thus transpired, and might vet transpire between us, and Your Majesty, we entertaining doubts that there might be some creatures or secret agents of the aforesaid King of Spangien and Portugaal who would do their utmost to mislead Your Majesty, as well as to the other Kings. Princes. Republics and People by giving them any thing but a true and correct interpretation of the tenor of this our treaty, we do therefore assure your Majesty of its truthfulness and unfeigned meaning, so that Your Majesty, your subjects, and the other Kings, Princes and Potentates, Republics and People may safely rely on it. We further request your Majesty to give full faith thereto and to uphold and maintain your Majesty's friendship with us, and protection to our subjects by encouraging our navigation, trade and commerce in all sincerity and augmenting it from time to time, which good office will be equally reciprocated on our part. Trusting that the Eternal and Almighty God, the King of Kings, and searcher of hearts, will preserve Your Majesty, ourselves and all our subjects jointly in His Holy

keeping and through His Grace increase us in might and prosperity. Dated Hage 15th September 1609.

(Signed and sealed A. Coenders. (Lower stood,) Your Highness' firm friends De Staten General van de Vereenighde Nederlanden

By their Command.

(Signed) C. Aertzen.

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Mauritius Prince of Orange, Earl of Nassau, Cartzenellebogen, Diest, Vyanden, Meurze, Marquis of Vere and Vlissingen, Governor, Captain and Admiral General of Gelderlandt, Hollandt, Zeelandt, West Vrieslant, Zutphen, Uvtrecht, Over Yssel, etc.

High and Mighty King,

Letter of Prince Maurits to the Emperor.

God preserve Your Majesty and grant you felicity on earth. We have long since carried on a war against the King of Portugaal, and opposed his intentions as did Your Majesty also, since his resolutions to invade your dominions, thus were our arms simultaneously against him. We have now by the blessing of God constrained our enemy to seek for a cessation of hostilities for a period of 12 years which by consultation with the neighbouring Kings our allies has ultimately been accomplished; seeing however that the aforesaid King has only sought for a suspension of arms, we apprehend that he had done so, with the view your Majesty being now divested of our aid, that he might be the better enabled with the assistance of some neighbouring Kings there to fall upon and harrass Your Majesty and our allies which consideration weighed much against our engagement unless we were also assured of Your Majesty's safety and interest. A peace has been now concluded to the intent that we and our allies might in future have free access of navigation without any impediment whatever on the part of the Portugezen nation with the full and perfect understanding that if during the term of our treaty they would cause any injury to be done to Your Majesty, or our allies, we would regard it as being done to ourselves and be at all time ready to help Your Majesty to avenge the wrong. His object in thus seeking for such a temporary relief is we think with a view to take revenge on Your Majesty and ourselves for the loss we had caused him, and he is therefore

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using all devices and subtlety to injure and hurt us. It behaves therefore to be watchful that we be not deceived by him, in as much as he cannot now resort to arms, it is to be inferred, he will employ every other artifice and cunning to gain his ends. We have therefore commanded our Governor to subvert his schemes, and to remain closely united in friendship inasmuch we cannot place too implicit a confidence in the strength of the treaty in question. We did not venture to prevent his subjects from having any dealings in Ceylon but left that consideration entirely to Your Majesty's good pleasure and courtesy. Trusting that Your Majesty's wisdom and prudence will so direct everything as to ensure our happiness, and give the Portugezen no handle or pretension to change their engagement with us to which end God grant us His blessing to the honour of His holy name, and to the aggrandizement of Your Majesty and our Nation.

Maurice de Nassau

Gravenhage 5th October 1609.

The address was—

The illustrious and high-born Emperor of Cevlon, King of Candia. Trinquenemale, Jafnapatan, Sete Corlas, Manaar, Chilau, Cota, Batecalo and Punte Gale, Our worthy brother in arms.

On this letter reaching the coast of Cormandel by the yacht Marcellus de Winthond it was deemed expedient by the President Joan van Boschhouwer Wezik to render this means of communication available to the Ceyton with Company to which end, he ordered one Marcellus de Boschhouwer, Junior Merchant, to proceed to Ceylon with the ship Zwarte Leeuw bearing the flag of the Governor General Pieter Both, which arrived from Amersfoort.1

^{1.} Letters Similar to these were sent to a number of Eastern rulers by the States General and Prince Maurice in 1609. They informed them of the 12 year truce between the Netherlands and the King of Portugal and offered support to the rulers receiving these letters in the event of aggression by the Portuguese. The Dutch had no intention of offering armed support to each of these Kings in case of attack, but it was expected that commercial and other privileges could be gained by these promises of help: See K. W. Gunawardana. The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon, p. 7

Chapter Ten

Marcellus de Boschhouwer arrives in Candy. His proceedings and contract with the Emperor.

N Boschhouwer's arrival at the metropolis of Candy on the 8th of March 1612 he waited on his Imperial Majesty Cenuwieraat Adascyn and presented to him the letters which had been entrusted to his care. The Emperor received them with apparent marks of pleasure and placed them on a gilt chair next him which was covered over with white muslin and then entered into topics of business and by the 11th of May next ensuing a contract was fully entered into, the following being a summary of its details.

Agreement entered into between the Emperor and Nederlanders.

- 1st. The Contract to remain firm and inviolable.
- 2nd. All former acts and feelings of animosity shall cease to be remembered.
- 3rd. In the event of offensive action given against His Majesty on the part of the *Portugezen*, the States General will on all such occasions assist His Majesty with every requisite of war to avenge the wrong.
- 4th. His Majesty shall consent that the Dutch build a fortress at *Cotiarum* the incumbent King there retaining to himself however the tolls, produce and income from the lands.
- 5th. That it will be for His Majesty to see us furnished with the necessary lime and stone to complete the work, as also with coolies or labourers, who shall be paid by the Honourable Company.
- 6th. His Majesty shall also cause stores to be built of stone at *Candy* and other places for warehousing the Company's merchandize and for the protection of commodities against fire.
- 7th. His Majesty shall use his best endeavours to protect our ships from the attacks of the *Portugezen* which good office will in like manner be reciprocated with all energy.

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- 8th. In all matters involving warfare of common interest His Majesty shall not make any decision without the previous knowledge of the gentlemen holding office under the Honourable Company of whom two shall have seats in His Majesty's Council of War with the view that all such matters may be disposed of by mutual consent.
- 9th. It will rest with His Majesty to have our merchandize conveyed to the upper lands by means of draft cattle, and all our purchases delivered to us at the beach of *Cotiarum*, free of expense.
- 10th. In all cases of accident to ships, chaloups and boats it will be for His Majesty's subjects to preserve the goods and deliver them to us free of cost.
- 11th. The Nederlanders shall be allowed the privilege of exporting their goods and commodities free of all imposts or duty.
- 12th. That all His Majesty's subjects without exception shall be allowed to trade with the Honourable Company without any hindrance.
- 13th. His Majesty may retain for his own use and purposes, all singular and rare articles which might arrive from Nederlandt at such prices as might be agreed upon with the Honourable Company in barter for other wares and commodities.
- 14th. His Majesty shall cause to be delivered to the Honourable Company annually as much of the best cinnamon as procurable, for which payment shall be made in cash or other wares and at such prices as might be agreed upon.
- 15th. There shall be no goods whatever supplied to all those persons who are under contracts of trade with the *Nederlanders* in preference to and before the *Nederlandtsche* merchants and dealers be fully provided for; anything to the contrary will not only subject the goods and persons to be seized, but the holders of such goods prosecuted in order to see the observance of this article enforced.

- 16th. His Majesty shall not permit any Europeans to have dealings in his dominions without the leave and consent of His Princely Excellency and of their High Mightinesses the States General.
- 17th. His Majesty shall cause a quantity of good and serviceable wood to be delivered to us at the beach for the construction of ships, yachts, and other vessels.
- 18th. All prisoners on either side shall be set at large and have their full liberty.
- 19th. It will be for the Nederlandtsche servants to take care that they give no real cause for offence to your Majesty or become guilty of any acts of violence, in all such instances the offending parties shall be punished by the Nederlandtsche authorities, which restrictions shall be considered equally binding on His Majesty's own subjects.
- 20th. His Majesty shall be looked to for the sale of all precious stones and pearls exclusively to the Nederlanders, they on their part pledging themselves to deliver to His Majesty their jewellery and all other rare and costly articles for payment (as afore provided); in case of any difference of opinion arising in their negotiation their friendship shall nevertheless remain unshaken.
- 21st. His Majesty and the Lords states general shall endeavour to preserve and maintain all good understanding and friendship affording each other their good offices and counsel.
- 22nd. All acts of enmity on either side shall be wholly forgotten and forgiven.
- 23rd. No other authorities save His Majesty can warrant or cause any money to be minted and pass them at a higher rate until it shall be determined upon between His Majesty and the Nederlanders with respect to the intrinsic value of all such coins or monies as might arrive from Hollandt, and all other persons whosoever on either side being detected of striking false coins shall suffer death.
- 24th. It will be for His Majesty and the Nederlanders to weigh

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and consider whether the large or small denomination of coins will be used in the course of our dealings.

- 25th. That the money which had been deemed necessary for normal purposes shall be altered once every three years, every three years in *Candy* and every three years at our place of residence.
- 26th. That the aforesaid obsolete money shall be laid apart reciprocally and be made available for war and field services.
- 27th. That all *Indische* people with their vessels shall be allowed free access into all His Majesty's domains to carry on their trade without subjecting them to payment of any duty, for a term of three years.
- 28th. That after the expiration of the three years His Majesty may with the consent and approval of the Honourable Company and His Princely Excellency resolve upon the rates of duties to be imposed and levied on all goods for the benefit of His Majesty and for State purposes.
- 29th. That of all such duties His Majesty shall allow the Honourable Company and His Princely Excellency the exact moiety thereof for which purpose the necessary clerks and collectors should be appointed.
- 30th. The proceeds of all goods which shall be gained by conquest within the Empire of Ceylon shall be shared equally between His Majesty and their High Mightinesses the States General and His Princely Excellency, sparing the lives of the captives without exacting any ransom money from them.
- 31st. That all persons who might be sent out here by their High Mightinesses and by His Princely Excellency shall have safe conduct passes granted to them to deal with His Majesty's subjects, as well as to all those of His Majesty's subjects who have dealings abroad, for in the absence of any such safe-conduct passes they might be suspected, their persons detained, and their goods confiscated.
- 32nd. His Majesty and their High Mightinesses and His Princely Excellency shall cause every means to be

employed to have all routes and trails in the Island. both by sea and land, made passable and penetrable. and cleared of all highwaymen, and vagabonds so as to render them fit and safe for travelling and navigation and it will also rest with His Majesty to cause us to be supplied with timber for the building of galleys. sloops and other vessels to guard and protect the sea coast, and when any such thieves or robbers be taken up they shall suffer death as an example to others.

In order to ensure the sanctity and due observance of this treaty, we His Majesty, their High Mightinesses and His Princely Excellency promise to see it rigidly enforced and respected and by no means whatever shall allow it to be violated or infringed, with further promise to punish offenders (on either side) with the utmost severity and make them compensate for all losses.1

Chapter Eleven

Boschhouwer requests permission to return to his employers which is denied to him by the Emperor. He is vested with various high offices. The Portugezen sack Cotiarum and murder the Hollanders. The Emperor calls a Council of State. The Portugezen vanquished before Jaffnapatan.

Marcellus de **Boschhouwer** asks leave to return.

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N the Treaty being concluded Boschhouwer requested permission of His Majesty to withdraw himself from the Kandyan Court, taking with him the elephants which His Majesty had intended as presents to the authorities of

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Tegnapatan and with the view to enable him to report the result of his successful mission on behalf of the East India Company to the President of Paliacatta.1 His request was however not complied with by His Majesty and his council alleging various reasons for such refusal, the most prominent was, that as it had been stipulated in one of the articles of the agreement that His Majesty can take no cognizance in matters involving warfare without the previous knowledge and consent of the Nederlanders that they consider his (Boschhouwer's) presence there of paramount importance in order that His Majesty might through him carry on all such correspondence, adding that in case of a refusal that they would regard the letters he had brought with him from their Which is High Mightinesses the States General, as fabricated and invalid. denied him. This determination on the part of the Kandyan Court induced Boschhouwer to protract his stay; in the meantime the Emperor conferred upon him various distinguished offices of great trust and responsibility creating him Prince of Migonne, Kockele Corle, Ananagepora, Miwitigael, Lord of the Order of the Golden Sun, His extra-President of the Supreme Council of War, Second in His Maj-ordinary elevation, esty's Secret Council, and Lord High Admiral. Boschhouwer had favours and in the short space of time he was in Ceylon obtained such a regard from the Emperor. strong hold upon the Emperor's confidence that the King never undertook anything without his advice.

On the 20th of June 1611, the Portugezen marched a force The Portuconsisting of 1,000 Europeans and 3,000 native adherents to gezen rob and murder Cotiarum, through a secret route pointed out to them by certain the Candanees with Simon Corre at their head, having for their object Cotiarum. the massacre of the Hollanders who had been left there of Boschhouser's party and there to sack and pillage the country in which object also they succeeded beyond their expectations.

After this outrage, they retired with haste towards Sette Corle to avoid any encounter with the Emperor's men or being cut in their retreat. When news of this reached the Emperor he dispatched a force of 5,000 men to Cotiarum under the direction of Colonel Marasinge Atsile an old and experienced warrior and two of his

^{1.} Baldaeus' account above of the Treaty of 1612 between Senerat and Boschhouwer is not an accurate one. In his recent study, Dr. Goonewardena points out that the Treaty actually consisted of 45 articles and not 33 as given by Baldaeus. The date of the Treaty is also March 11th and not May 11th, 1612 as given by Baldaeus. The text of the complete Treaty is available in the India Office Library, Dutch Records (Transcripts) (B. 1), V. 3. See K. W. Goonewardena, Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon. p. 7 and 11.

^{1.} The Dutch East India Company established two trading outposts at Tegnapatam and Pulicat on the Coromandel coast shortly after their arrival in the East. After the capture of Cevlon a part of these territories were administered by the Governors of Ceylon.

nobles Mayndappo and Vire Segre,1 but on their arrival there they found that the carnage had already been perpetrated and the enemy gone; they nevertheless hunted after them by day and by night and fell in with the Portugezen near Sette Corle and laid low 23 Europeans and 600 Inlanders, and after setting fire to several of the villages, they returned to Candy bringing with them a large number of prisoners and much spoil.

Envoy to the Court from the King of Palugam. [p. 29]

At this period there arrived at the court an envoy from the King of Palugam with information that his brother Janne Sangati the King of Podere had combined with the Portugees giving them access into all their sea ports, and was further helping them to organise war and that his loyalty to His Majesty would not permit him to keep the matter concealed. Upon which information the King of Podere was summoned to Court. He however deputed his envoy on the appointed day, when the envoy had not only demonstrated his master's innocence but also showed the treachery of the King of Palugam who had murdered his elder brother while sitting at table with him without any cause. And that he was at the same time seeking for an opportunity to do away with the Emperor's person with the view of pillaging the Kingdom uncontrolled. The envoy further expressed his willingness to remain at Court as hostage in order that should on inquiry the accusation laid against his King be ascertained to be true that he the Envoy might in his own person suffer for all such wrongs. This open avowal somewhat softened the Emperor's wrath, but was not otherwise without a dash of displeasure owing to the King of *Podere* having failed to make his appearance before him, nor was he ignorant of the ill feeling which there then existed between the two brothers. He was likewise aware that the King of Palugam in compassing the murder of his eldest brother had not only the object of securing the succession to himself but also the selfish view of benefitting himself with the income accruing from the tolls of the river of Palugam a moiety of which income had been conceded by the state to the interest of his brother the King of Podere. To lull all suspicion however of his knowledge of the whole affair, he dismissed the envoy with permission that he

Discord between two Royal brothers.

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might return to his King, with a determination to enter into a minute investigation on the merits of the case at an early opportunity.

As His Majesty had now resolved to bring to the field a formidable army he assembled a Council of State consisting of the following personages, Idele, King of Cotiarum; Celle Wandaar, Council of King of Palugam; Comaro Wandaar, King of Batecalo; Corre Witty Raelhami, Prince of Ove; Marcellus Boschhouwer, Prince of Migonne; Mater Raelhami, Prince of Vellene, Jallago de Rale, Prince of Cotomale: Mewater Rale, Prince of Mewater; Wik Venezinge, Count of Quatre Corle; Janne Sangati, Prince and Lord of Podere; Code Rale, Duke of Ode, Jattenore brother to Prince Jalagode; Gael Henerad Modeliar, Governor of the County of Harcipate, Corope Modeliar, Governor of the County of Odogo d'Askeri, Wanategere Modeliar Governor of the Province of Matere.1

At this meeting there were also present governors and Decisions presidents of other minor provinces, and an envoy of the King of arrived at. Jafnapatan, the only absentee was the King of Patania who invariably accounted for his absence by all manner of absurd excuses. He was however summoned to attend by letter of 16 July 1611.

It was now resolved in this council to organise a force of 50,000 men, one division of which under the direction of the Prince of Ove was to lay siege to and reduce the fort of Puntegale, and the other under the command of the Prince of Migonne was to proceed to the fortress of Walane and endeavour to carry it by storm. If the attempt proved successful they were then to concentrate the whole force and push on towards Columbo and lay siege to the place when they were to be joined by the entire staff of their coelys (labourers) to help and strengthen the siege. The council also made the necessary levies for the expenses attending the war consisting of about 45 tons of treasure. With respect to the differences which then existed between the King of Palugam and his brother Janne Sangati (as nothing had till then been elicited which could enable them to arrive at the truth of the

^{1.} Pieris renders the names as Amarasinha Achchila, Naidappu and Wirasekera. The Portuguese Era. Vol. I. p. 419.

The 'Kings' referred to are Wanniyars. This assumption would appear to have been based on the greater autonomy held by them from the King at Kandy. The 'Princes', 'Counts' and 'Dukes' are Disawas.

charges alleged against them) they were warned to abstain from doing each other any harm on pain of corporal punishment. The council also established a Supreme Court with power to hear and determine all land cases which had been hitherto heard and disposed of by the Emperor himself and his Privy Council in order to relieve the Emperor for a time from that engagement. The decrees and judgment of this Court were to be final and there was to be no appeal. The Prince of Migonne was nominated president of this Council and with him were associated the Prince of Ove. the Prince of Velaren and the Prince of Cottamale and no other judge of a less note had the power to pass any capital sentence without the knowledge and approval of the Supreme Court. The Prince of Ove, the Prince of Migonne, the Prince of Velare, the Prince of Cottamale and the Count of Quatre Corle were nominated members of His Majesty's Privy Council.

It was further determined and resolved in this Council to give all possible encouragement and protection to seafaring men by giving them grants of lands as an inducement to settle themselves in His Majesty's Dominions so that they might in process of time augment in number and be usefully employed in naval battles. To forward this desirable object orders were issued for the construction of three new galleys and some sloops to be despatched to intercept and capture the Portugees and other enemies from the Indian coast, Orixa, Bengale and other places. with instructions to afford no quarter to the Portugezen and their allies; their wives and children were only to be spared till further orders. A general amnesty was also proclaimed for all deserters who were given 60 days to resume their allegiance to His Imperial Majesty. This pardon which was granted at Candy on the 23rd day of July 1612 was extensively circulated through all parts of the Empire.

While the Emperor's attention was thus engaged, he received tidings that the Portugezen with a large force of armed men were making for Jafnapatan. The Emperor whose scheme of warfare had been only directed to Gale and Walane now dispatched some of his troops to meet and oppose the enemy's progress. The latter falling in with the Portugezen troops in the rear soon put them to flight in great confusion. The enemy apprehended that the mass

The Portugezen March to Jafnapatan.

Ip. 301

Defeated.

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of the Emperor's force were at their heels, but seeing themselves, not further pursued they rallied and soon put themselves in order, and on their return to Columbo, took possession of the princedom They take the of Migonne by treachery and committed great slaughter. The principality Governeur Modeliar of the place it is said had been bought over by bribes and had surrendered the place without there being any real necessity to do so. The latter to smother suspicion however wrote a letter to the prince under date 30th August giving him an account of how after having withstood three-repeated attempts at storming he was ultimately obliged to surrender the place. He assured the prince that as soon as he and his other subjects see an opening left to free themselves of the Portugezen slavery, that they would avail themselves of that opportunity, and further informed the prince how that the Portugezen had removed to Columbo all their principal women and children as well as his own wife as hostages. And in token of their sense of duty and fidelity to his person, they sent their prince a present. This letter was dated 30th August 1612, and was by authority of the abovenamed signed Visego Modeliar.

The prince1 after consulting His Majesty replied to this letter expressing his regret at the loss of his lands, and admonishing his subjects at the same time to a steady adherence to their allegiance and enjoined them as soon as it shall be found possible to join the Emperor's standard.

Chapter Twelve

Death of the hereditary prince. His funeral obsequies. Revolt of the King of Panua who is made prisoner, convicted and executed with his Co-adjutors.

BOUT this time (after an illness of six days) died the crown Death of the prince Mahastanne the son of the deceased Emperor CrownPrince. Don Jan, respecting whose death there were various reports afloat, among the high and low circles, but the most [p. 31]

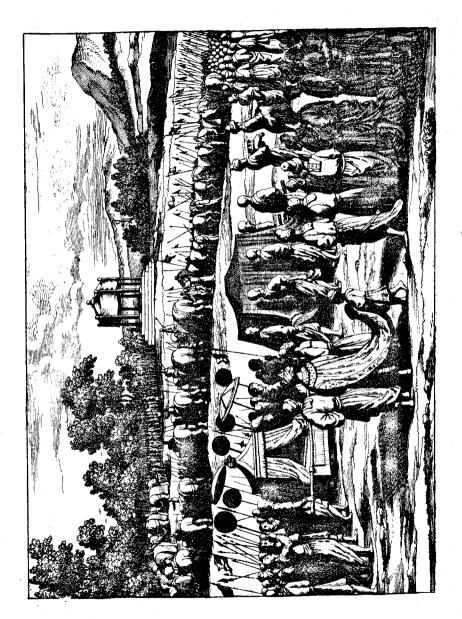
^{1.} i.e. Marcellus de Boschhouwer, Prince of Migonne.

confirmed opinion was, that he was poisoned by his step father Cenuwieraat in order to secure the crown to his eldest own son Comara Singastanne.¹ The loss of this prince was deeply felt by all the great men of the state who were now busily ngaged in giving directions for a magnificent funeral procession according to the custom and usage of the country, guards were now placed in all the principal entrances and avenues of the palace with orders not to give admittance to all such persons who were seen armed with any sort of weapon.

His funeral.

The funeral obsequies started at midday on the 23rd of August. The Empress gave vent to much lamentation on taking farewell of the deceased calling him her own flesh and blood, her hope, her life, and her only delight and comfort. She wanted vengeance for his death and wished to follow him to the grave by starving herself to death. Overwhelmed with intense grief she sank into a fainting fit and was removed to another apartment. Her two daughters were also sorely affected. On the public being now permitted to view the body, they burst out into loud-voiced lamentation, shouting "Where is the traitor who has murdered our prince that we might devour him with our very teeth." The Emperor fearing a riot got the princes of Migonne and Ove to quiet the people saying that the prince fell not by poison but under the effects of a malignant fever. The body was conveyed to the pyre, in a superbly covered couch or bed of gold studded with precious stones.

It was preceded by the deceased's musicians clad in black linen or ginghams, then followed the musqueteers or lancers in ranks of threes, and next the *rondeliers*,² shield bearers and halbardiers with sloped arms, then moved the var elephants led by 40 noblemen and these were succeeded by 8 stately Persian horses led by 8 gentlemen of the order of the Golden Sun, followed by the chamberlains according to their rank and standing. The sceptre was then borne upon a black velvet cushion, and then the golden crown and its regalia. Then followed the body, borne by 8 principal lords, and immediately after it the deceased prince's palenqueen or *rosbaar*, surrounded by 16 men



^{1.} i.e. Kumarasinghe, Senerat's eldest son.

^{2.} i.e. bearers of rondeleen, honorific discs mounted on staves.

bearing large fans, 4 white parasols, and 8 white sun screens, 6 betel boxes, and a rod of which none but the Emperor should carry. His Imperial Majesty followed it supported by the princes of *Migonne* and *Mewater*, after them came all the great men of state, and other rulers of the land and the public in general who assembled in large from the adjacent villages. There were also arches erected all along the road for more than a quarter hour's march, which were gracefully draped with various kinds of fine linen and costly draperies.

When the procession reached the destined spot, the body was lowered and after customary ceremonies and prayers there was a great lamentation. The place of immolation was an elevated square with an ascent of 7 masonry steps, flat at the surface. well-wooded all around, and was called by the Cingalezen hona. Here in the middle there was a wide hole, into which those gentlemen who had borne the body of the deceased prince deposited large quantities of sandal and eagle wood and other aromatics, and then placed the bier over it and piled its sides with sandal and other costly spices to a man's height, and then emptied into the cavity 3 large pots of cinnamon oil and one of ghee, and waited for half an hour until they were absorbed by the ground. There was a sumptuous canopy like a tower constructed over this grave seven feet high which was covered with costly gold brocades, under which the august company who formed the procession took their stand while the ceremonies were being performed. On its termination the Prince of Migonne then received a torch of straw from the deceased prince's nurses and a golden bowl containing fire and 2 other lighted torches, with which he moved towards the pyre together with the aforesaid nurses and two chamberlains to set fire to it. Then there arose another outburst of indescribable lamentation, and it was not till after the corpse had been reduced to cinders, that the august train returned to the palace and sought the presence of the Empress and her daughters to console them.

In September following there arrived tidings that the King of *Panua* had thrown off his allegiance and joined the *Portugezen*, and that the King of *Cotiarum* was also plotting a revolt against the Imperial Crown when they were instantly summoned by

King of Panua deserts.

[p. 33]

letters dated 23rd September to make their appearance before the Emperor within 16 days under pain of confiscation of property. and banishment.

King of Cotiarum absolved in Candy.

The King of Cotiarum being indisposed at the time deputed his nephew to ascertain the cause of his being so summoned at court. This envoy arrived in Candy on the 4th of October and he so ably vindicated the cause of the King, that the latter was exonerated from all blame, and the envoy permitted to depart. But the King of Panua from a consciousness of his guilt did not make his appearance and it was resolved to compel him to do so. by an attack on his kingdom. This state of affairs necessarily delayed the contemplated operation being made upon Gale and Walane. On the 1st of January 1613, the princes of Migonne and Ove started off with an army of 35,000 men direct towards Panua, with instructions to attack and lay waste the place if necessary, but the inhabitants on learning that such a strong force were advancing against them sent their messengers with large presents entreating that they might be heard in their defence. which request was readily accorded them, so that it was ultimately agreed, that independent of the annual tribute, the King should make good the payment of two months wages for the whole army, which amounted to 457,000 lareens, and that the King himself should make his appearance at court within 5 or 6 days the latest—with these conditions the King undertook to comply.

King of Panua at the Court.

On his arrival at Candy on the 8th of March he was received with kingly honours and subsequently arraigned by the Council¹ and had his charges read out to him, indicting him of conspiracy with the *Portugezen* from whom as the reward for his treacherous perfidy he was to receive the hand of the young Princess Hantan Adascyn in marriage, and the Kingdoms of Batecalo and Palugam as her marriage portion, further that he had made light and disregarded the Emperor's commands and failed to attend the court when so ordered, that he had moreover employed a person to assassinate the Emperor by advancing him 5.000 lareens. with an understanding that he was to receive a further remuner-

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ation of 20,000 lareens and some lands after he shall have accomplished the horrid crime, that these charges are rendered clear and manifest not only by the King's own signature but also by the frank and voluntary confession of the hired assassin himself. When the king (of Panua) perceived the charges which admitted of no refutation, so fully substantiated, he publicly avowed his guilt, and entreated that his offences might be forgiven him. He further implored that His Majesty and his Council. would pause and consider his descent, sprung as he was from an imperial race whose ancestors had done the country signal service. He was then by command of the Emperor deprived of his arms and ordered to be remanded a prisoner at the castle of Meddema Honore, whence he subsequently addressed a letter to His Imperial Majesty, and earnestly besought that his life might be spared and that he might be held in perpetual durance.

This letter bore the date 9th of March. The Council had also entered into a further investigation of all other persons [p. 34] suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy, and 62 confederates were taken into custody and subsequently executed.

On the 20th March His Majesty caused fifty of his councillors King of to be assembled, before whom the King of Panua and his co-adjutors arraigned. were arraigned for trial and after a protracted discussion and a mature and deliberate consideration the Council pronounced

them all guilty of high treason and sentenced them accordingly. The King of Panua was to forfeit his life by decollation and the Condemned rest of the prisoners to be trodden to death by the elephants and their property confiscated to the Crown. These sentences having been approved of and confirmed by the Emperor's signature were carried into execution on the 24th morning after they had been publicly read and explained to the assembled crowd. When the King of Panua was removed from the castle of Meddema Honore Execution of to the scaffold he was dressed in a white costume after the roval style, and on reaching the spot where he had to die he fearlessly

mounted the scaffold and took his seat on a gilt chair which had been placed on it. He was then proclaimed to be divested of

his former status and grandeur, and had his sentence read over

to him to which he scarcely made any comment but he only

bewailed his misfortune and frequently asked if there was no

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^{1.} The Council referred to is similar to the Great Court or Maha Naduwa that existed in the last years of the Kandyan Kingdom. It consisted of all the important chiefs of the country. See D'Oyly. Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom p. 21.

His last actions and words.

hope of mercy; as that was not to be expected he was disrobed by his chamberlains who could not help shedding tears and to whom the king made costly presents in jewels. His chancellor then blindfolded him upon his request while he was regaling himself with some betel and arreek he exclaimed "why now further delay?" He then bade farewell to the bystanders, exclaiming "Oh, my ill fortune! to what pass am I reduced" and then undoing the bandage from his eyes, he paced the scaffold thrice and resumed his seat and took another mouthful of betel exclaiming "Tho' a King myself, sprung from Imperial blood. I see I cannot yet avoid this fate, it is therefore my request that after my death my remains might not be touched or handled by mean hands, but receive royal burial"; on this request being guaranteed him by the gentlemen who were there present he seemed greatly satisfied, and he then begged that his offences might be forgotten and forgiven him. He then allowed himself to be again blindfolded, and laid his neck upon a huge block of wood when it was instantly severed. His remains (upon the order of His Majesty) received honourable burial.

Beheaded.

His nephew succeeds him.

On the 28th of the same month Samarway, the nephew of the deceased King, being by general suffrage elected in his place proceeded to Panua with a strong force of 5,000 men, and on his arrival there on the 8th of April following he found the country to be in a state of great excitement and ferment owing to a remnant of the conspirators having assembled a large force to dispute the entry of the new King, and it was not till he had ordered an attack to be made upon the rioters and 125 of the ringleaders hacked to pieces that peace and order were restored. When the King thought himself safely established he withdrew the force which accompanied him, attending also to the arrears of pay, which amounted to a large sum of money. The Portugezen who had warily awaited the result of these commotions now sent their emissaries to compromise with the new sovereign by holding out to him great promises of freedom and assistance, but the King turned a deaf ear to it all.

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Chapter Thirteen

The Emperor starts for Walane. The Prince of Migonne equips a fleet. Indisposition of the Empress. She gives directions regarding her affairs. Her death.

HE Emperor had now again assembled a force and with great vigour assailed the Portugezen defences at Walane and The Emperor's took the fortress by storm, but owing to the looting indul-surprise ged in by his soldiers they were driven back with great loss. The attack on Emperor was so exasperated at their conduct, that he caused 105 [p. 35] Cingalezen to be hanged. The Portugezen having in the meantime been reinforced, the Emperor was induced to withdraw his forces Hewithdraws. from the field.

The prince of Migonne, Admiral and Naval Captain General, Prince of had at the request of the Emperor fitted out a fleet consisting Migonne sails with a of 3 war galleys and 3 yachts with which they were ordered to fleet. go on a cruise to intercept and capture the enemy's vessels navigating between Cape Comoryn and Ceylon with instructions not to give quarter to the Portugezen or any enemies of the State, (save the women, children and slaves) as the slaves might be usefully employed on board their galleys. This fleet sailed from the harbour of Cotiarum on the 16th May with the nephew of the prince of Ove as Admiral and Wandige Nav Hanni as Vice Admiral. The following are the names of the vessels and of their respective commanders.

- Captain Sanderappo 1. the Galley Candy
- Captain Kistena 2. the Galley Hollant
- 3. the Galley Migonne Captain Dingappe
- Captain Ordia 4. the Yacht Fortuyn
- 5. the Yacht Geluk - Captain Marasinge
- 6. the Yacht de Trouwe Captain Sanderappo

The fleet returned on the 6th of March 1613 laden with much Returns with spoil which amounted to not less than 6 tons of treasure. While to the north of Chilau between Negumbo and Mannar they fell in with, and captured 2 Portugezen vessels called patasios, 3 yachts and 20 barques which they destroyed by fire, they also fell in

between Calecut and Cabo Comorvn with a Portugesche vacht: on the fleet nearing here, the crew threw themselves overboard and were drowned, they then gave chase to another vessel and ran her aground and after that took possession of a richly laden Moors vessel bound from Ormus to Cochin, they also captured another Portugezen ship on her way from Bengala, pitched the Portugezen and misticen and cargo overboard and made prisoners of the Portugezen women and slaves. On their return near Panua they discovered a Portugezen ship at anchor but deserted by her crew who had left everything on board to their mercy. Of the rich spoil captured His Maiesty made a distribution to his officers and soldiers.

In July 1613, the Empress Dona Catharina who was then

The Empress falls ill.

Her

melancholy

pregnant became seriously ill with high fever, and finding herself worse daily she sent for the princes of Migonne and Ove to whom she unburdened herself and in all secrecy spoke of her affairs, and with the consent of the Emperor appointed the princes guardians over her children. She was greatly affected at the thought of her eldest son the prince Mahastanne, ever since whose death she could hardly have been prevailed upon to take any food. She expressed her regret that she could not live to see the and anxieties. total expulsion of the Portugezen nation and longed for the promised aid of the Hollanders thereto, and on account of this could not rest. And since the death of her son she was never happy but full of anxieties and sad memories, unable to rest or to sleep, and was troubled about her other children's future after her death. She arranged for annual payments to her servants. freed her slaves, male and female, and gave her children costly trinkets and other valuables which she had for a long time safe-

Provides for her servants

and children.

guarded.

Her disorder being found to become more and more alarming every day she was removed from Welmantotte Palace to Modeni. whilst there she in the presence and within hearing of the Emperor enjoined the prince to avenge the death of her son by destroying in the first instance his medical attendant to whom she chiefly ascribed her son's death. The injunction was listened to by the prince with much delicacy as the Empress was at times found not in a sane state of mind. With all this sadness the palace became

[p. 36] Talks at random.

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now the scene of much bustle and confusion, and by the Emperor's orders double guards were posted on all the frontiers of the realm in order to arrest any outbreak or disturbance which might ensue on the decease of the Empress. In one of her lucid Her behaviour intervals she desired that her 5 children might be brought to her, towards her namely the crown prince Comaro Singastanne, Janiere Astanne, and Lamait and the princesses Mahadascyn and Hantan Adascyn. She embraced and fervently kissed them all shedding tears "My beloved flesh and blood" she said, "behold your mother who gave you birth. She can now be only spared to you for a very short time" and then calling to her the two princes she gave them charge of these children exclaiming "Behold these my dearest possessions (your masters and mistresses). Guard them as the apple of your eyes and thereby evince your gratitude for the kindness you have received at our hands" and then looking at the Emperor she said "You are the cause of my death", which remark ultimately affected his health, for he entertained the most affectionate attachment for the Empress.

While she was in this hopeless state, she hardly condescended to reply to any question that was put to her, except to the Prince Contrition of Ove to whom she relieved herself of one anxiety, protesting over her her sorrow at having resorted to heathen idols and made offerings to the devil whilst as a Christian she said she ought to have known better, and that it was no wonder then if those evil spirits are now awaiting to hurry her away. The Prince of Migonne The Prince of reasoned with her and said "Your Majesty, please understand Migonne that all the devils in hell can have no power over a believing and penitent Christian, therefore be calm and pray God in the name of Jesus to have mercy on your soul." "Yes" she replied, "I am a Christian and will pray but do you also intercede She prays for me." The prince then repeated the Lord's Prayer and the and dies 12 Articles of the Creed, at the close of which she exclaimed in Portugezen, "Oh! Christe, Ajuda mi", "Oh! Christ help me". While she continued in this state she was again removed to the Palace of Welmantotte where her last words were, "Oh my princes and princesses where do I now leave you? You my Lords" addressing the Princes of Migonne and Ove "Be true to your promise, for I go hence, Oh my God save my soul."

Thus she died on the 20th of July 1613, aged 35 years, and her funeral obsequies were on the 21st carried out with all the magnificence which had characterized the funeral of her son, and her remains were entombed in the same spot.

Chapter Fourteen

The Emperor's sickness. He convenes a Council. Proposal submitted for consideration. Resolution arrived at.

The King falls sick, summons his Council.

S the Emperor's sickness was fast gaining ground upon him he was removed to a small town called *Dilege*¹ where on the 18th of August, he assembled together those who were well established in the various kingdoms. The councillors who attended (the King himself being on a golden bed in another room) were:- Idele, King of Cotiarum; Celle Wandaar, King of Palugam; Comaro Wandaar, King of Batecalo; Samarway, King of Panua; Namacar, Envoy of the King of Jafnapatan; Coriwitte, Prince of Ove; Marcellus. Prince of Migonne; Materael Hani, Prince of Velaren; Jalagode Rale, Prince of Cotemale; Mewater Rale, Prince of Mewatre; Jane Sengati, Prince and Lord Podere; Wiek Venesinge Count of Ouatrecorle; Geal Heneraed Governor of the County Harispate; Corope, Noble and Governor of the County Odogodas; Kery Wanasegre Noble and Governor of the Province Matele: Attapatte Governor of Wluat Gamme and Pasgrame; Halvenrale, Governor of Atapeli and Wilwele, and many other nobles, and after silence was proclaimed the Emperor addressed the assembly thus "My Lords and Gentlemen the reason of my calling you together on this occasion is my sickness which might perhaps soon terminate my existence; it is therefore my request, if I had at any time unwittingly given you any offence, that it might be forgotten and forgiven. I have considered it highly necessary, circumstanced as I am at present, that some well defined system of order and regulation should now be established,

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Business explained to Council.

1. Diyatilaka Nuwara. For a description of the city see Knox, Historical

so as to prevent all future discord and contention amongst my people after my decease, for you must be fully aware of the deplorable state of affairs in which the empire was involved at the time of the decease of my brother Vinne Ladarma Soria, an incident which ought to serve us as an example, to avoid the like unpleasant results and with the view to ensure the right of succession to the throne of this realm to our well beloved son Comara Singastanne, I have therefore thought it proper to cause a selection to be made through you, and from amongst your own order of two guardians for the prince, and to invest them with full power to guide the helm of the state during his minority. I earnestly beseech you therefore to give your best consideration and select two persons whom you judge most competent for such office." The nobles were much surprised and gave their votes in writing, nominating the princes of Migonne and Ove as guardians. Both these princes however declined to accept the office, humbly and earnestly requesting that His Imperial Majesty might be pleased to look for more efficient persons.

The Emperor sighing, said "what, do you refuse me this service, have you forgotten the good offices I have done you?" The princes with all due respect informed His Maiesty, that they were even then ready to shed their blood in His Majestv's cause and defence, but that the honour thus intended them was. they considered, too great for them. "Well then", said His Majesty "if so, the selection shall be made personally by my son the Crown Prince, and then I trust you will rest satisfied with his choice." The Council considered the suggestion good. The Emperor then called the King of Cotiarum and requested him to lead the young prince to the assembly. "Go my son", said His Majesty." and select from amongst all the kings, princes and lords here present two persons whom you most love in order that they might administer the kingdom after my decease." The young prince here burst out into sobs and tears exclaiming "Oh no you shall not die father, but shall abide with me;" which words moved His Majesty and the assembly to tears. The Emperor then said "I do not know when the time will come for me to be parted from you, therefore choose two persons whom you love next to me." The son then exclaimed "I love

Relation of Ceylon p. 34.

the Prince of Migonne and the Prince of Ove, and next to them the Prince of Velaren." "Enough, my son", said His Majesty "go and bring them here to me that I might deliver your honoured self to their care." The young prince taking the two princes by the hand led them to His Majesty, saying "These will be my guides, and when I am old enough my chief counsellors": the Emperor then in very affectionate language addressed the prince, "My dear son", said he, "You behold now your father who will perhaps soon cease to live, and as you are young attend to all the counsel of these two princes." His Majesty was here so overcome that he could speak no longer, in the weak state he then was, and wished that he might be removed from the assembly, with exhortation to the two princes faithfully to abide to their promise and trust. The princes having assured His Majesty of their loyalty did him sambave and returned to their territories.

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The day following the election, when the council was reassembled, the act delegating the royal authority to the two princes was then publicly read of which the following is a brief abstract.

Two Guardians for the chosen.

"Cenuwiraed by the Grace of God, Emperor of Ceylon. King of Candy, Setevaca, Tringuenemale, Jafnapatam, Settecorles, Crown Prince Manaer, Chilaon, Panua, Batecalo, Palugam and Jaele. Prince of Ove. Dennevaque, Passadon Corle, Velaren, Cotamale, Mewatre, and Ventane. Duke of Willegamme, Gale, Ody, and Jattenore, Count of Quatercorle, Harkepatte, Odogodaskary, Coriwitty and Bategedre, Peace to all whom it may concern.

The Emperor's realm entrusted to the two princes till the majority of the young emperor.

Whereas we lay sick in bed and not knowing the time of dissolution, we have therefore assembled together all our principal officers of state to consult with them so as to secure the tranquillity of our country and to the well-being of our beloved son Comara Singastan (whom God long preserve). We have therefore selected and appointed two princes to take upon them the reins of government of this our empire as protectors thereof, and as guardians of our son after our decease until the prince shall have attained to years of discretion, and while these two princes namely the Prince of Migonne and the Prince of Ove have been unanimously chosen and elected for the office. We do therefore thus dedicate to them our kingdom, lands and domains that they might

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have the rule over them for the good of my people and for the safety and protection of our well beloved son during his minority. It is also gratifying to us that we have been thus enabled to have made every necessary provision for the stability and peace of these our realms in our life time, and thereby prevent all future internal wars and dissensions; it is therefore our will and pleasure that the aforesaid two princes do take upon them the rule and government of these our realms as far as our territorial limits extend, and exercise their power and authority over them so long until I shall be established in health, or in case of my decease until such time the crown prince attains his majority and in the event of his death, the crown shall then revert to his brothers our well beloved sons, with express commands, that no other person or persons but the princes thus chosen and nominated shall have sole trust, care and supervision of the aforesaid hereditary princes and princesses, without the interference of any other persons whatever at the peril of their life. It is our further will and pleasure that the said hereditary princes and princesses shall be brought up together and provided with good and clever teachers to fit them at their proper time to ascend the throne of this empire, and in case of the demise of the crown prince, he shall be succeeded by my second son Janiere Astan, and after him his younger brother Lamostanne, and at his decease the crown shall then devolve on our well beloved daughter the princess Mahadasciin, and on her decease on her sister Hanta Madasciin, and in the more extreme cases of the death of all these heirs. I entrust and confide these our realms to your hands to choose for a successor a person who shall be my nearest blood connection as you shall with the joint advice and counsel of the princes of the land consider it advisable, which latter nomination I leave entirely to your own good judgement and discretion and you are expected to render an account to the prince so elected by you of the true and just position of state affairs during your administration without any concealment of facts on pain of forfeiture of life and goods.

The two princes aforesaid shall honour and retain in office princes all our present councillors unless by crime or misconduct they show due shall render themselves unworthy of holding their respective consideration

The two

places, in all such instances they shall be dismissed from office and others appointed in their stead.

The state and condition of the aforesaid princes shall be maintained at the public expense, and all state affairs shall be invariably conducted by them in the name and on behalf of the crown prince; all kings, lords and nobles, and all other functionaries of high or low estate shall on a summons being issued by direction of the princes make their appearance at court, and pay all due attention and obedience to their orders and swear allegiance to the crown prince as well as to the aforesaid guardian princes promising never to prove unfaithful nor to make agreement with our common enemy the Portugezen, or any other rebels, under any circumstances or pretext whatever, and to do their utmost endeavour to stifle, all such seditious attempts against our crown without any discrimination of persons, be they ever so closely connected with them by the ties of blood. It is hereby further commanded and enjoined, that the aforesaid kings, lord and nobles, shall peaceably conduct themselves after our decease without any attempts at causing rebellion or dissensions at their peril of sharing the fate of the King of Panua and his followers, taking their oath thereto. We do hereby further declare that of this our last and ultimate will goldinscribed olas be made and delivered to the aforesaid princes of Migonne and Ove as letters of authority according to which they shall in our name and that of the crown prince protect and rule over the country, doing all right and justice both in civil and in criminal matters.

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And we do further command all kings and princes, all dukes, counts, ecclesiastics, nobles, governors, heads of all lands and provinces, captains and presidents of all councils, admirals, chancellors and all other persons connected with our finance and government, governors, aldermen and all our vassals and inhabitants, military and civilians of every province, town and village jointly and severally, that they acknowledge the aforesaid princes as guardians, and rulers of this our Empire until such time as the hereditary prince shall be of age, and pay them all due honour as if to our own self by conforming themselves to everything as herein prescribed in this our Imperial Act on

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pain of most serious condemnation. And that nothing should be done contrary to the aforewritten and to avoid trouble and for greater security, we have jointly with the crown prince and all the assembled kings, princes; nobles and potentates affixed hereunto our signature and confirmed it with out great seal of office. It is our further will and pleasure that this our said act shall be duly enrolled and recorded, in all our courts of justice, secret councils, chambers of accounts and other places where it ought to be recorded to the end that every attention and respect may be paid thereto, such is our last and ultimate will. Thus declared at the Imperial Palace at Digelege this 19th day of August 1613.

Chapter Fifteen

The hereditary princes removed to Cockelecorle. Gael Heneraed's attempt at treachery defeated. He is summoned to Court, made prisoner, and executed.

HEN His Majesty had caused the aforesaid act to be The publicly proclaimed and made known to the people, entrusts his he gave to each prince copies thereof engraved in children sheets of gold plates, and earnestly exhorted them to act guardian with all due care and in harmony with each other, and princes. requested them to take good heed of the princes and princesses, his children. After the oath of allegiance had been administered to all the nobles and statesmen, the two guardian princes then knelt before His Majesty and thanked him for the honour thus conferred on them praying that God might yet give him a long life for the good of the empire. His Majesty then helped to raise them up and made them take their seats close to him, and revealed to them the places where he had secured his treasure and also gave them such further information on matters of state as he considered it necessary for them to know. He then ordered the 3 princes and 2 princesses his children to be brought into his presence and affectionately reminded them of their duty to their

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guardians. He then took the crown prince by the hand and said "my beloved son, may every felicity attend your royal self and your royal brothers and sisters", and then addressing himself to the princes of Migonne and Ove he continued, "Accept and receive now from my hand these my precious treasures which I do now entrust you with." Having thus given charge of him and the other princes and princesses to the said guardians they were on the same night conveyed to the Dukedom of Cockele corle for better preservation and safety with strict injunctions to their conductors to keep this movement secret, on pain of capital punishment. Everything being now disposed of, the council was then dissolved on the 20th.

Who escort them to Cockelecorle.

Preparations by the Portugezen.

The Portugezen on hearing of the demise of the Empress and of the illness of the Emperor were far from being idle, and notwithstanding the miscarriage of their intrigues at Panua they now by renewed overtures succeeded in gaining over to their side the son of Gale Heneraed Modeliar Governor of Harcipate, the president of the princely lands of Cockelecorle. He in conjunction with some other nobles were now doing their utmost to stir up strife and contention amongst their own people and in that state of confusion to admit the Portugezen into their territories. On the princes of Migonne and Ouvah being privately made aware of their project by a certain Bramin, they resolved to sift the matter more closely. With this view the Prince of Migonne on the 15th of September started with a strong party as if on a tour inspecting his frontiers, and while on his journey he was met by the people of Heneraed between Ode and Jatteno who were panic-struck at the prince's sudden appearance and pretended that they were bound for Cottamale to aid the recovery of some crown lands. The prince's suspicion being now strongly excited, he sent for the head of the party, and had his person narrowly searched, when a letter from Gael Heneraed was found upon him to the effect that everything promises well, and would lead to a successful issue, and that an agreement had been entered into with his son Abecque the President of Cockelecorle, as well as other nobles, who he said were all willing to further their views: their determination to make away with the crown prince as well as all the royal children, including the princes of Migonne and

Letter of Gael

Heneraed.

Prince of

Migonne

followers

Heneraed.

of Gael

surprises the

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Ove if present with them, and with directions to accomplish the deed by night, also that he sends them by the Portugezen a supply of powder, lead and provisions with a caution at the same time to be wary and watchful as the garrison of Candy had been doubled in force apparently with some secret design.

When the prince had read this letter he ordered that the chief should be taken prisoner but the latter proved refractory and was shot to death on the spot; his soldiers and labourers on seeing this, made an attempt to steal away, but they were beset and destroyed, and some few only escaped into the jungles. The prince then dispatched a letter to the governor commanding summoned that he should forthwith repair to court as there were some to the weighty matters to be settled by him concerning his lands. The governor who was then not made acquainted with what had just transpired made his appearance at Candy on the 20th September. Suspectingly He was courteously received by the prince, and in the course of appears. conversation Gael laid much stress on his fidelity by too frequently And protests asserting that he would stake his life for the good of the Empire. The Prince of Migonne who could no longer support his indignation checked himself however and said "nevertheless, we have learnt that in your heart you are a traitor to the Crown, and have already agreed with our enemies the Portugezen and this conduct is not in harmony with the sanctity of the oath you have so recently taken." Gael persisted that he knew nothing of the allusions made by the prince and challenged the prince to produce his accusers. The Prince of Ove seeing the barefaced hardihood of the man, said "I wish that all we have heard of you is untrue, but we are well assured of it all." After another short conversation he dismissed him and issued orders for his arrest and compelled [p. 41] him to surrender his sword. On his being seized by a chief, he Arrested said "Why, my friend I see you are at the wrong man", trying at he tries to the same time to make his escape, but the chief held him back requesting to know if he was not Gael Heneraed Modliar, "Yes I am" was the reply. "Then you are just the person I am looking for, permit me therefore to conduct you. I have the Emperor's commands to do so." Gael who now saw that there was no escape for him exclaimed "well, conduct me then to His Majesty or to the prince", the chief replied that he had no such directions

His soldiers try to rescue him.

Fifty of them seized.

The Emperor's children taken to another Castle. Gael arraigned

before the

Council.

given him. An attempt was made by some of Gael's people to rescue him, but they were immediately taken and locked up, and executed the very next day, and others who were about to make their escape favoured by darkness of the night were also made prisoners to the number of 50 men. This interference on the part of Gael's men tended greatly to damage his cause.

The royal children were then by the princes' order removed to another fortress with instructions to all the Governors of the provinces not to suffer any of Heneraed's people to have access to them without the Emperor's special order.

On the 22nd when Gael Heneraed was brought before the Council he boldly denied in the first instance all knowledge of the crime imputed to him, but his courage soon relaxed and he fell prostrate on the floor and avowed his guilt and craved for mercy, he stated in extenuation of his crime that he was tempted to it from his not being promoted by His Majesty. He spoke of 26 other nobles who were concerned in this conspiracy, but would not name them. When the Bramin who had discovered the plot was ushered in, Gael on seeing him, exclaimed, "Yes, now they will gain a knowledge of the whole affair, but I shall not reveal it." The Bramin further informed the Council how he Gael Heneraed had caused two nobles to be executed without law or process, simply because they had refused to take part in his grievous crimes.

The 26 nobles in question were duly summoned. They avowed their guilt, and when His Majesty became aware of their confession, he wished that the Council would enter into a fuller investigation of the affair.

On the 25th the parties were again brought before the Council. and as they had unanimously acknowledged their guilt sentence of death was then passed against them.

26 nobles found guilty. Execution

Gael Heneraed and

of the sentence.

The execution which took place on the 27th was attended with extreme rigour. The fifty soldiers who offered resistance were beheaded. The 26 nobles who had signed the contract had their hands cut off and their bodies thrown as meat for dogs. Gael's four councillors had their flesh torn off their bodies with red hot pincers, and their hands and feet severed, the bodies quartered and hung around the Court, whilst the wretched

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Governor was reserved to the last to be an eye witness of the sufferings of his mad compeers. Gael was now most awfully trailed through the city by an elephant, and at every nook and corner of the town his flesh was wrenched off his body with red hot pincers, and finally his limbs were broken and cast to an elephant who tossed him up high, received him back on his tusks and ultimately trampled him. Such was his end. A few others concerned in this conspiracy made their escape to Columbo and His Majesty then gave permission to the nobles to return to their homes.1

Chapter Sixteen

Battle between the Emperor and his rebellious subjects. The Portugezen overture for peace rejected. They advance to Candy and are defeated.

BOUT this period the princes of Migonne and Ove jointly The Prince with the Count of the Quatrecorle, set out on a tour to marches to Cockelecorle with 2,000 men where they were well received Quatrecorle. and handsomely entertained. Having here settled various matters they at the same time caused an alteration to be made in the value of the coins with directions not to pass them at higher rates than at those stipulated by them.

In 1614, there ensued a hard battle between the Emperor Battle and some of his rebellious subjects of the lowlands, and there Emperor was loss of life on both sides of not less than 4,000 men. The and some insurgents finding themselves at length much too weak abandoned [p. 42] the field at night and applied to the *Portugezen* for aid, whilst the Emperor held the field with his principal chiefs and 2,000 of his soldiers and 1,000 coolies within the walls of a small defence raised for the purpose, directions being given to his General to sa'ly out with a portion of his troops and cut off the retreat of the rebels; when the Portugezen were apprized of the intended

^{1.} For a possible identification of Galle Senerat Mudaliyar and his son Abayakoon, see Pieris, Portuguese Era. p. 588. n. 63.

Portugezen surprise and defeat the Emperor.

movement, they secretly advanced with a body of 100 Europeans and 5.000 natives and adherents, by another route and overwhelmed the guard killing all whom they could so that everyone tried to escape. The princes of Migonne and Ove were both wounded by lances, the former in his right foot, and the latter in his right arm, the Emperor's loss on this occasion amounted in all to 500 men.

Don Muno Ceylon, wishes to come to an agreement with the Emperor.

On the 14th of March 1614 there arrived in Columbo as successor of Don Jeronimo d' Oviedo who was then appointed to the Viceroyship of Goa, the brother of Count Fere, named Don de Feriera in Muno de Feriera and with him a draft of 150 Europeans and a party of misticen for strengthening the garrison of Columbo, with instructions to use all means to come to amicable terms with the Emperor. On the 3rd of June the new Governor dispatched an envoy to the Court of Candy named, Don Francisco de Menezes, with full power to negotiate with the Emperor. In conformity with these instructions he on his arrival at Candy handed over to his Imperial Majesty the letters from the General, as also one from the Vicerov of India in Goa, which he had addressed to the Emperor of Ceylon as from the King of Spangien. The purport of these letters which contained several compliments was to the following effect:-

Letter of the King of Spangien.

That the King of Spangien takes no delight in the shedding of blood as was the case till then, but is desirous to treat with His Imperial Majesty with the view to ensuring a lasting peace, he has to that end dispatched a personage of high standing with full powers, and will His Imperial Majesty therefore be pleased to give him a favourable hearing. Goa 22nd February 1614. The letter of the General was almost to the same purport.

Hereupon on the 13th of June the Emperor assembled and consulted his Council, when it was decided that they (the Portuguese) should send in their proposals in writing which they did by the 18th of the same month, the following is the substance of the communication:

Proposals submitted by the Portugezen.

1st. That the King of Spangien was desirous to treat with Your Maiesty as a brother, in all amity.

2nd. That the peace which should now be established whether in perpetuity or for some years ought to be inviolably

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kept and maintained, and all sense of enmity should reciprocally cease, by water and by land.

3rd. Each party to retain undisputable possession of all he now owns.

4th. His Imperial Majesty shall annul and set at nought the contract entered into with the Hollanders and never for the future make further contract either with them or with any other enemies of the Crown of Spangien and Portugual, or suffer any other European nation to have dealings within his territories.

5th. In respect to the course of our commerce it shall be free on both sides, in any merchandize whatsoever without let or hindrance.

6th. His Imperial Majesty must permit the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in Candy and suffer us to build a Chapel and Convent there, and allow 2 or 3 hundred individuals, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, to be located there.

7th. For the better guarantee of this Treaty. His Maiesty shall cause one of his crown princes to hold his Court in Columbo, and so would a high functionary of their own nation reside close to His Majesty.

8th. His Imperial Majesty shall make restitution of all that had been taken from us in the wars, in guns, jewels, money, men, and also our male and female slaves.

On the perusal of these conditions it was decided in His The Majesty's Council, not to go any further in negotiations with the Emperor rejects the Portugezen, fearing that under the ostensible garb of friendship proposals. there was treachery at the bottom, as was originally manifested. [p. 43] On the 20th of June the Portugezen received answers to the effect that His Imperial Majesty was not at all disposed to enter into any negotiation with the King of Spangien, ere he shall have restored the lands and privileges he had wrested. The King of Spangien could retain Gale and Columbo with their dependencies, that His Majesty was not disposed to set aside the engagement entered into with the Hollanders, but shall hold it inviolate, and that His Majesty expects that the King would make restitution of the losses he had brought upon him by his wars and of the payments of the export and import duties on their goods.

The Portugezen try for a truce but in vain.

The Portugezen after due consideration gave up many of their pretensions and tried to bring on a suspension of arms, but the envoy could not even have succeeded in this, he was therefore obliged to return crestfallen (to Columbo) on the 8th June taking with him a letter of the Emperor to the Portugeschen General, in which he states, that he would not deal falsely with the Hollanders, and that the Portugezen nation was not at all to be trusted and relied upon, that he could therefore only meet them in battle and with this assurance they could content themselves.

They march on Candy with a large force.

Great rejoicing thereon in Candv.

The Portugezen perceiving the unfavourable aspect of their affairs, raised an army of 25,000 men and marched to the capital of Candy. The Emperor went to meet them with a force of 29,000 men and on the 6th of August the parties fell in with each Are defeated, other near about Walane. There fell 40 white Portugezen and 2,100 of the rebellious inhabitants. On the Emperor's side 700 men survived. The Portugezen were put to flight many saving themselves by escaping into the neighbouring jungles. There were great rejoicings in Candy on the occasion of this victory. The princes of Migonne and Ove who led the attack were received in Candy with great honour. Shortly after this event a Portugezen deserter came over to Candy and gave an account of the state of their army; had, he said, the Emperor's forces pursued on their victory they could have wholly routed the Portugezen, and have made an easy conquest of the fort of Columbo, for the strength of that garrison then consisted of not more than 300 men, and that there had also been much discord in the town, which had only been quelled by the arrival of their new General who put to death some of the ringleaders.

The Emperor wishes to marry his stepdaughter.

On the 29th of August the Emperor formed a design of marrying his step-daughter, but the project was strenously objected to by the Prince of Migonne, although he was informed by His Majesty himself that he was already cohabiting with her. The prince nevertheless resolutely maintained his objections, though it had been suggested by the other nobles; the prince frankly told His Majesty that such a step was contrary to God's just precepts and most grievous incest and that the prince could not therefore assent to it, but must warn His Majesty against trifling

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with his salvation. This remonstrance not only moved the Emperor to tears, but he also promised to leave his daughter alone and be more of a father to her.

On the 5th of October the Candanezen attacked and routed Candanezen a Portugezen convoy of 900 men on their way to Walane with attack a provisions and munitions of war. They also sent 500 men to intercept the new General who was then expected at Walane, but the Portugezen who had discovered their project came and surrounded the party and did great execution amongst them. 500 Two Candanezen only who kept themselves quietly huddled Candanezen amongst their own dead made their escape at night.

At the close of the year 1614 there arose a severe contest, between the low-country kings of Palugam and Batecalo, as the latter had attacked and murdered on the road the envoy and people of the former. The King of Palugam however with the assistance and aid of the Prince of Ove became the victor. The King of Batecalo himself was slain during the conflict, and his kingdom was then by the influence of the Prince of Ove annexed to that of the King of Palugam.

slain by the Portugezen. Two escape.

Chapter Seventeen

Boschhouwer commissioned to proceed to Nederlandt. He closes an agreement at Denemarken. Returns to India. His death.

ARCELLUS de Boschhouwer who as we have already heard Marcellus was now made so great a prince, and who had acted in Boschhouwer everything according to his own good pleasure during his goes to stay in Ceylon, had now, 1615, at his earnest request obtained His fully Majesty's permission to proceed to Mazulipatam with a view to commissioned ensure the long looked for aid against the Portugezen. He was invested with full power and instructions to enter into negotiations with all kings, princes and potentates and republics, and contract such bonds, agreements and alliances with them as he considered conducive to the interest and welfare of His Majesty's empire against the deceits of the Portugezen. To this end, His Majesty gave him various letters with an accredited commission appointing him

Arrives at Bantam. Proceedings there.

his ambassador and promising to hold good and ratify all that Boschhouwer shall do on behalf of His Maiesty. He left Cevlon on the 9th of May 1615 and arrived at Mazulipatam on the 2nd of June following. Here the chief power was at the time vested in the Honourable Hans de Haze, who was then Director and Vizitateur of India. He in consequence of the paucity of ships and men took Boschhouwer with him to Bantam in order to consult General Gerard Revnst on the subject, but on their arrival they learnt that the General was then but recently deceased, and the pressing circumstances of the Honourable Company at the time owing to their wars in the Molucaues and their contemplated attack on Poulo Av and the Island of Banda, did not permit them with any safety to respond to the call made on them by the Emperor for the required aid, as it was then an object of the higher importance that their future in the Molucques should be first settled ere they could lay hands to any new enterprize. Upon Boschhouwer's urgent request however the Council of Bantam permitted him to proceed to the fatherland that he might here make known his commission and advocate the Emperor's cause with the States General, the Prince of Orange and the Honourable the Board of Directors of the East India Company by affording them every necessary information of the state of His Majesty's affairs in Cevlon, etc.

Trouble with the Directors in Hollandt.

Agreement with Denemarken.

He leaves for Ceylon.

Marcellus on his arrival in Hollandt got into great trouble with the Honourable Board of Directors, puffed out with a sense of his own greatness and pretending to be entitled to greater honours than the Directors themselves. He carried his ambition to such a length that forgetting his duty and his oath, he repaired to Denemarken where he landed on the 16 of June 1617 (old style) and entered into a contract with the Danes which was confirmed by King Christianus at Koppenhaven on the 30th of March 1618. He subsequently left from there for Ceylon taking with him in a ship and a yacht his wife (who was now invariably addressed as the Princess Migonne) and some members of his

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family and a goodly draft of soldiers. But he died during the Dies on the voyage, and the men he had engaged deserted mostly on the voyage. coast of Choromandel where his wife also died, so that this expedition ultimately ended in smoke.1

His travails and this ill-fated journey are worth narrating [p. 44 (i)] in greater detail.

Boshouwer², as we have said before, having obtained from Detailed King Christian the Fourth a ship and a yacht on account of the account said Emperor of Ceylon, and after the recently established Danish company³ in Coppenhaven had added five more ships, making expedition. seven in all, under the supreme command of a certain Danish nobleman named Gule Gedde,4 set sail out of the Sound and after Gule Gedde. many contrary winds and other difficulties, they proceeded through the many contrary winds and other difficulties, they proceeded through the English Channel and the open seas, and after a cruise of 22 First Danish Supreme months, with the loss of many people, including Boshouwer Commander. himself, who died on the way owing to the difficulties of the journey and the want of provisions, they finally reached Ceylon, Arrival where they landed at different times, some in the harbour of in Ceylon. Batecalo and others in the bay of Coutjare and eventually assembled together.

Then Gule Gedde notified the king through his agents of his arrival in the said bay and of the number of ships and men, and also of the death of Boshouwer, and asked for his orders as to what he should now do. But as soon as the monarch learnt of Boshouwer's death, and that the said expedition was undertaken

So spelt in the unnumbered 8 pages in the 1672 Edition.

The Danish East India Co. was founded at Copenhagen on March 17, 1616, under the patronage of King Christian IV of Dermark.

^{1.} For an account of Boschhouwer's activities in Kandy see Ceylon Literary Register (1931) p. 26 and Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society p. 169.

^{1.} Page 44 of the 1672 edition ends here and is followed by eight unnumbered pages dealing at greater length with the Danish Mission and after. Page 45 follows. The unnumbered pages appear to have been inserted after the original work had been printed, but before it was actually issued, as is indicated also by the fact that some proper names are spelt differently from the rest of the book. These eight pages had been left untranslated by Pieter Brohier, and the translation which is now presented is by Mr. S. A. W. Mottau, former Senior Assistant Government Archivist, Ceylon. The different unnumbered pages are indicated in brackets at the side of the pages, e.g. [p 44(i)] etc.

The correct name appears to be Ove Giedde. A full account of the circumstances of the Danish mission is found in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol. 37. Part II- "Ove Giedde in Ceylon 1620—21". The article contains a translation of Giedde's own detailed report of his mission.

can be reached with the King

entirely on his behalf at much expense, he seemed greatly surprised No agreement and could not agree to accept the contract which Boshouwer had made in his name, denying emphatically that he had ever given orders for such transactions.1 There was much dispute over the matter, and the Danes were eventually recompensed with nothing but empty words for all their trouble and expense in this connection.

> The Commander Gule Gedde then, seeing that he had been deceived in this manner, and not knowing to whom he could apply as guarantor for Boshouwer (who had already died). and as he could not wholly justify the loss which his lord the King had suffered, decided thereupon to seize and confiscate all Boshouwer's effects, whose corpse as well as that of his son were both aboard the ship at the time. But before putting this into effect he first saw to the burial of the deceased, which, in the case of the father, was performed with scant ceremony, but in the case of the child, who was three years old and who was baptised at Coppenhaven by King Christiaan as his god-son and was named after him, the rites were performed with much ceremony.

He confiscates Boshouwer's effects.

After their departure, when the seizure of the goods took place at Trinquenemale. Gule Gedde left the widow of the deceased very little else for her maintenance besides what she had saved up privately with the assistance of some friends; with which she was sent, at her own request, together with three 'daughters-ofstate' (as they were called) and also an old maid-servant, to Candy, where she was entertained for about seven years, and sent by King Zenerat along with her suite to Tranquebare on the request of the Governor General Roelandt Crape.

Proceeds to Batecalo.

After he had sent the said widow to Candy as aforesaid. Commander Gule Gedde proceeded with some of his ships from the Bay of Coutjare to Batecalo, where he solicited once again the King's pleasure with a view to obtaining some satisfaction from him; and, during his absence, the crew of the remaining ships still lying in the harbour of Trinquenemale launched out one of the

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said ships, which struck a submerged rock while sailing out and was wrecked to pieces, the entire crew of which sailed in their [p. 44 (ii)] boats to Choromandel, where some of them took service with the Portugezen at Sant Thome and others under the Nederlandtsche Company at Palliacatte. These circumstances having in the meantime hindered his plans, fearing that he could not carry on any Sails back to further, he decided with bitter disappointment to weigh anchor and return to Denemarken.

Denemarken.

The Portugezen, who were at first much perturbed at the arrival of the Danes in Ceylon, greatly rejoiced over their departure, so much so that their one endeavour thereafter was to see how they could exclude all other nations from Ceylon, to achieve which they found no better plan than to erect a fort in the said bay. But much dispute arose over the suitability of the place The and where it should be erected, when after inspection of the place, Portugezen it was finally decided to erect it on the north-west corner of the at Tringuenebay, just behind the pagoda of Trinquenemale, where the land male. forms itself into a small neck, especially as the stone of the pagoda would be very helpful for completing the structure. The work was accordingly begun in the year 1622 and greatly expedited so that the Kandyan king (with whom they were at peace at the time) may not come to know of it. But as soon as the Emperor had information of the unfaithfulness of the Portugezen, he protested against it and sent out an army against them, which they (the Portugezen) checked and drove back in a complete state of rout, whereby they held them in scorn, and diligently proceeded with the erection of the fort, which was in the shape of an irregular triangle, and finally completed it, for which purpose the cannon of the ill-fated Danish ships, most of which they had salvaged from the wreck, also came in very handy.

Just about this time when the Portugezen were at war with They rout the Emperor of Ceylon over the fortifying of Trinquenemale, an army they were given additional work by a certain Malabar Raja (either Malabar at on the instigation of Zenerat Adassyn, or perhaps on his own Jafnapatnam. account), who attacked the kingdom of Jafnapatnam with a powerful force with the intention of recapturing the place from the Portugezen who had recently conquered it. But he was stoutly

^{4.} The king's refusal to honour Boschhouwer's contract with the Danes was largely due to the fact that he had despaired of getting foreign help to oust the Portuguese and had made peace with them in 1617. The Danes arrived in 1619 A.D.

resisted by the Portugezen, who were led by one, Philippo d'Olivere,1 an experienced soldier, who attacked them so vigorously that thousands of the Malabars were slain, and all of them were destroyed, except a few who escaped by running away.

They erect two more fortresses.

But although the Portugezen had rid themselves of their enemies at Jafnapatnam as narrated, they however resolved that if they remained quiet they would suffer still further attacks; so, in order to make their position more secure, they erected two fortifications, which were later converted into a great royal fortress with four bastions, the foundations of which were begun in the year 1624, but it was not completed however until the year 1632, with white coral stone.

They enter into a treaty of peace with the Emperor.

[p. 44 (iii)]

Ruse to fortify the harbour of Batecalo.

And though they were thus now sufficiently fortified against all attacks of the enemy, they however thought it wise to conclude a peace again with the Candische Emperor, to which he too agreed through the mediation of some priests in the hope of being able soon to take revenge for the affronts which he had recently suffered, on the distinct condition however that they should not in future build any more forts in any part of his empire beyond what they already possessed. This too having been agreed and mutually sworn to, the Portugezen found themselves most favourably placed; but, nevertheless, it was not so, for there still remained certain difficulties hidden away in their mind which caused them some uneasiness, namely, that the river of Palliagamme (otherwise called Batecalo), by which all European and other nations could still have access to the Candische King, remained open. In order therefore to secure themselves against this exigency too, they were able to find no other remedy than to fortify the said river, contrary to their sworn contract; and in order to accomplish this so that the king may not be aware of it, they decided to send thither a toepas or person of mixed descent, rather yellow in complexion, who had some experience in engineering and a knowledge of sites suitable for the building of forts, in the disguise of a Gujerati yogi or mendicant. This man thus departed thither from Columbo in such disguise, and having come to the district of Batecalo, he settled down in a village called Samanture and remained there

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for two years feigning very well the manner of a vogi, under which pretext he searched everywhere until he espied a small submerged sandbank suitable for a fortification about two and a half miles from the said village; but finding that the mouth of the river situated a little distance away from it remained blocked up for the greater part of the year and that fresh water too would not be available there, he accordingly proceeded six miles from there lower down the river, where, having discovered a little islet about a mile in circumference and about three-quarters of a mile from the mouth of the open river which was quite suitable for the intended project, he returned to Columbo to report the result of his investigations where he explained all the circumstances in detail. The Portugezen having thus obtained satisfactory information orally from this man, betook themselves thither with all speed in the year 1627 with thirteen companies of soldiers in order to put the work in hand, where, to begin with, they first erected a wooden palisade for their greater protection and then proceeded to the real work.

Meanwhile the Candischen Emperor, having been informed of Cingaleesch this, immediately tried to prevent their designs by sending out his army against them; but when they arrived at the island they were stopped and driven back by the Portugezen. The king therefore abandoned his plans, and so the Portugezen speedily set about the work which they had begun, which consisted of a quinquadrangular structure with three bastions, and as there was no lack of materials they completed it within a short time.

The King Zenerat Adassyn, finding himself now in great The King's straits on account of the fortresses which the Portugezen had with the erected (being seven in all) on all the avenues round the island, Cingalezen since he could not correspond with any foreign nation, nevertheless did not hesitate himself to revert to strategy, if possible by inciting against the Portugezen, on the promise of great rewards, the most influential Singalezen who lived in Columbo, who were readily won over on account of the insults and indignities which they daily had to suffer at their hands, so that they entered into an alliance to fall in with the King's wishes in everything, promising to come over to him at the first available opportunity. Matters having thus been privately arranged without the know-

^{1.} The Portuguese captain of Jaffna. The Kingdom of Jaffna had been annexed to the Portuguese possessions after a war in 1618.

ledge of the Portugezen, the only thing that remained to be done was how to put it into effect, for which purpose it was necessary to entice the General Constantyn de Saa to take the field; and to achieve this they employed the strategy of challenging him; whether they were not aware of the fact that Don Michiel de Noronha, Count of Linharos, the then Viceroy of Goa had written an insulting letter to the said General, wherein he reproached him by saying that he "was no soldier but rather a chetty or merchant, who was out to conquer lands more for his own profit than for the King's service, and that since he had already made two expeditions to Kandy, he should now also march to Uva to rout the enemy at that place too", all of which he took seriously to heart little knowing what was behind it. They further challenged him to take the field with all his available troops in order to strengthen his power; which he eventually did.

The Portugezen General takes the field with a mighty army.

[44 (iv)]

Constantyn de Saa, by way of a generous gesture, intimated this his intention in a brief note to the Prince of Ouve named Commarre Singe Hastanne, the eldest son of Zenerat Adassyn, and also notified him to prepare to receive him like a good soldier, after which the General made ready with all speed, and took the field with a great force in the month of August 1630.

Meanwhile the said prince too did not remain idle, but assembled together all his troops, and was joined by his two brothers Vysiapalla and Radja Singa,1 each with a separate army, making thus a total of about 23,000 men besides other followers, with which on the advice of their father, they lay in ambush in an advanced position, thus to await the enemy, who was not long in coming with 1300 white Portugezen, 1700 Mestizen and 8000 pure Singalezen. But having been permitted to come to the mountains of Ouve, a matter which greatly surprised their party, Plunders Uva. they immediately began to plunder and set fire to the capital Badule and the other villages. Having done this, and destroyed everything which came in their way, he contemplated retiring in order to come away out of the mountains. Meanwhile the three princes watched their enemy's action with great patience, but not without hope of being able to effect a speedy revenge, when Constantyn de Saa, who had already started on the march, was

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informed how all his Singalezen troops intended to conspire against Receives him and to desert to the enemy; whereupon he was greatly alarmed, information of treachery. not knowing what really might happen, and caused their chiefs to be summoned, and in very polite words made the accusation against them, which charge they persistently denied. But since time and circumstances did not permit a careful investigation in the matter, the General thought it best to dissemble, and with a show of satisfaction, allowed them to depart; but not being able to rest assured with the bare denial of these men, he decided to take all precautions in the matter by bringing into the centre of the camp that evening when the army pitched its tents, all the Singalezen who normally used to remain round about the Portugezen; and as he noticed, from further information brought to him at night, that things were not all right, he summoned all his soldiers in the morning at dawn and ordered them to collect His wise their luggage together in a heap in order to set it on fire so that planning. the enemy may not derive any benefit from it, with the proviso that anyone wishing to provide himself with any wearing apparel therefrom may do so. These things having been done in the aforesaid manner, he then began to march again, when all the Singalezen deserted him on the march; whereupon the three princes. [p. 44 (v)] who were not far distant from the scene, began to attack the Portugezen with all their might and set upon them in the rear, while some who had marched with the enemy through the jungle had muskets (mosquets d'epee as they called them) placed on the sides of the mountain slopes, and did them much damage so that many were slain. Nevertheless, the Portugezen would have retrieved themselves from their position, but there was a terrible downpour of rain which rendered their firelocks useless. and thus the princes' men fell upon them so furiously with pikes and bows and arrows that they completely annihilated the enemy. The General Constantyn de Saa had his head cut off by one of his He is slain own Singalezen who had deserted, and it was presented on a drum to Radia Singa, who was seated on a stone bathing in the river. In this manner died Constantyn de Saa and his men on the mountains of Ouve, who indeed merited a better reward for his virtue and the paternal kindness which he had always shown during his lifetime in Columbo to the very Singalezen who had deserted him.

^{1.} Wijayapala and Rajasingha.

Colombo besieged by the Šingalezen.

The Portugezen in Cevlon, and particularly in Columbo where there were only a few old men, were greatly distressed over this disaster, not knowing what next to do. The King being well aware of this sent a well-equipped army there under his youngest son Mahastanne (later named Radja Singa) to lay siege to the place; but it was so ably defended through the valour of one Lantcerotte de Sesies and the remaining old burghers that after one whole month's siege Mahastanne was compelled to withdraw. After these things had taken place they were reinforced from Goa with 400 men (among whom were 300 caffers), besides a supply of provisions, ammunition and other necessaries; whereupon they began to take courage once again.

Death of the King.

The youngest son assumes the Imperial title and the name of Raja Singa.

[p. 44 (vi)]

This was followed shortly after by the death of the old king, who died in the year 1632 after having divided the kingdom between his three sons, namely, Oure to the eldest named Commarra Singe Hastanne, Matele to Visve Palla Hastanne, and Candy to the voungest named Mahastanne; and Mahastanne, though he was the voungest, assumed his father's throne with the title of Emperor under the name Radja Singa Adassyn, at which Commarra Singa was much displeased and which he greatly resented. But Radia Singa having advisedly acted with much diplomacy in the matter and succeeded in leaving the issue undecided, Commarra Singa happened to die and Radja Singa took over the province of Ouve, which did not please Visia Palla, who maintained that half of this principality belonged to him; so fresh trouble arose again therefrom.

As this displeasure between the brothers continued, the Portugezen, who for some time now had been able to breathe freely and had received reasonable reinforcements recently from Goa, began to take the field once more against Radja Singa, and falling quite suddenly upon a good part of the low country in the Seven Corles, compelled the inhabitants to submit to their authority; but they did not venture however to come under the eve of the king in the mountains. They encamped themselves therefore at a place called Allago in order to bring the surrounding districts under their sway; but Radja Singa cleverly took them by surprise by lying in ambush and put them to flight, so that, having suffered this loss, they thought it advisable to return again to Columbo.

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The Portugezen, seeing that they were so enfeebled now that The Portugezen they dare not embark on anything further against Radja Singa, make neace thought it advisable to make peace again with the king; whereupon with the they sent their ambassadors to Kandy to declare their intentions to the Emperor, who accordingly agreed to their request conditionally: nevertheless, it was not long before it was broken again by the Portugezen, for no sooner they found some advantage they paid no heed at all to the agreement which they had entered into and continued to act just as they had done before.

Radja Singa, seeing from these cunning tactics of the Portugezen that he could never come to any definite settlement with them, decided to dissemble (his resentment) and to deal with them in The Kine the same way in due course, to which end he resolved to make use invites the of the Hollanders and invite them to Ceylon. Whereupon, he to Ceylon. sent a letter as follows to Palliacatte on the 9th of September 1636 through a certain Brahmin to the Governor Karel Reiniersen. The bearer of this letter not being able to reach Choromandel owing to ill-luck for over six months, lived with the Portugezen at Jafnapatan at great risk of being discovered and losing his life, until finally he crossed over hence in a champan and arrived at Palliacatte, and handed over the letter to the Governor, which they forwarded to Batavia; but even before it reached them the Governor General Anthony van Diemen and his Council had decided on their own to recommend to the said Heer Reiniersen the case of Ceylon, with a view to ascertaining whether it was not possible for them too to engage in the cinnamon trade there besides the Portugezen2. But before the yachts 'Valk', 'Voorburgh', Four ships 'Kleyn Hollandia' and the frigate 'Ruttem' (all destined for Choro- sent to Cevlon mandel) sailed thither, a certain master of a vessel, mention of by General whom will be made hereafter, who had been a prisoner in Ceylon,

1. From past experience it was clear that any attempt to oust the Portuguese without the assistance of a naval power would fail as they could always be succoured from the sea. Rajasingha's approaches to the Dutch were in view of their superior naval power. The Portuguese too had provoked this situation by their attempts to ring in the Kandyan Kingdom from outside contacts and their interference in the internal affairs of Kandy. particularly the succession. See Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon, p. 13.

For the terms on which the Dutch were first prepared to help Rajasingha See Goonewardena, Ibid p. 12-15. When Rajasingha's letter soliciting assistance was received, these terms were promptly amended by the

Dutch to suit themselves even better.

van Diemen.

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had previously investigated the affairs of the said island, an account of which he had given to the said Council; so they decided to make use of his services for the execution of their plan. Having sailed from the harbour of Batavia on the 31st of July 1637 with the said four ships and arrived at Palliacatte on the 31st of August, he was there informed of the decision of the said General. He accordingly left for Ceylon past Tegnapatnam on the 21st of October, where, after sailing for five days, he anchored before a place called Calmony, otherwise called Calarme1, and immediately sent ashore one of the two negroes whom he had brought with him from Tegnapatnam, who at night, by means of a fire signal which had been previously arranged with him for this purpose, intimated who held sway at the place, which having been found to be as they had desired, after the negro had returned on board in a boat from the land, they quickly sent him along with his mate with a special letter to the king, on the arrangement that they return within 16 days; which they accordingly did. And again, it was arranged for them to be ashore at an appointed time accompanied by a certain Hollander and the King's Gaberaal, as a Chief Steward is called in the Cingalesche language, in order to go up again with the envoys; which accordingly took place without delay, so that, after a journey of four days from the village of Samanture in the Vintane district, they arrived at Pangergame, and had an audience by torchlight the very same evening with the King, who resided in a country-seat across the river Mavilgange, which took place with great pomp, details whereof will be given hereafter for the inquisitive reader in the accounts of the) reception given to Messrs Karel Reiniersz and Willem Jocobsz Koster, and particularly that of the Director Hulft (of more blessed and famous memory). Meanwhile the envoys, after some conversation which consisted mostly of the exchange of compliments, having delivered to the King the letter which they had brought with them, were permitted to refire to their lodging in order to rest from their tiresome journey. When they were given an audience again the next day, the King made several enquiries concerning European affairs; for the King, seeing that he had been misinformed by the Portugezen in many matters, and observing quite easily from their

1. i.e. Kalmunai.

Dutch

envoys are

sent to the

are received

sumptuously.

[p. 44 (vii)]

King and

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ships, their establishment and the strength of their arms and merchandise that the Dutch were a mightier nation (as he had for some time been inclined to believe), was therefore quite pleased and anxious to ascertain the position and the power of this nation. in making alliance with whom he must necessarily be at enmity with the Portugezen. Nevertheless, on the next day following, they began to negotiate for the supply of some cinnamon and Their (other) produce, and also about the capture of Batecalo. Having and thus negotiated for eight days, with audiences twice daily, they departure. again took their departure, and proceeding to the low-country with three royal envoys, under an escort of some lascarins and six elephants, they came on board and left for Goa. The discussions which took place there with these envoys are duly mentioned hereafter, and it is not necessary therefore to refer to them here too; so I shall only relate the further events, which occurred during the absence of the said envoys, between the Portugezen and King Radja Singa.

negotiations

The Portugezen in Columbo then, having learnt how it was Uneasines. agreed between the said King and the (Dutch) envoys to attack of the Batecalo at the first opportunity, were greatly perturbed, not over this knowing what counter-measures they should take: for having affair. had hitherto to contend only with the enemy in the island, they now had to deal also with the power from abroad. And being already enfeebled everywhere by reason of the abovementioned difficulties, some of them considered that they should set sail at the first opportunity, taking aboard their possessions, ordnance and whatever else could be transported, and proceed to Goa after blowing up the forts and setting them on fire. Others who were more stout-hearted and loyal to the King's interests thought that such a costly pearl as Ceylon, which was acquired with so much expense, blood and toil, should not be thrown away so lightly. but that they should first take a bold chance. And finally, on the persistent urgings of one Damijao Bottado, who had first erected the said fortress, it was resolved to march to Candy with all the forces which they could muster, in order to engage with King Radja Singa in the country and prevent him from joining with the Hollanders. Whereupon, they collected their people and marched They march up-country under the leadership of General Diego de Mello, as to Kandy.

[p. 44 (viii)]

Arson and plunder.

They are deserted by their native soldiers Kaja Singa.

and attacked

They are vehemently attacked by the Emperor.

well as the said Damijao and their Sergeant Major, who was commonly known as Sorde, in the month of March 1638. Radia Singa, having received news of this, left the city with his entire household, and allowed the Portugezen to enter it without any resistance, where they then caused much havoc by plunder and arson, which the Emperor thus slyly witnessed from a distance. The Portugezen having now finally satisfied their desire in Candy in the manner related so that they had nothing further to accomplish. marched to the hill of Gannor or Ganneroe, where, to their great ruin, they encamped with their entire forces, consisting of about 2300 white Portugezen, and mixties, besides 6000 blacks. This was exactly what Radja Singa desired; for he immediately blocked up the road to Ballane as well as the other passages around the said hill with huge trees that were hewn down for the purpose, as a result of which all their Cingalezen and coolies or baggageporters came over to the Emperor. The Portugezen thus finding themselves deprived of all help from the blacks saw then that it was all up with them. Nevertheless, in order to extricate themselves from their difficult situation honourably, they decided to send out two priests one being an Augustinian and the other a Franciscan monk to the Emperor, with a view to concluding an agreement so that they may return unhindered and unmolested to Columbo. But the Emperor gave answer to the said priests in such terms that they deemed it more expedient to stay on rather than return to their people; whereby the Portugezen found themselves in so great a predicament, not knowing how they should proceed further, that the General Diego de Mello reproachfully asked Damijao Bottado, the commander of the forces, whether this was the good advice which he had given him, and what they were now going to do here; to which he gave no other answer than that he could rely on him to die with him there, which was certainly no consolation at all to Diego de Mello. Meanwhile Radja Singa patiently bided his time for attacking these foreign guests, until eventually there fell a heavy storm of rain, which the Emperor availed himself of without delay, and immediately gave orders for an attack on the enemy. And as he knew very well that his musketeers would not be able to carry out more than a single charge on account of the rain, he placed them right in front so that they may

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diverge immediately after discharging their muskets, after which there followed the Mangel Correlsche¹ archers, totalling 5000 men in all, and a like number of pikemen, who closed down on the troops and so vehemently attacked their forces, which were also greatly discomfited by the rains, that they were all slain and And entirely cut down, so that none of the Portugezen survived save destroyed. those whose lives were mercifully spared by their conquerors. Meanwhile the Emperor, in order to see the attack, had poised himself on an elevated seat under a tall overhanging tree close to the bank of the river which ran between him and the hill of Gannor, whither all the heads of his defeated enemy were collected together in great numbers and piled up before him one on top of Pyramid the other in the shape of a pyramid. And there survived of the decapitated entire Portugezen troops not more than 70 persons who were taken heads. prisoners; and thus the General Diego de Mello with all his men lost their lives in the manner related on the hill of Gannero. The further events which took place in Ceylon and the circumstances connected with the invitation of the Dutch to Ceylon by Radia Singa will be seen in the relevant letters which follow hereafter.2

In the year 1636 His Maiesty addressed the following letter [p. 45] to the Governor of Paliacatta.

I. Raya Singa, Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candy, Zetivaca, Letter from Danbadany, Anorayapore, Jafnapatan, Prince of Ove, Mature, to the Dutch Dinavaca, the 4 Corlas, Grand Duke of the 7 Corlas, Matalte, Governor of Count of Catajar, Trinquelemale, Batecaloa, Velafebuitena, Dumbra, Panoa, Patoveta, Putulaon, Vassare, Gale, Billigaon, Marquis of Duramira, Ratenure, Tinipane, Axcepaon, Lord of the Haven of Alicaon, Caliture, Columbo, Negumbo, Chilao, Madampe, Calpentijn, Ariputure, Manaar and of the Pearl Fisheries etc.

This is to inform the Governor of the Fortress Paliacatta of the successful results of my arms against the Portugees although I know that Your Excellency is partially informed of it, I wish nevertheless to give Your Excellency more copious details for Your Excellency's fuller gratification. In the first place you

Mangul Korale in the Puttalam District.

The eight unnumbered pages end here and Pieter Brohier's translation is now resumed.

are to understand, that I have captured two of the enemy's fortresses Walane and Forago and the town of Marua Goma. taking at the same time 500 Portugezen prisoners including some captains and several of their monks of various orders. Don Nuno Alavares Perere was their General at this eventful period, and the enemy experiencing so heavy a loss they made overtures for peace, being particularly induced to this step in order to procure the liberation of the prisoners that were with me. And there was Constantinus de Zaa soon after succeeded as Governor General and there was a state of eleven years peace. They were however guilty of numerous villainous and roguish deeds. By treachery they conquered Jafnapatan and also erected fortresses at Trinquelemale and Batecalo under pretence of defending themselves against the invasion of some European enemy who they asserted was contemplating an attack on the havens and fortresses of the Island. This was mere subterfuge and deception for a year after, although I then held one of their monks as hostage in Candy, a powerful attack was made upon my realm and not wishing to break my royal word I gave the monk his freedom. The enemy then retired but returned to my realm and for eleven months they renewed their attempts at plunder which necessitated me to take the field against them at Ambatana, where the enemy was beaten back with some loss on their side. After a lapse of seven months they made another attack on the Princedom of Ove, where we came to a close engagement and the victory was ours. My rebellious subjects then deserted the enemy and joined my standard. This incident at once crippled the enemy's force and left me victor on the field. Their General, the sergeantmajor, and the chief in command at Dinavaca were put to the sword and I took 400 soldiers and some captains prisoners besides the Maistre de Campo, the Captain Moors of the seven Corlas and Matura and 300 soldiers with some of their captains and ensigns. We subsequently captured their fort in Mantea Ravane, with 100 Portugezen and their captains. We subdued another fortification at Sofragaen with 3 companies and also demolished two other enemy forts. About this period I laid siege to the fort of Columbo, and held its gate closed for more than 30 days, but finding myself unwell I returned to Candy, leaving my troops under the directions of Mara Tana Wandaar

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who after a lapse of fifteen days raised the siege and left the place, by which he not only afforded an opening to the enemy but he himself joined the rebels and thus kept me involved in warfare about a year and half. Thereafter this captain was forsaken by the rebels and I then assailed the enemy's territories having [p. 46] first reinforced my army at a place called Ganetena in the four Corlas and for 6 months caused the enemy much damage. At this time there arrived from Goa, as Governor General of Columbo, Diego de Melo de Castro, formerly Governor of St. Thomae who treated for peace, which I assented to, not because I thought that continued hostility was injurious and destructive to the country, but because the aforesaid General had pledged himself in the name of his king and had sworn on his God to abandon the forts of Trinquelemale and Batecalo in my favour, when their prisoners were set at large. This I did, but thirteen months after the conclusion of the peace, the Captain of Batecalo countenanced the murder of one of my Governors by a few upstarts and sheltered the murderer in question. Shortly after they also plundered and despoiled a champan (vessel) belonging to me, and are still constantly busy in concocting every foul scheme of treachery they could devise against my crown. From a long experience of their perfidy towards me, as well as towards all the other Indiaansche kings I have determined to extirpate this enemy and join in fraternity of arms with the king of the Hollanders as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and so long too, I hope to be aided and supported by the Viceroy of Jacattra, and the Governor of Paliacatta. I shall on my part do all to advance the interest of the Hollantze nation and trust that every thing shall yet turn out according to my good intentions.

I the King, further inform the Governor of *Paliacatta* that since my succession to the crown of these imperial realms for these seven years past, I have been constant and diligent in my enquiries as to who was the most powerful monarch in Europe to cope with the *Portugees* and being informed, that the King of the *Hollanders* were not only their scourge but that they were also in high favour and in very friendly intercourse with all other kings, and assured as I am already of the fidelity and friendship of the Governor of *Paliacatta* I have therefore

resolved to join myself as a brother in arms of the King of the Hollanders so long as the sun and moon shall last. Although my predecessors had in former times entered into certain engagements and contracts with the Viceroy of Jacattra and the Governor of Paliacatta, yet those engagements had never been fully carried into effect. It would seem therefore as if providence had reserved that these schemes should be carried out in my time, and I trust in God that we shall bring this affair to a happy termination. depending upon the Governor of Paliacatta for succour as early as possible and pledging him my royal word. If he wishes to build a fort at Cotiar or Batecalo, they might then come out with five ships which will be ample enough to keep in restraint the enemy's present force. I shall render them every assistance in my own person, or in the person of my brother and shall transfer to them all the booty of artillery I have acquired in the wars and if they choose also give them the haven of Batecalo and supply them at Cotiar with every requisite which might be wanted for building the fort, pledging my royal word to hold myself responsible and make good whatever expenses the Governor might incur in equipping the fleet to come to my assistance in either the Bay of Cotiar or Batecalo. Should the Governor be pleased to accord to my request, he can then send out a ship to Tringuelemale or Cotiar when I shall then dispatch my envoy. The sooner the Governor can bring these matters to a close, the greater the merit, each person will be rewarded by me according to his individual deserts. In the event of any difficulty of complying with my request, Your Excellency will be pleased to send the bearer of this letter to the Vicerov of Jacattra.

> Dated 9th September 1636. (Signed) Raja Singa Imperador.

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Chapter Eighteen

Karel Revniers' proceedings on the receipt of the Emperor's letter. Hollandtschen Ambassador in Kandy. His doings. Great honours paid. The Portugezen try to effect a Treaty with the Nederlanders. Karel Reynierz's letter to the Emperor. His answer.

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N the receipt of this letter, the Governor Karel Reyniers' Karel afterwards General of *India*, dispatched the same to the action on Governor General and Council of the Supreme Govern- this letter. ment of Batavia, in order that they might scriously deliberate and decide upon the best course to be then pursued to advance the interest of the Honourable Company. The Council of Batavia to send on learning the import of the letter in question were all vigilant ships and and active to avail themselves of the advantage thus afforded, to Cevlon. and gave directions that a fit and competent person might be sent out with the yacht de Valk to Ceylon, and that they should enter into a closer communication with the Emperor, with instructions to communicate the issue of the embassy to the Admiral of the Flect then lying opposite Goa, in order that it might through him be forwarded to Batavia, thereby to enable the authorities not only to bind themselves in a closer friendship, but also to obtain a good supply of cinnamon.

The yacht de Valk sailed for Paliacatta on the 21st October 1637 and by the 29th she came in sight of a village called Calimony lying west south west 7 miles off the Cape Cabo de Fradres Munniks-Kap (as termed by seamen). The yacht was commanded by Jan Tyssen1 who was subsequently Governor of Malacca, but then Extraordinary Councillor of India, there were also on board Ambassadors one Andreas Helmont, a merchant, and two natives of Tegnapatan to the Emperor on the coast of Choromandel. On the recommendation of a and their wealthy merchant Chrimma an ola or letter was dispatched to Candy to inform His Majesty of their advent, with a request that His Majesty will send some of his people together with some

^{1.} Subsequently appointed in charge of Batticoloa 1639; President of Ceylon in succession to Coster in 1640 and Governor of Ceylon in 1645.

Nederlander who might then be found about his court in order to escort the envoy with safety. Hereupon His Majesty dispatched on the 13th November his Chief Treasurer and a Nederlander Jan Albertz of Embden, some years hence a deserter from on board the ship of Captain Anthony Caens to conduct the embassy. His Majesty went in person to meet them as far as the river called Nani Legange about 50 miles distant from Candy, and on the 19th of the same month, the parties reached Candy, and had audience of His Majesty, presenting the letters and credentials from the Governor of Paliacatta, Karel Revniersz. The letter ran thus: To the great and majestic King Raja Singa etc.

Great and Mighty Emperor — God preserve your Imperial

Majesty. It is well known to Your Majesty that for many years

we have been carrying on a great and heavy war with the King

of Spangien and Portugaal both by land and sea (and by God's

Contents of the letters of the Nederlandtschen Governor at Palicatta to the Emperor.

[p. 48]

grace hitherto with successful results both in Europa as well as in India). We have now blockaded their chief city Goa with a fine fleet of warships and so surrounded the place that their ships can have neither egress nor ingress to get help anywhere. We now learnt from Your Majesty's letter the treachery and great violence practised against Your Majesty by the Portugezen ever since they had gained a footing in Your Majesty's dominions. notwithstanding the various contracts entered into by them to maintain peace and friendship and which they as often abused with impunity by their perfidious acts endeavouring to subdue the empire, and entail an eternal slavery on Your Maiesty's subjects. Our General at Jacattra had learnt with much satisfaction of Your Majesty's laudable intention to rid your country and subjects of such a nuisance so that the kingdom may have peace and the country be cleared of the *Portugezen* and their partisans, which resolve has greatly gladdened our General the more so as Your Majesty seeks our help in this matter. He therefore sends these envoys to negotiate with Your Majesty with assurance of

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

every possible assistance with arms, guns, powder, lead or other munitions of war to damage and exterminate your enemies, and see Your Majesty at once relieved from all further violence and rapine. If by May next ensuing Your Majesty can lay a stock of cinnamon to load, two or more ships and deliver it to us, the value thereof will be thankfully made good by us, either in cash, merchandize, or munitions of war, as Your Majesty shall prefer best. Of the expediency or otherwise of this proposal, Your Majesty will be pleased to inform our envoy, as also of Your Majesty's pleasure with respect to further intercourse with us. upon which our envoy has orders to return at once to our fleet of offence at Goa, and acquaint our Admiral with the result who will then detach to Gevlon as many ships from his fleet as the emergency of the case might then require, not only for loading but for Your Majesty's safeguard likewise. Requesting that Your Imperial Majesty will receive our envoy whom we have thus deputed in all sincerity and give him a favourable hearing so that our people might be enabled speedily to return before the change of monsoon and join our fleet at Goa, in order that the necessary steps might be taken for the total suppression of the enemy and a happy conclusion.

We would fain have sent Your Majesty by this opportunity some little articles of curiosity, but not being aware of the present true position of affairs there, and fearing that our envoy might be seized upon and fall into the hands of the Portugezen, Your Majesty will therefore excuse us on this score. Finally, Great and Mighty Emperor, we pray God to long preserve Your Maiestv in health and prosperity and grant victory over all your enemies. Geldria Castle 20th October 1637 Your Majesty's devoted Servant.

Karel Reyniersz.

Whilst the envoys were transacting their business the Emperor Great honour was all the while seen standing with his crown on, and his dagger Hollanders in his hand, his person was moreover adorned with various gems, by the ear-rings and chains, he made friendly enquiries after the government of Hollant and the health of the Prince of Orangien and also requested to know if the commission had full power to treat with him. He was then informed that it was the Admiral of the Fleet then at Goa who was invested with such power.

our ready willingness to deal with in all good faith and under-

standing, as we are wont to act with all other potentates. If

Your Majesty will be pleased to accord to us the cinnamon

The Portugezen try to cast suspicion on the Hollanders.

[p. 49]

The
Emperor's
trust in the
Nederlanders
and
partiality
for them.

Treated with consideration and honour.

Emperor's letter to Governor Karel Revniersz

Whilst His Majesty was now in daily conference with the commission a letter reached him from Columbo from Diego de Melo de Castro to the address of His Majesty's brother the Prince of Mateli upbraiding the Prince with a breach of faith in violating the treaty, and condemning the Hollanders as proved traitors against the King of Portugaal and already sufficiently hated by all the Indische kings. He further casts an imputation on Raja Singa himself as an abuser of treaties, of whose fickleness the Viceroy had already been made acquainted. His Majesty expressed his wish that this letter might be translated into the Nederlants language for the purpose of being shown to the Admiral, and observed that its contents did not at all surprise him, as he was then, he said, too much accustomed to their calumnies, and would therefore answer the letter with courtesy, and at the same time see if he could win some advantage by subduing their fortress Mankeware lying south west of the Island. The Emperor now handed the commission a letter to the address of the Admiral Adam Westerwold and also sent three of his envoys to see the ships and make further reports. The commission now left the place with great honour, they were accommodated with palenqueens and elephants to take their baggage and also with 20 soldiers and a chief to escort them. At every village and resthouse they were handsomely received and entertained at His Majesty's private expense. This honour, in addition to that which His Majesty paid on the receipt of the letter of the Governor Karel Reyniersz by standing during the entire ceremony was a condescension he never was accustomed to show the Portugezen envoys. The commission sailed on the 4th of the following month with the yacht de Valk and reached on the 19th the Nederlantsche fleet before Goa, when His Majesty's letter was handed over to the Admiral. The following were its contents1:

That His Majesty had written to the Governor of *Paliacatte* in September and had been answered on the 19th November 1637 and since (says His Majesty) the present Commission had not full authority to have negotiated with him, but the Admiral of

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

the fleet who was authorised thereto by the General of Jacattra, I have therefore sent my Envoys that they might settle everything with Your Honour. The aforesaid Governor also writes to me for a last or two of pepper. Your Honour can detach five ships to subdue the fortress of Batecalo, and order out another to call at the same port to take all the cinnamon which might be readv there. I am given to understand, that Your Honour will remain before Goa till April and then sail for Jacattra with your fleet making if practicable for the haven of Columbo, and then order out three ships which will answer all purposes to take Batecalo. I shall repair personally to the port of Columbo and if it please the living God, in whom I trust, to give us the victory over our enemies you may depend upon my royal word, that the city will be divided equally between us both, when I shall then enter into further arrangements with Your Honour for the supply of all the pepper and cinnamon which the Island produces. It would therefore be best if you come out with your main force that we might arrange matters and enter into a treaty of peace which might last as long as the sun and moon shall endure, but in case it would be impracticable for you to be present personally send some trustworthy person then with whom I can confer. Your Excellency should not delay, the peace formerly contracted with the Portugezen holds good no longer, so that we need your aid and assistance. I send these three men, whom I shall expect to see with the arrival of the fleet. I shall now conclude this communication.

Vintane, 28th November 1637. (Signed) Imperador Raja Singa, Sealed with His Majesty's seal in red wax. The address was "the Lord Admiral of the Hollantsche Armade before Goa."

^{1.} Baldaeus does not give a faithful copy of this letter. For full text see Pieris, Some Documents Relating to the Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon. p. 55—56 and Goonewardena, Ibid. p. 16 and 21.

Dutch and

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

Chapter Nineteen

[p. 50]

Names

Nederlandtsche

of the

ships.

Action at sea between the Portugesche and the Hollandtsche Fleets before Goa.

Fight at sea off Goa. HILST the envoys were still with the Fleet, and civilly treated by the Admiral, an engagement took place on the 4th of January 1638 between us and the Portugezen.1

The Nederlandtsche Fleet was comprised as follows:

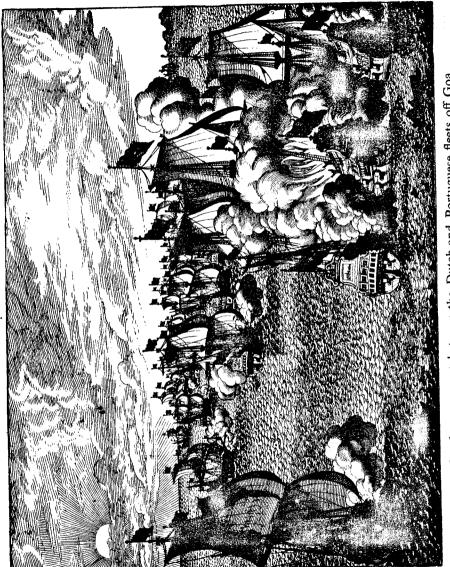
The flag ship Uytrecht, Admiral Adam van Westerwold, Extraordinary Councillor of India, Master Revnier Wybrantsz and Merchant Jakob Nolpe, mounted with 42 brass as well as iron guns with complement of 150 men, 35 soldiers under Lieutenant Hans Maagdelyn.

Vlissingen, Vice Admiral's ship, represented by the Senior Merchant, Fiscal and Commissioner Joan Van Twist, Commander Huybert Huybertsz, mounted with 38 pieces as aforesaid with 140 men and 20 soldiers under Sergeant Cornelis Blom: 't Wapen Van Rotterdam a Rear Admiral's ship, Master, Commander Harman Woutersz Baak, Bookkeeper Jan Davidsz van Wolfwinkel, mounted with 38 guns, 130 men and 20 soldiers.

's Gravenhage under the superintendence of the Senior Merchant Floris Van Castel, Master Minne Willemsz Keert de Koe. and the Junior Merchant Jackob Van Kapel, mounted with 34 pieces, 110 men, and 20 soldiers.

Harderwyk, Master Paulus Klaasz, and the Junior Merchant Pieter Bruchart carrying 36 guns, 115 men and 20 soldiers.

Veere-Master Isak Dirksz Kien, and the Merchant Laurens de Marschalk carrying 30 guns and manned with 105 hands and 26 soldiers.



^{1.} The policy of the Dutch East India Company against the Portuguese underwent a charge under the resourceful leadership of Antonio Van Diemen, the newly appointed Governor General. From 1636 he sent an annual fleet to blockade Goa and the opportunity was to be used to attack the other Portuguese possessions in East Asia which were thus deprived of help. The battle described by Baldaeus is one of many that took place between the two fleets. After the capture of Galle, a convenient naval base from which to attack Goa and other areas in South India became available to the Dutch.

Texel, Captain and Master Cornelis Leendertsz. Valk. iunior Merchant Joost Van Wielyk mounted with 24 pieces, 77 men and 12 soldiers.

Breda, Master Frans Thysz, Junior Merchant Jan Vos. mounted with 24 pieces 77 men and 12 soldiers.

The yacht Kleyn Amsterdam, Master Jakob Jakobsz Struvk. carrying 8 iron guns and 25 men.

The yacht Kleyn Enhuyzen, Master Reynier, mounted with two brass and six iron guns and 20 men.

The yacht de Valk, Master Jan Tyssen, and the Merchant Adriaan Helmont mounted with 16 iron guns, 40 men and six soldiers.

The frigate Dolphyn, Master Pieter van der Kamer, mounted with six iron pieces and 20 men.

The names of the Portugesche ships.

The Portugezen flag ship was the Bon Jezus commanded by Anthonio Telles de Menezes, mounting 76 metal guns and manned by 300 whites and 100 blacks.

S. Sebastiaan, Vice Admiral and Captain Anthonio Menezes Bonrette, mounted with 50 brass guns and manned by 150 whites and 200 blacks.

Madre de Deos, Rear Admiral's ship, Captain Louis Gonsalves, mounted with 35 brass and iron guns, 130 whites and 120 blacks.

- St. Bartholomaeus, Captain Louis de Castelbranco, mounted with 26 brass and iron guns and manned by 140 whites and 160 blacks.
- S. Francisco, Captain Domingo Fereira, mounted with 26 guns and manned by 100 whites and 100 blacks.
- S. Philippo, Captain Don Diego de Vaes, mounted with 24 guns and manned by 100 whites and 100 blacks.

The Portugezen put out to sea.

The Portugezen Armada after having made all the necessary preparations within sight of the Nederlantsche fleet, set sail and left the Bar of Goa at early dawn on the 4th January 1638 with six galliots and twenty war-frigates.

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Also the Hollanders.

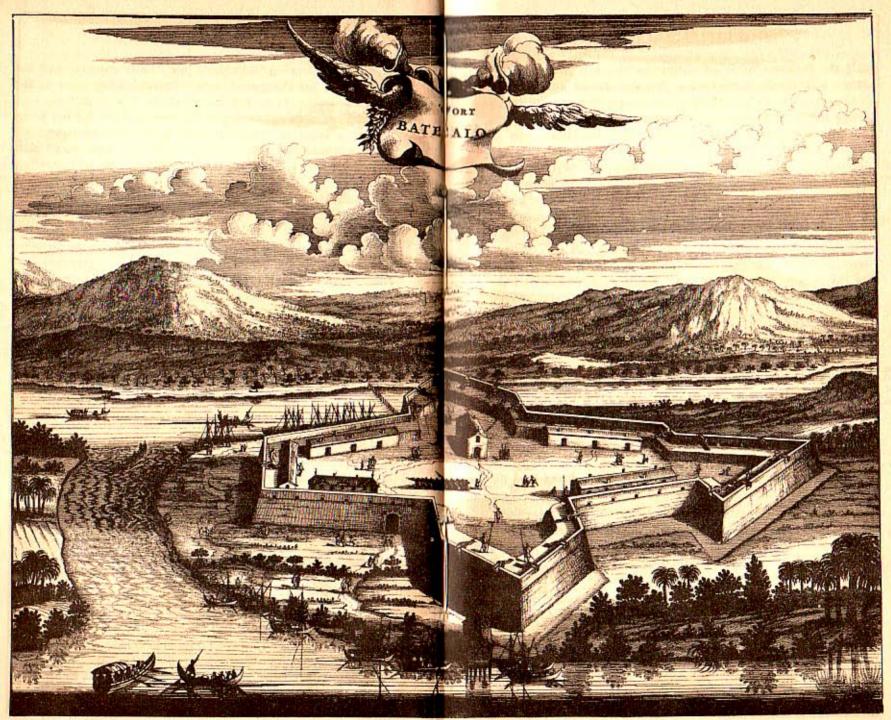
The Nederlantsche fleet viewing their movements weighed anchor too, and made for the sea, under easy sail and a slight land breeze in the form of a crescent to entice the enemy. The wind was from the land and the water cool and choppy. The Portugezen formed themselves into two squadrons, their Comman-

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

der-in-Chief keeping sides with the Dutch Admiral and the squadron of the Portugezen Vice Admiral keeping close to the ships Rotterdam, Vere, and the yacht de Valk, but their Vice Admiral's ship was somewhat in the rear owing to her not being so good a sailor as their other galleys, the Nederlandtsche ships with small sails and the Portugezen in full sail now neared each other about 9 in the morning three miles off the Bar of Goa, when the Portugezen began from a distance to open their fire on the The battle Admiral's ship who then displayed the red flag. The fire continued for nearly 3 hours between the Portugesche galleys and Nederlantsche ships without their other galleys closing in, owing to the calm, notwithstanding which the enemy were directing their great guns cleverly from a distance. The Portugezen Vice Admiral and the other galleys having subsequently neared us, they were then bravely hailed by the ships Vere and Rotterdam and by our other ships who did their best to come up with the The enemy. In the meantime there now sprung a good sea breeze, attempt to which enabled our ships to keep aloof with an intention to board come to the enemy's ships: the yacht Texel and the frigate Dolphyn were now employed as fire-ships and were using their utmost endeavours to board them but without success, for the enemy perceiving our intention bore off, and avoided our fire-ships as well as our men of war, to the utmost of their power.

It was the intention of our Honourable Admiral Adam Wester- The wold with his ship Uytrecht to approach the Portugeschen Admiral, evade. but the latter kept close to his other ships by which we saw that [p. 52] it was not the enemy's intention to court us more closely. Our Admiral conceiving that his ship can well outsail and reach the Portugeschen Admiral, ordered that the main sail should be unfurled, and then chased and ran foul of the Portugeschen Vice Admiral's ships who immediately ordered that her tackles and riggings be cut off and thereby got free but not without suffering great damage.

The enemy's fire was chiefly directed at our Admiral's ship, and consequently did her much damage. Their shots were principally aimed aloft in order to destroy our mast and sails and they also did their best to get to the windward of us, keeping their ships closely together, afraid of being boarded by us. Our



The Fort of Batticaloa.

ship the Vere now made an attempt to have a nearer communication with the S. Bartholomaeus but they parted however, and 's Gravenhage coming from the leeward seconded the attempt by giving the S. Bartholomaeus a broadside. Vlissingen, seeing that it was the Portugezen General's intention to prevent this communication, came alongside the S. Bartholomaeus and thereby thwarted the intention of the General and the other galleys which were now loitering about, abandoned the boarded ship which shortly after, whether by the fire of Gravenhage and Vlissingen or by her own powder took fire, and the flames thereof were raging so powerfully as to communicate the fire to our ship the Gravenhage which then lay to leeward, without her seeing any possibility of extinguishing it. The ship Vlissingen slipped her cable and swayed off the burning ship but as her stern gun got entangled into the burning galley's porthole she was held fast near the burning ships, so that her cabin and gun room were also in a blaze and these three ships were totally burnt despite all efforts made by the respective parties to save them.

Portugesche. Armada flees to the Bay of Goa.

The galleon

S. Bartholo-

's Gravenhage take fire.

maeus, the

Vlissingen

and the

The Portugezen observing that our fleet would now close upon them, bore away for the Bar of Goa, when they were chased after by the ships Rotterdam, Vere, and Texel for one and half miles close to the fort of Goa, all the while during the pursuit the parties reciprocally exchanging shots. Our other ships had ample work to save the lives of the men of the burnt ships and repairing the rigging of the masts and sails and spars. It would indeed have proved a glorious victory for us, had it not been for the unfortunate fire which destroyed our ships.

Total of ships and men lost on both sides.

The loss on our side was 35 men, including the Commander Herman Woutersz Baak, killed by heavy shot, our wounded were 50 men, including the merchant Jacob Nolpe. On the enemy's side there fell 78 whites and 150 misticen. The prisoners which fell into our hands from the burnt galleys were Don Louis de Castelbranco, brother-in-law to Francisco de Zouza, and a Jesuit priest, of the name of Laurens de Merinda, 90 white Portugezen and 49 mysticen, who together with our own men belonging to the ships Vlissingen and 's Gravenhage were accommodated on board the yachts and boats belonging to the fleet—the prisoners were subsequently exchanged for some of our own people, the

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

master, the merchant and eight men who had belonged to the vacht Wieringen burnt at Malacca and the men detailed as prisoners at Goa who were ransomed by the payment of an additional sum of 2200 reals to the then Vicerov of India. Pedro de Zilva. By some unaccountable accident or other, another of the enemy caracks was also burnt on the 1st of March. She was almost half laden with pepper and cinnamon, and was destined to sail for Portugaal so soon as our fleet shall have quitted. In April their galley Madre de Deos was also blown up by her own magazine taking fire, so that the enemy's force became considerably weakened by the loss of three of their large ships.

The envoys of the Emperor of Cevlon who were on board [p. 53] our ships and had witnessed these exploits, expressed their astonishment at the daring and courage of the Nederlanders and that with such small ships as ours, we should have ventured to board the enemy's huge galleys, while the latter were also by far the strongest both with respect to men and the number of guns.

The contest over, the Nedersche fleet returned to the bay of Nederthe islands south of Goa to repair damages, and then resolved landtsche Fleet anchors manfully to face the enemy again. In the meantime there arrived round the the splendid ship 's Hertogenbosch with the Vice Commander island off Goa. Willem Jacobsz Koster from Suratte having a valuable cargo to Reinforced the amount of 412,000 guilders prime cost, which consisted of by two ships. every description of calico, indigo, salt petre and other articles of Indian merchandize which goods for better safety were transshipped on board our other ships. On the 12th January the fleet was joined by the ship Henrietta Louiza from Batavia, with a total sum of 76,000 rix dollars, and also articles of commerce for the authorities of Suratte which articles were transported thither in our yachts, the Breda and Klevn Enkhuvzen.

Chapter Twenty

Heer Westerwold sends Willem Jacobsz Koster to Ceylon. The Portugezen attempt on Candy miscarries. The Hollanders lay siege to Batecalo.

N the 23rd January the yacht Valk sailed for Batavia with dispatches and goods taking with her at the same time our sick and wounded that they might be placed in the Honourable Company's hospital there for medical treatment. By the departure of this vessel our strength was reduced to 7 ships and 2 yachts, but this reduction was however not much felt from the recent arrivals of two other fighting ships. Heer Adam Westerwold perceiving that the enemy was not disposed to show themselves afloat or renew the engagement, he and his Secret Council now resolved to dispatch the ships Texel, Amsterdam, and the Dolfiin to Ceylon with a complement of one hundred and ten men and seventy soldiers under the direction of Vice-Commodore Willem Jacobsz Koster, that he might inform the Emperor of the further assistance which he might expect about May ensuing, and that in the interim the force (under Koster) might be of some assistance to him in attacking some or other of the enemy's defences. The following is the substance of the Admiral's letter written to the Emperor on the occasion:-

Willem Jakobsz Koster comes to Ceylon.

Letter of Heer Adam Westerwold to the Emperor of Ceylon. Adam Van Westerwold, Extraordinary Councillor of India, Commander in Chief of the Fleet of Offence at present occupying the roads of the Bar of Goa, and of all the naval force of the Honourable and Chartered Nederlantsche East India Company's possessions of Suratta and Persien, wishes the great and mighty Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candy etc. success and prosperity and begs to tender his services to rid Your Majesty from the unbearable pretence and unreliability of the treacherous Portugezen.

Great and Mighty Emperor, whilst our illustrious General and the Council of *India* have resolved to dispatch with all possible speed sixteen well equipped ships from *Batavia* to *India* to act against our common enemy the *Portugezen* with instructions to blockade the Bar of *Goa*, so as to prevent their vessels from taking advantage of the north monsoon to repair to *Portugaal*,

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

there arrived in the interim at Batavia the fly boat Huvsduynen [p. 54] from the Choromandel coast with letters from the Governor, together with Your Imperial Majesty's letter dated Candy 9th September 1636, from which our General and the Council have learnt of the unreliability and treachery of the Portugezen and of the unwarrantable acts done by them in Your Majesty's lands, against all which aggressions Your Majesty earnestly solicits our aid, so as to ensure the protection of Your Majesty's dominions and see the enemy extirpated, with a proposal that a fortress might also be erected at Your Majesty's cost either at Batecalo or Cotiar as might be deemed advisable by us, and that Your Majesty was also to defray all the expenses attending the fitting up of the ships for Your Majesty's service. The Council having duly weighed and considered the representation made by Your Majesty they from a sense of friendly feeling towards Your Majesty could not have done otherwise than fully accede to Your Majesty's request, more especially as it appears from Your Majesty's letter of 21st November 1637, per the yacht Valk that Your Majesty is still steadfast and persevering in your laudable intention. and in order that Your Majesty might be apprized of our intended arrival, we now dispatch a ship and two yachts taking with them the Honourable Vice-Commodore Willem Jacobsz Koster, second person in my Council, to negotiate with Your Majesty concerning all further proceedings, and to ascertain the enemy's position and the strength of their defences and the most feasible way for attacking them on our arrival. Your Majesty will also be pleased by that time to assemble your own forces at Batecalo or elsewhere to subject the aforesaid fort jointly with us. Some bamboo ladders and some other military necessaries will also have to be got ready, to be made available when required. Your Majesty's Envoys who also now return to you will person ally inform Your Majesty more fully of everything and of our conduct towards them. After I shall have done all what is necessary for taking the city of Goa by the end of April, I shall if it please God to spare my life, then sail to Ceylon with three of my largest ships armed with men and munitions of war conformable to the directions received from the General and Council of India, to arrange for further matters with Your Majesty. In the meantime Your

Majesty will be pleased according to promise to hold in readiness one or two ship-loads of cinnamon.

"I now wish Your Honoured Majesty long life, prosperity and success against Your Majesty's enemies."

Arrival of Vice-Commodore Willem Koster in Cevlon.

Portugezen write to the Emperor.

Attack on the Portugezen in Candy.

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The Vice Commodore Koster sailed from Goa with the ships Texel, Kleyn Amsterdam and the Dolphijn on the 17th of March. and arrived on the 2nd April at the Port of Trinquelemale, a haven to the north-east side of the Island of Ceylon, where the Emperor's Envoys soon after landed and were making preparations for their journey to Candy in order to apprize His Majesty of the arrival of the ships. Here they learnt that the Emperor had in view of the expected arrived of the yacht Valk, during their absence laid up a collection of wax, pepper and cinnamon. The Portugezen being apprized of this fact, wrote to ascertain from His Majesty why he had collected all this merchandise and that according to agreement they were the only party entitled to them; the Emperor replied that those articles were for his friends the Hollanders, in compliance with his promise and that they shall have them in spite of any efforts of theirs to prevent it.

Not long after, the Portugezen were informed by a Papist who deserted from Candy that the Emperor and most of his people had then left for the south of the country, and that if the Portugezen would in the meantime make their entrance into Candy, they would meet but with little resistance and might acquire great booty. Upon this suggestion they collected their men together and proceeded to Candy with intention to plunder the country as they were often wont to do.

The King, who was made acquainted of this enterprize, laid himself in ambush with a strong party about the environs of Candy and on being further informed by his spies of the arrival of the Portugezen into his capital he made for the town where he found his people already engaged with the Portugezen who seeing the Emperor's banners and so large a body of people press upon them, disgracefully took to flight, abandoning 70 Portugezen, all whites, among whom there was General Diego de Melo de Castro, 2 captains, many other officers and about 800 native adherents, besides those taken prisoners in their

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

flights, and others who were slain1.

In token of this achievement the Emperor afterwards presented the Admiral Adam Westerwold with the sword of Don Diego de Melo de Castro.

And whilst the Envoys of the Emperor left the place for Kandy, a consultation took place with the Modliar of Mattaclape Siege respecting the situation and strength of the garrison of the fort Batecalo of Batecalo, and it was decided to sail thither, where Koster Fort. landed 100 of his sailors and soldiers, and divided them into two companies and with the aid of the inhabitants cast up two batteries one to the east and the other to the south side of the Portugesche fortification, planting them with two small guns and two half-brass culverines. His Majesty too made his appearance there on the 14th of April with a strong force of 2000 men, leaving his main force under his brother the Prince of Mateli Koster to lay siege to Columbo. The Vice Commander Koster waited honourably treated on His Maiesty and was received with marks of great honour. by the After this meeting they were in daily consultation as to the best mode of attacking the fort of Batecalo on the arrival of the expected naval force.

Chapter Twenty One

Adam Westerwold's arrival in Cevlon. Capture of Batecalo. The Articles of Treaty entered into by him with His Imperial Majesty.

N the meantime Westerwold the Admiral who left the Bar of Arrival of Goa on the 22nd of April arrived in the roads of Batecalo on Westerwold the 10th of May following with the ships Mastricht, Harderwyk, in Ceylon. Rotterdam, Vere, and the yacht Kleyn Enkhuysen manned in the

When the Portuguese heard of the negotiations between Rajasingha and the Dutch, the Governor Diego de Mello de Castro, who had recently been reinforced, decided to march on Kandy and thus end the friendship of the King with their sworn enemy, the Dutch. De Mello's army successfully entered Kandy, which they burnt. On the return however the Portuguese were met at Gannoruwa by Rajasingha and completely routed in a decisive battle. The ease with which the Dutch captured Batticaloa and Trincomalee was partly due to the inability of the authorities in Colombo to supply reinforcements due to the losses at Gannoruwa.

aggregate by 840 officers, soldiers and seamen. He landed the following day with his whole force, and six small guns which

were immediately planted on the batteries to awe the inhabitants

and bring them over to his side; by the 18th the Admiral had

an accession of 500 well armed men, and after a small and spirited fire which was kept up with our guns for 4 hours with no little damage to the enemy works, the *Portugezen* displayed a flag

of truce, and sent two officers to treat with the Admiral, when

the immediate surrender of their fortress was stipulated and

agreed to.1 The enemy was to evacuate it leaving behind them

their arms and accourrements and under promise that the *Portuge*zen and *Mysticen* in all 108 persons, shall with their wives and

children betake themselves to Negnapatan, where they were

to be transported by one of our yachts, and that the natives

(50 strong) had to be delivered up to the Emperor, and 50 others

who were concerned in the murder of one of His Majesty's nobles,

had also to be delivered up; the latter were cruelly put to death

and the former with their wives and children were taken as slaves

The Fortress of Batecalo is situated on an isle, which is

into the families of the nobles of the land.

Batecalo captured by the Hollanders.

Conditions of the surrender of the Fort.

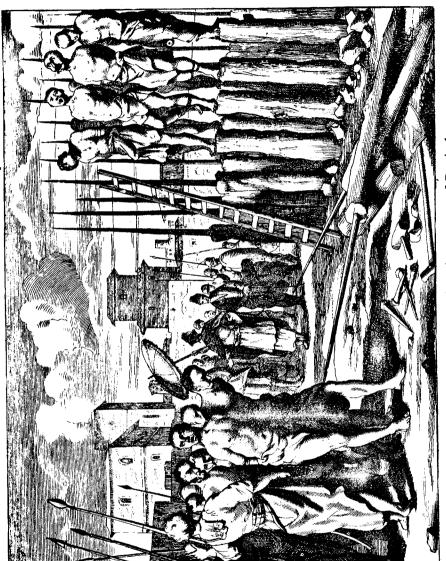
Punishment meted out by the Emperor to the disloyal Cingalezen.

Description of Batecalo.

[p. 56]

in extent about 2 Dutch miles,² and lies three miles inland of the river of *Batecalo* hence its name; the fort has high stone walls to it, with 3 points of some strength to the bulward which latter was found mounted with eleven brass and iron guns, five brass falkoens and some arquebusses, with a store of powder, lead and other munitions of war, and a stock of rice which would have answered the enemy for two months consumption, but there was some difficulty in obtaining water which had to be fetched from beyond the fort at the distance of a musket shot. The Vice Commodore Willem Koster was here posted commander with a garrison of 100 Nederlantsche soldiers.

Contract made between the Emperor and Heer Adam Westerwold. After the conquest of the place the Admiral entered into a contract with the great Emperor of Ceylon on behalf of their High Mightinesses the States General, His Highness the Prince of Orange, Frederik Hendrik, and the Chartered and Honourable



¹⁰ Baldaeus makes little mention of the assistance made available by Rajasingha at the siege.

^{2.} A Dutch Mile was just over 3 English Miles.

Company with the approval of the Governor General and Council of India. The following are the articles stipulated and agreed to on the occasion.¹

- 1st. That there shall exist a close tie of friendship between His Majesty and his subjects and the Honourable Company and the *Nederlantsche* nation, who shall jointly at all times protect His Majesty's Empire from all violence by the Portugezen.
- 2nd. In such of the forts as might hereafter be conquered by Nederlandtsche arms aided by His Majesty from our common enemy, all booty which might be found in them, we shall share equally.
- 3rd. The defences conquered as aforesaid, shall be garrisoned by the *Nederlanders* with the requisite number of men and arms, for defence and protection against the encroachment of the enemy, and if the strength be found at any time insufficient it will then be for His Majesty to perfect the same at his cost, to the satisfaction of the *Nederlanders*.²
- 4th. His Majesty shall make good to our officers and men their pay and allowances by regular monthly payments.
- 5th. When there are no suitable houses to be found in any of the conquered defences, His Majesty shall cause a house to be built of stone, upon such a plan as might be approved of by the *Nederlanders* for preserving their goods; a powder magazine shall also be constructed wherein to secure our arms and marine stores.

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

- 6th. Should His Majesty contemplate any hostile movements [p. 57] against our common enemy, it will then be for His Majesty, on all such occasions to consult the opinion of our principal military officers, to the end that everything might be so arranged, as to ensure victory and success.
- 7th. His Majesty shall provide some frigates with oars and crews which shall be supplied by us with the necessary ammunitions, and manned by our soldiers for protecting His Majesty's harbours and river outlets.
- 8th. His Majesty and the country at large will be held responsible to defray the cost and expenses attending the present equipment, and the fitting out of the ships, yachts, and other small crafts, as well as the pay of their seamen, officers, and soldiers, together with the cost of the ammunitions of war, and the further expenses which might be incurred in the fitting up for His Majesty's service, all such ships, and other smaller vessels, men and for necess-saries of war as the General of the Board of Directors and the General and Council of *India* might annually dispatch for His Majesty's Service, and in lieu of money payment His Majesty shall give us, cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, indigo, wax, rice and other articles of merchandise, the produce of His Majesty's Empire, excepting that of the jungle cinnamon or cinnamon de Mato.
- 9th. In consequence of the good faith and understanding which now exist between His Majesty and the Nederlanders, they shall have free access to carry on a free trade with every part of His Majesty's dominions of Ceylon, and be permitted peaceably to navigate their ships, yachts and other small crafts into all His Majesty's sea ports, havens, rivers, etc. to carry on trade, by buying, selling, bartering of commodities, to load, ship, and break bulk, without the payment of any toll or payment, be the quality of the articles of merchandize whatever they might be. That none of His Majesty's subjects of whatever grade shall be allowed to sell or dispose of to any of our people, any cinnamon, pepper, wax or ivory. With respect to the sale of elephants which are the sole property

For a full text of the Treaty from a copy in the Ceylon Government Archives see Memoir of Johan Maetsuycker translated by Reimers and Anthonisz, Dutch in Ceylon, p. 38. Both copies of the Treaty were in Portuguese and not in Dutch as is commonly believed. See Goonewardena Ibid p. 22.

Clause 3 of the Treaty was very soon to be the object of dispute between Rajasingha and the Dutch. It is difficult to believe that Rajasingha whose main anxiety was to get rid of the foreigners, would consent to all captured forts being garrisoned by the Dutch. The King always maintained that the original treaty said that they were to be garrisoned by the Dutch only if he so desired it. Anthonisz suggests that "This special stipulation appears to have been omitted by mistake or fraud in the Dutch copy." Ibid p. 28. Dr. Goonewardena goes further and suggests that the Dutch were in fact aware from the beginning that Clause 3 of the Treaty read as stated by Rajasingha but that they deliberately disregarded it since it was more to their advantage to do so. The weight of evidence collected by this author for this view appears indisputable. Ibid. p. 32 to 36.

of His Majesty he promises, that whenever any of these animals are disposed of to strangers that the *Nederlanders* shall also be provided with an equal number at the same price at which the others were sold.

- 10th. His Majesty and his principal nobles and chiefs shall not henceforth permit, but strictly forbid His Majesty's subjects to have any dealings with any Europeans or Asiatics, without exception, in the selling or bartering of any articles of merchandize the produce of Ceylon, much less permit any of their ships or yachts to remain in any of His Majesty's sea ports, but order their immediate departure, with the exception of the people in the neighbourhood of Dauei and Tanzouwer, who shall be permitted free access with their ships into His Majesty's sea ports, for sale of their provisions only.
- 11th. His Majesty shall have to defray the expenses of such equipment by sending to *Batavia* annually at least one or two shiploads of cinnamon, pepper, cardamoms, indigo and wax; should the value of such shipments exceed the expenses incurred, the differences shall be made good to His Majesty in cash, or other wares as might best suit His Majesty's pleasure.
- 12th. His Majesty shall permit the merchants of the Nederlandtsche Compagnie free and easy access to all parts of His Majesty's lands in pursuit of their calling, and in all cases of the purchases made by them it will be for the inhabitants to supply them on payment of expenses with beasts of burden for the transport of such goods to the strand for shipment, also that such Hollanders shall be under the discipline and control of their subalterns, the subjects of Ceylon similarly submitting to the King's officers.
- 13th. It shall not be lawful for any persons whatever who have dealings with the *Nederlanders*, or are under certain contracts for the delivery of any articles to them, to deliver such articles contracted for, to any other persons without in the first instance satisfying the parties concerned—all such persons acting to the contrary, will render themselves liable to be arrested and imprisoned by the *Nederlanders*, for the

recovery of the goods so contracted for; the same rule shall be made applicable to all such persons who might be indebted to the *Nederlanders* in some considerable sum and unjustly evade payment, with this understanding that should any of His Majesty's subjects be so taken up and detained, due information thereof shall be conveyed to His Majesty or to His Majesty's subordinate Governors.

- 14th. That no person of whatever condition in life he might be, shall attempt to pass any money or coins either at a higher or lower rate of value, than what is now sanctioned by His Majesty and the Nederlanders; any person or persons on either side who shall be found guilty in this respect, shall render themselves liable to severest corporal punishment, and their goods shall be forfeited for the benefit of the Crown, or there could be arbitration in exceptional cases.
- 15th. Should any of our people after the commission of some acts of delinquency resort to His Majesty's lands to evade the punishment due to their crime, it will be for His Majesty and your subjects, to have all such offenders taken up, and delivered to us, whilst we pledge ourselves to deliver up all delinquents from His Majesty's domains seeking an asylum within our territories.
- 16th. It shall not be for His Majesty nor his subjects, subsequent to this treaty to hold any private or open communication with our common enemy the *Portugezen*, much less to have any dealings or transactions with them, but regard them as declared enemies. In the event of any of His Majesty's subjects selling them any articles of merchandize of whatever description it might be, such persons shall be made an example of by infliction of corporal punishment.
- 17th. His Majesty shall under no circumstances whatever, tolerate and entertain within His Majesty's dominions, any priests, monks, or other clergy, the movers of all seditions and authors of the downfall of kingdoms and countries but order their immediate departure from His Majesty's territories.

18th. In all cases of the capture of prizes by our ships now employed in His Majesty's service, all goods which might be found on board such prizes shall be considered the property of the Honourable Company, with this proviso however, that all loss and damages which might ensue during the contest, shall be debited as a charge against the Company.

19th. Should it be found expedient at any time for the Nederlanders to mount their guns on the walls of any of the conquered defences for their safety, they reserve to themselves the right of again withdrawing the same to their ships or elsewhere at pleasure without let or hindrance.

20th. Thus done and concluded in the presence of His Imperial Majesty of Ceylon, and in the presence of His Excellency Adam Westerwold. Extraordinary Councillor and Commander in Chief of the Naval Force in India, and the Vice Commander Willem Jakobsz Koster at the Imperial Palace at Batecalo this 23rd day of May 1638.

Appendix. It is further declared that all vessels passing from hence with regular passports, either from His Maiesty himself or his subordinate Governors to any other ports it shall be for the Nederlanders to afford them, all facility, assistance and protection.

[p. 59]

Date as above,

(Signed) Raja Singa-Emperor Adam Westerwold Willem Jacobsz Koster.

and sealed with His Majesty's seal and the seal of the aforesaid Adam Westerwold.

His Majesty has now delivered to the Admiral on this contract in part liquidation of the expenses incurred, 400 bales of cinnamon, 78 cwts. or quintals1 of wax, 3059 pounds of pepper, with promise of delivery of a further supply (as soon as another collection is made) at Sammature, a port of the said island.

For final ratification, and approval of the contract in question, Two Envoys His Majesty sent in company with the Admiral two of his Envoys Emperor with some presents to the General and the Council of India to go to Batavia Batavia, where the Envoys met with a cordial reception and good Westerwold. treatment and afterwards returned with the yachts Grijpskerk and Valk and Venlo to the coast of Choromandel, bringing with them dispatches and a valuable present back in return.

The Emperor's army consisting of 20,000 strong continued The Emperor the siege of Columbo, and they frequently fell in with the enemy's continues to besiege detached parties in quest of provision, whom they invariably beat Columbo. off with great loss, so that in all probability it would appear that the enemy will not be able to hold out this their chief place of defence, against the arrival of the Nederlantsche fleet under the direction of Antonio Caan, Councillor of India.1

Chapter Twenty Two

Willem Jacobsz Koster takes Puntegale by storm. And lays siege to Caleture.

landed the same day on the northern side of the station, with little opposition.2 Having then mustered his troops, and formed them into 3 divisions, he marched them towards the fort, notwithstanding the information obtained from some of the natives that the enemy was then expecting a reinforcement from Columbo of

N the 8th of March Commodore Willem Jakobsz Koster Willem arrived before the Fortress of *Puntegale*, and at noon *Jakobsz*Koster before moving his ship within the range of the enemy's guns, Puntegale.

^{1.} Quintal, a Portuguese measure of weight equal to about one hundred weight.

^{1.} Baldaeus does not record that the Dutch fleet under the command of Coen with Coster as Vice Commander, subsequently arrived in Ceylon and captured Trincomalee after some fighting on the 2nd May 1639. After capture this fort was garrisoned by the Dutch, but it was handed over to the king the following year and dismantled.

The campaign against Galle was undertaken by an expedition which arrived in Ceylon under the command of Phillip Lucasz in September 1639. Lucasz returned to Batavia early in 1640 due to ill health and the command devolved on Jacobsz Coster who had had prior service in Ceylon. Baldaeus does not record the capture of the fort of Negombo by the allied Sinhalese-Dutch Army in February 1640. The attack on Galle was subsequent to this event. Anthonisz, Dutch in Ceylon, p. 49.

350 whites. This force fell in with us on the 9th and caused us no small loss in killed and wounded whilst the Emperor's force did not reach *Baligamme* before the 11th, a distance of full six miles from *Gale*. It has nevertheless pleased God to give us on the 11th of March an accession of strength by the arrival of 3 of our ships, the *Haarlem*, *Middelburgh* and *Breda* with 400 soldiers and sailors on board, who were immediately landed and ordered to take the field with our troops.

Which is taken by storm.

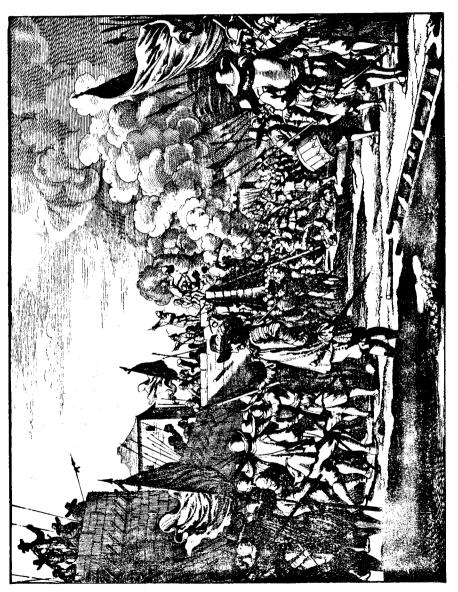
By the 12th having succeeded in causing a breach in the enemy's bulwark S. Jago, a consultation then took place for storming the fort, and after supplicating for divine assistance, the place was taken by us accordingly on the 13th after one and half hours vigorous contest on the part of the enemy. This town subsequently during the years 1663 and 1664 was so well fortified by the Nederlanders as to render it almost impregnable.

This conquest was annually commemorated by a public Thanksgiving to God our Lord which duty fell to my lot on one occasion upon the request of my beloved friend and colleague the Reverend *D. Henrikus Bongart*.

Koster, like Sebald de Weert, was after some time, treacherously murdered by the Cingalezen, though the latter had acted with great imprudence as already observed. A President was now appointed and the first incumbent was Mr Jan Thyssen (as matters in Ceylon did not then require a Governor) a gentleman whose fame had preceded him and who needs neither reward nor praise at our hands, but whose valuable services to the Company are sufficient to render him eminent and entitle him to their double thanks. This gentlemen was succeeded by the

Governors thereto regularly appointed from time to time.

[p. 60]



^{1.} After the capture of Galle the Dutch pressed Rajasingha for the repayment of the expenses incurred in the war. The king conceded that certain payments were due but refused to make them till the Fort of Batticaloa was returned to him. To personally press their claims Coster left Galle for Kandy in July 1640 and interviewed the King. The meeting was not a success and on his way back he was murdered at the village of Nilgala. Earlier writers on this incident (Anthonisz, Van Geer, Ferguson etc.) ascribe the blame for the murder largely on the Sinhalese, depending on a uncritical study of the Dutch records, particularly the reference in the Dagh Register of the Casteel Batavia. A full appreciation of the circumstances of the murder which has been made by Dr. Goonewardare indicates that the murder was largely provoked by Coster's foolish behaviour and the King's anger at the duplicity of the Dutch. Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon p. 38.

Honourable Joan Maatzuyker,¹ Ex-Councillor of India, a discreet, wise and experienced Governor General of the Company's vast territories in India, a man not only well skilled in, and acquainted with the management of the Company's affairs, but who can also boast of having filled the Vice-Royal post of Governor General for a period of 15 years. Antonio van Diemen was the only other Governor General, (who held reins of Government for a period of 12 years) who had such long service.

The Government of Maatzuyker was succeeded by that of the Honourable Jakob Van Kittenstein,2 who died subsequently at Batavia; his place was filled by the Honourable Adriaan vander Meyden, during whose government the forts of Columbo, Manaar. and Jafnapatan besides that of Caleture fell into our hands. He was succeeded by the Honourable Rijklof van Goens, and after him his Honour Jakob Hustart, late Governor of Ternate. the Molukken, and Amboina. There now succeeded for the second time the aforementioned Rijklof van Goens. As the Company's territories became now more extended and enlarged, the seat of government was now shifted from Gale to Columbo by appointing at the former place as Commander Ysbrant Gotsken of 's Gravenhage, a strenuous and vigilant merchant and soldier of tried courage as experienced in the siege of Columbo, Manaar, Jafnapatan, Cochin, etc. of well earned fame, and yet it happened. that he was never once wounded. This gentleman was since appointed Commander at Cochin and the Malabar Coast. at present he is Director of Persia. He was succeeded by Commodore Adriaan Roothaas, a man of great renown and celebrity for his naval actions. He was not only distinguished for his services in the Straat (Straits) and the Levant but also in our wars with the Portugezen at the Bar of Goa, and as a soldier of infantry. he showed his consummate ability in the first siege of Cochin.¹ [p. 61]

There is a handsome bay at Gale, which will admit a large number of ships, but the sea is, near the fortress, somewhat rough which makes the ships labour heavily, the mariners know how to overcome this by a rope and an anchor at the ship's stern. In front of the bay, there are dangerous rocks, which the ships are obliged to sail close by, and which are alarming to behold. One ship the Herkules in passing this road was in a short time shattered into thousands of pieces.

The ships cannot make for the bay unless they sail past the fort, which is situated on a rock, and the waterfort. These are well fortified with heavy metal pieces, which greatly protect the roads. The fort has no more than three bulwarks to it, and is so encompassed by the sea, and armed with rocks, that there is no nearing it with ships. In the front at sea is a rock, on which there is a guard house, and an iron gun, which announces the appearance of ships in the offing. At the top of this rock sways the Company's flag. The fort is well built on an elevated locality, has good stone built houses and churches, fine gardens, and deep and splendid wells. Outside it is very agreeable and

Johan Maetsuycker left Ceylon finally in 1650, having succeeded after protracted negotiations in pacifying the King. He left for his successor an elaborate memoir. Memoir of Johan Muetsuycker. Translated by R. G. Anthonisz.

Jacob van Kittensteyn, Governor of Ceylon from February 1650 to October 1653.

^{1.} After having described the events of the preceding years in some detail Baldaeus passes over the period of sixteen years from the fall of Galle in March 1640 to October 1655 with these few paragraphs. The following main events of this period may be kept in mind to maintain the continuity of the narrative. Shortly after the fall of Galle, the Portuguese who had recently been reinforced from Goa attacked and recaptured Negombo, while several unsuccessful attempts were made to attack Galle itself. In the meantime a revolution had taken place in Portugal and that country had thrown off its union with the Spanish. One of the immediate consequences was a ten years truce with the Dutch signed by King John IV in 1642. This truce was not strictly operative in Ceylon where sporadic fighting between the two armies frequently took r' = Rajasingha remained neutral in these disputes though inclining more to support the Dutch with whom he was bound by treating the ten was to the constant of the ten was to the constant of the ten was to the constant of t by treaty. In 1652 the ten years truce terminated and open warfare broke out between the Portuguese and Dutch. The Dutch took the offensive first and recaptured Kalutara but the Portuguese forces were soon reorganised under a resourceful leader, Gaspar Figueyro who was able not only to attack Rajasingha, but also recapture Kalutara from the Dutch and attack Negombo. In September 1655 a Dutch fleet of twenty ships with a large force under General Gerard Hulft arrived in Ceylon for the final struggle against the Portuguese. Hulft landed near Colombo and leaving a part of his forces there to blockade the city, he joined the Dutch forces in Galle and marched on Kalutara. Baldaeus resumes his narrative from this point. Chapters XLI and XLII however contain a few references to the period 1640—1655.

the hills look pretty in the distance. Travelling is done along roughly dug roads, called gravettes, because such are dug through hilly ground.

Description of Caleture and the conquest of the fortress.

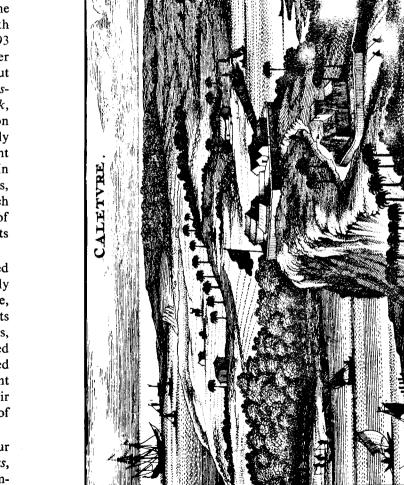
[p. 62]

Within a day's journey of Gale lies the Fortress of Caleture. situated in a most lovely locality near the mouth of a large and broad river close by the sea. This defence is strongly built with double earthen walls and is at present under our sway; it was taken by us (by God's blessing) under the wise directions of the Honourable the Director General Gerard Hulft, (sic) on the 15th October 1655 after we had first assembled our forces of full 593 men at Bentotte, where the party was joined on the 28 September by another complement of soldiers, when they were marched out in advance to the Gravette of Caleture, under Lieutenant Christoffel Egger, Leonard Wiltschut, and Melchior Van Schoonenbeek. and whilst we have been assured of the enemy's determination to keep the fort, and whilst at the same time we were not fully provided with all the necessaries of war, it was deemed expedient to make a short pause, before commencing operations. In the meantime we dispatched Captain Kous, with four companies, and the company of Jurian Gevel to the pass Oucatte, to watch an opportunity to cross the river and cut off all approaches of the enemy, awaiting in the meantime further reinforcements from our ships.

On the 29th September those in Caleture displayed the red flag in the fort, whilst our people were employed in closely inspecting all approaches and guards were placed everywhere, rice and two parcels of dry salt fish.

On the 6th October whilst we were lifting up some of our guns on the constructed batteries, there came over to us a Toupas, who had been clerk of Captain Marcello Fialho, and who communicated in writing to our General Gerard Hulft the strength of

dispatching at the same time on board our ships the merchants Revnier Serooskerken, and Mr Ysbrant Godsken for guns, grenades, and other munitions of war. On the 5th October we were informed by two native carpenters that the enemy was greatly distressed for want of provisions, that their troops 300 strong had to content themselves with nothing better than rice and cansie and that their stock of provisions then consisted of no more than 50 parrahs of



Portugesche clerk comes over to us.

Shortage of provisions in

Caleture.

Cansie is rice cooked

in water.

the enemy's force, the names of their commanders, and the opportunities of the place, and stated that 4 or 5 days ago. their store contained only 210 parrahs of rice of which various quantities were daily consumed, with but one meal a day, and that there was dealt out to the King's slaves and Kaffers and all other black servants a quarter of a measure of rice to each daily. That there were no lascarijns in the fort, and from what he can gather the enemy could not hold out longer than 10 days. That the enemy were determined to defend the place to the very last with their lives and that they were by next week in expectation of Gasper Figeiro1 with a strong reinforcement.

Preparation for the siege.

On the same day Major Joan van de Laan made his appearance and informed the General that everything was in a good and safe condition on the other side of the river.

The Ship-Captain Jakob Swart, and the Merchant Abraham Hartman with 60 armed seamen now joined us, with 2 guns which were left behind.

Captain Dianteiro was then dispatched with 40 Nederlanders and a large body of lascarijns to the pass Wellikande.

After an inspection made by the General Gerard Hulft and Governor Adriaan van der Meyden, they repaired to the more difficult pass of *Palletotte*, to survey more closely the situation of the pass, and then crossed to the other side, where they found everything in as good order as could be expected, with a force of 756 men.

On the 7th October they both left for Wellikande by water, to ascertain whether the enemy can be supplied with provisions by means of the canal, or from beyond Anguratotte and Tiboene, but owing to the strong current of the river, they saw no chance of reaching the place. Here they were shewn 5 katapanelen which lay there concealed, and were told, that were we to leave within the narrows of the river a body of lascarijns with some of our

Katapanelen are open vessels.

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

men, we could then well prevent all communications of the [p. 63] enemy; this business was entrusted to Major van der Laan.

On the 11th October a large mortar piece and a 12 pound Battery gun were lifted up on the newly constructed battery.

furnished with mortars.

On the same day Major Van der Laan made his appearance from the other side of the river, and informed the General that their 2nd battery will be ready by that evening.

On the morning of the 14th October there came over to us Some come from the fort a *Portugesche* lieutenant and a drummer bearing from a flag of truce with the following translation of a letter from with a flag their Captain Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha:-

of truce.

"We have during the preceding day done our duty (as much as possible) which we owed to our faithful arms, and as I perceive Your Excellencies somewhat calmer this day than usual, I thought that there was an opportunity left me as is customary among the military of our nation of Europe, to treat with each other, to effect which object I am content and therefore depute to Your Excellencies a trusty and honourable individual, in the meantime to say that there shall be a cessation of arms on our side, in the expectation of the like conduct on Your Excellency's part. God preserve Your Excellencies-Caleture 14th October 1655.

(Signed) Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha."

Hereupon we suspended further operations and dispatched, Suspension with the Portugeesch envoy, ensign Marten Scholtes with a small of fighting. letter.

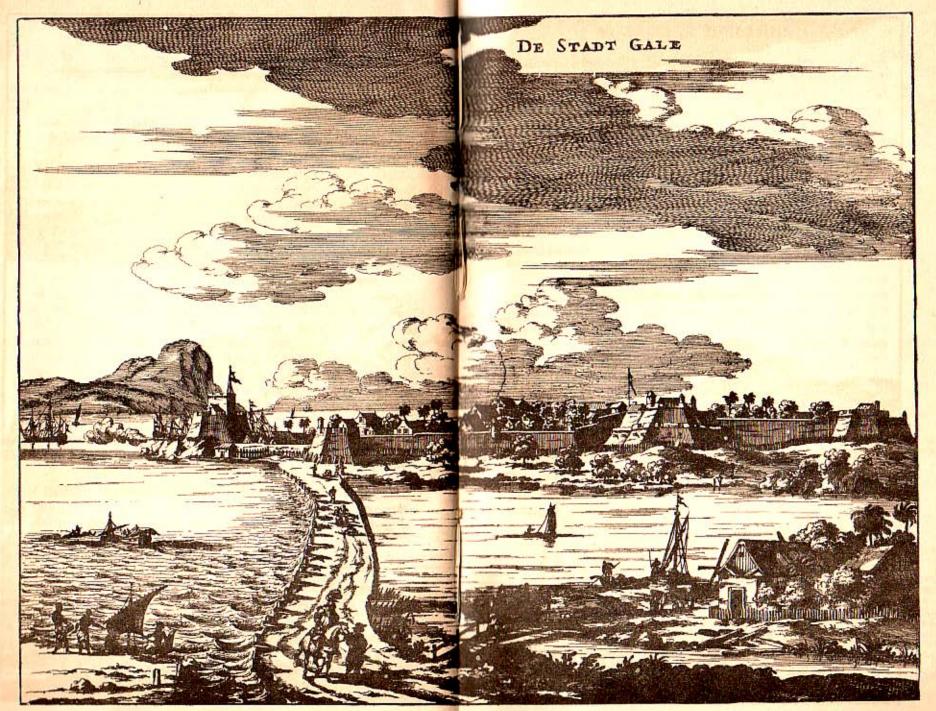
Another letter was also dispatched post-haste to His Majesty's Dissave of Saffra Gamme, with an earnest request that it might be promulgated there that the enemy at Caleture had been supplied with provisions and reinforcements, a strategem to perplex and confound Gasper Figeiro, who with his force was then still occupying Moutupelle, with the hope of detaining him there for another short while.

The articles of Treaty entered into with the enemy were of the briefly as follows:-

Conditions surrender of Caleture.

That their Companies shall quit the fort with extinguished match cords, loaded muskets, and unfurled ensigns, and the officers with their full uniforms. They were then to furl and

^{1.} Gaspar Figueyro. His surname was de Serpe. He was the son of a Portuguese father and a Sinhalese mother and had been one of the leaders of the mutiny against the Portuguese Captain General Homem. As a general with his knowledge of Sinhalese language, customs and character, he was eminently successful against Rajasingha, but was not a match against the superior Dutch forces with their regular army and trained generals.



The City of Galle.

The Monsoon is an unsettled season of the year.

The

evacuate

Caleture. [p. 64]

The Chief

Officers.

Captains

of the

Fortress.

lay down their colours before the Company's standard. The principal officers of infantry, of the rank of captains, were to be removed during this monsoon to the coast or Goa, and the rest of the officers and soldiers to Batavia, and from thence they were to be transferred to Portugaal at the expense of the Company. All officers and soldiers were permitted to take with them their money or effects; the servants of the principal officers had to depend on our considerateness and protection.

The church ornaments with all its appurtenances were likewise permitted to be removed.

All married men and white women and mysticen will be sent to such places as they might wish to resort to, or to Columbo. the blacks including the lascarijns had to be delivered over to us as prisoners of war. The priest with his colleagues were allowed the same privilege which were accorded to the principal officers, the former were to be removed the same day—and the enemy had to agree to these articles by the following morning at the rising of the sun.

The principal officers up to the rank of captains were permitted to wear and retain their swords.

This agreement was signed by Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha. and Joaon Alanco, it was further attested and confirmed on behalf of both parties by the signatures of-

> Gerard Hulft Adriaan van der Meyden Joan van der Laan Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha Joaon Alanco.

Early on the morning of the 15th the aforesaid Fialho Portugezen reappeared with the articles of agreement duly signed, and about and Ensigns

noon there were mustered 9 companies 255 men strong, on laying down their colours before the Honourable Company's standard, they were then as usual disarmed.

The King's colour was borne by the Chief Captain Marcello Fialho, the strength of whose division consisted of 31 Europeans.

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

Pedro de Barhos 28 Manuel Rodrigos 28 Diogo Frois 36 Jacomo Padraon 28 Manuel Mendes 27 Louys Alvres Pereiro 24 Leonardo de Silva 26	Joan Anthonio Felthaon	100	27
Manuel Rodrigos28Diogo Frois36Jacomo Padraon28Manuel Mendes27Louys Alvres Pereiro24Leonardo de Silva26			28
Diogo Frois36Jacomo Padraon28Manuel Mendes27Louys Alvres Pereiro24Leonardo de Silva26			28
Jacomo Padraon28Manuel Mendes27Louys Alvres Pereiro24Leonardo de Silva26	_		36
Manuel Mendes27Louys Alvres Pereiro24Leonardo de Silva26			28
Louys Alvres Pereiro 24 Leonardo de Silva 26	* ***		27
Leonardo de Silva 26			24
			26
	Leonardo de Siria	In all	255 mer

Besides those qualified persons of the fortress with their families who were sent to Callamoende, and subsequently transferred to Jafnapatan, 50 of them were now together with our distinguished prisoner Captain Moor Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha sent to Gale, and the other principal officers to Macoene for embarkation, the rest were securely lodged in the fort. This victory was immediately communicated to the Emperor Raja Singa. When the Right Honourable the Director General Gerard Huift and the Right Honourable the Governor Adriaan van der Meyden had entered the fort they expressed their admiration of its strength, as well of the undaunted storming of it.

There were found in this strong defence—

Field ammunition therein.

- 10 Banners
- 5 Guns of which 4 were of brass of 5, 8 & 10 lbs. calibre and an 8 pounder iron gun
- 40 Barrels gun powder
- 204 Stuffed bamboos
- 710 Assorted bullets
- 180 Muskets
- 116 Cartridge pouches
- 62 Pikes
- 7 Chests of musket balls
- 1/3 Barrel sprinkhaan balls
 - 5 Sprinkhanen
 - 8 Arquebusses Diverse fire pots
- 60 Spades
- 8 Hatchets etc.

Chapter Twenty Three

Fight at Paneture and Montual to the great disadvantage of the Portugezen.

Isbrant Godskens as Governor in Caleture.

N the 16th Major van der Laan left the other side of the river for Paneture. He was followed in the afternoon by the General and the Governor with all the requisites of war, and the rest of the troops, leaving the conquered fort under the direction of the Merchant Ysbrant Godskens, with one company of our soldiers for its safeguard and defence.

Fight at Paneture.

About dusk of the evening, we fell in with the enemy, when after heavy discharges of musquetry, the Portugees made their retreat, leaving behind them on the field their powder and standard and 16 or 17 of their slain; many of their party sought refuge in the jungles, the number of our wounded were, besides Ensign Arent Jansz of Norden, fifteen men. From what we learnt from the captain of a detachment and 2 prisoners the enemy's force consisted of 6 Companies under the command of their Chief Captain Dominges Sermento of Montual: this officer was ordered to march in advance to Caleture in order to keep clear the pass till the next day for Gasper Figeiro, who was to follow him with 600 men and a large supply of provisions for the relief of the town. On receiving this information, our General resolved to watch the approach of this force, and halted between Paneture and Galkisse near the vicinity of a well of water, expecting his other men.

At night, which was a bright moonlight one, there was another prisoner brought into the presence of the General. He was a native of Antwerpen, and spoke a good Nederlants: he informed the General, that he had served the King of Portugaal for a period of 11 years, and that by the morning he might expect the arrival of the force under Figeiros.

Fight at Paneture.

[p. 65]

On Sunday the 17th we were informed of the arrival of the Portugezen, when after an invocation for divine aid, Major van der Laan and Captain Kous advanced with 2 field pieces in the vicinity of an available locality with 5 companies, when the enemy with no delay made their appearance. They were

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then warmly greeted by us with three discharges of our field pieces, and the clattering of our muskets. A sweep was then made with naked swords, when they took to flight and were pursued as far as the Church of Nossa Senhora de Milagres, that is, Our Beloved Lady of Miracles. Our people counted on the roads and the environs of the bushes about 150 of their dead. Major van der Laan was on this occasion wounded in his cheek: our loss consisted of a gunner, two privates, and a midshipman corporal.

On the 18th October there was a struggle between us and the Fight at Portugezen at Montual. The enemy's position was greatly to their advantage, from their being protected by a parapet or breast-work, from which they kept up a vehement fury nor were we much in their debt, for on a rush made by our men, the enemy sought refuge in flight, leaving behind them, their powder, lead etc. and retreated towards Columbo. In the meantime we had placed a guard of two companies in the neighbourhood of their church S. Sebastiaan. The Portugesche lost 22 men and we experienced (thank God) not a single casualty, either in killed or wounded. On the same day of our arrival at Montual, a detachment of Portugesche soldiers were embarked for Columbo, leaving behind them an iron gun and a quantity of cinnamon; this pass which was generally guarded by 24 of their men, was also taken possession of by us, and it was furnished with two iron guns.

For the preservation of this post there were left one sergeant and 16 soldiers.

We now learnt that from the entire force of 650 whites Total of which marched under Gasper Figeiro from Columbo, for the killed. relief of Caleture, a remnant of only 160 returned.

On the afternoon of the 19th some Portugezen were detected outside the fort busy in a coconut garden with 4 elephants felling down some trees, when they were immediately driven away by our men within the precincts of the fort, when those inside the walls opened a fire at our men, killing one sergeant, and wounding Lieutenant Hans Christoffelsz and two privates.

On the same day, both the General and the Governor were receipt of letters from Captain Kous, and Lieutenant

Wiltschut, with further intelligence of the defeat of the enemy 300 whites strong, and to say that they were sending us more officers and prisoners. There was also sent to the General a pair of trousers which had belonged to Gasper Figeiro, together with a letter which was found in Portugesche in its pocket, to the following effect.

Instructions received by Capt. Moor Gasper Figeiro.

[p. 66]

"Your Excellency is aware of the resolutions passed yesterday the 12th October, Your Excellency is therefore expected to do your utmost to relieve the fortress of Caleture, the troops which we could have spared here consist of 420 men, with this force. and the Grace of God, and your vaunted valour, prowess and good fortune you will, it is hoped, achieve a great victory over the enemy.

The success of war is uncertain and doubtful, you shall therefore act, according to your best judgment, vast experience and zeal in His Majesty's service, for we cannot foresee accidents and chances.

You shall do your best to acquaint yourself, with the place the enemy is encamped in, and ascertain their strength, first of all be sure of the stock of provision from the Belantotte pass. You shall inform me as early as possible of the issue of affairs so that a supply of rice might be issued both for the support of the garrison of Caleture, and your own men, if there are any eatables to be procured in the country around, you shall of course make the best of them.

If it please God to relieve Caleture, both forces are then to act in concert against the enemy, in which case the chief command will devolve on the Capiteyn Moor. You will then in this instance civilly give place to him by delivering over the command. You will be pleased to be all diligent in this particular instance, which is of so much weight and importance, and on which hangs the safety and preservation of this town, and of the whole Island.

When Caleture is relieved, and your Excellencies jointly judge that from the lack of provision, or other causes the defence cannot be retained by us, you shall then resolve upon the most advantageous and best course to be pursued, to advance His Majesty's interest, and whether or not it will be expedient to

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reduce and confine its force to only 150 men, and have the rest embodied with your troops; should it be found impracticable to bring any relief to Caleture, you will then encamp your men elsewhere in the safest place, and report the circumstance to Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha (captain commanding the fortress) in order that he might abandon and evacuate the defence, by spiking the guns, and destroying the powder, lead etc. which he thinks cannot be removed. He shall then join Your Excellency for the preservation of our brave men who shall then be employed in the defence of this town." Columbo 13th October 1655 (Signed) Anthonio de Zouza Coutinho.1

N.B. While writing the above a reinforcement has arrived from the coast of India, consisting of 200 soldiers which is also to join your force. God protect your Excellency. Columbo 15th October 1655.

Chapter Twenty Four

Capture of the famous Roamer of the Forests. Beginning of the Siege of Columbo. The Emperor tenders his assistance to the Hollanders. His letter to the General.

BOUT this time there arrived from the Court of the Emperor and from the Dissave of Saffragamme three Dissave is Apahamis and three Haraties,2 high functionaries, with a equivalent body of lascarijns, and a letter from our resident in Candy, Joris to a District Magistrate. Hervendonk, in which he stated that he was directed to inform Lascariin a His Excellency of the protracted ill health of His Majesty common occasioned by a fever and that he new entertains every hope of Apahamy being able to be in Columbo within a short time more, and that a high by His Excellency's letter of the 20th His Majesty had learnt Haratie the glorious victory he had obtained over our enemies.

functionary. a Sergeant.

The Portuguese Governor of Ceylon who had been sent to Colombo a few months earlier.

^{2.} i.e. Appuhamies and Aratchies, Officers in charge of the Lascarins.

A famous iungle straggler Francisco Anthunes captured by our Lascarijns.

Thanksgiving Day observed.

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The King offers to help the

On the same day we learnt of the capture by our lascariins of the famous forest-roamer Francisco Anthunes. On receiving this information we dispatched some of our people to see him safely conducted to our camp, but whether from the effects of cold, or other privations, or through fear of the punishment which necessarily awaited him for his many acts of cruelty and villainy he expired on the road. His corpse was nevertheless conveyed to our camp and was ordered to be buried. The 28th of October was observed as a day of public thanksgiving to the Almighty for the blessings already conferred upon us, with fervent supplications that it might please him to vouchsafe to His Majesty and to the Honourable Company further protection.

On the 21st the General left for Quia de Lobo, accompanied by the Governor, the artillery major, and other principal officers to see where we might with most advantage blockade the City, seeing that the enemy had fortified every corner of the batteries. An immediate call was then made for everything which was necessary for the erection of a battery from Montual. On this work 50 paid labourers were employed.

On the 22nd there arrived His Majesty's Saffragame Dissave who resided in the house of the late Don Diego de Melo de Castro, ex-general of Columbo, the Dissave informed His Excellency that he had received His Majesty's commands to render us every Nederlanders. possible assistance and this offer was civilly acknowledged and thankfully accepted.

> By the 23rd there was another battery set up close to the Church S. Sebastiaan.

> After an interval of two days, there arrived at the camp the King's Dissave of 4 Corles with his people 700 strong, and by the same evening the general was in receipt of a letter from His Majesty himself, which was strongly scented and sprinkled with aromatic spices. On both sides of the Emperor's signature there were delineated two female figures with clasped hands looking heavenwards, this letter was in answer to the one his Excellency the Governor Adriaan van der Meyden had addressed him from Bentotte. We learnt however that His Majesty was somewhat displeased on the score that His Excellency's letter (which was dispatched in a hurry) was not as usual wrapped up

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in linen, nor his title fully expressed. Notwithstanding this there were great rejoicings in the capital on the news of the the arrival of the Hollantsche fleet. His Majesty's letter also insinuated that according to a promise held out to him by the late Governor Jakob van Kittenstevn, and subsequent writings of the present Governor Adriaan van der Mevden the fort was to be delivered over to him after its conquest regarding which so he said, he cared but little, if the honour and glory of its achievement is but ascribed to him, and that the Company would thereby be considerable gainers; the concluding part of His Majesty's letter informed His Excellency that he had issued his orders that every accommodation might be made on the roads, for His Majesty's intended journey to our camp.

On the 26th while our men were employed in lifting the guns on the batteries four of them were unfortunately wounded, and another had his head shot away. The yacht Leeuwinne arrived with a supply of provision and gun powder from Puntegale.

In the afternoon of Sunday the 28th after the delivery of a sermon by the Rev. D. Henricus Bongaart formerly my beloved colleague and now departed in the lord, there came over to us a soldier and a slave from the Fort through a marsh, who informed us, how that Gespar Figeiro was complimented by their General on his Gasper return from his exploits with these conciliatory words "Que era Figeiro's welcome at digno de ser enforcado" which in plain Neerlants means, "you Columbo. deserve to be hung," and that Figeiro summoned to his aid, many falsehoods in order to exonerate himself from all blame, amongst other allegations he said that our men had concealed themselves breast deep in the sand on the sea shore, so that his soldiers could not become aware of them.

There arrived on the same day, the King's Dissave of the 7 Corles with a force 500 strong, who were civilly welcomed, and his lascarijns and other followers were employed by us in conveying sharps,1 and other munitions of war.

On the 29th there arrived the deserter Harman Lukasz van den Bosch, who had run away from Gale as an offender some time Joan de Rosa ago with one Walraven, re-named Joan de Rosa by the Portugezen comes over.

^{1.} Sharps. Ball ammunition is meant. The Dutch word is Scherp cf. Scherpschutter i.e. Sharpshooter.

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Gives good and clear information of the condition of the besieged.

Columbo . heavily shelled.

and who having resided in Columbo later fled to Candv where he remained and pretended he had been sent out by the General to inspect the City's outworks. He gave His Excellency much useful information, adding that he was also present in the action of the 17th and that from the whole force only 150 whites came off safe, and that there were only nine divisions of Kings soldiers which with the defencible Burgers amounted to about 800 strong, that their General was labouring under great apprehensions owing to the recent loss and the commencement of the siege. and that a portion of the citizens were not much disposed to fight. Our guns thundered out most heavily this day on the enemy's works, and hit the battery of S. Sebastiaan most thoroughly. The following day a *Portugesche* appeared in our camp, he was sent from Milagre; this man had to support life for 14 days together in the jungles, with nothing better than grass and other vegetables.

On the 3rd November one of our carpenters and a gunner were carried off the battery of Quia de Lobo by a cannon ball; in the afternoon there arrived the sloop Delft from Caleture with a supply of gun powder. Then from the town came over to us this day a soldier who could say nothing, he being a Revnol lately arrived from Goa. On the same afternoon arrived the ship Bruynvisch with letters from His Excellency the Governor of Coromandel, Laurens Pit, at present extraordinary councillor of India, a faithful and zealous servant of the Honourable Company. By this opportunity we had a further supply of 44,544 lbs of gun powder. Intimation was also received of the arrival of the vacht Popkensburgh at Gale, but there were no tidings of the ship Schelvis. During the night our men were occupied in throwing up a battery contiguous to the sea shore.

News of twelve sailing ships noticed.

Early in the morning of the 4th November the General received intimation from the fortress of Negombo that they learnt from some inhabitants of Annarolundane that 12 sails were seen passing by Chilaon upon which information the chief officer Eduwart Hauw, was directed to cause further enquiries to be made in order to ascertain the truthfulness of the report. This information was also conveyed to the Senior Merchant Jan Kroon at Gale. in order that he might also be on the look out.

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About noon a singular accident took place in the church of Singular Quia de Lobo: while our surgeons were occupied in their bandaging incident regarding a cannon ball from the bulwark S. Steven whizzed along the a bullet. floor of the gallery, by which a soldier was most dreadfully shot through, and two other persons had each an arm carried off, besides whom three more were wounded. At this time there arrived an envoy Tenecon Appuhamy with a letter from His Maiesty. It was accompanied by a gold pectoral, studded with various precious stones, and hanging from a chain. The letter being translated read as follows:-

"Raja Singa Raju, the great Monarch and powerful Emperor The of this his Imperial Kingdom of Ceylon, wishes Gerard Hulft, Emperor's Director General over the naval forces of the upright and loyal Commander Nederlantsche nation uninterrupted health.

Gerard Hulft.

From a letter received from the Governor of my imperial fortress of Gale, I have been made acquainted of Your Excellency's arrival, and of the landing of the forces under you, and of the capture of the fortress of Caleture which followed shortly after. and that a moiety of the Portugezen prisoners had been already transported and the rest detained in custody for my imperial service, as well as of the fight which had taken place on the road between Caleture and Columbo and of the dispersion of the enemy without any loss of life on the side of my faithful Hollanders, An Ola is a which news have afforded my Imperial Majesty no little joy. Immediate orders were issued to all my dissaves and captains write on the for assembling my whole army. In the meantime I was in receipt of an ola from the Saffragamze Dissave dated 23rd October branches with informing me how that Your Excellency had sent for him, and an iron pen. in the first instance enquired after my Imperial Majesty's health, and that Your Excellency said that you had come out with no other view but to resign into my hands the fortresses of Columbo, Mannar, and Jafnapatan immediately after their conquest, and having accomplished that object, that Your Excellency will then appear before my Imperial Majesty. I have been very ill for some time past, but notwithstanding I have given all the necessary directions that every thing appertaining to my Imperial Army might be held in readiness. From the moment I heard of Your Excellency's arrival the pleasure it afforded me was so great, that

leaves of wild

(God helping me) I soon got quite well, and find myself at present twice as strong as before, and able to undertake my imperial journey which (God willing) will take place on Tuesday the 2nd November. I now depute to Your Excellency a functionary of my Imperial Court to enquire after Your Excellency's health and welfare, he will hand over to Your Excellency some little aricle of remembrance from me, which Your Excellency will be pleased to accept, not much on account of its intrinsic value but as a token of the esteem and attachment with which, etc.

In the Imperial Palace of the City of Candy 29th October 1655. (Signed) Raja Singa Rajon. (sic) Great and Mighty Emperor of Ceylon."

Chapter Twenty Five

Resolution to take Columbo by storm. Orders consequent thereon.

New battery with 4 brass guns.

N THE 9th November a spirited fire was opened from our newly constructed battery on the point S. Steven with four of our brass guns. And on the same day all our principal military officers being called together after an earnest supplication to the throne of grace for divine assistance, a consulation then took place as to storming the Fort of Columbo, with a perfect understanding that if there were any present who had anything to urge to the contrary, that he might frankly state his objections without fear of being accused of faint-heartedness, but as a single objection had not been raised, and all were of opinion that the assault should be made and as the soldiers were thirsting for spoil, the attack was then finally resolved upon in the fear of the Lord.

General agreement to storm Columbo on all approaches.

We send a trumpeter with a letter to the Fort regarding the likely shedding of blood.

Immediately after, a trumpeter was dispatched by the General with a flag of truce and a letter to the Portugeschen General Anthonio De Zouza Coutinho, of this letter the following is the purport:

"From the successful results which have attended our arms in the capture of Caleture strengthened by the defeat of the force

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under Gaspar Figeiros on the Panatursche shore I am led to believe, that I am so far advanced in the siege of Columbo, that it will not be deemed presumptuous in me, were I now to demand the surrender of the fort in the name, and on behalf of his Imperial Majestv Raja Singa, and the Honourable Company. In the meantime I do not look upon Your Excellency as labouring under such disadvantages as mentioned in Your Excellency's letters to Don Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha and Gasper Figeiro, the one bearing date 30th September and the other dated 13th and 15th October which letters have fallen into my hands, wherein Your Excellency reminds them also, that the safety of Columbo will depend upon the preservation of the garrison of Caleture and the force under Gasper Figeiro, but deprived as Your Excellency are now of both these resources. I therefore do not think the concession as derogatory to your intrepidity, your noble zeal for the preservation of Columbo being already sufficiently manifested to the world. My object in making this request is with a view to avoid bloodshed, especially of the innocent, which must otherwise follow, while resorting to more extreme measures, when the enraged soldiers too are on such occasions, uncontrollable.

Signed and sealed Gerard Hulft.

9th November.

The trumpeter returned after a short while with information [p. 70] that the letter was taken by a Portugeesch officer under the bastion S. Jan, with an intimation that the General would reply to it on the following day, whereupon our guns reopened their fire vehemently. In the evening the companies of Lieutenants Willem de Wit, Hendrik Gerritsz and Christoffel Egger were marched out to Montual for embarkation on board the yachts Tergoes and Erasmus.

On the 10th about noon the General was in receipt of Reply to the an answer to the letter he had dispatched the previous day. Being translated it ran as follows:-

"The good results and success of war rest with God, and he accords them to whom he pleases, as he has hitherto done to Your Excellency, but he could likewise change it, as I trust he will, for your unreasonable proceedings with us. This place

belongs to the King of Portugaal my sovereign, and by his command is entrusted to my care and keeping, to him therefore I am responsible for it. The reasons alleged by Your Excellency cannot induce me to abandon the defence of this town. Time and experience will show Your Excellency that our position is other than what Your Excellency imagines. God protect Your Excellency. 9th November 1655. Signed and sealed: Anthonio de Zouza Coutinho."

Order regarding the naval attack.

The General then made the following arrangements for conducting the storm. The yachts de Maaght van Enkhuysen, Commander Volkert Adriaansz Schram, since the renowned naval hero in the Engelze war in the North Sea and the yacht Workum, under the command of the chief mate Arent Groenevelt, will have to approach as close to the water castle, after soundings have been taken, as good seamanship and sound judgment render possible, and remain there for active service. These vessels are to be manned by 110 picked sailors, and provided with 5000 lbs of gun powder as well as round and long case shots, etc.

The yachts were to anchor in the bay in the most suitable places for shattering the water castle with vehement cannonading, and under cover of the smoke to effect the disembarkation of the troops - To which end the yachts Erasmus and Ter Goes will keep close by the two aforementioned yachts, somewhat beyond the range of the enemy's guns, for landing in addition to the sailors, 100 soldiers belonging to the companies of Willem de With, Hendrik Gerritsz and Christoffel Egger so as to help the yachts. The long boats and skiffs shall have to ply about the latter ships, viz by Ter Goes, the large boat Amsterdam with its sloop, the sloop Wezel and the boat Goutsblom, the large boat Hollandt with its sloop Delph, and the boat Naarden. The small vessels the Haas and Bruynvisch will keep themselves at a respectable distance from shore, for quickly conveying all orders and communications. All these vessels shall continuously pay attention to the concerted signals of the fighting bottoms in order to run to their assistance in case of an emergency or in case of sinking, which God forbid. When the pennant sways above the red flag of the Company, the landing must start and the vessels with sailors and soldiers from the other ships approach.

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When the pennant is seen flying at the ship's mizen masts [p. 71] head, it will be to indicate that the ship is in danger of sinking, and then the boats and rowers are to go alongside it to haul off the men.

When the Prince's Flag sways from the fort it will be a signal that it had pleased God to accord us the victory.

If the assailing force, when in the fort or in the town, shall find it expedient to arrest further movements, till the Prince's Flag should be displayed from the mid quarter at the beach, the post of Captain Cuylenburgh's attack, which was to be raised as a signal that the land force had also penetrated the town, such steps were then to be taken as the majority of the officers present would deem proper for the occasion.

When the ships de Maaght van Enkhuysen and Workum are under weigh making for the harbour, all the other ships shall at the same time unfurl their blood flags, and weigh anchor too, and use every means in their power to make a sham show, as if they were also bearing down for the harbour for general attack, carefully minding however to keep themselves beyond the reach of cannons and avoid injuring each other by such manoeuvres.

When by the grace of God, a landing has been effected, the command will then devolve on Mr Adriaan Roothaas to whose orders all officers, soldiers and sailors, shall be bound to pay due obedience. The two ships under orders for engagement shall make an attack on the seaside upon the bastion S. Joan Order and the landing party near the gate Rajuha, with endeavours, regarding action on under God, to subdue one or other of the bastions, and thereby land. gain access into the fort. Captain Kous shall attack the bastion S. Joan and Captain Cuylenburgh the Couras who will be aided and seconded by Mr Joan van der Laan when occasion requires, for which purpose the companies of Captain Cuylenburgh, Govert Quartel, Jurian Gebel, Andries Stekkens, Lambert Steenhagen, Hans Christoffelsz, Jochem Blok, Melchior van Schonenbeek, Jan Mol with 36 Javanen and half a company of Bandanezen are set apart. The ladders shall be carried by the Bandanezen, Javanen and Mardijkers, intermingled with Nederlandtsche sailors, who shall handle the ladders in order to plant them in the event

the swarten betray a want of readiness to do so. The sailors were to be provided with hand-grenades and equipped some with side arms and some with pikes. Near S. Sebastiaan, for taking the bastion Clergos and S. Philips (near the gate Rajuha) Captain Westrenen and lieutenants Wildtschut, Joannes Hartman, Joannes Cuperius, Hardenbergh, Roggen-kamp, Jakob Alenbier (since killed at Jafnapatam). Diedelof van der Beek, Hendrik Broekhuvzen. Jan Coertze shall be in reserve with a train of Javanen and half a company of Bandanezen and the men whom Captain Ruysch might order out from lower down.

Captain Westrenen shall do his utmost to effect an escalade of the bastion Clergos, and Emondt Ruysch on S. Philippo, they shall be supported by others if necessary; the ladders shall be conveyed, as above described, by the Bandanezen, 1 Javanen, and Mardijkers,2 assisted by Nederlandtsche sailors. The Ceylonsche lascariins shall be employed in bearing away the wounded, so as to rid the front of all obstructions to the storming.

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In the interim we heard of the arrival and landing of the Portugezen succour at Goa, and that there prevailed a rumour that they were about to dispatch a strong force for the relief of this Island, with caution to be particularly careful of the fortress of Gale, for fear that the enemy were bent upon making an attack upon it.

The storming does not appointed day,

On the 11th November the day fixed for the assault the occur on the military undauntedly marched to their respective posts, but it so happened that owing to a great calm and slight adverse wind, our ships could not come in (God knows why) and thus obliged us to prolong operations. Our guns nevertheless kept up booming almost the entire day doing no little damage to the fort. The fire was barely answered from within the walls, nor was the enemy's blood flag3 seen displayed on their bastion S. Crusz, as they were otherwise wont to do.

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Chapter Twenty Six

Columbo stormed both by land and sea with disastrous results. Raia Singa's letter to the General. Return of Hollandtsche prisoners to Columbo.

N the morning of the 12th the yacht the Maaght van Enkhuysen came into the bay, she was soon after followed by the Workum, the ships Goes and d'Erasmus which latter owing to strong wind and adverse current could not The two have worked themselves into the harbour in spite of all they did the Water to gain their ends. The Maaght and the Workum after the Castie. interval of an hour opened a most vehement fire against the Water Castle, which was returned from the walls with equal

vigour.

Orders were then given for a sudden attack being made The land on the land side, the ladders were now handed about and an attack directed on three divisions of the town, the General and the Governor with ten companies occupying the gate Rajuha and the bulwarks S. Philippo, and Clergos; Major van der Laan, the bulwark S. Joan and the Couras. The Naval Commander Jakob Lippens with 2 companies of soldiers and a body of sailors embarked in seven Chinesche champans with orders to navigate the tank or pond1 and attack the weakest part of the fortification. but the dreadful discharges of case shots however soon levelled to the ground the major part of the assailants. The sailors too did not hand the ladders in a proper way as they were directed and the General perceiving the disorder, most gallantly started The General forward; and nobly rushing amidst the thunders of the hostile ladders cannon grasped the ladders with a few other officers, and brought himself. some to the curtain. It was at this moment that His Excellency had the misfortune to be wounded in the backbone by a musket ball which had entered through the groin. Finding himself sinking under the effects of it he was preparing to withdraw in order to get his wound dressed, when a report came that Major van der Laan's battalion had already entered the town, upon

^{1.} i.e. natives of the Banda Islands, then a Dutch possession in Indonesia, Mardijkers. The word is derived from the Malay "Mardika" (free) and means "free men, collected or recruited out of all sorts of natives".

See. Ryckloff Van Goens by J. Aalbers p. 19. f.n. 1. 3. Red flag, indicating readiness for battle. The Dutch word is bloeds vlagge, lit. blood flag.

^{1.} Tank, i.e. the Colombo lake.

this His Excellency revived, and collecting fresh vigour cheered the soldiers with words of encouragement and rushed thither at their head with his undressed wound-but alas he found the men on the retreat, which compelled the force under Major van der Laan also to give way. His Excellency now finding no ladders being brought up finally resolved to retire.

Schonenbeek alone climbs S. Joan. [p. 73]

Major van der Laan had been equally unsuccessful, and notwithstanding that the ladders had been brought up three different times, all those engaged in the escalade, were either Melchior van killed or wounded. At length however one was applied to S. Joan bastion, by which means the noble stalwart, Lieutenant the bulwark Melchior van Schonenbeek, an intrepid soldier, by birth a German and a man of culture and versed in different languages, alone gained the summit but not having the support of any soldiers. with one great gasp he gave his life for our fatherland. His head was then cut off by the enemy and reared on the end of a pike and so did they show their hard-heartedness in respect of so brave a soldier.

Manchous are vessels.

The soldiers and sailors under Captain Jakob Lippens, who had been ordered to cross the pond after experiencing no little resistance from four well-armed Manchous returned and he and some others had been wounded in the fort; the remainder of his party who had penetrated it being left alone without the support of any others, fell victims to the fury of the enemy.

The Maaght Enkhuvzen sinks.

The Maaght van Enkhuysen after a long fight became so much crippled and disabled by shots that she could not continue affoat, when the sloop Langerak went alongside her to haul off the ship's crew and people.

The ship Workum escapes.

Workum was not so much cornered in the bay as the Maaght van Enkhuysen, and being parted from her anchor without much loss of men or material injury was carried out even on to the reef. The enemy, seeing the Maaght abandoned by us, hauled her closer to the shore, and this ravished Maaght afforded them a few days sustenance.

Total of dead and wounded in the storming.

The number of our killed cannot be reckoned under 200, nor that of the wounded less than 350, exclusive of the two companies under the command of Lieutenants Jan van Hardenburgh and

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Roggenkamp, and the sailors led by Ships-Captain Jakob Lippens who were left behind in the fort.

The ships Tergoes and Erasmus which had on board the troops designed for the escalade of the water castle had been carried high in a stiff gale and were helplessly drifting about. Truly this was a day of the utmost pain and affliction to the Honourable Company and the whole Island, stood in great peril. But the Lord God had secluded the besieged from wisdom on the occasion, so that we escaped further injuries and losses which it was in their power to have brought upon us. On the whole, there appears to have been the most profound deliberation in the scheming of the plan, combined with the most judicious arrangements, but the success of war is mutable, the final issue doubtful, The fortunes hence arise the disorders, perplexity, faint heartedness and irregu-variable. larities-in short if heaven do not bless the effort, vain is the struggle; but so favoured, heaven fights for one and the stars start from their centres and stand in battle array against the enemy and wind and weather are in league with the elect of the most high; as Claudianus of Theodosio sings;

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat aether, Et Conjurati veniunt ad Classica venti.

that is

For God's elect, the very heavens contend; And roaring winds, to help their fleet attend.

An army might then be justly called with the celebrated M. Anthonius Philosophus that which not only storms and thunders upon the enemy but also causes the rain to descend from heaven and not only sweeps away the oude Duytsche (ancient Germans) and Sarmaten but the mass of Nederlanders also. If God is for us, then can a thousand put twice ten thousand to flight. He can not only smite the horsemen with blindness, but let them hear also the trampling of horses, and the rattling of chariot-wheels, and make the enemy fly the field like unto the army of the proud Benhadad which was put to flight by 232 intrepid youths, notwithstanding his great boast that he girded on his harness as though he was putting it off.

The Emperor's letter to the General. [p. 74]

Amid the misfortunes of the day, came a formal despatch from His Imperial Majesty to the address of the General, in which Raia Singa, after premising as usual his confidence in seeing the town of Columbo delivered into his hands immediately after the conquest, proceeds to say, that he expects the fulfilment of the Treaty entered into with Admiral Westerwold, the surrender of all fugitives to his dissaves there then present, be they alive or dead, that they might be dealt with according to the enormity of their crimes as was done to his delinquents at the capture of Batecalo. That orders were also issued by His Majesty to his dissaves, for the destruction of all the villages in the low lands by fire and by every other practicable means. This despatch was accompanied by a letter of the Portugeesch General, Anthonio de Zouza Coutinho, sent from Columbo under date 27th October, in which His Majesty is implored for succour on the consideration of the amity which had formerly subsisted between the Portugezen and the Emperor and on the score of the heavy loss they have recently sustained by the taking of the fortress Caleture, by the defeat of the force at Paneture and by the raising of the siege of Columbo, with assurances that the Hollanders would by no means deliver over the town to His Majesty in the event of it being captured but on the contrary break out with a domineering spirit, and that His Majesty's wisdom can well measure the indignity which it will then bring upon His Majesty's illustrious person, but on the contrary if His Majesty condescends to afford them the solicited aid and assistance that it will at once tend to the aggrandisement of the empire of so great and august a monarch.

The wounded are sent away.

On the 13th our men were in constant employ for sending our wounded men to Negombo, Gale and Montual. The enemy displayed on this day two of our captured banners on their bastions S. Jan and S. Philippo.

Tidings were now received of the arrival at Gales-bay (Galle) of the ships Avenhorn and Kampen with a valuable cargo from Persia for Batavia. The day following being a Sunday, after Divine Service, some necessary and important letters were written and dispatched to Gale by the yacht Bruyn-visch that they might go by that opportunity. A letter was at the same time dispatched to the great and mighty Emperor Raja Singa.

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There likewise anchored on the roads before our camp the yacht Popkensburgh with a stock of gun powder and other necessaries.

There now arrived on the 19th the Emperor's dissaves Letter from who handed to the General a letter which they had received to the from Raja Singa, expressive of his deep regret at the wound received by the General in the late assault, and that in consequence failure and he felt it necessary to make every preparation for his expedition requesting to our encampment for our succour, with a request that the storming of the fort might not be renewed without his counsel and attack be the co-operation of his forces, whereupon a letter of thanks his knowledge was dispatched to His Majesty. We now heard of a report Some vachts that the enemy was in the expectation of reinforcements from cruise about Goa — it was therefore deemed expedient to detach the yachts Negombo to Workum and Popkensburgh with a frigate to cruise to the north intercept of Negombo in order to prevent the approach of the enemy's vessels.

General regarding our made without

north of reinforcements from Goa.

On the 26th the reports of some guns were heard which we construed as a signal from the fortress of Negombo indicating the arrival of the Portugesche ships, when His Excellency the Governor Adriaan van der Meyden, without loss of time went to the church Quia de Lobo and with two companies of soldiers [p. 75] and two companies of sailors marched to Montual with intent to ship them off (to Negombo) in order to keep the enemy off as much as possible from approaching towards Colombo. The General, despite his wounds which confined him at home, soon after followed thither where he found the four companies on the eve of embarkation, when the General thought it expedient to wait a little longer for more accurate intelligence; it was afterwards considered proper to dispatch the yachts Mars and Vlissingen, with the officers then present with proper instructions to the northerly point of Montual to intercept the enemy's vessels.

At this juncture there arrived from Suratta the yacht Romeyn, The Yacht a vessel built and fitted out at that place, with a cargo of 16 lasts de Romeyn of wheat for Batavia. We understood from the master of the Suratta. vessel, that certain of the Portugesche Kaffila¹ 30 frigates strong

^{1.} Kaffila, an Arabic word meaning a caravan or company of travellers. Here used "of a collection of ships."

had been utterly lost in a tempest near Wingurla, it was not known however from whence they came or whither bound, and that the reports of the guns heard at the camp, were done by them. with a view to draw the attention of those on board the yachts Workum and Popkensburgh.

Two captured Hollanders report to the General.

a sailor.

to the

enemy.

goes over

On the 29th after every possible honour had been paid to the remains of the late Captain Barent Cuvlenburgh who died of the wounds received in the late storming, there now arrived at our encampment on the 1st of December two sergeants, who were taken prisoners by the Portugezen at Anguratotte, and who with some Portugezen fled from Manaar to Tutecoriin where they put up for some time with the Mooren of that place, and after many ups and downs they were conducted by these Mooren to a place called Kilikare from whence they came over with our vessels. The General in consideration of their fidelity and attachment to the interest of the Company, re-appointed them to their former rank and situation.

Whilst the loyalty of these two men were thus demonstrated the twilight was stained by one of such acts as seeks the cover of darkness and this was owing to the villainy of a sailor Claas Claasz, who lost to God, as well as to all sense of honour, who, Claas Claasz, faithless traitor that he was, swam over the bay, through the mangled remains to the enemy. And yet on this very night, there was an approach or tunnel planned with much consideration, by which, God granting success, the S. Joan bastion might be undermined and blown up.

> The yacht Romeyn was now also ordered out on a cruise to look out for enemy's vessels, and to give us timely notice thereof. The yacht Vlissingen was then recalled to be dispatched to the Malabaarsche coast, and the Erasmus was ordered out to take her place in order to watch the approach of the enemy's vessels.

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Chapter Twenty Seven

Want in Columbo, Anthonio Amiral de Menezes taken prisoner. The continuation of the siege.

E understand that on the 7th December owing to the Scarcity of great scarcity of rice and other necessaries of life in Colombo. the major part of the Burghers entered the Emperor's service, that there were about 70 or 80 of our men in durance who were taken prisoners in the late storming, and that the enemy's loss did not amount to above 20 or 25 Europeans, including 2 citizen chiefs, Anthonio Barboso, and Felicio Leesio, Lord of Macoene. The enemy had landed our guns from on board the Maaght van Enkhuysen and mounted them in the most conspicious situation of their defences with much boast and rodomontade to inspire their men with courage, and were working hard towards [p. 76] strengthening the fort and boasting of the expected reinforcements from Goa; the aggregate of the enemy's present force then consisted of barely 700 white soldiers, and the well-affected.

On the 10th December there was brought to our camp Anthonio from Montual, Anthonio Amiral de Menezes formerly Governor Menezes is of Jafnapatan, and who later in 1658 at the capture of Manaar seized by us was killed by a ball which hit him on the neck from a piece of with some letters. prince's artillery which stood on one of our boats. He was taken up in his attempt to get within Columbo from Manaar. There were some letters found on his person, the most important of which was one written by him in certain characters which however the General soon deciphered; the contents of the letter, in our language, ran thus -

To the General Anthonio de Zouza Coutinho

Before I had any knowledge of the enemy's ships I have written to Your Excellency by land, but I am not aware of the fate of the bearer of that letter; the 3 pados arrived safely at Goa, together with the 5 mails, the 6th was entrusted to Anthony d' Abreu, who made no unnecessary delay in this place, but spent

2 nights at Negnapatam, he goes replete with everything which would be necessary to the relief of Columbo. I have to the best of my knowledge showed him the way for levying troops all over India. It becomes now a matter of the highest importance that we should have an armada of large ships and rowing vessels with all the seamen the place can muster to be sent down here. Nothing has been heard as yet respecting the fleet at Cape Comoriin with which I shall expect the required aid. Will Your Excellency accordingly communicate with the chiefs of Comorijn and Tutecoriin, may God bring them to Manaar safely, when we shall also make for the place to consult the chieftain and then let this affair take its turn, which comforming to your directions will afford no small comfort and protection to the place. For our armada is the chief bulwark which we have at present in our power to ensure to us the reinforcements from Goa. And if it should please heaven to scatter and disperse these heretics. it will then be some satisfaction for the short triumph they have obtained over us, for which, according to your opinion, there was not only an opening left to them but the consequences were foreseen and well understood. Orders were issued to prepare as many match-cords as practicable, and the first pado boat which starts shall take them, the 2 other boats will follow, one of which has been armed for the convoy and protection of the other; on their arrival at the destined place due notice will be given.

It might not be improbable that the Chief of Manager had by this time received intelligence with respect to our naval force and would have also informed Your Excellency of it.

God preserve Your Excellency and defend you against all dangers.

> Jafnapatan 11th November 1655 (Signed and sealed) Anthonio Amiral de Menezes

There was another letter with similar contents and it ran as follows:--

[p. 77]

With the galleys of September I have written you to the care of Sebastiaan Martino. I then little expected to hear such unfavourable accounts as I have learnt at Couchin and at Hooft Comoriin that the town had been reduced to such lamentable straits by bad

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

management, and the loss of so valuable a chief as Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha with such a body of our valiant soldiers. I have also subsequently heard some strange and distressing news which has cost me many tears. We were at no small pains to get ahead of Hooft Comorijn, but were prevented by adverse wind and though thus baffled Your Excellency may rest assured that His Lordship Viceroy of the Fort of Columbo will send you all possible aid which India affords. It is reported here that Don Manoel Mascarenhas was to go over there. With respect to Jafnapatan also the news is far from being encouraging, but our prayers to the Almighty are that we might hold out the city till February -11th November 1655 (Signed and sealed) Nicolao d' Olivera.

The remainder of the letters was but of little importance containing only matters of information with respect to the aforesaid Portugeesch and the sailing of their naval force, 15 frigates strong, from Goa in October, which were obliged to put back to Hooft Comorijn owing to adverse winds, and that the soldiers on board who had been disembarked reached Jafnapatan overland from whence they were to be sent to Columbo although the place lay besieged by us and that there were 6 serviceable galliots at Goa, some ready fitted out for actual service and that they had resolved in the event of our ships blockading the Bar of Goa to come to an open engagement with us. These letters were sent to His Majesty.

On the 12th December a body of 200 blacks were seen moving 200 blacks along the beach from the fort through the gateway Mapane. come from the 3 companies were immediately filed off with a view to cut off beach. their retreat but on their approach they found the party already retreating, so the detachment returned at noon without success. Of these blacks three dropped into our camp with information that they had been out to gather brushwood which was stated to be in requisition for the works then carrying on within viz. in fortifying the S. Jan, Steven, and Philippo bastions and doubling their walls, particularly at the curtain between S. Jan and Steven, where there was an extensive impalement of klappus-beams1 from within, with the addition of a fastness furnished with cannon

^{1.} Klappus beams, i.e. Coconut trunks. From the Malay Kalappa, Coconut.

with intent that it might be made their utmost resort of defence in the event of the loss of the bulwarks.

The Siege advances.

Portugezen deserters.

On the same day we completed another of our crescent works. Two days after there came over 2 whites (Portugezen) who confirmed the above account and that those within the walls entertain much alarm with respect to our mines and that the bulwark of S. Jan is constantly guarded by 2 companies under Gasper Figeiro, and the gate Mapane with 3 companies, and that the other bulwarks were also secured according to circumstance. We have this day driven off many who had been expelled from their fort as they were an encumbrance and should find the means of existence elsewhere, and the General had resolved not to admit any in future, but only such whites who can import some useful information respecting the enemy's position.

Condition of

Outrageous crueltv.

the besieged.

[p. 78]

On the 14th December there were seen some 10 or 12 Manchous who had crossed over the lake or tank in quest of brushwood (as often happened) when a skirmish ensued in which we had 3 men wounded and the enemy escaped with but little or no damage.

Trenches and batteries constructed.

On the 15th the General determined upon having 24 volunteers to work in the naked entrenchments with a view to erecting the batteries. They were contracted at a guilder a head per diem. of these 6 of them were to to keep constantly at work each 61 hours a day, independent of the blacks, and were bound to persevere in their labours till ultimate success, upon which depended the receipt of a further reward. In the evening a 6 piece battery was marked off and ordered to be completed with all expedition.

Unfortunate accident.

On the 18th a culpable inattention on the part of a gunner gave rise to an unfortunate occurrence from a discharge made from our 2 piece battery against the enemy, without minding to draw off the charges wherewith the pieces generally stood charged at night, by which accident 7 native labourers were wounded. and 3 killed. In the evening by dint of hard work 4 pieces were with extraordinary speed and at great risk conveyed and planted on the new battery.

On the 19th the new battery thundered strenuously against St. Jan and Steven; in the evening two other pieces were added which gave it the complement of 6. On the 20th a third crescent work was begun at the distance of two roads from the moat. In the

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

evening we missed the Portugees Simon Lopes, by reason of enemy activity or his own knavery.

On the 26th December there came over to us 3 native carpen- Three black ters and communicated very important information, viz. that carpenters the Portugezen had undermined the corner of St. Jan bastion, with news of and that 5 barrels of gun powder had been deposited at 5 selected the state of spots and were to be set on fire from the top, by means of bamboo conductors leading to the barrels at the bottom, to which they were to give effect on the occasion of another assault, that in consequence of this work the enemy were obliged to restrain their fires for two days together from that post—and that the son of the General Anthonio de Zouza Coutinho who had been personally working there for some days lost his life from one of our shots while on the point St. Jan.

Upon this information His Excellency called together the The General principal officers and it was showed to them how that by God's orders an attack and grace we had hitherto made the approaches speedily and without decides to any great loss of people, and that therefore if we expect to meet undermine the St. Jan with fortunate results, we ought to follow up the work with all bulwark. eagerness, to prevent the enemy who were improving the St. Jan point from gaining advantage over us, but if there be any who has any objection they should openly declare it, when it was unanimously determined that a mine be carried with all expedition under the St. Jan bastion, to which may the Almighty lend His aid.

On the 28th the General informed the Dissaves of Saffragam First writes and four Corlas that it had been decided to send an envoy to the to the Em-Emperor in order to ascertain His Majesty's intention, whether we had to expect him at our camp or not, and that His Excellency will write to His Majesty on the subject since the crisis of affairs is at present such, that a second assault could not be delayed, and that if His Majesty has any doubt of our sincerity, that they, the dissaves will use all possible means to convince His Majesty of our uprightness of purpose.

[p. 79]

Chapter Twenty Eight

The Portugezen hurl stones from a mortar. A third crescent work completed. Fruitless attempt to carry the gallery. A spy executed. Circumstantial accounts from the Choromandel coast.

The enemy use a mortar and for the first time with stones.

N the evening of the 28th December some discharges of stones were made by the Portugezen on our works, with a mortar piece, which startled us not a little, because we apprehended that the enemy had no mortars with them, but we soon conjectured that the use of it was taught them by Simon Lopes who deserted the camp. The following day the General dispatched Lieutenant Johannes Hartman formerly Captain at Jafnapatam, with letters to the King of Candy, Emperor of Ceylon. Our men also were busily engaged in carrying on the third lunette work on the sea side where a mortar piece was planted, and at the same time they commenced mining towards the moat.

A third crescent built.

The besieged reasonably off for provisions.

In the meantime we learnt from a deserter of the enemy, (a Chinees of Macao), that the besieged were tolerably well provided with the necessaries of life within the walls; he also confirmed the report of the death of General Coutinho's son. Letters were also dispatched to the Governor of the Choromandel coast, Laurens Pit for a supply of ammunition, and that the ships which accompany the Tajouans vessels on their route to Batavia might be requested to touch at Gale on their way, that they might be of some service to us, in case of the arrival of the enemy's expected reinforcements, and to disencumber and relieve us of some of the Portugezen prisoners.

The enemy makes pallisades at the moat.

We make a

On the 8th January the enemy were seen employed in making some pallisades at the moat. Our sailors were directed to throw some grenades at them, in order to divert them from that occupation. The next day however we found the work greatly strengthened, when a breach was then made by us in the wall breach in the of the moat: to complete the work there were sent out Captain Hendrik Gerritsz, Artillery Major, the Engineer Lieutenant,

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and the Master Carpenter; they now reported that the enemy had already got up a buttress of palisades close to the moat and fortified it with a great gun, with the muzzle pointing towards the strand, so that it was presumed that they expected us from that quarter.

It was now decided to have the gallery carried out in God's We attempt name under the discharge of cannon and musquetry; to effect to complete this gallery. this, the General engaged six skilful carpenters at a reward of offering 100 100 rixdollars. In the afternoon of the ensuing day a good number of musqueteers were stationed at the approach, when each man had his respective post pointed out against which his fire was to be directed, with positive injunctions, not to avert his eyes from it. The evening was far advanced before the wall could be perforated, for it was found much thicker at the bottom than at the top, in consequence of which a little aperture was at first effected which opened directly fronting the palisade work of the enemy, into which there were now hurled a profusion of hand grenades and fire-pots prepared for the purpose, by the good effects of which the desired passage was soon gained when the enemy were immediately driven off the moat from the active operations of 12 stands of firearms which were advanced and posted at the front line to cover the progress of the gallery work, but the hot treatment which now burst from the bastions St. Steven and St. Jan, combined with the action of musquetry and the discharges of case shots from heavy ordnance pieces posted below the raised work reduced us to such a sad plight that we Attempt found ourselves compelled to quit the ditch for a time — it was very singular that in this hot work our wounded amounted to [p. 80] only 3 men, a carpenter and two Caffers. And since the vehement discharges from the recently constructed buttress were beyond endurance it was judged expedient for a time to suspend the gallery work, resorting in the meanwhile to keeping the enemy in constant alarm.

On the 12th January the Admiral Adriaan Roothaas sent to the camp 3 blacks who were seized on board a vessel on her way from Manaar. These men were detected to be the bearers of some letters to the enemy but these letters, were found to be A Portugesche mere copies and extracts from the letters of Lorenso Barboza letter found.

to Don Francisco de Zouza which were written on a former occasion and ran as follows:-

"Our Armada has failed to round the point of Cabo Comorijn, owing to their tardy sailing and unsettled weather, the troops on board had been landed and marched to Tutecorijn and from thence they were transported by sea to Manaar. We have been trying hard to detach some large ships and frigates for the relief of the garrison of Columbo. We trust however you will ere long have 8 galleys and some patasies and frigates. Report says that the galleys are now being made ready, and surely enough they will yet make their appearance there, further particulars respecting which you would have learnt from the letter of our Kapiteyn Moor to the General."

The word "Moor" means a great Captain or Chief. An Instantie is composed

of 25 to 30

soldiers.

We also learnt from the aforesaid prisoners that Anthonio Amiral reached Manaar from Jafnapatan with 6 instantias of soldiers for its succour and that there prevailed a report, that within a short time more, there would be sent out from Goa for the relief of the town of Columbo 5 galliots and 28 frigates, which were to be joined by other vessels to be equipped near Manaar, with sufficient men — and that an advice boat for carrying the reports lay ready there.

The General issues fresh instructions to all ships and seafaring men.

Upon this new information the General lost no time to send his instructions to all our ships to put themselves in readiness against the approach of the enemy at sea - duplicates of which were also forwarded to our cruisers the Workum, Popkensburgh, Mars and Erasmus. At the same time there were sent on board our ships 30 well armed Bandaneeze soldiers, with as many Mardijkers. A black runaway from the town now informed us, how that the Manaar mariners who had eluded the vigilance of our cruisers, have landed within the town in a state of nudity without any letters. One of them was found wounded, but we could get no further information than what we were already in possession of from our prisoners.

A spy is hanged by us.

On the 15th January our lascarijns brought in a spion (spy) taken up by them whilst attempting to gain the fort under pretext of selling tobacco. The man confessed that ever since two months, he had made up his mind to go there, with no other intention but that of meeting his mother and other relatives,

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but from the evidence of the two Cingalezen carpenters who came over to us, it was elicited, that this man was seen by them in the fort at the time of the siege, when he was ordered to be hung near the place, where he was taken up, to deter others from similar attempts. And since we heard from some lascarijns that some Portugezen and lascarijns used to lodge near the erected gallery we stationed a company of soldiers there to drive them away and to maintain a look-out at night.

On the 19th there were letters received from the Governor Letters from of Choromandel the Honourable laurens Pit, giving a circumstantial Choromandel. account of the Company's affairs there, and that with the arrival of the yacht Cabbeljauw, Zee-Rob and Patientie we might expect to receive 35,000 lbs of gun powder. The letter also made mention of the heavy loss sustained by the Company in the destruction [p. 81] by fire of from 50 to 60 lasts of rice, and 250 ammenams of An ammenam arecanuts through wicked carelessness. Several merchants measure. have left the place for Ceylon with supplies of rice, and other Areek is a provisions, so that through God's mercy we and the inhabitants fruit which the Indians need have any great apprehension on that score.

is exported

That the Zee Rob has on board 270 blubbers or 26,822 lbs from Ceylon of new gun powder, 50 bales of Guinees Lywaat (cotton cloth) Choromandel. and $10\frac{1}{4}$ lasts of rice, making in all a shipment of 23,862 guilders and 17 stuivers.

We learnt by the same opportunity that from a report and Fresh news other manifest preparations which were then going on, that the from Choromandel. King of Golgonda would ere long be engaged in a warfare with his Chief General Mirza Mula, who constrains him to it, and that the former had already fortified his strongholds Gendecalte, Gronconde, and Goeti with large detachments of soldiers and that his General Chan Channe had already started from the old Carnatische court at Velour to Viziapour with a force of 8,000 cavalry, and 40,000 foot soldiers. But to what end is not properly understood.

From the duplicate of a letter of the 8th December forwarded Also from to Batavia by the merchant Leonard Jansz of Wingurla, we were Wingurla. informed of the preparations which were then going on in Goa,

for the relief of Columbo, but the Viceroy1 was well aware of our present force before Columbo would yet wish to make it appear that the force in question is intended for Columbo, his real motive being (when the contemplated naval forces are ready equipped, and by that time he receives no intimation of the surrender of Columbo) personally to go there, more from despair, than from boldness, for it was the injunctions of the King of Portugaal, that Columbo shall have his utmost care and surveillance, above all other places, which injunctions it would appear had not been carefully attended to by the Viceroy from the delay which there took place in sending timely succour and that he, the Viceroy was also labouring under an apprehension that within a short interval a large Nederlantsche naval force will be laying siege to the Bar of Goa. The letter also mentioned that the fighting men who were to be placed on board their man-of-wars, were after the ceremony of partaking the Holy Communion to be bound under an oath, that when no longer able to contest with the enemy, to apply the match (Oh unchristian cruelty) to their powder magazine. But it is hoped that the Lord of Hosts, who has so dearly purchased his people, would before the arrival of their naval force, deliver up the Fort of Columbo into the hands of the Honourable Company. Still prudence would have us. not to think lightly of the enemy, and that every other necessary information be given to the General, when required, even by bribes to purchase the service of the natives in these difficult times for the conveyance of letters.

The enemy's naval force, (said to be equipping at Goa,) consists of -

The enemy's naval strength at Goa.

- 2 Caracks
- 2 Large Galleons
- 1 small ditto
- 2 Caravels
- 6 Patachos or Yachts
- 20 War-Frigates

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24 "ditos" were to join from the Sipavenevcx coast. Also some more galliots with gangways, and a number of smaller vessels designated Singazeel.

This armada is expected to be got ready against the latter end of January, and that a few more yachts had also been ordered out from Chaul, leaving in Goa a sufficient garrison to protect the place from the invasion of the Mooren and that the fleet [p. 82] could be manned by 200 Europianen, exclusive of the Mysticen and blacks. The letter also mentions that there were two Engelsche ships riding at anchor before Goa, and that the Viceroy had offered their commanders great rewards to have their bottoms to join the armada to Ceylon but that they proceeded on their voyage northwards.

On the 21st January two hours before and when the moon The General rose the General went on board the ship Tergoes, and at daylight issues orders to the Fleet. he summoned a meeting of the ship's council, and when the several commanders came on board a division was then made. The yacht de Schelvis was ordered out to Negumbo where she was to relieve herself of her cargo destined for Gale, by transhipping it on board the ships Amsterdam and Goutsbloem which arrived from Batavia, and the yacht de Haas, was directed to moor somewhat closer to the shore and keep a strict surveillance over the enemy's small crafts, either leaving or entering the harbour.

There now arrived on the 24th January the yacht Vlissinghe from Wingurla, with news from the Merchant Leendert Jansz of the 6th of the same month, from which we learnt that the Viceroy instead of sending reinforcements for the succour of Ceylon had now come to the determination of dispatching at the end of the month 2 caracks to Portugaal, and 3 patachos to Mosambique and that there were till then no movements made for sending the fleet for the relief of Columbo is confirmed by a letter from a spy of which the following is a translation—

To His Honour the Commander of the Hollanders near Wingurla. Letter from Sir.

a spy sent to us at Wingurla

Two ships start for Portugaal, to wit, The Bon Jesu, a 41 from Goa decker carrying 65 pieces of ordnance, and the other named

^{1.} Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who though he had been deposed and expelled from Colombo was appointed to act as Viceroy of India. He sought revenge on Colombo by delaying relief. See. S. G. Perera History of Ceylon p. 113.

Nossa Senhora de Gracia (Our Gracious Lady) carrying 62 guns. also a $4\frac{1}{4}$ decker; these being now loaded, in the event of the arrival of the Armada from de Caap (Cape Comorin) and Couchin to take the cinnamon, their departure will take place about the beginning of January. There go at the same time 3 patachos or yachts to Mosambique, which are also in course of being loaded. another yacht goes to Macassar. The Carvel which is to go to China is not ready as yet, and it is a matter of some doubt, whether she is to go or not, if she does, it can only be in the ensuing season.

Up to this time there are no ships or troops ordered out for Ceylon, nor am I certain as to the amount of the force which is to be sent out-great fears are entertained here that on their way they might meet with oppositions from the Hollanders. Should there be a determination to send any vessels, it can only take place after the departure of their ships to Portugaal. The Viceroy and his Council were not a little disconcerted on the arrival of the Hollandtsche ships, fearing that their bottoms will have to experience much difficulty before they can reach Portugaal. 6th January 1656 — (Signed) Your devoted slave.

Uragami Sinay.

Hollandtsche ships sail for Goa.

[p. 83]

Upon this new information, the General and his Council now resolved that the ships Tergoes, Mars, 't Wapen van Hollandt, Amsterdam, Vlissinghe, and the Erasmus together with the cargo ships Naarden, Zierik-Zee, Gouts-bloem and de Haas be speedily got ready and the next day orders were accordingly issued for them with God's help to start for the Bar of Goa, that they should look out for the Tajouansche vessels, which accompany the Suratsche and Persiaansche ships, reserving for the attack on the fort, the yachts Workum, Popkensburgh, de Schelvis, Zee-Rob. and some other and frigates sloops, with a sufficient body of soldiers.

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Chapter Twenty Nine

Lieutenant Hartman receives gifts at the hands of the Emperor. Spies executed. Arrival of several ships. Letters of the Emperor and the General.

T this juncture the General was in receipt of a letter The from the Emperor of Ceylon in reply to the one which sends a Lieutenant Hartman was the bearer of. The contents letter to the proved of little importance; a promise was therein held out that he would shortly move down to our camp, despite the advice of his chiefs who preferred some other occasion, but as he. not regarding auspicious or inauspicious days (for the pagans are observers of times and seasons), was very desirous to speak with the General. He also stated that notwithstanding our ill success in the late storming still he was glad to say that we were then well-established and that Lieutenant Hartman was to leave on Thursday. This letter was dated Balane 20th January 1656 and signed Raja Singa Raju, Great and Mighty Emperor of Ceylon.

On the Lieutenant leaving (Kandy) he received from the Lieutenant royal hands the gift of a gold chain and a ring. His Majesty receives also wrote that he learnt from some of his dissaves of the explosion from the of one of our mines and that many of our men had been injured gold chain but he was now glad to hear the contrary.

and a ring.

On the 26th January a letter was received from the Senior Arrival of Merchant Joan Kroon from Gale announcing the arrival at that ships at Gale port of the Patientia from Bengale, the Persian traders, the ships and Columbo the Swarte Bul and Windhondt from Tajouan via Masulepatam, Tajouan via the Persian Trader, and the yacht Vlielandt from Tajouan bound Malacca. for Zuratta and that of these vessels the Kroon had been sent to Columbo.

Two days subsequently two spies who were lurking about Two spies the camp inspecting our works were taken up and hung at the hanged. gallows by way of an example to others. In the interim letters were received from Malacca, dated 31st December 1655 stating that with God's help there had arrived from Tajouan on the 14th, 15th and 19th the ships Vlielandt, Swarte Bul, Arnemuyden

and d' Angelier with a general cargo amounting to 1349436.7.7. guilders and that the yachts Angelier, Domburgh and Leeuwin were ordered out of Bengale for taking in a load of Malax¹ tin. The cargo of these vessels generally consists of Japans screens copper, silver, bars of copper, alum, gold; Chineeze Tea; Formozaanze2 soft sugar and Malacca tin. As these vessels also touch Columbo and the Malabaar coast on their return homewards, they take in there a supply of cinnamon, pepper and cardamoms. These vessels remain abroad for a considerable time, they leave Batavia, in May for Japan and Tajouan and after Japan they reach Malacca in December, thence they bend their course via the Nicebaris Islands to Cevlon and proceed by Malabaar to Zuratta and Persia and back again to Ceylon with Zuratta and Persia cargo in May, when they sail for the Choromandel coast where they take in a further cargo of linen, dyed cloths and other articles of merchandize and then steer direct for Batavia, where they arrive in June or July following.

The sailings of ships to Japan and Tajouan.

Letters from Malacca arrive at our camp in Columbo.

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Two deserters from Columbo arrive at our camp.

They give information regarding the condition of the besieged.

Many poor people come over to us and are driven back to the Fort. From letters received from Jan Thyssen, Governor of Malacca, and special Councillor for India we understood that the tin trade in those parts was not then in a very flourishing state which was surprising seeing that it is its staple product.

We must now revert to the siege of Columbo.

On the 31st January in the evening there stole over to us two *Portugesche* soldiers who slipped themselves off the bulwark *St. Steven* by means of ropes. The information gained from them was the great scarcity of money which was then experienced within the walls of the fort. The disposition was manifested on the part of most of their comrades to join us, but for the strict guards which prevent them, the strength of the garrison consisted of 650 whites, that their stock of rice was expected to last for 2 months more, and that much was made of the expected 6 galleons from *Goa* for the relief of *Columbo*. Large bodies of men were now seen quitting the fort from scarcity of food, these were immediately forced back within the walls by our men, to the number of 120. On the 12th of February there appeared in the vicinity of the

General's house 500 of these people, men and women, who were immediately driven back to the fort along the sea shore leading to their bulwark St. Joan.

In the interim the General received the following letter from the Emperor from Candy:-

Raja Singa Rajou

In times past notwithstanding the minority of years I have A letter by the Grace of God obtained a complete victory over my enemies from the Emperor at Malvane, where I entirely routed the force under Don Constant to the tino, and subsequently laid siege to the Fort of Columbo encamping my forces in the garden of Louys Gomes Pinto, when it had pleased God to visit me with sickness. No sooner the Viceroy had been informed of my indisposition, than he made his appearance before me at Columbo, and advised me, that I should return to my capital; having listened to his royal counsel I accordingly left the camp with all speed and reached Candy leaving my army under the care and direction of my brother Carnana Singa, King of Ouva, and with him the prince Vigiapala who brought down on my Imperial lineage great dishonour for while they continued there it happened that the traitorous Portugezen ejected a large body of poor people from the fort, amongst whom there were some traitors who had also made their escape. These miscreants set fire to and destroyed all our works.

From the goodwill, love and affection I entertain towards Your Excellency's person, I feel bound to caution Your Excellency to guard yourself against the wiles and treachery of this vicious Portugesche nation. There are likewise in my army different classes of people. It therefore becomes Your Excellency to care for yourself and God will I trust befriend and protect you from all dangers and difficulties, which will be a source of the utmost happiness to me. For Your Excellency must understand that there exist in this imperial realm of Ceylon, a diversified body of men, strangers as well as natives, who have served under several kings and have also caused disunity and destruction in the land. Many of these traitors are yet in existence till this day. Should therefore any such deceivers find their way to

i.e. Produce of Malacca.
 i.e. Produce of Formosa.

Your Excellency under the mask of friendship place no confidence in them, because those false villains would out of innate insincerity and for the sake of a small gain, talk big of such things as shall eventually bring on disaster and destruction.

As the letters dispatched to Your Excellency from this Imperial Court are written in a language which must be quite foreign to you, you will therefore be pleased to make immediate reference to me on all such points which might appear hard of comprehension. in order that such doubts and difficulties might be solved and explained. For the peace we have made and sworn to must be as enduring as the sun and moon, as Your Excellency also assures me in your letter that it shall remain unbroken as long as the world shall last. While I was about answering your letter of the 8th January. I understood that the Captain of the Guard was on his way to my Imperial Court, and I therefore delayed somewhat.

In times past in my youthful days I have also once encamped my Imperial Army at Malvane, and as a considerable time have now gone by I have lately inspected the place on Wednesday last, and as I found the proceedings of the Dissave of the four Corlas who holds his court there not to my satisfaction, I immediately directed him to move to Revgamwatte. As the aforesaid Dissave had not properly conducted his duties and has committed many foolish acts and proved himself a poltroon I have dismissed him from his office and appointed another in his stead. Your Excellency will be pleased in future to consult him in all matters in which my Imperial interests are concerned. Respecting my journey I have issued directions to my dissaves, and dispatched my people to make every preparation for my immediately setting off for the camp.

In the camp and court of Guiramibula 14th February 1656 (Signed) Raja Singa Rajou, Great and Mighty Emperor of Ceylon.

The General was highly pleased to learn that His Maiesty had approved that he had forced back the (Portugezen) turn-outs into the fort; The General then dispatched the following letter A letter from to the General in Columbo:-

> "Finding that Your Excellency has now with much cruelty withdrawn your protection from the black citizens of the town

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

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after having previously availed yourself of their services, and has now abandoned them to their hunger, by expelling them from the town, and that too, after having in the first instance by means of a strict guard prevented their coming over to us, and now that Your Excellency may rid yourself of the encumbrance have thought it proper to give them full liberty to depart, I feel compelled in justice to my own conscience to request that you will be pleased to have it proclaimed to the black citizens that henceforth those coming from the town will face death. In making this declaration I think it necessary to add mercy must first find room on your side.

> I remain. Your Excellency's Servant (Signed) Gerard Hulft.

In the Nederlandts Camp before Columbo 15th February 1656.

On the 17th February there anchored in the roads the yacht Zaphier from the Choromandel coast. The Commander brought with him a letter from the Governor Laurens Pit dated Paliacatta 29th January, her cargo chiefly consisted of rice and gun powder, as their requisition for sulphur had not then arrived from Tajouan the full demand could not have been made with this opportunity.

Despite the warning given to the black citizens against their leaving the fort many people however came over to us. To prevent the recurrence of such conduct, and to frighten the rest, an example was made of one of them by hanging and the Notwithrest were driven back within the walls of the fort. They had precautions now become so distressed for want of food that daily from between taken in 15 to 16 people died. The dropsy also began to shew itself many blacks amongst the Europianen. On the 19th there came over to us come over a Mystice or half-caste soldier, from whom we learnt that one of their vessels was to sail for Manaar the ensuing night, this information was immediately communicated to Commander Roothaas with a request that a strict vigilance might be kept to intercept this vessel. On the 20th Lieut. Joannes Hartman returned bringing with him a letter from the Emperor which on being translated ran thus -

our General to the General in Colombo.

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A letter from the Emperor to the General. [p. 86]

"Your Excellency's letter to my Imperial camp of the 8th February came duly to my hands on the 9th. In it Your Excellency expressed a great desire for my leave to personally assure my Imperial person of the friendship and good feelings which the Honourable Company entertain towards my person and of their persevering endeavours to advance my interest ever since Your Excellency with your ships reached my royal domain. I have always in my Imperial heart cherished the idea that Your Excellency would come and meet me and God will I trust, grant me the fulfilment of my wish to see Your Excellency at my camp at Revgamwatte. Your letter also makes mention of some great blunders committed by the dissaves' lascarijns; when my Imperial person arrives in the neighbourhood of your camp, I shall then appoint other chiefs and men and have those persons now there removed, and after due enquiry being made visit them with due punishment for any acts of delinquency against my crown as is customary amongst all kings and potentates of this world. You also state in your letter that there were 9 ships dispatched on the 5th instant. God grant that there might be always such news for such is my heart's desire. My chief delight is to know of the well-being and prosperity of the Hollanderen and may God prosper them according to my wish. When my Imperial person shall have come to the camp I trust that with Your Excellency's counsel, and with what I am resolved to do, the taking of the fort shall not be long delayed. As for that ill-natured people they will not only earn for themselves, but for their whole generation another name whereby they and all those connected with them shall become despicable for ever. I shall hail your presence here as if I had the whole power of Hollandt on my side: but consistent with our customs we must look for some lucky day and hour of which Your Excellency will be duly informed by some reputable person.

The Prince my son whom the Lord gave me for the welfare of my upright and loyal Hollandt on bidding farewell to me while I left Candy requested me, that he might be remembered to Your Excellency.

(Signed) Raja Singa Rajou.

In the Camp of Guiramibula 18th February 1656.

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Lieutenant Hartman to whom the Emperor had made a Lieutenant present of a tame elephant now informed the General that the cheered Emperor had in confidence requested him to suggest to the General by the gift of the necessity of honouring the prince his son with some little elephant present as a token of an immortal friendship.

from the Emperor.

On the 21st February the King's Dissaves waited on the General to take charge of his letters to His Majesty. His Excellency excused himself by saying that his letters were then not quite ready as there were many important points to be communicated to His Majesty which he thought could not be done in a hurry. In the meantime as His Maiesty had thought proper to so humiliate himself as to speak secretly to Joannes Hartman regarding a present for the prince his son, the General availed himself of this opportunity of sounding the opinion of the Dissaves as to what would be the most proper and suitable present for a prince. They said they were not then aware what would be a suitable present, but that they would further think about it. On the same afternoon however the sealed letter to His Majesty was forwarded under the usual cannon salutes etc. A present was also made to each of these chiefs of a piece of atlas or silk and to each of their fellow companions a red or rouaanza cap, an [p. 87] article which they set a high value on and called in their language toppi honday. A Japansch screen was also handed over to them, to be delivered to a certain servant of the young prince.

Chapter Thirty

The enemy opens a destructive fire on our works. Envoys from the Emperor. The ejected blacks forced back. Intercepted letters. The Emperor sends a present of venison to the General. New battery raised.

N the 22nd instant the enemy opened a damaging fire Heavy from their batteries St. Joan and St. Steven, whereby by the 3 of our soldiers were severely wounded. His Majesty enemy. sent 3 of his messengers to enquire into the cause of the great

columns of smoke which were perceptible at his camp, and to inform the General of his arrival at Revgamwatte on that very day, to inspect the work of the palace which was then being fitted up for him.

The Emperor's envovs arrive in camp.

Whilst at dinner in the evening, there appeared some other messengers who informed the General of the arrival from His Majesty of certain envoys and who were then occupying a garden within an hour's distance from the camp, and to request an audience of the General on that very evening which was willingly accorded. An ensign and some men were then marched out to escort them to the camp with a request to be excused for the absence of the usual ceremonies which were wont to be observed on such occasions, considering the lateness of the night. On their arrival it was supposed that they had some secret message for the General, but their errand was it would seem to inform the General of the receipt of his letter by His Majesty with much satisfaction and that he had fully comprehended all its contents, and of His Majesty's arrival at Waelwitty to see the palace which was then there being built for him and that no sooner it shall be completed, that His Excellency will then be summoned, and that instructions were issued to the Saffragamsche Dissave for widening and clearing the roads from this to Reygamwatte where the palace is situated. These envoys intended to return to His Majesty the same night, but as it was very dark, they were shown a safe place of retirement till they could set out at daybreak.

Many blacks come over.

Sent back

to the fort

with the

return.

gallows in case they

and threatened

We learnt on the same day from Captain Emont Ruysch, that many people had again come over from the fort, and that he had sent 50 of them to Milagre, awaiting further orders, the women and children were sent to the camp, when they were according to the resolution taken forced back to the garrison, although there were some amongst them whom Gaspar Figeiro had decoyed from their village and brought to Columbo, for had a distinction been made, there would have been no end of claiming affinity amongst them and we would have thus been obliged to retain them with us, a slip which was not at all calculated to do us any good at the time, for the repression of those ejected was the only means which was left open to us for attaining our **DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON**

object as well as for annoying the enemy, and they were whipped all along the way to the S. Jan bastion.

In the evening there were mustered in the camp those men [p. 88] who were sent to the station Milagre by Captain Ruysch, there were now 20 more added to their number, when the General got 2 of them to be privately informed, that though he now permits them that they might in a body return to the fort that there will be no alternative left them but the scaffold were they to come over a second time, and that they should not lose sight of the warning thus given them, unless they can devise means for working out something to our advantage through the instrumentality of our rascally deserters, the aratches of Negumbo, for subduing one or other of the enemy's batteries, in which case they can have free access to us; they were then driven back in the direction of the fort with a sound caning. On the 24th 150 fugitives of February another batch of 150 of these fugitives were likewise driven back forced back to the town under similar treatment.

to the fort.

There now made his appearance on the 26th the Dissave of the Four Corles, with intimation that the Dissave of Saffragam and his men, were then still carrying on the repairs of the roads and bridges, and submitted to the General an ola or letter which he said he received from some high functionaries of the court who were then sending under an escort, 10 men taken up by Ten persons the aforesaid chiefs in some of their villages under suspicion by the of being deserters from our camp, and who have escaped the Cingalezen vigilance of our guards. The General acknowledged the obligation to us. he was under for the service performed by them but reminded them at the same time, that were their people to give as much attention and care to His Majesty's interests as we did no such desertions could then take place and from what transpired he doubts not that many more might still be taken up.

There now came into the General's possession an intercepted An letter written by one of our aratches to the Vidane of Pasdun Corle, Letter. containing the following directions:-

"Hangedera Lionayde, son-in-law to Ranatonge Arachie, wishes the Vidan and the 3 headmen of the 3 Pattos of the Pasdun Corle, much health. On receipt of this your honour shall without any neglect or failure within 8 days collect together from all the

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neighbouring villages 50 pingoloads of fowls, ghee, pepper, gorkes,1 pots and pans, and bring them here, accompanied by all the headmen or majoraals² of the villages from beyond Auguratotte, and then by way of Horne, make for the King's camp, that they might there make their appearance with all becoming duty and devotedness before His Majesty: those who shall fail to comply with this order may rest assured of the sad recompense which awaits them. Therefore be free of any suspicion for I have the assurance of those in power. You shall not declare or divulge that this comes from me, because the order did not originate with me. Should however this matter be made a subject of court enquiry, then and only then shall you make it known that this letter was sent to you by Hangedera Lionavde, son-in-law of Ranatonge Rale.

The Aratche who had written the letter was immediately taken into custody, and then strictly examined by the Governor His Lordship Adriaan van der Meyde and Major Jan van der Laan and he denied that he himself was the author of the letter in question, yet he would not for the life of him reveal or name the person under whose instigation he wrote it. The Governor was surprised at his unusual boldness and thought that the production did not originate with him, and that he was made the dupe of some others for this Cingalees was a subject of the Honourable Company, and was for a considerable time in the receipt of an allowance of rice and other benefits from the Honourable Company.

The General pretended to give directions for his immediate execution, and gave him in charge of the public executioner, but with private instructions to the contrary, lest by any undue haste we cut off the only means of discovering the cause for, and the originators of the document. He was therefore quietly removed at night without anybody's knowledge on board the ship 't Wapen van Hollandt and held in close confinement there.

Ip. 891

On Sunday the 27th instant before divine service, the General Letter dispatched a letter to His Majesty Raja Singa giving him an Raja Singa. account of the proceedings of the abovenamed aratchie and sent him the original ola at the same time. On the afternoon there came the Dissave of Saffragam and informed the General of the completion of the repairs of the roads and bridges as commanded by His Majesty. He was then requested by the General, that he should now employ those labourers in felling and hauling some timber for the new pallisade, which was then in progress at the gate Rajuha, which he undertook to have done; on his being made acquainted with the reason which had induced us to order the execution of the Aratchie on the preceeding day, he seemed to approve the justice of it. The Dissave was also requested to see our ships' company supplied with some heads of cattle as the crew then stood in great need of it, owing to the appearance of a dropsical complaint on board the vessels, which he likewise undertook to provide and then took his leave.

At the same time 4 fishermen in a tony crossed over to us Four from the fort side, when they were informed that they might fishermen come over as well spare themselves the trouble of another visit, if they wish to us. to escape the gallows, but were their whole body or the major part of them to declare for us, that they would in that case be received and have our protection.

Just about this time there arrived in the roads a certain A Moorsch Moorish vessel from Punte Gale with a letter from the Senior ship brings news of the Merchant Jan Kroon giving a detailed account of the disposal of Company's the several rents of the district of Gale for the ensuing year, for Gale and the the aggregate sum of 15,840 rixdollars on condition that a surrounding quarterly payment should be made of one fourth of the purchase country. money—and that the arecanuts which were last year purchased for the Company at 24 larijns the ammenam would be supplied at 16 larijns. Five other similar Moorsche vessels also subsequently arrived with a stock of rice on board.

At the latter end of the month, we noticed the enemy engaged in counter-working us without the walls at the gate Rajuha, when Lieutenant Alenbier was detached with 6 musketeers to dislodge them, but the enemy soon discovered our party, when the labourers

^{1.} The 'goraka' fruit, Garcinia Cambogia, used for preserving fish and also medicinally.

Majoraals. Pieris calls them "the real husbandmen who had heavy duties to perform." Ceylon and the Hollanders p. 80. Paulusz notes that they were expected to entertain chiefs and important visitors. Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council. p. 174.

quitting their work escaped to the fort. The enemy made a few shots at our men but the latter returned safe to the camp.

With the arrival of the vacht Arnemuvden from the Choromandel coast, we received a copy of one of the two letters under date 11th February last, dispatched to us by the yacht Cabbeliauw which never made her appearance. The cargo of the Arnemuvden consisted of 80 lasts of Bengallze rice, 100 blubbers of gun powder. with 6 soldiers from their garrison, and it was with great regret we learnt then from another letter dated the 17th instant received by the same opportunity, that the other letter had fallen into the hands of the Portugezen at Tutecorijn. The ship had on board 18,877 pounds of gun powder, 2,781 bullets, namely 231 of 24 pounders, 750 of 18 and 1,800 of 12 pounders, and 1,500 stone bullets of various weights and 10,000 lbs of lead, and the rest of the cargo consisted of bales of cotton piece goods, and other cloths, besides 16 lasts of rice, and other trifles intended for Ceylon to the total value of 6098 guilders.

The Zee-Rob now left the harbour on a cruise northwards of Negombo for a period of 8 days, she was to be alternately relieved by our other vessels. Orders were also issued to all our ships for keeping a strict look out for the enemy's vessels.

Majesty a recently shot elk hunted by Emperor Raja Singa himself

that very morning. It was accepted by His Excellency with

flattering expressions of thanks.

Late in the evening three messengers brought from His

An elk shot by Raja Singa sent to the General.

Ships arrive

Coromandel.

Their cargo.

from

p. 901

17 lascariins and 2 aratches come over to us.

The General and the Governor now left the camp under the usual honours to inspect the work at the gate Rajuha, when they fell in with 17 lascariins and 2 aratches who deserted the enemy the very instant they were left as guards at the gate Rajuha. They were ordered to be led to the General's quarters for examination; on their excellencies reaching the works, they learnt the alarm and consternation which the desertion of the said lascariins have caused the enemy. On examination these fugitives could afford us no special information further than that the fort was hoping to hold out till May and that for April a ration of 25 midides of rice had been issued to each of their men, and that

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last in one of their Manchous — that this vessel had escaped the vigilance of our cruisers was a matter of much regret to us.

On the 6th, 8th and 9th September the gate Rajuha was Also 2 Portugezen strongly beset by us. There bolted over 2 Portugesche and some and some defensible lascarijns, they declared that the town could not hold Lascarijns. out longer than May, and that the remaining stock of the rice with them was stony, damp, rotten, and scrappy.

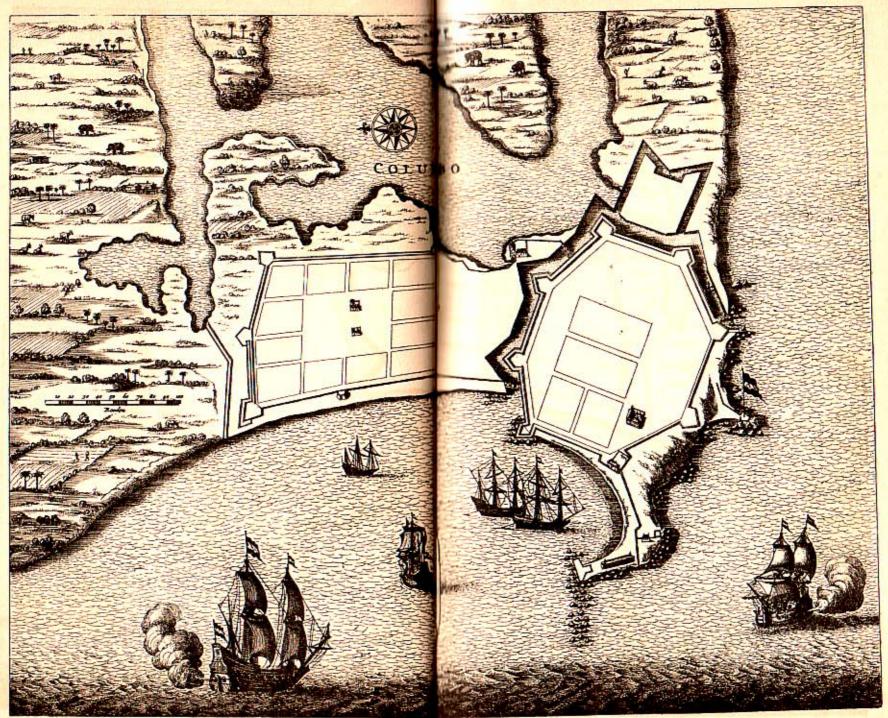
Instructions were then issued by the General for the cons- A new truction of a new 2 gun battery at the very extremity of the bastion St. Jan for battering down the flanks of the battery St. Steven and thereby to help ourselves to repair our demolished work of the covered way leading to the mine, and then to recommence the work afresh on this side of the wall for mastering their trenches in the first instance.

Chapter Thirty One

Arrival of several deserters with news from Columbo. Ysbrandt Godskens sent as Ambassador to the Emperor. His letters to the General, and from the besieged to the Emperor.

T this juncture, there came over to us several lascarijns and a Portugees loudly denouncing the bad quality of A Portugees the rice dealt out to them, the latter also declared that he deserter knew our prisoners in the fort and counted forty of them, one of of the whom then lay sick and was at the point of death, that their condition officers lost their lives during the storming, or subsequently prisoners. from the effects of the wounds they received during the conflict. with the exception of a sergeant who he understood was married at Batavia. He further stated that the enemy had taken down all Warns us. their guns from the batteries St. Steven, St. Philippo, and Clergos and removed them to their new work at the gate Rajuha for opening a fire upon our working party the ensuing night. On this information Lieutenant Paulus Meno who was entrusted with [p. 91] the work was instructed to suspend labour, and be on the watch until we saw the enemy begin their firing and then to take due action.

there prevailed a strong rumour that the General had dispatched



The City of Colombo.

At night there was an unusual fire from cannon and muskets kept up by the enemy, which virtually impeded our people from working. It was scarce dawn in the morning when the General rode out to the station Milagre to inspect the encampment of His Majesty's Dissaves, and to reconnoitre the place, here he found a strong pallisade constructed of clappus trees all along the sea shore to the pond with 3 main guards and 4 companies of soldiers, so that there was no fear of any of the enemy's sallies in that quarter.

One of our soldiers flees to the Emperor and implores forgiveness which is granted and therefore loses his subsistence and wages. A voung lad comes

over.

A soldier whom we found missing for a while in the camp, had now it appears made his way to His Majesty and implored for his intercession with us in order to evade the punishment which was due to his crime. A request to that end was now made on His Majesty's behalf by one of his Dissaves. As this interference emanated from so high a quarter, there was no alternative but to acquiesce.

On the 13th March there slipped over to us a young lad, and privately communicated to the General that he was let down from the battery Clergos by some of the lascarijns who had the watch there, and of their determination to steal away and join us in the following night before the rising of the moon and (if practicable) to yield up to us the point. This lad after he had partaken of some food, and at his own request had received a few strokes of the rattan in order to drown suspicion, made his way back to the fort.

To make the most of this opportunity and strike the iron while hot, the General placed a company of his Life Guards in the most favourable locality expecting the event but the heavy fires maintained by the enemy at night from their batteries St. Steven and St. Philip served not only to thwart the intention of the above mentioned, but also to disappoint us in our hopes.

A toepas comes over. His news.

A toepas then presented himself at the camp, who had escaped from the bulwark St. Steven, stating that that battery was at the time manned only by 16 persons, and that the other batteries were more strongly guarded, knowing as the enemy did, that those defences were better situated for the purpose of defending the fort, and that we could expect no advantage in that quarter. A little after there appeared 6 well-armed lascarijns, who stated

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they had descended from the gate Rajuha, and imparted some further accounts of their distressing circumstances, but 2 of the six informed us that the General had on that day dispatched a letter to His Majesty Raja Singa, but that they were not aware of its import, but be what it may, they said, we would soon be informed of it by His Majesty.

On the 14th March Captain Emont Ruysch reports from the Two of our station Milagre, the desertion to the enemy of Corporal Hendrik desert to the Willemsz Bogaart, and a Private Pieter van Bruysingen, truly enemy. a wonderful change for the worst, whilst with us here there were supplies in plenty, and there nothing but want. Nay, a mountain of barrenness.

On the same evening there came over 10 other armed lascarijns 10 Lascarijns from the fort, and before the rising of the moon 2 cannon an 18 come over. and a 24 pounder, were placed in our newly constructed battery, opposite St. Jan and in the morning opened fire. A request was now made by His Majesty that some person of importance might [p. 92] be sent up to him on some private affairs. The Merchant Ysbrandt The Merchant Godskens (born at s' Gravenhage) was then selected on this service, Ysbrandt a gentleman gallant and vigilant, whether wielding a sword or the goes to pen, who had done the Honourable Company good service, Raja Singa when Director of Commerce in Persia. He soon betook himself to the Emperor Raja Singa.

Another batch of lascarijns with their wives and children To Simon now had to retrace their steps to the fort, There was a letter privately entrusted to a young lad that it might be delivered Captain, is over to the fugitive Captain Symon Lopes who was requested sent a letter if practicable to bring about a mutiny amongst the blacks under to create an a promise, that not only would his misdeeds be forgiven him, amongst the but that he would be also amply rewarded for that service.

At midnight there was a false alarm raised by our men by An alarm the ringing of bells, the beat of drums etc. which threw the enemy into no small consternation but all this din of war was quite over again in less than half an hour's time. The day after there arrived 3 of His Majesty's chiefs to ascertain the cause of the preceding night's firing and what was then stirring in the camp. We learnt from them that Ysbrandt Godskens had not till then had an audience of the Emperor, and that that honour was to be

as Extraordinary Envov.

deserting uprising blacks.

done him the following day. While in the meantime the General was in the receipt of a letter from Raja Singa, King of Candy giving cover to two others from Columbo dated 10th March, the one from Anthonio de Souza Coutinho, and the other from the free citizens of the fort, craving His Majesty's aid and protection, the contents of all these letters in our language will follow. That from His Majesty ran as follows:-

Raja Singa Rajou etc. etc.

A Letter from His Majesty to the General along with two others.

My imperial person has commanded that these few lines might be dispatched to Your Excellency to inform you that the day before yesterday which was Wednesday 15th March. I broke up my encampment of Guiramibula, and immediately on my arrival at the other side of the Walewitty river, I dispatched some influential individuals of my imperial court to apprize Your Excellency of my arrival at Reygamwatte, and at the same time to ascertain the state of Your Excellency's health. I have also requested them that Your Excellency might be informed the reason why some of your letters sent to the imperial court remain as yet unanswered, and to request that some respected and well-informed person might be sent to me that I might verbally communicate to him my answers. As my arrival here was rather late at night I could not have attended to business. I shall in the morning give the necessary directions for disposing of and quartering my army. Just about this time I received the accompanying letters from the General and the citizens of Colombo, which I send for Your Excellency's information. In the encampment of Reygamwatte 17th March 1656 - (Signed and sealed) Raja Singa Rajou, Mighty Emperor of Ceylon.

Letter of the General.

To the Mighty Emperor Raja Singa.

Letter from the General of Columbo to the Emperor Raja Singa Rajou. [p. 93]

"Your Imperial Majesty has been duly apprized at the very commencement of this unjust war levied and persevered in by the enemy against us, and of the reasons which had induced me to solicit Your Majesty's aid and support, which I then did with a firm reliance on Your Majesty's magnanimity and that the

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request will not be denied me, for it is usual and customary for great kings and emperors to assist and befriend the weak and the less powerful from all tyranny and oppression. Though we have hitherto under God's providence defended ourselves against all hostile approaches of the enemy, and routed them several times, of which Your Majesty has likewise been apprized, yet I apprehend that these communications have failed to reach Your Majesty's hands and they therefore must have been lost, nor is such to be wondered at, after what I have heard of the treatment the poor and unoffending inhabitants of this town receive at their hands, whenever they find themselves compelled to quit the fort, by their being seized and condemned as slaves, and others again most uncharitably forced back to the fort.

This town is the ancient heritage of the Portugezen nation, left to them in bequest by former kings and potentates, Your Majesty's fore-fathers, who were always satisfied that it should remain under their safeguard and protection, in consideration of the excellent services rendered by the Portugezen nation to the then kings and queens of the Island, of which Your Majesty and your chiefs cannot be ignorant. Nor do we know that we have given Your Majesty the slightest displeasure. The time has then now arrived with all the anxiety there is in the fort for Your Majesty to defend the Portugezen who are old friends rather than the Hollanders who are but strangers. How Your Majesty has fared with them time has demonstrated, and the future will still more fully show, for their motives are selfinterest which they always cover up so long as they are not fully masters themselves, but when they obtain the least ascendancy (which God forbid) Your Majesty will then know the truth of what I now say, but when too late perhaps.

I shall no longer intrude on Your Majesty's indulgence, aware as his servants are of Your Majesty's high wisdom, and sound understanding.

God protect Your Imperial Majesty.

(Signed and sealed) Anthonio de Souza Coutinho. Colombo 10th March 1656.

Letter of the Citizens of Colombo

To His August and Mighty Excellency, Emperor Raja Singa etc. etc. etc.

Letter from leading Burghers of Columbo Emperor of Ceylon.

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The arrival of the Hollanders and the siege laid by them to this town has been reported to Your Imperial Majesty by the then authorities, as well as by the General himself. Your Majesty to Raja Singa was likewise informed of the storming which took place both by land and sea, and as the assault was carried on during the daytime, we have given them a chance to enter; when they implored for their lives it was so granted them. The Hollanders admit themselves that from 240 of their men who were sent to the lake or swamp the major part of them fell into our hands with their vessels. At sea we have since captured a 30-gun ship of the enemy and done great damage to another. We speak not of the number of their slain, which were found on board their ships, nor of those which were left along the walls of our batteries. The enemy however subsequently found their way to our moat where they dug a mine which was however destroyed by us; on the very night when they had intended to connect it with our gallery, with considerable loss on their side, and with only that of one man of ours. And hence we feel no other want, but Your Majesty's aid which is all that we heartily wish and long for. From what we have advanced in this letter Your Majesty will no doubt perceive, that our only aim is the preservation of this town and its environs, the gift of Your Imperial Majesty's august fore-fathers.

> In the expectation therefore, that Your Majesty will be more favourably disposed to befriend and assist Your Majesty's old friends the Portugezen, rather than the Hollanders we pray that God might preserve Your Majesty and grant many years of prosperity. Columbo 10th March 1656.

> (Signed and sealed) Diego Leitaon de Souza, Secretary to the Court of Justice who got this letter to be written.

> > Manoel de Fonzeca Diego de Souza da Cunha Ruy Lopes Coutinho Jan Coelho de Castro and Bento Fereyro d'Abreu.

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On the 20th March, a certain black labourer who was em- A black ployed amongst others in the opening of the enemy's trenches comes over made his escape to us. He said that four Portugezen who were to us taken up in their attempt to make their way to us had been news. whipped to death and that the fire of the preceding night from our battery against St. Steven bastion had caused the death of two Canarijns and a gunner, and wounded another. With respect to supplies he gave us the same account as the other did.

The General then left the camp for the moat taking this Heer Hulft black with him, that he might point out the place where the black to view enemy used to carry on their work. On reaching the place, the ditch, he seized a gun, and mounted the walls and whilst looking into risk to life. the moat, he descried 3 Portugezen in it, and after two discharges of his piece, he luckily made a hasty descent, or the enemy would have had an easy target, for in a moment 3 bullets struck the identical spot where the General had stood.

Chapter Thirty Two

Return of Godskens after his Mission. Report regarding it. Letters sent to Columbo. Batteries erected. Circumstantial news from Goa. Their state of affairs.

THE sun had scarcely reached the zenith when there came a A young youth from the fort to our works which were being superintended by Lieut. Meno. He inquired about our strength asserting that he was so enjoined by the General. This lad likewise confirmed the account of the execution of the 4 above-menti- His story. oned Portugezen. We gave him a good caning and drove him back to the fort, in consideration of his youth. The day after Major van der Laan informs us, the enemy had succeeded in cutting an aperture in our walls just fronting our working place by which process one of our blacks had been shot, and that the accident can be only attributed to the carelessness on the part of those who were employed to take care of the place, notwithstanding the ample instructions they had received, that one man should be constantly

on the look out, in order to prevent all such attempts on the part of the enemy. At night they opened a fire from their bastion St. Jan just right into our works and it was extraordinary that none of our people suffered thereby.

The envov Ysbrandt Godskens returns to the camp with the leave of His Majesty. fp. 951 His Report.

About dusk on the 23rd March the Merchant Ysbrandt Godskens returned from his mission having left His Majesty the same day, and made the following report in writing: "With respect to the General's 5 letters sent to His Imperial Majesty. he wishes the General to be verbally informed, that on the 16th of March last, a letter from the besieged fortress of Columbo had been received from the Portugezen, of which he will soon be made acquainted. That His Majesty approves of the system persevered in by Your Excellency in sending back the needy inhabitants thrust out from the fort by the enemy, for it is fitting that mercy to their own people must in the first instance be shown by themselves, and that if there be some who view the act as an uncharitable proceeding, that such an imputation might be laid to His Majesty's account, because it was done upon his bidding, the observance of which has mainly contributed to facilitate the surrender of the fort. That if His Majesty has hitherto failed to present Your Excellency with any memorial of his regard wherewith to adorn Your Excellency's person, that His Maiesty desires to shower the Director-General with such when a personal meeting shall have taken place.

His Majesty further requests Your Excellency will excuse the seeming incivility of his dissaves. who were sent here to inform Your Excellency of his arrival at Reygamwatte, in declining to furnish the chief of Your Excellency's life guard with a guide to show him the way thither, seeing that it is contrary to the etiquette of his court to admit any person unless His Majesty is previously apprized of it. That His Majesty is also well aware of the fast approaching close of the monsoon and that the soldiers too had to endure many hardships and privations during a long and protracted campaign which must necessarily render them weary and fatigued, but since Your Excellency is now shortly expected at court. His Majesty hopes to have then everything satisfactorily disposed of after mutual consultation. That His Majesty had learnt from good authority, that it is too frequently

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that Your Excellency braves your personal safety by openly His Majesty exposing Your Excellency's person to perils and dangers, and the General in case of any fatal accident befalling Your Excellency, the loss not to risk would be felt by him, as if he had lost the pearl of value to his eyes, and request Your Excellency to be more careful and guarded in all Your Excellency's movements, this request was also to be made on His Majesty's behalf to all grades of our functionaries, to heed Your Excellency's personal safety, so as to avoid any mishap.

That Your Excellency had also he said expressed a delicacy in troubling His Majesty with frequent writings under a supposition, that they must need divert His Majesty's attention from the more important engagements of affairs of his Empire, he wishes Your Excellency to understand, that nothing can be more agreeable to him than to receive and peruse Your Excellency's letters, more particularly so, as they generally treat on weighty matters concerning His Majesty's own interest, and that all communications coming from his most faithful servant he ever had will be always a source of great pleasure to him. That Your Excellency need be at no concern for the directions Your Excellency had unwittingly given to His Majesty's people at Reygam Corle, as those directions were calculated to serve His Majesty's personal interest rather than Your Excellency's and that therefore His Majesty views the matter favourably. His Majesty was also gratified to hear the punishment inflicted on the writer of the ola in Pasdun Corle, for great evils he observes might arise from such wicked behaviour, and that they ought not to go therefore unpunished, as an example to others of his stamp Holds to the who are scattered about the Empire. With regard to the treaty contract entered into with Admiral Westerwold, His Majesty holds it Heer Adam as valid and binding whilst in the meantime, there were many Westerwold. Generals and Governors of India who have been in His Majesty's [p. 96] lands, who had (he said) against all equity and reason occasioned Raia Singa great trouble and confusion, and by such acts of injustice alienated deplores every feeling of friendship and good understanding which there injustices then existed, for which His Majesty feels regret to the very moment committed by Generals and appeals to God, who knows everything to witness that he and gave no cause for such proceedings on their part, but with respect Governors to Your Excellency individually he thinks differently, and has nation.

the highest confidence for integrity of purpose, and had already obtained proofs for fidelity in His Majesty's service, thus ensuring thereby a tie of friendship to be as abiding as the sun and the moon, as Your Excellency's acts excel all those of your predecessors.

That His Majesty was anxious to ascertain Your Excellency's

views for taking Jafnapatan and Manaar after the conquest of Columbo, and if it would not be advisable that His Majesty should detach some of his dissaves to invest and lay siege to those places. That His Majesty is in the receipt of 2 letters from those quarters with the contents of which Your Excellency will be made soon acquainted; that he expects to see Your Excellency either on Sunday or Thursday next as most convenient to Your Excellency, and that His Majesty will depute by that time appear before some of his chiefs to conduct Your Excellency. There now arrived His Majesty's Dissaves and envoys bringing with them 2 letters which the General had drafted in reply to the 2 communications received by His Majesty from Colombo, and sent for His Majesty's approval, in order that they might now after being

Letters received in Columbo.

The Emperor

grants time

for Heer

Hulft to

him.

This business being thus disposed of, we understood from Montual that there appeared on the other side of the river about 400 of the King's soldiers under the command of 4 chiefs, without their showing however any inclination to cross the water, when they were ascertained to be men who never in their lives had a sight of the sea or ships, and who had obtained His Majesty's permission for the excursion being made. The parties having satisfied their curiosity requested leave to withdraw themselves. which request was with all civility accorded them.

signed by the General be dispatched on His Majesty's behalf.

which took place the following day.

could then have spared.

50 soldiers sent to the camp from Puntegale.

How the letters sent were received in camp.

When the aforesaid 2 letters reached Columbo and were presented to the authorities there in His Majesty's name by his aratches and lascarijns, they were received with great honours by the discharges of guns and small arms, but no sooner had they learnt their contents, they boiled with wrath and indignation,

Puntegale to join the camp, being all the force which that garrison

About the same time we had an accession of 50 men from

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declaring that were it not for the exigency of the times that they would not be permitted so easy a return, and on the arrival of these men at the camp they requested that the General would communicate to His Majesty the result of their encounters, and then took their leave.

On this very day, there burst out a most frightful tempest, Stormy accompanied with high wind, rain, thunder and lightning whereby weather at camp and one of our sentries was hurt, and, what was more remarkable, around it. three of our muskets were shattered to fragments in the church of Guia de Lobo, so that on the 25th of March, one day subsequent, His Majesty sent some of his messengers to ascertain if the storm [p. 97] had caused us any serious injury amongst our people, household. army or works, when His Majesty was briefly informed of our wonderful preservation under God.

On the 25th March there came over to us, at the gate Rajuha, Two white 2 white Portugezen, one of whom was a native of Marsilien, who though he was discovered in his attempt at desertion yet he made his escape after receiving 9 dangerous wounds which leave little room to hope of his recovery. He complained of the vast amount of misery he had endured whilst with the enemy, and died of his wounds on the following day the 26th. On the same day a mystice or half-caste, came over to us, a sergeant who stood sentinel at the house of Sebastiaan Caldero, and gave out that there were two other soldiers who would fain join our flag no sooner an opening is left to them, and that the enemy was then distributing rations of rice for April of a parra a head. the dropsy and beribery were fearfully prevalent with them, that the latter which affected the bones and kneecaps entirely disables one from moving or standing firm on one's legs.

After a short interval Commander Roothaas sent to the Three camp 3 fishermen captured by our rowing-boats within a musket- fishermen arrested by shot of the water castle, when the usual rewards were paid to us. the captors, of 50 rixdollars for each tony or fishing boat so captured, besides an extra remuneration of 25 rixdollars to encourage them in their exertions, for it is through the instrumentality of these fishermen, that those within the walls are provisioned: the commander was however requested not to expose his men to too much danger. While in the pursuit of

A new battery set up.

these services some skilful men were now employed for throwing up another battery facing St. Jan. having for its object the demolition of the enemy's constructed mole-pier and other works, and then to come to their gallery over the ditch. With this view the work of the battery was eagerly pursued with. The General needed some 400 or 500 coelijs for carrying on the work out of danger and for cutting pallisades, but it appears that the Emperor's Dissave made light of this and finally said to the General that were he to speak to the Emperor on the subject when he meets him, his request will not be denied him.

Portugeesch comes over in a boat.

At night there came round a white Portugees a free merchant with his vessel from the bay, and also a Caffer trumpeter, who rehearsed the great distress and poverty which there then prevailed in the fort and that on that yesterday there were buried 130 corpses. and that were it not for the dropsy which rages amongst the whites, that many of them would ere this have joined us, but that they now mistrust their legs.

On the 29th 2 hours before daylight, a rush was made by the enemy on the works of Lieut. Paulus Meno, but our native labourers and the sentry soon gave the alarm, when after a desultory exchange of shots, the enemy made away without any loss on our side. There then came four of His Majesty's envoys to ascertain the cause of the firing of the preceeding night. which being explained to them, they were then conducted to our works and showed the necessity there was for 4 or 500 coolies. Three more fishermen were then brought up by our boat's crew. to whom the usual reward was made for their alacrity. The yacht Popkensburgh brought us now the following extraordinary news from Wingurla.

Ip. 981

News of Goa sent by the Merchant and Resident Leendert Willemze of Wingurla.

That the Vicerov Don Rodrigo de Lobo. Conde de Secredo. his private secretary, and three others of his domestics had after 4 or 5 days of suffering died of poison—that after a long and warm debate lasting for 2 days, Manoel Mascarinhas Homem ex-Governor of Ceylon was elected Viceroy by a majority of votes, but the nobles and Fidalgos on finding themselves overvoted refused submission to his rule, and hence there was now daily nothing but unrest as there had been in 1652 against him at Columbo. That shortly after the demise of the Vicerov.

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those in Goa began gradually to load their patachos, a galioen and a carake with articles of merchandise, and moreover got ready for sea a large armament of war frigates and other vessels. distributing to a large body of soldiers 20 zeraphijs each in order A zeraphijn to send them to Ceylon. We acquired this information through to our our residents at Wingurla in order that we might be prepared to reckoning meet them in the event of their coming to Ceylon. He further 20 stuvvers. informed us that 160 vessels with 16 war frigates had left Goa on the 8th February to the northward for provision and other merchandise, but that this Caffila took 4 or 5 days to get out of sight, owing to strong adverse wind. That 3 patachos or yachts had also sailed for Mozambique of which one was obliged to put back having sprung a leak, and left for Bombassa, that 2 other vessels were dispatched to Macassar and 2 to China, that a carake and a galioen called the Bon Jezu and Nosse Senhora de Gracia had sailed for Portugal on the 19th of February.

With the above mentioned vessels the following noblemen or Fidalgos were for their mutinous conduct transported in chains to Portugal.

> Don Bras de Castro-late Governor General Don Lovs de Zouza Don Predo de Castro Manoel de Zouza Cabraer-Master of the Ordnance Diego de Salvaar-Captain Moor Estevaon de Melo-Late Governor of Bassijn Carel Hudzaart-An opulent Merchant Doctor Caldero Jeronimo Lobo de Falhetta.

There remained still confined in the gaols of Goa and Bassijn, owing to the part they had taken with the usurper Don Bras de Castro the following prisoners:

> Don Rodrigo Monzanto-Captain at Bassijn Den Veadoor de Fazendas, with us designated Director General or Chief Superintendent of Trade, and Leon Corre, confined at Bassijn.

We learnt further that the major part of the cargo of the aforesaid carake and galioen, belonged to some particular merchants and that they consisted of every description of garments

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and piecegoods, cloves, cinnamon, indigo, pepper, bezoar stones etc. but their actual value could not have been ascertained. That some of the most opulent merchants had availed themselves of this opportunity by clandestinely making away to Portugal with the bulk of their fortunes without the knowledge of the presiding authorities of Goa.

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In India they use light craft cleverly made of wood tied together, not liable to be wrecked or upset. which bring over letters wrapped in oilcloth and tied to the masthead. There are also on land runners who quickly spread news when necessary.

That two days prior to the arrival of our vacht the Zierik-Zee and Naarden at the Bar of Goas, four Patamars and a Portugees vessel were sent to Goa on account of the great scarcity which then prevailed in Columbo, and how highly necessary long promised supplies were but that it was no easy task for them to do so then, for the Portugesche soldiers, more especially the Moorsche crew (whom they employ as rowers in their vessels) have an abhorrence now of Ceylon, particularly as it was then out of season; to encourage these people, however, those in Goa pretended to have received a letter from Don Anthonio De Souza Coutinho (from Columbo), communicating the overthrow of the Hollanders with the assistance of the Emperor Raja Singa but as this did not convince them, another means was found. The Governor General or Vicerov Manoel Mascarinhas Homen produced a forged letter, imitating the handwriting of Anthonio Souza Coutinho, and exhibited it to the people so as to confirm the former report, and with a view to make this deception more convincing the bells in the town (of which there was no lack) were set ringing and an illumination of the streets took place, and every other manifestation of joy and hilarity were continued for the space of 3 whole days. But how delusive were all these displays, these demonstrations of joy, when their hearts were loaded with grief, how vain the blaze of lights, when so dense a cloud of darkness pervaded them, how idle and vain the beat of the drums, when there were none to listen to the sound, for there was no taking of hares with unwilling dogs.

The aforesaid letter from Wingurla likewise informed us, that whilst our Zurat and Persiaans traders were ready for sea, but short of drinking water, refreshments and other necessaries and requested the Governor as desired by the Master Fettechan, that our ships might remain one day longer to enable their ships

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which were also destined to Persia to sail together. Meanwhile we learnt from Ditsely, a Moorsche town situated within sight News of Goa, that the long talked of armada consisting of from 20 to regarding condition 30 war-frigates were to sail within 2 days more for Cevlon fully of Goa. provided with men and provisions, but this was afterwards found out to be an idle story. The letter also mentioned, that subsequent to the departure of our Persiaanze and Zuratze ships, our yachts and boats were constantly sent out to the river of Goas to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy's naval forces in order to avoid any surprise.

The ordinary news now from this quarter is, that the aforementioned frigates are only awaiting the arrival of their Caffila from the north which are expected there within a few days, when the native crew on board were not to be allowed to land but to be forcibly placed on board the said frigates and then at once set sail for Cevlon with all procurable provision with 30 warfrigates and some other light crafts, laden with rice and 700 to 800 whites with the hope of landing some of them at Columbo for strengthening that garrison. But the chief of Wingurla was of opinion that the succour had best be delayed till April next, and that if within that time no certain information is received of the capture of Columbo, that it will then be high time to detach not only 25 or 30 frigates, but also a large fleet, of lighter vessels. and as many men as the garrison of Goas can well spare, that they might at once make direct to Columbo with the northerly [p. 100] wind, which will then be prevailing for the succour of that ill-fated city.

He further writes that 2 galleys and a carack lie in the river of Goas, one of which is moored at Marmagon and will not in view of the monsoon be called in request. And that our yacht the Romeyn will at a wink dash out to apprise us when any relief is sent out.

Chapter Thirty Three

Letters of the General and the Emperor. Arrival of several fugitives. The General's journey to His Imperial Majesty.

Two Portugesche fishermen come across the lake or pond.

Cingalaas seized by us.

Also five fishermen.

A letter sent to His Majesty by the General.

TwoPortugezen come over to us from the fort, and another the next day.

A sailor brings four fishermen.

N the 30th March, it was discovered that a large band of Portugezen in two of their vessels called Manchous. had crossed the lake and caused an alarm among our men at work at the gate Mapane, and immediately after we were acquainted of the attack made by some of our men on the enemy which obliged them to beat a retreat. We also learnt of the capture by our people of a certain headman of a village styled An unfriendly Vidaan, who according to his own statement appears to have been sent by the enemy to collect fascines for strengthening the curtains between St. Joan and St. Steven. He said one of our soldiers who had been injured in the storming had died. On the same day 2 tonijs were brought by our sailors with 5 fishermen in them, when the usual reward was paid to the captors.

> The General now communicated to His Majesty the recent news we had from Goa respecting the long looked for succour. On the same evening two white Portugesche soldiers found their way to the camp, who stated that they escaped to us from the case-mate of the bastion S. Steven by craftily sending away the sentry to the fort, with a promise to guard the post by one of themselves during his absence. These men gave us an account of the enemy's situation. The day after there came over from the fort another Portugees soldier whose haggard face and hollow cheeks indicated the lack of food that the besieged were undergoing. Our sailors now brought in another tony with 4 fishers on board. As the number of these captive fishers had now increased to 15 they were publicly sold as slaves under trumpetsoundings, when they fetched just as much as the Company had laid out in rewards for their capture.

There now arrived in the camp on the 1st of April His Majesty's chief Dissaves of Ouva and Vier Corles with a letter from His Majesty, which was beautifully made up and properly sealed. The Dissaves had a train with them of nearly 1000

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lascarijns forming separate companies each having their distinguishing banners. These chiefs were received with more than ordinary honours. On the letter being opened and translated, the following was found to be the contents thereof:

"Your Excellency's letter of 24th March reached me the A letter, same day, in which you say, that you are at all times ready and decorated, willing at my Imperial Service, whereat my Imperial person was from much gladdened. And of the interest Your Excellency takes delivered in all what concerns me, and it hardly be said, I have had already to the proofs of Your Excellency's sincerity from the moment you have landed here. You also say, that there are many topics which you reserve untouched until you shall make your personal appearance before my Imperial presence. What now if my acceptable and well beloved Director General, though so near the vicinity of my Imperial camp, had not as yet appeared before me, I do not view it in the light of an offence for the attachment I entertain In. 1011 towards Your Excellency's person and the goodwill with which I am guided. I now dispatch the Dissaves of Ouva and Vier Corles to conduct Your Excellency thither, and on their arrival there Your Excellency may direct the Dissaves of Vier and Zeven Corles and Saffragam to abide there in charge of the encampment and have an insight into all matters concerning my service. Your Excellency may select one of them in whom you most delight to accompany Your Excellency but not before Your Excellency is satisfied with the arrangements made for the safety of my army, as well as that of my Hollanders, for I have entrusted the former to your sound judgment and foresight. May God, with His Divine blessing safely lead your Excellency before my Imperial eyes when they will leap for joy, and to listen then to all what Your Excellency will have to say will be sweet music to my ears.

Sealed in wax.

at Reygamwatte, 1st March 1656.

A fixed time was now resolved upon for the General to Date of visit His Majesty, and all the necessary preparations were being visit to made, as the King's Dissaves informed His Excellency that considered. His Majesty would grant him an audience on Wednesday following

Two twelvepounders are first set un opposite St. Joan's batterv.

16 armed lascariins come over to us.

The Emperor's Dissaves invite the General and accompany him to appear before His Majesty.

His Excellency Gerard Hulft's procession to the Emperor of Cevlon.

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provided that during His Excellency's absence every precaution and care should be taken of the encampment. Prior therefore to the General's departure two 12-pounders were lifted on the battery facing St. Joan, but unfortunately the very next day, one of our sailors was shot dead on it; the wonder is that though the same ball had shivered the hat of one of our soldiers, his head escaped injury. On this very day there slipped over to us 16 armed lascarijns from the bulwark S. Steven who had been hotly pursued by the Portugezen. There had been a scuffle for 2 of them were found to be wounded. These fellows were set to work at the gate Rajuha at our battery work to earn their meals and to help their digestions.

In the afternoon the Dissaves of Ouva and Vier Corles called on the General and with many compliments and courtesies enquired whom he preferred to accompany him to His Majesty. The Saffragamsche Dissave after much deliberation was selected who was requested to hold himself in readiness for the journey the next morning. From a letter which the Dissaves exhibited to the General it appeared that 7 Canarijns were captured in a toney by His Majesty's people a little beyond Negumbo on their way from Columbo.

We understood on the evening of the 4th April, that His Majesty came up riding as far as the Welekande pass, when the General made immediate preparations to go and meet him there, but while on the point of starting, there came His Majesty's Dissaves in a great hurry and requested not to proceed thither as His Majesty had already returned back to his station, so that this journey was postponed for the time.

On the 5th instant the General started on his trip to His Majesty accompanied by the following personages:- the merchants Eduard Ooms, and Ysbrandt Godskens, the fiscal Lukas van der Dussen, the private secretary Cornelis Valkenborgh and Jakob van Rhee, with the interpreter Jorgien Bloem, and Don Jan de Costa Sabandaar, escorted by the royal Dissaves and their suite and those of Ouva and Saffragam, with a select firing-party, led by Lieutenant Joannes Hartman. His Excellency Governor Adriaan van der Meyden, Major van der Laan, other officials, and the Dissave of the Vier Corles conducted the General

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as far as the second Pass of Nacolegamme, His Majesty being then encamped by the river at Revgamwatte.

The first marks of honour which were shown to His Excellency His Majesty's the Director General by His Majesty's dignitaries were these: of honour to

the General.

Three richly caparisioned horses were offered by the chiefs of His Majesty's court to be used at His Excellency's pleasure, which was succeeded by 5 fine and perfectly tusked elephants, whose carnakken or drivers requested the General's commands as to where they should be positioned, when they were told that they should be with the vanguard. In the meantime there appeared a large body of nobles, and other high dignitaries with their bands of soldiers to greet the General and to make enquiries after his health, which the General answered with civility, adding them to the procession. When they reached the ammelang1 or resthouse near His Majesty's camp, His Excellency was met and welcomed by the principal chiefs of His Majesty's court in the name of the Emperor of Cevlon. They were accompanied by an innumerable number of soldiers and others, as well as bearers of talpets2 or sunscreens, trumpeters, and musicians there were also eleven elephants and two stately horses, whose saddles and bridles were most artfully decorated with gold and costly jewels. This august train proceeded between orderly ranks of musketeers and archers till in quarter of an hour they reached a house that had been specially made ready for the General, being wonderfully neat and attractive, the walls of the rooms were all lined with linen and the bed rooms were decorated with costly gold brocades, and on the other side of the river near the King's palace there was maintained for more than one and a half hours, discharges of guns and muskets as a token of rejoicing. After a rest of an hour or two, His Majesty sent his Dissaves to enquire after His Excellency's health, His Majesty having understood that the General had been labouring under a fever of late when His Majesty had intended to come and see him but for the subsequent information he gained of the improvement the General had made, and was therefore anxious to know how he fares at present; these courtly enquiries or civilities having

^{1.} i.e. Ambalama, Sinhalese for 'resting place'.

^{2.} Talipot palm fans or sunscreens.

been responded to by the General, with all becoming courtesy, he expressed his anxiety to meet his far-famed Majesty as early as possible owing to the important duties he had on hand to attend to. On the sixth day of our arrival a large supply of provisions, the best the country could afford, was sent to us in their boats.

The Honourable Hulft departs on being summoned by His Majesty and having arranged necessary matters in camp.

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In the afternoon the General was privately made acquainted by some of the principal state officers, that His Majesty was suddenly taken ill that day, and that he appears greatly vexed that it did not permit him to treat with the General, whereupon His Excellency showed to them with much earnestness the necessity there was for his presence at the camp in order to promote His Majesty's interest, and since it had become now a matter of uncertainty how long it might take before the Emperor regains his health he begged his permission to return and to await a more favourable opportunity to meet His Majesty, whenever it shall please him so to order it, when the General would then travel expressly posting 4 horses on the road. Meanwhile he thanked His Majesty for the princely reception he had just met with, but as he considered His Majesty's service of highest importance he felt obliged to return to the encampment to which end orders were issued to Lieutenant Hartman to hold himself and his men in readiness to go to His Majesty on this errand, which took place at night.

It was understood soon after that His Majesty was bled in the arm, and had expressed his regret at being thus deprived of seeing the General. But as His Majesty knew but too well of the necessity there was for the General's presence in the camp, he ventured to promise the General an audience the following afternoon, or at night, should His Majesty experience the least relief from the lassitude he was then labouring under. In the meantime the following letter was dispatched to His Majesty:

Most August Emperor,

A letter from the General to the Emperor.

Four days have now elapsed since at Your Imperial Majesty's charge and command I have been at this place, without my being enabled to obtain an audience from Your Maiesty. I therefore humbly request Your Imperial Majesty's leave that I might return

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to the encampment. I shall then hold myself prepared at all times to come back whenever it suits Your Imperial Majesty's pleasure, considering that the responsibility of the entire army rests with me - nor would Your Imperial Majesty I trust wish to see that after all the faithful services I have rendered Your Majesty (owing to any misfortunes to the army which God forbid) I shall have at last to bring on myself much indignity and loss.

God preserve Your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most obedient servant,

7 April, 1656.

Gerard Hulft.

The General then sent the merchant Godskens, and the In case the Sabandaar Don Joan de Costa and a select party of the King's Emperor lascarijns to inspect the line of roads to our encampment in seen soon. order that, in the absence of any positive information that access might be had to His Majesty on that day, we might quietly return A return to our encampment and people.

to the camp.

On the 8th April the General was in receipt of a letter from His Majesty to the following purport:

The individuals whom I sent from my Imperial Court to Letter from enquire and ascertain after Your Excellency's health have returned the Emperor to me highly gratified, bringing with them Your Excellency's General. letter penned at 4 o'clock of Friday evening. It affords me great pleasure to learn that Your Excellency is quite well and willing to render me imperial service, on the other hand I lament the circumstance, that notwithstanding Your Excellency being for so long near my court, Your Excellency has not yet spoken to me. I have conceived so sad a disappointment in my heart — but it seems that it had pleased God to order it so, to avoid Your Excellency the unpleasant task of witnessing my indisposition and ill state of health. I have now at once to acknowledge the receipt of the present sent by Your Excellency to the prince my son (whom God has given me for the protection of my subjects). Your Excellency can be now prepared to come over to me no sooner Contents of you receive my instructions tomorrow, and after we shall have met letter. together, Your Excellency shall then have leave to return to the encampment, when I shall at the same time give all necessary

eneral Hullt's procession to the Court of Rajasıngha II

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

directions that Your Excellency might be supplied with everything which will be required to promote the advancement of my service, and then when I shall find myself thoroughly established in health I shall attend personally at the camp — with this view I have sent the Dissave of *Ouva* to fit up a place for me. Nothing further for the present except that my Imperial person prays to God the Almighty for Your Excellency's health. 7th April. Sealed *Raja Singa Raju*, Great and Mighty Emperor of Ceylon.

Chapter Thirty Four

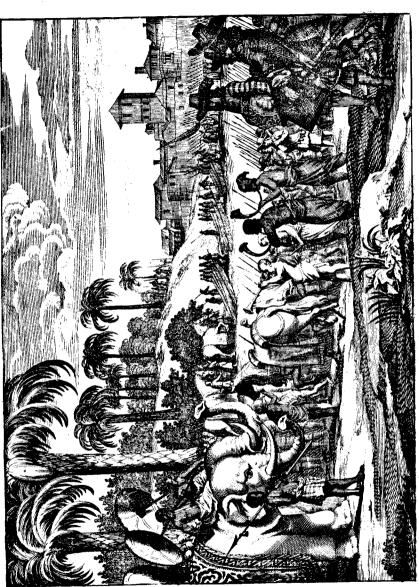
The stately reception of the General. He appears before His Majesty. Details of what passed between them. The General's return. His deplorable end.

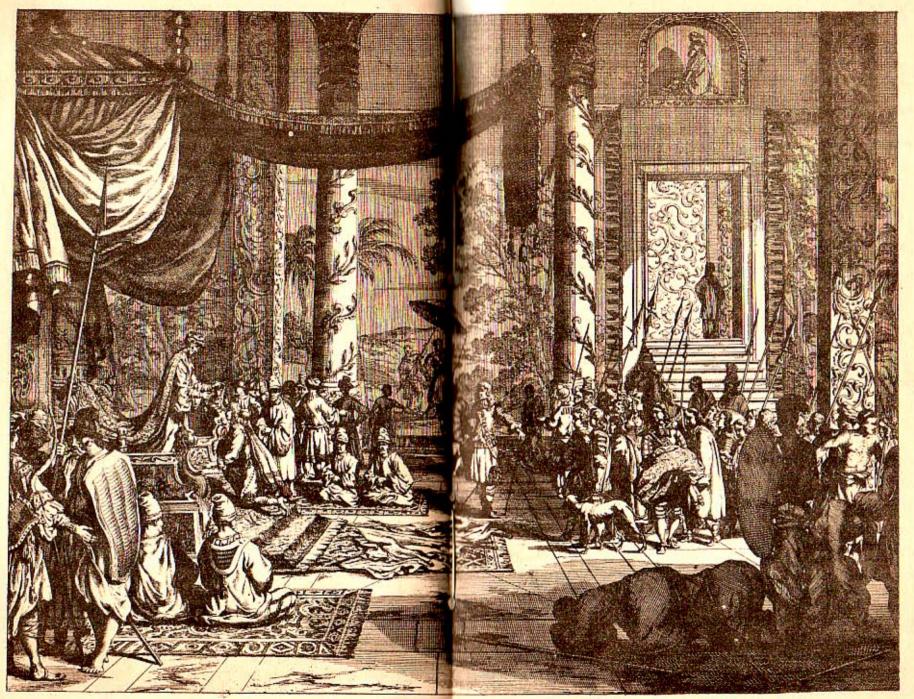
Preparations by the Emperor's men for the General to cross the river.

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N the afternoon whilst the General was at dinner, there was drawn up on the other side of the river a line of soldiers who were soon after joined by some of the chiefs with a band of trumpeters, drummers and other musicians, there were also 3 exceedingly fine horses of His Majesty elegantly caparisoned with saddles, bridles and collars, these having been regularly disposed of in their proper places, there then crossed over to us some of His Majesty's prominent chiefs inviting the General on His Majesty's behalf to the court. Orders were then immediately given that the life guards and the presents intended for His Majesty should be ferried over the river. The General followed in quick succession accompanied by his suite, on their reaching the opposite shore, they were met and welcomed in the name of His Exalted Majesty by the Dissaves of Ouva and Matule, and the chief of His Majesty's bodyguard, and other principal officers of state.

They then proceeded in the following order: The General's main and body guards in the van. Next were trailed low on the ground 15 of the enemy's conquered banners in token of triumph. These were followed by His Majesty's horses and his musicians. Then came 5 tusked elephants and on reaching the precincts of





Gerard Hulft's audience with Rajasingha II

The General appears before

the palace an innumerable body of musketeers, gingallers1 etc. and after the procession had now passed a bridge, we with the chiefs entered the courtyard of the palace when the gate was then made fast after us. Our people then came to a spacious esplanade where there was a prepared hall, also called 'mandonoe'2. His Majesty. on the western side of which His Majesty was seen sitting on a state chair on an elevation from the ground in great splendour: before our people could have entered this hall, down went all the great men of state prostrate with their faces to the ground, three different times paying him obeisance, while our people sank on their knees, when His Majesty waved his hands as a signal for them to rise. We then approached near the throne which was adorned in an imperial style with costly gold brocades and rich carpets. when out of civility and goodwill our men went on their knees a second time, after the eastern fashion. His Imperial Majesty then raised himself from his seat, and stood upright and bade the General approach him, when His Excellency addressed him thus:

"Mighty Monarch,

The General addresses the Emperor.

It is with inexpressible longing, that one of the least of your servants now approaches Your Imperial throne, relying on your high and well known sense of justice and your widely spread fame for innate goodness of heart, which emboldens me now to address so highly extolled an Emperor with hearty wish and prayers that Your Imperial and illustrious Majesty and my Lord the Prince may be long spared in life by God Almighty for the comfort and safety of your subjects.

I came here to renew and give a stronger tie to the bond of friendship which there now happily exists between Your Esteemed Majesty and the Nederlandtsche nation and to confirm and give stability to the union.

As for the unfortunate differences which had existed between Your Majesty and our people, I crave that all traces thereof might be now eternally erased from Your Majesty's recollection. so that we might now continue to live in perfect freedom and sweet concord as long as sun and moon shall endure.

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I willingly confess, that there have been various misunder- Proceedings standings between Your Majesty's servants and those of the His Majesty widely renowned Company but while now Your Majesty sees and the our indefatigable exertions to root out and eradicate from Your Majesty's lands our common enemy at the cost and sacrifice of Presents such a stream of Christian blood, it will it is hoped, be a sufficient from proof and guarantee to induce Your Majesty to set aside and to the wipe off every unfavourable impression which might there be still lingering on Your Majesty's mind, when I say, that it will be our future study by our actions to convince Your Maiesty of our sincerity and uprightness."

Such were the sentiments which fell from so wise and eloquent a tongue on the occasion, which it is not for a weak pen to record. His Majesty seemed now highly satisfied and requested the General to rise, which he advisedly heeded not, but proceeded to offer His Majesty a present, the like of which he said, was held in high esteem by great potentates and monarchs. Namely some of the enemy's standards under which His Majesty's subjects have for so many years groaned because of cruelty and oppression, especially the low-landers. His Majesty then touched on the subject of a present which was intended to the General from the young prince his son, for which His Excellency in very courteous terms expressed his thanks pointing out to His Majesty the breast ornament he then wore, which he had on a former occasion received from His Majesty was proof enough of His Majesty's favour to him who was so undeserving of it, but not to be thought unappreciative, he then on His Majesty's request neared the throne and knelt on a cushion and respectfully observing that he [p. 106] had then attained the summit of his glory, he then with all respect held His Majesty's hands and kissed them.

His Majesty then took a gold gargantinho or ornamental chain and passed it round the General's neck, he then drew a ring off the forefinger of his left hand, and requested the General that he would extend and reach him one of his fingers that he might put it on as a keepsake from His Imperial Majesty. His Excellency was now lost in astonishment at such an unheard of civility and princely treatment. But since it was His Majesty's good pleasure thus to distinguish him, he held out the middle finger of his left

^{1.} From Jingals, a Hindustani word for a breech loading gun fired from

^{2.} Possibly a corruption of the Sinhalese 'maduwa' or pavilion.

hand observing that it was disfigured by his enemies, but since it was to be thus honoured by His Majesty he would feel as if it had now been faultlessly restored. On his being invested with the ring. His Excellency retraced a few paces backwards to where there was a carpet spread. His Excellency then informed His Majesty that he had come out to this island with full power and instructions from the General and Supreme Council of *India* to treat with His Imperial Majesty and to ascertain whether it was His Majesty's pleasure to abide by the old stipulations of the contract entered into with Admiral Westerwold or whether His Majesty prefers to have the same renewed, that in either case he the General had to abide by His Majesty's choice, and that he was also to assure His Majesty at the same time that the articles so contracted will be religiously observed and maintained on our part. His Majesty replied that he was now quite satisfied.

Secret conversation about the alliance.

The General then gave a brief account of the particular deeds and conquests obtained over the enemy when His Majesty observed, that he had already heard of the same with delight but as he had then he said with him another token of remembrance to be presented to His Excellency from the prince his son, he would request him to approach the throne again. The General then received a golden garter which His Majesty said was what golden garter. his son the prince used himself.

The General is presented with a

How our people approached. with gifts for the Emperor.

The General now gave his orders that our presents might be brought in, when Lieutenant Hartman stepped forward with 15 smart and sturdy soldiers, each trailing a conquered banner of the enemy along the floor. On their reaching the Hall of Audience they contemptuously flung them on the floor, and over them there was placed a white shield which had belonged to the great Portuguese Captain Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha. To this shield there was added a moorish sword, having an agate hilt to it which was beautifully inlaid with gold. The General took it and handed it over to His Majesty as a present to the young prince, wherewith His Excellency said, he might defend his subjects for many years to come against any enemies who should offend against the crown, yea, were it even the Nederlanders (which God forbid) so as to scatter and destroy them. His Majesty on receiving the sword placed it beside him on the throne.

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Then followed the other presents wherewith His Majesty was honoured in the name and on behalf of the illustrious Company-

- 2 Beautiful Persian Horses
- 1 Turkish Match Gun
- 2 Sets of Persian Bows and Arrows, with richly embroidered Ouivers
- 1 Costly Japanese Robe
- 2 Hunting Dogs
- 2 Persian Sheep
- 2 Viziapore Wild Goats1
- 1 Length of Sandal Wood.

Immediately after there followed for the young prince:

- 1 Stately Persian Horse
- 2 Fowling Pieces, with peculiarly twisted barrels
- 1 Silver Fruit Bowl containing
- 2 Pieces Persian Gold Brocade
- 2 Silver Boxes of Chinese workmanship
- 1 Swine Stone designated Pedra de Porco and also

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1 good length of Sandal Wood etc.

During the process of their delivery the General apologised for having so long detained His Majesty which he said could be only ascribed to his earnest wish to serve His Majesty but as time would not permit of further delay, he had to suggest to His Majesty that there were three essential points, which he the General had ere this proposed to His Majesty and respecting which he had not the good fortune to have received an answer: the first was the demand made for the coelijs or labourers. With His Majesty's leave, he would not openly declare the use for which they were required but if His Majesty was desirous to know it he would be pleased to ascertain it from the Merchant Ysbrandt Godskens who is the only person he had entrusted with the secret. His Majesty then desired that all his courtiers might withdraw themselves for a while and wished that our people

^{1.} Hulft evidently included these animals among the gifts because of Rajasingha's known passion for collecting rare and strange animals, which as Knox says "he doth chiefly value and esteem". There was hardly a Dutch embassy which went to Kandy subsequently which did not take some animal as a gift for the king.

The General takes his leave of the Emperor. do the same; this done His Excellency then neared the throne with his 2 interpreters Jorgen Blom and Cottemaley, when after quarter of an hour's conversation had with His Majesty he obtained His Majesty's leave to retire and after there had passed a most friendly and courteous farewell, the General was conducted back to his quarters, with similar honours, as when he had left it for the place.

Two robbers, confederates of Casper Figeiro, sent to the Emperor.

In the evening the General dispatched in charge of Jorgen Blom 2 robbers who had for a long time helped Casper Figeiro to harrass and annoy His Majesty's subjects, that they might be dealt with according to His Majesty's good pleasure. The Emperor had then already retired to his apartments from fatigue and did not speak to Blom who before his return was presented with a small gold chain and a ring.

The General returns to the camp.

He goes to inspect the works.

At dawn on the 9th of April, the General left the place on horseback for the encampment, and with his suite came in due time to Nacclegamme. On crossing the pass he was received by 2 companies of soldiers and shortly after welcomed by His Excellency Adriaen van der Meyde and Major Jan van der Laan. The General found that during his absence the gallery work had been carried on successfully (without any bloodshed) and his army was in a healthy condition. In the afternoon of the 10th the General went round to inspect the works when he got Captain Hendrik Gerritsz by means of a small strap to mount the ditch and (trusting to the enemy's mercy) to take a hasty glance of the progress made by the enemy in their works. It was observed that a work had been carried on stretching towards the seashore which was fortified with 2 small guns along the trenches which were nearly 7 feet deep, and that it was impossible to extend our mine in that direction without coming out at that very point. It was then resolved to demolish the wall, when a gap was then made on this side of it for placing a 6 pounder for battering down the enemy's mole-pier.

He pays a second visit to the works. At sunset the General on coming a second time to the works, snatched an iron bar used for demolishing the walls and boldly trod onwards with it to encourage the labourers and to set thereby an example to them. The enemy began at this time to hurl in



General Gerard Hulft from an engraving by A. Blooteling.

Our gallery takes fire: all try to extinguish it. [p. 108]

The General eceives a fatal bullet

His last words and his death.

wound

Description of the General's person.

heavily at our galleries with fire-pots, stink-pots, bundles of faggots strongly incorporated with tow and pitch in order to communicate fire to the gallery, which was then already in an ignited state, when every men on our side did their utmost to extinguish the flames. The General then took hold of a pitchfork and went out with his body partially bare upon the gallery and was busy dealing with the fire but he was seen to return in haste moaning dismally—"O God! Give way! Give way!" Lieutenant Jochem Blok (who subsequently lost his life at Manaar) and Major van der Laan, observing that the General was then bleeding profusely and that death was in his countenance, had him conveyed with all possible speed from the mine, and laid him on a bed. Here he uttered not a word, but with two sighs breathed his last. He was killed by the unfortunate discharge of a musket also called barquemart, the ball entered below his right shoulder and escaped from under his right arm. Such was the deplorable end of this eminent warrior in the bloom of life. He was a gentleman of good descent, and of outstanding intellect, who not only possessed a thorough knowledge of jurisprudence and of military matters, but was also well versed in theology, of which I have had proof on various occasions when I had the honour of conversing with him. Had it pleased Heaven he was well worthy to have been spared for many long years. In deportment and walks of life, affable and amiable, eloquent and skilled in languages, polite, friendly and kindly; in outward personal appearance he was tall, well made and nimble, alert, industrious and energetic. In a word, both in body and soul there was in him such harmony and consistency as can only be met with in a comparatively few in this our imperfect world. But death, unrelenting death spares none.

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Chapter Thirty Five

Rajah Singa is informed of the death of the General. He sends his envoys to the camp. Adriaan van der Meyde succeeds the General. A Portugeesch Captain deserts to us.

T was already night when the interpreter Jurgen Blom was Raja is dispatched with a letter informing His Majesty of this lament- of the able occurrence. On the 11th the Dissaves of Vijf and General's Seven Corlas came to view the body of the deceased General. It death. was now resolved in Council to have the body removed to His Puntegale, a journey of 18 hours under the care of the Merchant body is take to Gale. Ysbrandt Godskens and Lieutenant Joannes Hartman under an escort of 20 soldiers. The procession accordingly moved in the afternoon from the Church St. Sebastiaan with all practicable honours and solemnity. There arrived at night His Majesty's Envoys Dissave of Matule, the Adigar and other courtiers to meet the from the Emperor Governor and express condolence for the loss of the well beloved to the Director General, and to ascertain from His Excellency whether Governor. his death was to be ascribed to some treachery or other of our own people, to some accident, or whether it was caused by the enemy.1 On their being conducted and shown the place where the sad They catastrophe took place they neared the spot cowering and tremb-inspect the ling, and whilst leaving it, they took away with them handfuls of shooting. earth, with a request that, that spot might not be trodden upon.

The remains of the General were placed above ground under cover of a tomb of masonry where it lay till the year 1657, when The the body was removed and buried with great honour in formal General's two burial procession during the Government of His Excellency van der places. Meyde, I being then resident in the town of Gale, on the right hand side of the pulpit. The deceased's coat-of-arms, sword and spurs were affixed to the church wall nearest his grave.

^{1.} Dr. Goonewardena observes that the relationship between Hulft and the King was a cordial one. The King evidently trusted Hulft as one who would keep his promise to return to him the cities captured from the Portuguese. In fact, at a certain time it appears to have been Hulft's actual intention to do this. Rajasingha even believed later that Hulft had been conveniently disposed of by his own countrymen. See Foundation of Dutch Power p. 169-172.

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The Chief

Command

Honourable

Honourable

Adriaan van der Mevde.

Governor

of Ceylon.

Wingurla

for the relief of

Columbo.

saying that

of the

Gerard

devolves on the

Hulft

on the death

In 1658 the body was exhumed a second time and removed to Columbo where it was deposited in a tomb over which a large gravestone was laid and on the wall above the coat-of-arms was dealt with as aforestated.

To the honour and memory of the deceased General the following lines were composed by me in 1658.

> Hulft whose firm and heroic valour, invested This town — its frontiers wrested Sent to his country honours in bequest And for his nation's weal he lost his life, his best.

With this we now leave the departed hero to rest in peace, whom heaven had claimed for its own and the earth could then no longer retain.

His grave lies opposite to the choir-wall of the church, and on his tombstone is engraved the following verse, similar to one raised to his memory in the old church of Heemskerke in Amsterdam:--

> Heroic Hulft, in himself a host, Laid low this town and its strongholds To his Fatherland vielding the honour And for the common weal his life.

The chief command now devolved on the shoulders of His Excellency Adriaan van der Meyde under whose judicious and careful direction aided by his Council, the fort (of Columbo) was conquered and fell into our hands in May following.

On the 13th April a letter was received from the Merchant A letter from Leendert Jansz from Wingurla stating that a reinforcement had been sent out by the enemy from the Bay of Goas for the relief 22 frigates had left Goa of Columbo comprising 22 frigates under the chief command of Francisco de Seixa Cabreira replete with stores and provisions manned by 800 Portugezen.1 Upon this intelligence the Governor summoned the chief and vice commanders Adriaan Roothaas and Pieter de Bitter in order to concert and determine on this

> 1. Pieris notes that Cabreira fled with the whole fleet leaving only one single galleon to face the enemy. The Queen of Portugal subsequently wanted Cabreira and Antonio de Sousa to be conveyed to Portugal where they were to be arraigned before the High Court of Justice. The Dutch Power in Ceylon ps. 231 and 266.

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weighty matter, when it was at length resolved to prevent the landing of the expected supplies and reinforcement, to make an assault stormwise on the point S. Steven by employing 4 captains and 80 voluntary soldiers holding out to each, as an inducement, 50 rixdollars.

There arrived in the evening the yacht Vlissingen. Her The yacht Commander Adriaan van der Mart landed shortly after and communicated the information how that by the Grace of God, he had enemy and three days ago fallen in with the Portugesche armada between frigate. Coulang and the Commorijn's extreme corner and that by the warm reception he had given them he had sunk one of their frigates. Of the people on board 16 Portugezen with their Captain Simon de Souza and some of her crew were saved and made prisoners, and the rest of the ships bore away for the bay, else that with the favourable wind which then prevailed they must ere this have made Columbo.

At night there came over a Portugeschen Captain Nicolao A de More one of the Fidalgos or noblemen who helped to thrust Captain Don Bras de Castro into the Governorship of Goa. He had been with four remanded as prisoner for the space of 3 months on the point servants S. Steven with his four servants and had now effected an escape comes over with the influence of Don Francisco de Rolijn and reached us uninjured in a small boat. The Governor was seen to hold a private conversation with him.

In the meantime it was deemed expedient in Council that the Storming projected assault on S. Steven should for very weighty reasons be bulwark protracted for a few days longer, with orders however that our St. Steven whole force should hold themselves prepared during the nights to postponed. deny any advantage to the enemy. About this time there arrived [p. 10] the interpreter and translator Jurgen Blom with a letter from His Majesty expressing his regret at the death of the General of which the following is a literal translation—

Raja Singa Rajou, Mighty Emperor of Ceylon wishes the A letter Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Gale, Adriaan van der Meyde received from much health.

Your Excellency's letter which was written on Monday the expresses 10th of March at 7 p.m. reached my Imperial camp at midnight, sorrow and was put into my hands at noon on Tuesday, from which I at the death learnt the death of the Director General; his death has caused in General.

in which he

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my imperial heart inexpressible sorrow and suffering. When the said well beloved and highly esteemed Director General attended this court, from the attachment I had always entertained to his person I designedly avoided showing him all the painful symptoms of bodily ill-health I was then labouring under, but at present. God be praised, I find myself daily improving; seeing then, that it hath pleased God to have him thus removed from this world. such was then His divine will, and we can do nothing else than abide by it. I further learnt from Your Excellency's letter that you have now all the powers heretofore invested in the person of my late beloved Director General. It is I apprehend, customary and usual in all imperial and royal states, that when a person of rank and distinction, and one, who was held in esteem by the Monarch happens to die, it is for his successor to make his personal appearance before the Monarch, not only that he might be confronted by him, but also receive his benediction. And as Your Excellency has always given my imperial person satisfaction and won my good will, it is therefore my royal pleasure that Your Excellency will attend my court, as the late Director General had done on a former occasion, that my imperial person might confer on Your Excellency much honour and favour because Your Excellency has hitherto served me with sincerity and much good faith, and at no time received the least return for such services. I therefore charge Your Excellency to apprize me of the day when you intend to do so, that I might issue my commands that every honour might be paid to Your Excellency on the road as was evinced to the late Director General. In the meantime you will take every precautionary measure for the safety of the encampment during your absence. While nearly at the close of this my imperial letter I am informed that there are some reinforcements expected by the Portugezen our enemy, I therefore desire that a strict surveillance might be kept up, both at land and water etc. In the camp and court at Reygamwatte 15th April 1656.

Two whites. three toepassen and eleven lascariins

come over.

His

His

Maiestv

Excellency

the Governor

invites

to the

Palace.

(Signed) Raja Singa Rajou. Mighty Emperor of Ceylon.

Now there stole over to us at night 2 whites, 3 toepassen and 11 lascarijns, all of them confirming the extreme distress

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and want experienced in the fort, the increasing sickness and the havoc caused by deaths.

On the 16 April we opened a raking fire on the gate Rajuha and His Excellency has also written to His Majesty regarding the expected reinforcement of the enemy. Orders were likewise issued to the naval commander Roothaas that the yachts Vlissenghe, Popkensburgh and Leeuwinne and the Munchous should be held in readiness to proceed to the coast to prevent the approach of any of the enemy's scattered armada or naval force and if possible to destroy it.

There then reached the camp a Portugees captain who [p. 111] protested he had been affronted by his General, and was determined to avenge the insult, he also mentioned the desertion of 18 of their lascarijns and 3 toepassen. We understood from hunger and Lieut. Didelof van der Beek from the stockade at Mapane, that misery the starving stragglers from the fort had destroyed themselves amongst the blacks. on the road between the city and our works, and that 2 women had devoured the very fruits of their womb.

On the 18th April His Excellency was in the receipt of the following letter from His Majesty:

"Your letter reached me an hour after midnight, from which Raja Singa my imperial person had learnt that Your Excellency was then writes a letter to the quite sound and well, and willing and ready for my imperial Governor service, which assurance gave me much pleasure not only on Adriaan Van der this instance, but ever since your arrival in this country from Meyde. the zeal and earnestness Your Excellency has manifested in my imperial service, and providence has now called Your Excellency to perform still greater deeds. Your letter also made mention respecting the expected reinforcements of the enemy the Portugezen and the successful results which my faithful Hollanders have met with in their first encounter with the enemy's flotilla. I fervently trust, that God will yet vouchsafe us a double victory. I have hinted in my imperial letter to Your Excellency that there The contents should be a strict surveillance kept both at land and water. of the letter. This suggestion was not made as in any wise doubting Your Excellency's vigilance and attention in that respect, but simply because the idea had just then occurred to my imperial person. Your Excellency says further that our enemy's armada had orders to make direct for Columbo but since Manoel Mascarenhas

Homen who is now at the helm of the Government of Goa has suffered in many reproaches and injustice at the hands of the insurgents whilst at Columbo, I presume that from spiteful revenge he will not order out the long expected aid for the express relief of the town, with a view that it might be taken by my Hollanders.

Your Excellency also makes mention of one Nicolao de Moura, a Chief Captain as having come over to you from the fort. All those who thus come in heartfelt sincerity Your Excellency will do well to receive them with good grace and see them safe. I am greatly delighted to hear of the other favourable news. The Lord God will accord us a happy termination of affairs.

Raia Singa requests the Governor to gracefully entrust the jewels presented to Gerard Hulft of blessed memory to honourable persons.

Raja Singa wishes to know the plans for attacking the fort.

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Raja Singa wishes to see theship's Captain Adriaan van der Markt.

At the mention in Your Excellency's letter of the name of the late Director General, it revived in me an acute sense of pain and regret for the attachment I had always entertained towards his person. It is therefore my desire that Your Excellency will be pleased to forward the jewels which the said Director General had received in gift from my imperial hands to his hand to his nearest relations. And this is my imperial will and request. And so shall my Hollanders perceive my unfeigned and sincere regard for him. Though his short career in this life had for ever deprived him of accomplishing all the good services he had hoped to render me, yet his sound counsel, his able schemes, and good judgment were not hid from my imperial person. I fain wish to be made acquainted with Your Excellency's views for taking the fort, whether by force of arms or otherwise. If by violent measures, please let me be privately informed of it a day or two previously. I had intended to come and see the encampment and the great works which had been carried out by my Hollanders but indisposition has hitherto prevented me from doing so, but I am now resolved to move somewhat nearer to Your Excellency in the best locality, and when I am settled there. I shall then inform Your Excellency of it, and summon your Excellency when after mutual consultation had, Your Excellency might then return to the encampment.

Nothing more for the present. Reygamwatte 18th April 1656 (signed) Raja Singa Rajou, Mighty Emperor of Ceylon-P. S. (The writer had made this omission) I request that the ship's captain who had dispersed the enemy's flotilla, and

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had sunk one of their frigates in my imperial service might also accompany Your Excellency when you come, that I might know and see him. The superscription of this letter read "Raja Singa Rajou, High and Mighty Emperor of Ceylon, wishes the Governor of my imperial fortress of Gale, Adriaan van der Meyde, much health."

In the evening the enemy was informed by the following letter of a temporary cessation of arms:

"Seeing that by these sieges we have reduced the inhabitants Warning of Columbo, to the utmost want and Your Excellency too has given to the long enough been vainly expecting the reinforcements and supplies at Columbo. from Goa. We now therefore demand for the second time the surrender of the town for the use and service of His Imperial Majesty Raja Singa Rajou and the Honourable Company. We do so more especially, since your weak armada reasonably furnished with supplies but with only few soldiers which was dispatched on the 11th instant by the Governor Manoel Mascarenhas Homen (the Viceroy Conde de Secredo having died on the 13th of January) direct from Goa to Columbo for its relief, met with such a rough reception from our ships that some of your frigates were sunk and others much damaged and scattered, causing them to flee for Tutecorijn and Manaar for safety. But the prisoners with us Capt. Simon de Souza and others hold it for certain, that your frigates could hardly if ever escape the vigilance of our cruisers now before Tutecorijn without their being either captured or destroyed and that there are less chances for the others to make Manaar owing to the monsoon season. Your Excellency might perhaps entertain the flattering hope, that there will be occasion for our ships to abandon the harbour owing to the approaching bad season, but if Your Excellency so persists we disclaim responsibility for all the misery Your Excellency will thereby bring on an already suffering people. Your Excellency has now time afforded you to come to some reasonable terms of agreement. But by any further delay, Your Excellency need not imagine, that any more favourable proposals can be made, or that there will be room for any such. With this we commend Your Excellency (with all due consideration) to God's keeping.

In His Majesty's Imperial camp before Columbo 18th April. (Sealed) Adriaan van der Meyde. 1656.

Reply of General Anthonio de Souza Coutinho to the above

The following is the reply received to the above letter:

"I have already answered a previous letter of His Excellency Gerard Hulft, dated the 9th of November which Your Excellency must needs be well aware of. It is the same answer which I have now to serve to Your Excellency. For neither the consideration of the war nor the scarcity of food, has given me any cause to change my mind for I am determined to protect and defend the fort to the utmost of my power for the service of my master the King. God preserve Your Excellency.

(Sealed) Anthonio de Souza Coutinho.

Columbo 19th April 1656.

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Seeing that it was now necessary for sterner and harsher measures to compel the enemy to surrender, our batteries at once opened a destructive fire on the fort and defences.

Chapter Thirty Six

Influx of deserters. Letters of Raja Singa. Godskens sent to the Emperor. Resolution for assaulting the fort. Deferred for a time. Arrival of succour from Batavia.

Seven lascariins come over.

HERE came over again on the 21 April 7 lascarijns, two of whom gave the information that the burghers and the soldiers had on that day strongly remonstrated that they could no longer hold out with the small share of rice dealt out to them. It was then resolved in council to increase their allowance to 3/4 of a measure per day to each burgher and soldier and 1/2 a measure to each toepas and lascarijn (being blacks). Immediately after we were informed by a Portugeesch deserter that most of the streets had been barricaded and furnished with flank pieces. At this time there arrived for the Governor the following letter from Raja Singa:

A letter from Raja Singa to His Excellency

Raja Singa Rajou etc.

Your letter of 19 April has safely come to hand, it has the Governor, afforded me great pleasure to learn of Your Excellency's health

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and willingness to serve me. You likewise state that the Chief Captain Jan van der Laan as well as all vour other high functionaries are equally desirous and willing to render my imperial person service. Prior to the arrival of the late Director General, I had in my imperial heart intended to come and view the encampment but was prevented by ill health, but now, God helping me, I not only intend to see the camp, but all the great work which had been constructed there to dislodge our common enemy. I feel for my loyal Hollanders who have come out from such a distant land, and who have for these three months past subjected themselves to much hardship and privations with the shedding of much blood, a sure and earnest proof, that I can now rest assured, that I and my imperial posterity could expect still more faithful services at their hand, consequently it will be no difficult matter for me to come from such a distance to see with delight all the great works which have been there wrought in the interests of my imperial majesty. That the chief captain is not remembered at this imperial court is because he is so busy with the affairs of the Honourable Company. The ignorant are sadly deceived when they imagine that there is any difference between the Company's transactions and those of my imperial person, but the better informed know that they are one and the same. The aforesaid great Captain van der Laan I know has since his arrival in my land rendered me many good and faithful services. On his arrival at my imperial court, I shall show him, who had oft times courageously shed his blood and loaded his body with the enemy's bullets, the high regard in which he is held by me.

With respect to what Your Excellency cites concerning Mascarenhas it is a naked truth. It is not uncommon in this world that all those who betray their chiefs are eventually punished by God, and for this reason I am confident that this war which our enemy has forced on us will be abundantly blessed by God and crowned with a glorious victory. You state further that the gift of the jewels I made to the late Director General will be transmitted to Batavia in order that they might go from [p. 114] thence in the hands of a trusted person to Hollandt with greater safety. This information has afforded me great pleasure. As the said Director General has ever since his arrival in my land been of signal service to my imperial person I intend no sooner

this war shall terminate to write by such ships as might sail to Hollandt to the high authorities there, acquainting them of the satisfaction I have always derived from everything he had done for me. But since Your Excellency has now attained to so high an office it behoves Your Excellency also to do all in your power to serve my imperial interest. The plan for taking the fort I have duly considered with my imperial council, but the language in which they are conveyed being in a foreign dialect. I shall therefore pass them over in silence, earnestly requesting Your Excellency that whenever anything comes to be decided in your Council and about to be executed that I might be informed of it in order that I might be personally present and assist Your Excellency in everything. You say also that my imperial person had better attend the camp when the fort shall have been taken. but then what will be there for me to see, save the fulfilment of such of the articles as might have been agreed upon on the occasion. The late Director General has pledged to me his word to deliver the fort into my hands no sooner it is taken from the enemy. In my imperial letter recently forwarded I have requested Your Excellency that the captain who defeated and scattered the Portugesche naval force might accompany Your Excellency when you attend this court, but since no mention is made at all with respect to that point I have some misgivings on that account. That the Portugezen have not replied to Your Excellency's letter with any propriety is a sure proof of their shallow minds, but from the answer returned I can readily trace that wonted spirit of rashness and boastfulness which we are so well accustomed to. I have often experienced in my battles with them, that the more critical their situation, the more they brag and vaunt. I had long since in my imperial mind a desire to write to those in the fort, but as I thought they would answer me with their usual bumptiousness I desisted. No more etc. 22nd April 1656 (signed) Raja Singa Rajou, Mighty Emperor of Ceylon."

The following letter was an enclosure to the address of the Sabandaar¹ of Gale, Don Joan de Costa:

"I learnt from some of my courtiers who were often sent A letter there with my letters, the civilities you have invariably shown Raja Singa the late Director General ever since his arrival at that place. I to Don Joan would fain have honoured you then with a present as a token of Sahandaar. my approbation of your conduct, but since the aforesaid gentleman had left the place very shortly after, such could not have taken place, because his departure was so abrupt and unexpected, that my servants who were on the watch could only have fallen in with him this side of the Crow Garden. But now when His Excellency the Governor shall visit my court you will then be remembered by me in common with the other functionaries. You have seen how honourable a reception I gave the late Director General on his arrival here, but at the coming of the Governor the honour must be increased, for my imperial person has received many excellent and important services at His Excellency's hands, of which you can take an opportunity of informing him. When you hear or know that the Governor is in the receipt of my letter [p. 115] or any other communication from my court, you shall take care to ascertain whether there are any mistakes or oversights. If you discover any you will afford the best interpretation of them as the case may require. You will also inform His Excellency the Governor that we are much at a loss here for a pair of bellows, and an anvil; and as there happens a good deal of writing here daily, so take care that I may be supplied with a few quires of blank paper. Can you also furnish me with some porcelain? Farewell. In the Court of Reygamwatte 23rd April 1656.

On the 24th of this month there came a toepas deserter, A toepas Lazaro Henrico. This man had once before deserted to us during comes to us the siege of Caleture, and in spite of the kind treatment he had letter for received at the hands of the late Director General, he stepped Hon. Major Jan Van der over to the enemy again; this man was now the bearer of a Laan. letter from the Merchant Manoel Fonceque de Monijs, to the address of Major van der Laan written in a very ambiguous strain, here follow its contents:

"Mr Van der Laan - Sir,

You can place implicit confidence and faith on all the points Contents what I now write you in this letter respecting the situation of the of the letter. fort. You are warned under no circumstances to prepare yourself for storming it, for everything here is fully prepared

^{1.} Sabandar. Usually the harbour master or receiver but the term was also used for the chief of a district. Paulusz. Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council p. 175.

and made sure of, and well provided with guns, and there are also four mines made up, which my servant will point out to you: rice costs as yet 3 seraphins and is hardly procurable. If you desire however to take the fort as early as possible do send some one of Caleture to convince them that they are still living. It is owing to this cause that they have not as yet delivered up the country. My servant takes this letter to you, that it might be shown to His Excellency the Governor. It is rumoured here that General Hulft is dead, but I give no credence to the rumour. Further I entreat Your Excellency for heaven's sake and on the score of our friendship to protect the bearer of this letter and see him safe, for I intend likewise to come to Your Excellency but could not at present venture it, hedged about as I am by strict guards, at all events I hope shortly to be with you. Nothing more. The Lord preserve and keep Your Excellency for many years to come.

> Your Excellency's servant and slave. (Signed) Manoel Fonceque de Moniis.

In order to obviate further mischief which might ensue from this toepas, it was considered prudent to send him on board our ship, and await the result of this affair.

There now left the camp for Reygamwatte, the Merchant Ysbrandt Godskens to ascertain the opinion of His Majesty on some secret matters of importance. Godskens returned soon after accompanied by the Dissaves of Saffragam and Vier Corles and Curupele Apohami and gave the Governor Adriaan van der Meyde full details of his mission, and that His Majesty was also quite satisfied with the resolution passed on the 21st April, but would fain wish that the projected storming could be deferred till Sunday the last of the month, by which time His Majesty intends to be personally present on the occasion.

It was now resolved in the forenoon of the 27th April to scale the walls of the fort on the following night with all such persons who would voluntarily take part in the enterprize, particularly the bastions St. Steven and Clergos, and if successful there to venture St. Philippo with all their might. When every arrangement had been thus made and by the evening every man was at his post, earnest supplication was then made to the

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Lord God for a happy and successful issue. The instructions [p. 116] and orders which were given to each of the chiefs in writing for their guidance, at the risk of forfeiting their office were chiefly these:

"That all persons engaged in the assault of the battery will have to handle the ladders themselves, and do their utmost to master and retain the bulwark, and if by God's grace St. Steven is mastered, the Chief-in-Command shall direct our trumpeter to sound the Wilhelmus van Nassouwen, which will be a sure indication, that it had pleased God to prosper our efforts. When the attack commences from our crescent work between St. Steven and Joan, the companies of Joannes Hartman, Jurgen Gebel, and Hendrik Gerritsz are to be drawn out at the above place, the last under the direction of the ensign Jacob Becquer as a reserve company to second and help the efforts of those ahead at any time if necessary.

There shall be employed in this assault, Javanen and Bandanezen with the Lascariins and Toepassen mixed with some Europianen, who shall do their best to make their way through the ditch to the bastion St. Jan and use every possible endeavour to drive the enemy off their stand, when there will be ready Lieutenants N. Scherf, Arent Jansz, N. de Wit, N. Chample and Jacob van Driel. On the side of the gate Rajuha (when storming St. Steven) Major van der Laan will then advance with all the men under him. In the event, as we pray and trust that God grant us the victory, it will not be then for any officer of whatever rank he might be to permit or suffer any soldier to draw off or quit their colours or make way for the town, assured as we are that the enemy's guns stand charged with case shots and will cause no little havoc amongst them. This order was issued on the 27th April 1656 and was certified-By Command of His Excellency the Governor Adriaan van der Meyde.

(Signed) Jacob van Rhee - Secretary".

The projected enterprise was then communicated to His The Majesty without loss of time. But that evening in the Council decision. there was no unanimity as to the feasibility of an undertaking of and reasons such magnitude but rather much excitement and loss of temper,

The Merchant Ysbrandt Godskens sent to His Majesty regarding some weighty matters. The Emperor's satisfaction.

Attack to be made on the fort, and in what manner.

so that the attempt was deferred for another opportunity, and the parties returned to their respective posts.

When the Council had now closed, there came over a lascarijn from the side of the bastion St. Jan with information that on this very evening there were added for the safety and protection of the bastion St. Steven 30 robust and brave men, called valiantons and 10 soldiers independent of the ordinary guard, so that it was to be inferred that one of our Javaan deserters had informed the enemy of our intended project.

Three ships come from Batecalo.

We find the

approach

St. Steven

to the

bulwark

We had now tidings of the arrival of the yachts Roode Leeuw, Avenhorn, and the fly Pellicaan which left Batavia in March. On the night of the 28th April, there went out Lieutenants Christoffel Egger, Jacob Viry, Marten Scholtes and Ensign Harman Broer for reconnoitering the ditch and to ascertain the feasibility of scaling the walls of the bastion St. Steven with an intent of storming it with a party of volunteers, but they reported that those defences were closely and carefully guarded and that as the earth proved to be mere dry sand there was no ascent to be made to it.

dangerous.

[p. 117]

News regarding Portugesche naval strength.

On the 29th instant a letter was received from the commander of the vacht Leeuwin, Abraham van der Mart containing the heart-cheering news how that on the 19th he fell in with the Portugesche naval force between Tritchianadour and Caylpatnam and obliged the enemy's force to withdraw to some nooks of the Tutecorijnsche Islands, where they now lie surrounded by our ships, and inspiring us with hopes that their escape can be utterly prevented were our ships to be joined in time by two or more light vachts.

From a letter of the senior merchant Reynier Serooskerke we learnt of the equipment of the Portugezen, but that it was to remain at the coast of Malabaar until the monsoon runs out. That trade at our station Calicularg was in as prosperous a state as could be wished, and that he intends to lay in a large stock of black pepper, against a requisition for various goods for the ensuing year. Intimation had also reached us from Batavia that 225 soldiers took ship for Cevlon, whose arrival overland from Gale was now daily looked for. At this time a letter reached us which was thrust out from the ditch of the fort couched in Latin and bearing the signature of Sergeant Severijn

225 soldiers arrive from Batavia.

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Dolander, craving a brief answer to it. The contents of the letter are as follows-

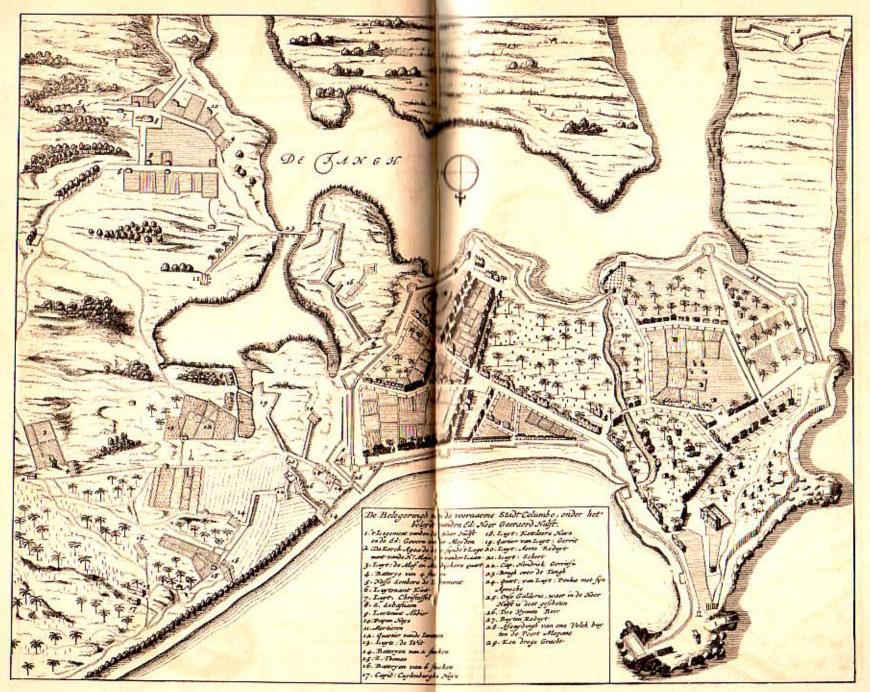
"Severijn salutes his late subaltern officer heartily and wishes A letter him much health. The present brought to me by the priest gave Hollandts me peculiar pleasure. I and my fellow comrades are as it were Sergeant half in the grave and there are but a few left. For of the 74 in the fort) prisoners taken, there are only 10 alive all of them weak and to the camp. miserable. There is a great scarcity amongst us of bread, wine and meat and we are not accustomed to rotten rice. If possible therefore in consideration of the facts stated, I most earnestly beseech Your Excellency that a supply might be made, be it ever so small, which will go far to re-establish our weak frame when I shall regard Your Excellency all through life as my benefactor and preserver. For you are to understand that our Cornicularius has nearly reached the gates of death, but for a little bread and wine perhaps we might escape it. We beseech a second time (for the love of God) that we might be supplied therewith. If such can be procured, please give them in charge of the aforesaid priest, who is the most faithful one to us. God preserve you.

(Signed) Severyn Dolander.

Chapter Thirty Seven

Ships to Tutecoriin. Raja Singa displeased. Exchange of prisoners. The Emperor's letters. Scaling of the bastions St. Joan and St. Steven at great cost of life.

THEN the aforesaid letter had now been submitted to Some ships the Council, and the enemy's critical situation near sent to Tutecorijn had become known, the following vachts to attack the were dispatched thither as a reinforcement, the Mars, Zee-Rob, enemy's naval force. Romeyn and the Leeuwinne together with two other vessels. In order that everything might to conducted with becoming care and precaution they sailed under the direction of the Vice Naval Commander Adriaan Roothaas. A letter was also written and dispatched to our poor prisoners in Columbo in reply to the one received from them and it ran thus:-



Map illustrating the siege of Colombo.

A letter written to in the fort.

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"Yours through the Priest came safely to hand depicting the our prisoners deplorable state in which you now find yourselves. Such are the sour fruits of war (which may God mend and improve) for you and the few remaining prisoners. But have faith that it shall please God in his mercy to bring comfort to your bodies and souls. On your earnest request here come one flask of Spanish wine, ten fresh loaves of bread, a piece of beef and pork. The goods and money received have been safely handed over to Captain Simon de Souza, who with some of the Caleturaesche prisoners are safely kept on board our ships. One of our sentries was on this forenoon spoken to from under the bastion St. Joan on behalf of the General stating that should it please our Governor to make an exchange between ten of you and ten of their men. he the General would in that case set you at large, when the General Anthonio de Souza Coutinho was assured, that no sooner he shall have released you, we shall then deliver to them ten of their men captured at Caleture etc. 1st May 1656.

(Sealed) Adriaan van der Meyde

The enemy offers to exchange 8 of our prisoners for 8 of theirs.

At noon on the 2nd of May, our ensign B. Pereginus was spoken to by a Portugeschen captain, Domingos Coelho who handed him a letter at the same time wherein the enemy proposed an exchange of prisoners mentioning the names of 8 of their officers (taken prisoners at Caleture) in lieu of our sergeant and seven of our soldiers, which proposal was answered by allowing only 7 of their soldiers and a captain of armoury.

Raja Singa annoved that a leiter had been written on half a sheet.

His Majesty now returned one of our letters, apparently much annoyed and saying that he had never till then received such a letter from the Hollanders. The contents of His Majesty's letter are as follows:—

"Your letters of Monday last to the address of some of the chiefs of my court have been received here an hour before sun set, and the contents well understood, how that Major van der Laan on ascertaining that great irregularities were there then prevailing in the Campo Mapane had made for the place when he found various deserters from Columbo who were permitted not only to take shelter under the pallisades, but also well fed and maintained, when the Major issued his orders for firing upon them in order to drive them away and that a Modliaar Jazondere

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who had a hand in this affair was taken prisoner. Since all these proceedings were calculated to the good of my service and interest I have regarded these acts as proper and legitimate.

But the letter brought to me by Curupele Meynde written on half a sheet of paper. I had neither the wish or desire to read much less to reply to it, for it was so very unpleasant to me. Had the letter been penned during some confusion or emergency, or in some hurried moment it would have passed unnoticed for the sake of the good feelings and attachment I entertain for the Hollanders for their faithful services. But seeing that there was no occasion for any such undue and precipitate haste I am not a little surprised at George's temerity for having written the letter. It was moreover incumbent on the Governor under whose chief supervision and command rest everything to have taken notice of it nor was it consistent with the knowledge and acquirements of a person who serves great kings. It is therefore for these reasons that I have now returned the letter to your Excellency together with the Ola, that you might read them in the presence of the Governor and correct the mistake. You will explain their contents to His Excellency word for word—Tuesday 2nd May 1656.

This fancied slight was it seems too much for Raja to stomach, and naturally so too for knowing as we then did the respect the Cingalezen and Malabaren have for such punctilios, better care might have been observed.

In the evening the *Portugezen* sent out from the fort 8 of The our prisoners. They were so weak, famished and emaciated, that arrive from three of them could neither walk nor stand. They all declared Columbo, with one voice, that during the attack under our chief officers and helpless. there was no sense of order and whilst they gained the fort, [p. 119] hardly knew what to do or not, which prevented them from makeing for the battery Clergos for they subsequently learnt that it was Their story. then only protected by fifteen men, but awaiting the orders of the Naval Commander Jacob Lippens (of which they had but little) they found themselves in a narrow street near the curtains, surrounded on all sides by the enemy when they had such a reception that there were not sixteen men left unhurt, that their bandoliers were emptied from the incessant discharges of their muskets, that they were not after plunder (as was incorrectly reported) that they were prisoners in a warehouse belonging to

Louys Tavera and were, like the Kings soldiers given only a small portion of rice daily. That during the siege they as well as the enemy had to content themselves with the flesh of elephants, cats. rats, dogs and the hide of buffaloes. That out of the 74 prisoners the major part of them perished for the want of proper food, and in all probability that they themselves could hardly have survived long had they remained with the enemy, and that whilst our Nederlanders were quitting the fort there were a large body of armed men assembled together at the gate St. Jan at a guess, some 4 or 500, blacks as well as whites.

A letter from Raja Singa.

On the 4th of May the following letter was received from Raja Singa Rajou:-

"It is now nearly three years ago, that Captain Joris Hervendonk and some other officers and soldiers came here from the Low-country and proferred me their services, my imperial person having then understood that their engagements to serve the Honourable Company had then expired, but as their service was not so much in request with me here. I resolved to send them to my encampment. The services which the aforesaid captain have rendered me are fully expressed in the letter which he then wrote at my request to the late Director General of blessed memory (on his arrival at Columbo). He (Hervendonk) has never before or after it shown to possess so much sound sense as when he penned that letter, it would seem as if he was at that moment endowed by God with wisdom. I was thus desirous on their leaving me to pay him and the others many compliments and to bestow on them many favours, but seeing in the interim that he had conducted himself somewhat coarsely and in a brutal manner during his stay here, in spite of frequent warnings and admonitions, I was at length obliged to deprive him of his situation and confer it on Frans Has who was then the bearer of some letters to my court. As this individual too had been for some time associated with the enemy the Portugezen, he it would seem had imbibed their principles and lost sight of the good manners of my Hollanders, and had not only contrived to learn many of their villainous tricks, but became actually guilty of them, when he was also deprived by me of his situation, and I deemed it expedient to reinstate Joris Hervendonk to his former rank to enable him to take his departure. My Hellanders are not to suppose that

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I would ever permit all those who have long served me to go unrewarded or without honour. For all those who know how to win my imperial goodwill, shall not depart unrewarded from me, but all those who would not endeavour to gain my approbation nor seek to learn how to secure it, must understand that they will leave my presence just in the same way as these men now do. What had induced me to detain Frans Has in Candy Your Excellency is aware of, the only consideration which moves me to permit him to return is that he is a Hollander. I do not wish to enter into particulars of all what I have to say to Your Excellency concerning him, as my Dissaves will give Your Excellency an account of the same and much more on your arrival at my court. Thus much for the present. God protect your Excellency's person.

(Signed) Revgamwatte 4th May 1656.

Raja Singa Rajou Mighty Emperor of Ceylon

It is a notorious and admitted fact, that there had existed [p. 120] in Kandy at the time of Joris Hervendonk and Frans Has much discord and strife which were unanimously ascribed to the doings of the former who by false intimations and reports made to His Majesty had roused his indignation and displeasure to such a pitch that the said Frans Has was detained by His Majesty till the year 1656 and perhaps would never in his life be permitted to return to us. Such dealings are calculated to give rise to disputes between a Christian and pagan princes, who are prone to listen and foster every unfavourable impression and equally prone to exercise a stern hand in retribution and punishment. These proceedings had so much offended and irritated His Majesty that he would not countenance the sight of his courtiers for some days together. But on the 6th of the same month His Excellency was in the receipt of a letter from His Majesty of the following contents, from which it was to be inferred that he was then in a happier mood.

"Raja Singa Rajou etc.

Your letter of the 3rd instant, has safely reached me on Another Tuesday the 4th in which you express your regret for the mistake Raja Singa, which had occurred in the letter which had been returned by me. Of all aliens and foreigners I have chosen the Hollanders for

the aggrandizement of my imperial person's fame, state, crown and empire because of their fidelity and uprightness and hence I always held them in greater estimation than I do my own subjects and whenever therefore I see them commit the least wrong it grieves me to the heart, and I cannot but reprove my Hollanders on all such occasions to prevent the like recurrences, the more so. surrounded as I am by other foreign nations. If Your Excellency shall therefore do all what is necessary to my imperial service I shall be vastly rejoiced at it. For my late well-beloved and much esteemed Director General had within the short period he had been in my empire performed all what was necessary without any shortcoming. But as it had pleased the Lord God to call him to himself at so early a period in life I could not have rewarded and honoured him according to his worth and merits as I had otherwise intended to have done, and whilst now the deceased General has left behind him a pattern as it were of the course to be pursued in my service it will perhaps not be too difficult for Your Excellency to follow his example. You also suggest the propriety of another attempt being made on the fort of Columbo. It has afforded my imperial person much pleasure to hear of such a determination, especially so as the enemy is growing less powerful daily and their ships could not hold out there much longer. I consider the time now as very opportune. On the other hand I regret that my indisposition prevents me of being personally present to witness the conflict and be of assistance to you with my force in the event of some mishap taking place during the assault. But be the case as it may, I shall nevertheless, God helping me, be at your encampment by Sunday next. Should Your Excellency judge it advisable to await my arrival well and good, if not, and you see the necessity for an earlier engagement and have sufficient confidence that the fort could be taken without hazarding our fame and reputation I would take it with all good will, firmly trusting with God's assistance we shall obtain a glorious victory over the enemy. You further mention at the foot of your letter that the besieged had sent in 8 of your prisoners, the surviving remnant of the 74 who fell into their hands, in exchange for 8 of their own people. It gave me great pleasure to have been thus informed of this circumstance, lest otherwise an opening be left for any to say

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that the Hollanders treat with the enemy without my knowledge, I would fain hear how the rest of the prisoners came to their end, whether from the lack of food, or want of attention in their sickness. and the instructions Your Excellency might have given to the Portugezen prisoners who were sent in exchange to the fort; if such be of a secret nature, please inform me as you think proper.

Ever since the demise of my Director General, I have put Raja Singa a stop to the beat of drums in my camp, but as I now expect to has since the death of move somewhat nearer the enemy it will become necessary Heer Hulft to make use of them, and all other sorts of instruments on the allowed no drums road, and on my arrival at the place of your encampment. I to be thought it proper to apprize Your Excellency of it.

sounded.

Nothing further. God shield Your Excellency. (Signed) Raja Singa Rajou, Great and Powerful Emperor of Cevlon.

On the receipt of this letter it was resolved in Council to carry the fort by storm on the 7th of May between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning, and especially to make a determined attack on the battery St. Joan. A humble supplication was then made to the Lord of Hosts for His blessing. It was about 7 o'clock of the seventh day of the fifth month of the year that the attack and scaling of the wall was begun. Marten Scholtes The bulwark late Lieutenant of the Gaalsche Infantry and now a Captain, first climbed renowned for his martial deeds in former Cingalesche and Mala- by Lieut. baarsche wars was the first hero who gallantly climbed up the Marten walls, he was followed by the rest of the force, when a portion of them made a hasty descent into the fort, but was repulsed Our men by the enemy after an obstinate resistance with the loss of some entering the of our brave men. This incident made the rest of our people forced back. on the bastion to stand firm and on this bloody day by God's help, thrice to repulse the enemy.

By the constant throwing of fire pots the redoubt was set on fire, our brave but wearied men were now relieved by fresh hands, and by the evening, when the enemy's fire had somewhat ceased, the wall of the rampart facing the fort was then made sure and secure by an enclosure of fascines and earth. Many of our people were however killed and many wounded,

The Cingalezen also arrive at the trenches. Too late.

castle, the Couras and St. Steven. At the commencement of the attack we were joined by the Cingalesche soldiers, the Dissaves of Saffragam, the 4 and 7 Corles in the trenches and immediately after His Majesty sent his Dissaves of Ouva and Matule, his Adigar Amracon and Curupele Apohami and a large body of Lascarijns who were mostly a distraction and did more harm than any good to us, for a Cingaleesch is a valiant soldier over a fallen foe, and would inflict on him even when dead another ten wounds, and be flaming after booty filling the air with shrieks and cries, and frequently doing more harm than otherwise.

A Caffer comes over.

The great danger we faced on the St. Steven bulwark, later named Victoria. [p. 122]

Total of wounded and dead.

When order was somewhat restored, there made his way to us from the fort a Caffer who disclosed that during our three particular attacks on the enemy the Capiteyn Moor and the town captain and a large portion of their choice men had been wounded and about 40 or 50 killed. Every possible effort was now made by us during nights to strengthen our position and a false alarm raised at midnight. In the morning however to our inexpressible iov the Prince Vlagge was planted on the bulwark under which banner many of our heroes had laid down their lives. We occupied this post in constant and imminent danger; if ever a place or defence was conquered in India at the expense of human blood, it was this, which was afterwards (not without reason) called Victoria which now stands as a great mausoleum as well as a celebrated tower of triumph, for it was no easy work to have sustained such an elevated position saluted as our men continuously were by heavy shots from three of the enemy's principal bastions. Our men had nevertheless at the great risk of their lives strengthened the place with pallisades, sods and earth and repaired the havoc made by the enemy guns. A search was then made for their powder and there was dug up 6 small guns and 3 metal bassen from underground and after a strict computation made, there were found 290 wounded, 80 sick and 86 killed. A reinforcement now arrived under Lieutenant Joan Maatzuyker of 75 soldiers and 30 more from Candy, leaving under Lieut. Didelof at the station Milagre 66 and at Montual 68 men, who were not employed in this assault. In the aggregate there was now a force left of 1287 effective men. Amongst the killed there were the following officers (whose names are worthy of being everlastingly recorded) Christoffel Egger,

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Juriaan Gebel, Jacob Viry, Jacob Scherf, Juriaan Smit, Paulus Meno, Warnar van der Hevde and amongst the wounded Major Jan van der Laan, in his ear and shoulder by a splinter, Captain Hendrik Gerritsz Gluwingh, mortally in four different parts of his body, Extra-Jacob de With, by a 10 lb shot in his thigh and since dead, Marten incident. Scholtes in the arm, Johannes Cuperius in both hands, Jacob Alenbier in his leg, Paulus Ketelaar in his hand, Jan Bartelsz through the body, and Harman Wynantz etc.

Chapter Thirty Eight

The guns on St. Joan turned against the fort. The Portugezen propose a treaty. terms. The conditions acceded to. Rati-Departure of the Portugezen. fication thereof.

GAINST the 10th of May we have so far gained the ad- We use vantage over the enemy as to be able to bring to bear St. Joan and our guns on the conquered battery St. Joan on the were able to fort, which subdued the enemy and made them give way.

influence the

In the afternoon while His Excellency and Major Joan van der Laan went to inspect the conquered battery, there appeared under the beat of drums and a flag of truce, Captain Manoel Cabreira de Pontes who delivered the following few lines -

"Herewith goes Captain Manoel Cabreira de Pontes, to Portugezen request of Your Excellency a written assurance, in order to detach armistice. from this garrison 3 principal persons who shall have to treat with Your Excellency on matters of great weight and importance. I shall await an answer — God preserve Your Excellency."

(Sealed) Anthonio de Souza Coutinho.

Colombo 10th May 1656.

This letter was opened by Major Jan van der Laan with a promise to see it delivered into the hands of the Governor, and he also requested the bearer of the letter to inform him, if that was a sufficient guarantee or whether he preferred to have it in writing. In reply the Portugeschen Captain said that he would take the Major's word for it. Here they parted for the time, when a

temporary cessation of arms took place. Having waited for nearly 2 hours and not seeing the arrival of the envoys, they were then enquired after, and it was ascertained that they were awaiting the written assurance which was then immediately forwarded to them; in the meantime it got dark and they excused themselves on that score, alleging that it was then too late, and that they were not wont to remain out of the garrison during the night, when we resorted to arms again. .

The day after about 8 o' clock in the morning of the 11th May. there arrived the Portugezen deputation, Laurenco Fereira de Britto late Capitevn Moor at Punte Gale, Hieronymo de Lucena Tavares late Viador das Fazendas of Columbo and Diego Leitaon de Souza Private Secretary of the station. They then handed over in council the following articles with a request that they might be acceded to:-

Article 1

That we shall have the option to await the arrival of our provisions and reinforcements in this harbour until the 20th instant. The expected relief is considered to be of sufficient strength to enable us to raise the siege, in which case the conditions which shall be now agreed to, shall be considered null and void; in the meantime there shall be a cessation of arms, with no fighting or show of enmity and with this condition however, that no intercourse or communication shall take place between the parties, but by such only who shall be officially employed, to which end, there shall be hostages furnished on both sides.

Article 2

In the event of the surrender of the fort our churches and images shall be regarded with all reverence. The clergy and ecclesiastical functionaries shall be permitted to take with them all the images they might wish to remove, as well as all relics, holy vessels, silver lamps, and all other ornaments whatsoever appertaining to sacred services and churches including all movable property which might belong to each of them.

Article 3

The persons of the Generals Anthonio de Souza Coutinho and Francisco de Melo de Castro and the son of the former, shall

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be dealt with, and treated with all due consideration and becoming respect, they shall be permitted on quitting the garrison to take with them all their movable property, gold, silver, rings, precious stones, together with all their servants and Portugesche pages, as well as all paid servants, male and female slaves, who shall be permitted to live in their homes under the protection of the General of our state, until they can take ship. And it will rest with His Excellency the Governor to see them provided (at their expense) with provisions during their stay, and with every thing which will be necessary during the voyage, as well as with ships for the safe transport of themselves and their families, that the ships be well manned with sailors, arms and ammunitions of war and with every other necessary which might be required for the voyage at the time when the Generals shall have to leave the place.

Article 4

Similar treatment as that requested towards the persons of the Generals, shall be expected to be shown to the Chief Captain of the garrison, the Capitevn Moor of the camp, the Senior Merchant, the Sergeant Major and to the family of the captain lately deceased.

Article 5

The captains of infantry and the reformed and all other officers of whatever grade they be shall be permitted on their evacuating the fort to march out with their badges of honour, drums beating, banners flying, lighted match-cords, loaded muskets and all their goods, they shall be supplied with vessels to take them to India or the coast, until which His Excellency the Governor of the Nederlanden will see them provided and maintained with the surplus funds which might be found here [p. 124] belonging to the King of Portugaal, and if otherwise all such disbursements shall be a charge against the Honourable Company until their removal. Care should also be had, that no inconvenience be caused them during their stay here, or during their voyage.

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The conditions which the three representatives from Columbo present to the General and his Council for their acceptance.

The "Reformed" are those soldiers whose troops or companies are being broken up and are continued on whole or half pay. They preserved the right of seniority.

Article 6

The Ovidoor1 the Judge, and other functionaries of the chamber, the Koopman, the Alcalde Moor2 and the Directors of the King's goods, shall have the same privilege and favour granted to them as solicited for the Chief Captain of the garrison and the Field Officer.

Article 7

All nobles, chevaliers, and the principal Burghers of the town, together with the married ones and the inhabitants, shall be favoured with the same indulgence as shall be allowed to the garrison and field officer, and in case there be found some willing to abide under the authority of the Nederlandtsche government, they shall be left in the undisturbed possession of their lands, house and goods and whatever else which might belong to them, and be treated as natural born Nederlanders. With regard to their religion they shall be allowed a church with priests and clergy and shall enjoy every freedom in the performance of divine worship, and such persons as might hereafter be inclined to pass over to the coast of India shall be allowed to sell and dispose of their movables and immovable goods and effects without any let or hindrance, and be provided with vessels free of charge for their removal, excepting to those only who have vessels of their own, the latter shall be permitted to navigate their vessels all round the Island on paying the customary tolls and duties, and such of the inhabitants as are willing to establish themselves here, shall likewise be allowed all freedom to carry on their accustomed trade and avocation for their support unmolested.

Article 8

That all merchants and foreign traders whether whites or blacks, who have resorted to this town with their vessels from different places in pursuit of trade, shall have the freedom allowed them to remove and take away with them without any let or

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hindrance all their movables, gold, silver and all other articles of merchandize which they might now own by purchase, especially cinnamon, whether purchased from the king or the town, including the stock as are now on board their vessels, and the quantity yet to be shipped; they shall have free access of movement to provide themselves with the necessary staff of life for money. In the event of their being at a loss for hands to navigate their vessels every assistance should be afforded them in that respect.

Article 9

That all black inhabitants of this town, whether married or single, and all foreigners of whatever race shall be allowed the same favour and privilege as demanded for the *Portugesche Burgeren*, and the married people.

Article 10

That all Modliaars, Aratches and Lascarijns who had hitherto served the King of Portugaal, whether at the time of their engagement they had then belonged to the King's or the Company's service, shall be permitted to betake themselves to whatever place they might choose to resort to, without any impediment whatever, taking with them their goods.

Articles 11 and 12

That the Portugeesch Simon Lopes de Basto who had served with the Hollanders for a while should be forgiven with permission that he might accompany the General on his departure from the Island, so also those Hollanderen who have joined the army. Their crime should not be taken into account and they should be incorporated with our troops on their leaving the Island.

Article 13

That all our sick and wounded soldiers and the married, whomsoever they might be, shall be cared for and permitted [p. 125] to remain in the infirmary until such time as they are cured and re-established in health, and on their leaving the Island, they shall be supplied with every necessary comfort on the Company's account if their expense cannot be defrayed from the King's funds.

Ovidoor. Dr. Pieris renders it "Elders, vereadors, Judges, Civil Officers, Keepers of His Majesty's property and members of the Court of Justice." The Dutch Power in Ceylon p. 196. The word 'veador' has been used by Baldaeus in Chapter 32 but not 'vereador.'

^{2.} Alcalde was a Spanish title for a judicial officer. The word also described the knights of a Spanish military order which distinguished itself against the Moors.

Article 14

When the surrender of the garrison shall take place, it will rest with His Excellency the Governor to see that no violence or incivility shall be offered to the persons of the Generals and other principal functionaries. The soldiers and the married with their wives and children will also be saved from all inconvenience and remain under the protection of His Excellency the Governor in and outside the town, and be free of all molestations on the part of the people of the King of Candy.

(Sealed) Anthonio de Souza Coutinho.

There then followed the following brief answer, agreed to and confirmed by the Governor and his Council in the name and on behalf of His Imperial Majesty of Ceylon, the Honourable Lords of the States General of the United Netherland, the Honourable Directors of the East India Company, the Honourable the Governor-General Joan Maatzuyker and the Honourable the Supreme Council of India regarding the proposal and request made by the special envoys from the town of Columbo. It was required that the fortress be delivered into our hands on the 12th of May on the following conditions:-

That the surrender shall be made before midday and that it shall not be delayed, the undermentioned being the relevant conditions.

Ecclesiastical persons are fully assured as requested in the second article, and would be allowed two suitable places of worship until their departure.

With respect to the 3rd article, it was observed by His Excellency the Governor that it was not then practicable for them at that juncture to send the Generals, either to Manaar or Tutecorijn, but they would do so by the first opportunity, or to Couchin and Wingurla that His Excellency would see them transported thither within 15 days by the Company's ships. They were allowed to take with them their male and female slaves, as well as those of the General's son Christovaan de Souza, as well as all the children of their adoption, and all their property, gold, silver, rings and precious stones, relying on the good faith and probity of the Generals that no other persons shall be thus removed but those who actually belong to them, with permission to be here located until the time of the departure.

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The conditions accepted by the Portugezen.

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The individuals adverted to in the 4th article had to be treated according to their individual rank, and receive every protection and be freed from inconveniences, and they were likewise permitted to take away with them all their property, gold, silver, wearing apparel, and whatever belongs to their personal comfort, but with regard to slaves and slave women it shall be according to the importance of the personages concerned and what is customary with them, namely bedding, carpets, pillows, coverlets and curtains. The chiefs still in command and the reformed shall be permitted to leave with their distinctive badges and go to the *Choromandel* coast, they were likewise permitted to carry with them their movables, but with respect to their slaves and paid servants, it was thought mere courtesy of His Excellency that their removal was granted them.

The soldiers could march out with their kits, banners flying, match-cords lighted, charged muskets and drums beating. They had to proceed to His Excellency the Governor's quarters, and there lay down their arms under the (Dutch) standard, and after reasonable recuperation they were to be transported to Europa. The married and the Indische families had to go to the Choromandel coast and until then, they were to be supported on the Company's account.

The officers mentioned in the 6th article were allowed the privileges and freedom stipulated for, like the other qualified persons including the Garrison Captain and the *Opper-Koopman*.

All such persons as were disposed to remain under the *Nederlantsche* rule were assured of safety and protection and may freely enjoy all their property, but in the event of their quitting the place the matter was then to be left to the discretion of His Excellency the Governor.

The principal Burgheren, and the married Portugezen with their families who might not be desirous to remain on the Island, would be treated like other officers, but the married native inhabitants of this Island were to be left at the discretion of His Excellency the Governor. All white and black merchants and all foreign traders of respectability who have had dealings in this town must leave the place for the opposite coast and for the time receive the same privileges and freedom as allowed to the other officers.

The Modliars, Aratches and Lascarijns with their followers were guaranteed all consideration and would be treated as our own people.

All the sick and wounded, both married ones and soldiers who are now in the infirmary or elsewhere shall receive every possible attention and be retained there until their recovery and have all their wants supplied.

All officers, the married and soldiers and unmarried women, were to be under the protection of His Excellency the Governor, and secured from all violence and injury.

His Excellency had further reserved to himself the right, on the arrival of the expected ships with reinforcements by the 30th of May to warn them of the surrender of this town, and desire them to sail away until they are out of sight.

Thus done and concluded on the 11th May 1656.

Sealed Adriaan van der Meyde Jan van der Laan Pieter de Bitter Eduard Ooms, and Ysbrant Godskens

Adriaan van der Meyde, Governor on behalf of the Honourable East India Company operating in the Island of Ceylon and the members of the Honourable Council, seeing that the Gentlemen Deputies have within the prescribed time reappeared with a full resolution of their General Anthonio de Souza Coutinho and his Honourable Council, bringing with them the articles of capitulation which had been accepted by them, we do therefore hereby promise to carry out the aforesaid articles fully and without the least infraction thereof, and in addition to show all practicable indulgence.

In witness whereof we have hereunto jointly with the deputed Gentlemen Deputies affixed our signatures. Given at the Nederlandt's camp before Columbo, this 12th day of May 1656.

Sealed on behalf of one party

Adriaan van der Meyde Jan van der Laan Pieter de Bitter

Eduard Ooms Ysbrant Godskens, and Joannes Hartman.

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and on the part of the other side

Anthonio de Souza Coutinho Francisco de Melo de Castro Anthonio de Silva Gasper de Ronga Pereira Laurenco Fereira de Britto Heironymo de Lucena Tavares, and Diego Leitaon de Souza.

About 9 on the following morning the aforesaid deputies [p. 127] appeared again bringing with them the concerted articles of Ratification capitulation, also a letter from both the Generals in favour of accepted the deserter Simon Lopes that he might be saved the punishment so justly due for his crime. After the articles had been signed a second time and the Council broke up, there then proceeded (after the midday meal) the Merchant Ysbrant Godskens and the Secretary Jacob Van Rhee, to demand from both the Portugesche Generals the keys of the fort gates, and to be shown their stores and magazine in order to have them secured from all accidents from fire, and to warn them of the necessity for the evacuation of the garrison by their troops according to the articles of capitulation.

The Capiteyn Moor (Anthonio de Melo de Castro) with Portugezen the King's soldiers and 36 of their captains denominated re- evacuate Columbo. formados by the Portugezen preceded by 14 flying banners, came first fully equipped and with drums beating, lighted match-cords and muskets loaded. Passing through the ranks of most of our Companies they proceeded to the Governor's quarters where they laid down their arms. They were shown the place where they had to sleep and live in. There followed then the body of Burghers, sick and wounded, and the lame, and while the process of evacuation was continuing our two commissioners were conducted by their chief engineer who pointed out 4 of their mines on the side of the bastion Rajuha, between St. Steven and Clergos. Each of these mines were found to be filled with 3 or 4 barrels of gun powder. When their fuses or pipes had been removed they were left in charge of our sentinels.

Our troops were now marched into the fort followed by the Governor, Major van der Laan and the members of Council.

The civility of the two **Generals** towards His Excellency the Governor.

To the beach, hard by the couras, there came both the Generals (being very old men) with their suite to meet the Governor, with much civility and politeness. Orders were then given for securing the garrison with our troops, and for disarming the fort lascarijns. By the evening the Prince Vlagge (Prince's Standard) was planted on the water castle, and in token of victory our cannon boomed. So did the King of Portugaal lose a stronghold which for strength can vie with any Europaeische defences, and which the enemy had possessed for a century and half. The Lord God from whom cometh victory, His name be blessed and praised for evermore. On the Sunday following the 14th a service of thanksgiving was held by the Reverend Francisco Wyngaarts, our worthy colleague on the same island, in the Church of St. Francisco, now called the Stadts Kerke.

Thanksgiving Service in Columbo.

Chapter Thirty Nine

Antiquity of the town of Columbo. Arrival of the Portugezen. Their contests with the Mooren. Their victory and fortification of Columbo. Raja Singa dissatisfied.

THE town of Columbo was from ancient times held in very

high estimation. It is situated at the height of 6 and between

½ a degree north of the equator in a very delightful locality and by a pleasant river, so that the Portugezen made no bad choice when they established and settled themselves on this spot. We must now say something with respect to the origin and foundation of this fort. On Emanuel the King of Portugual being written to on the affairs of Ceylon, he in order to retain and make sure of the place and to attract the wavering King to his side, gave directions that a defence should be thrown up there which was to be guarded and protected by soldiers. With this view, Lup' de Britto sailed for this Island with a goodly draft of soldiers and artificers and took charge of the town from Joan de Silva but Zoares had previously (after Laurens d' Almeyda had a few

Antiquity and origin of Columbo.

[p. 128]

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20 ships. Hereafter he had treated with the chief of the land of Columbo, near which the best cinnamon grew, and after much searching, fortunately picked out a safe harbour for their ships in a locality where he judged it expedient to set up a stable and secure fortification.1

This place was in the shape of a crescent and afforded a safe anchorage for their shipping, particularly to ships of light tonnage. He therefore desired a fortification (as much for the safety of their merchandize as for a protection against the Mooren), and requested that he be permitted to build a defence not so much for the security of the Portugezen as for that of the inhabitants and the King himself. The King The King who was a capable Bramine, was suspicious of Europaeanen power, makes an agreement but seeing that the King of Couchin had in a very short time with the raised himself to wealth and eminence by the aid and intervention of the Portugezen, he consented to the request, but not however without great distrust and misgivings.

The King did not however prove long steadfast, for the fugi- Which he tive Saracenen from the continent had now established their trade in Ceylon. They by bribes and bad counsel had not only brought the King's councillors but the King himself to their side, and were canvassing by every means in their power to prejudice the King's mind holding out to him the degraded state of servility which then awaited them, proffering at the same time their aid to drive the Portugezen away.2 With this view, they began to build defences and fortify them with iron guns believing that

years before entered into an agreement with one of the Kings

^{1.} After Lourenco de Almeida arrived in Ceylon in 1505 he set up a factory at Colombo with the permission of the King of Kotte. The people objected to this and the factory was dismantled two years after. The need for a fortress in Colombo was increasingly felt however by the Portuguese, both to control the cinnamon trade and as an important port to be controlled under Albuquerque's policy of securing the Indian Ocean. In 1518 the Portuguese came again to Colombo and built a fortress in defiance of the King of Kotte and placed a garrison in charge of Joao de Silveyra. In 1520, Lopo de Britto was sent from Goa to build a stronger fort. This was accordingly done, but in 1524 the port was again dismantled since it was felt that a factory was sufficient for trade purposes.

^{2.} Before the arrival of the Portuguese the trade in spices was in the hands of the Arabs who had considerable influence in the courts of Eastern kings. The early objections to the Portuguese establishing themselves in Colombo were provoked by the Arabs.

the friendship which had till then prevailed was now at an end. and what was more, some unsuspecting Portugezen were also made prisoners by them.

landed was struck with surprise to see the raised defences.

He dispatched his envoys to the King for an explanation of

Zoares in prosecuting the object of his wish, having now

Zoares slavs Mooren and Cingalezen.

what was then going on, when it was ascertained that this villainous act was to be ascribed to the cunning of the Mooren. So that Zoares had now to look sharp, and bid them resistance. Zoares having inspired his men with courage, made a sudden fall on the enemy and notwithstanding the heavy shower of arrows. they cut their way through to near the enemy's guns. Zoares had to struggle hard at the onset, while the enemy were pouring their arrows on them, but no sooner had he neared the enemy the Saracenen were made to guit the field. They were then hotly pursued after by the *Portugezen* over hills and dales with terrible execution, so that Zoares had to recall his scattered men by the loud blast of trumpets. Many of the enemy were found on both sides. killed and many Portugezen wounded, among the latter was

N. Patieco, who had lately arrived from Malacca.

Great losses

Zoares

builds a

rampart

The King

for giveness.

begs his

[p. 129]

at Columbo.

After a day's rest Zoares set to work and by noon had caused a ditch to be dug extending to the sea shore, without meeting with any opposition whatever. He also raised a defence within the ditch and planted it with guns, and surrounded it with a wall. The King, who now sorely regretted his inconsiderate acts, employed his envoys to intercede for him with Zoares and obtain his forgiveness with every desire to renew their former friendship, but Zoares who was greatly offended at what had taken place, was hard to be appeased and would listen to no proposals ere the King submits himself to Don Emanuel and pays him a yearly tribute. The King who was now overawed by the success of the Portugesche arms, had not the heart to refuse this proposal, so that it was at length agreed that he should pay an annual tribute to Don Emanuel of 124,000 lbs. of cinnamon, 12 rings set with the finest sapphires and rubies, also 6 elephants, with an understanding that Emanuel the King would have to protect him and all his descendants against all his enemies both by land and water. Thus was peace restored and Zoares was now more than ever zealously employed in carrying out his works

The King had to pay Don Emanuel a yearly tribute of 124000 pounds of Caneel.

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of defence with the assistance of the Cingalezen also, so that he accomplished it in a short time. Then leaving as chief in command Joan de Sylva with a strong garrison and four ships to protect the seafront under the direction of Anthonio Miranda Azevedo, and having issued all the necessary instructions Zoares returned to Couchin in December following, where he met with a hearty reception.

Lup de Britto (to whom allusion has already been made) came now in the place of Joan de Sylva. He brought with him a goodly staff of masons and artificers. He collected a large stock De Britto of shells, and converted them into lime, with which he built new and strong walls, cleared and deepened the ditch, and held them in walls at constant good repair, owing to which the Cingalezen were enraged seeing that everything was likely to be against their prosperity Cingalezen and welfare and that their fears were not groundless. The Mooren on the other hand contributed not a little to augment their fears by an insinuation that they (the Mooren) were no idle seers when they foretold them that the advent of the Portugezen in Ceylon would be the ruin of the King and the whole Island, that these strangers under the semblance of friendship had already misled the King and made him tributary, that the Portugezen nation had an insatiable thirst of gain, that they will leave no opening for any other strangers to come to the Island, and that they would not eventually fail to flay the inhabitants and suck their blood. That the King was not to be pitied in as much (they said) as he had made light of and disregarded the sound advice of tried friends, and entered into a new and precarious friendship in the very teeth of the old one, and that ere long he would rue his imprudence.

These pungent and inflammatory observations soon burst into flames for they cut off the Portugezen from all sources of supplies and food. They also murdered some of their men who ventured beyond their fortification. De Britto, who winked at it in the beginning, could no longer restrain the resentment of his enraged soldiers in their determination to avenge the affront. About noon in the hottest part of the day (when in that country most of the inhabitants sleep) there sallied out 150 able bodied De Britto soldiers and took possession of the suburbs of Columbo in the captures immediate vicinity of their defence, when the Cingalezen and

other inhabitants sought refuge in flight with their wives and children.

Forbids his people to rob. pillage or injure the Cingalezen. Orders all women and children to be tied fast to the doors. [p. 130]

De Britto sets fire to the roofs of the houses and thereby gives the Portugezen security.

De Britto then charged his soldiers against all acts of plunder. pillage and lewdness. He caused the women and children to be tied and made fast to their doorposts in order to induce the Cingalezen (who care for their families) to return to them and realise that everything was then at the mercy of the Portugezen. and that De Britto could completely subdue them, and to convince them further that all what he sought was to secure their fidelity and friendship (without however placing too implicit a reliance on them as he had now sufficient proofs of their infidelity). He then ordered to set fire to the roofs of all the houses near the Portugesche defence. He took this step, as it were with foresight and prudence, for the Barbarische, who wanted their wives and children, had now assembled themselves in a mass and were on the point of fiercely attacking the Portugezen and were it not that they had first to quench the fire, which was then consuming their houses they would in all probability have at once made a desperate swoop on the Portugezen defence, but were hindered by trying to extinguish the flames and to release their wives and children. This gave the *Portugees* a fair interval for closing the gates, and to prepare themselves to resist the enemy, which they also did, but only after 30 men of their rear guard were wounded.

results from it.

The Portugezen are besieved.

De Britto's policy was not however commensurate with his A serious war expectations, for this act of his tended to create a worse feeling of bitterness and rancour amongst the natives, and the result was that a more serious war had now been engendered: 20,000 men now collected together, and laid siege to the Portugezen fortification, and the King had hopes (notwithstanding that his confidence had been strained) that as the summer months were due and the month of May approaching, the lack of water and supplies and the difficulty of maintaining their existence, would make them of necessity surrender.

> In the meantime, the Cingalesen remained no idle spectators but were incessantly employed in the construction of a dyke or embankment near the *Portugesen* defence, and kept harrassing

1. i.e. the Sinhalese.

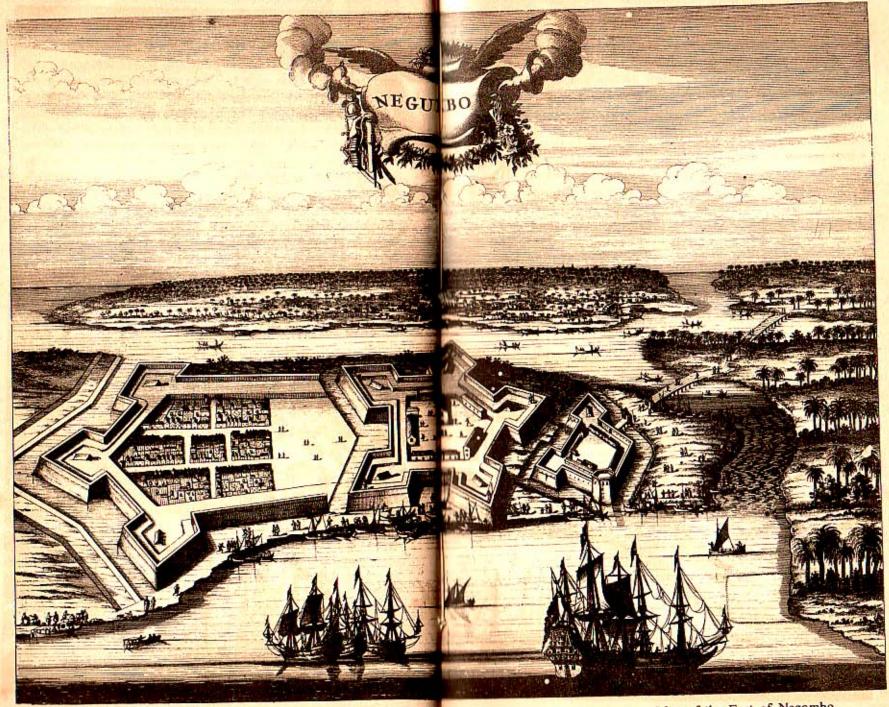
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them day and night with their bows and arrows. True that they could not have done such execution with these weapons, as the Luzitaan could with their guns and cannon but there was the vast disparity in numbers. The Cingalezen picked up about 600 bullets which had been discharged upon them and cleverly attacked the enemy in return by every practicable means they could devise.

The Portugees were now much pinched for water, as they had to procure it from beyond the precincts of their defence. The The soldiers too became very weary from incessant watchings wearied by over such a swarm of the enemy. All their hope depended on carrying the arrival of succour and reinforcements, could they but fight their way through till the ensuing summer, but they were even disappointed in this expectation, for after all their toil and anxiety when the winter arrived there came to their relief Anthonio de A little Lemos with only a single galley and 50 men, which was got up relief from together with much trouble, owing to Seguera's absence with a Couchin. large force.

In the interim the Cingalezen constructed 2 towers with klappus (coconut) trees and filled them with earth and sods. in order the better to harrass the enemy who were crowding the trenches from such an elevated position. De Britto who saw De Britto that there was some danger in the strategem determined upon an attacks the attack being made on the enemy. He therefore directed Anthonio with good de Lemos to move his ship closer to the shore and to batter down these towers with his great guns, whilst he himself took the enemy by surprise on the other side with 350 of his men, and gave them such rough treatment that the enemy by reason of this successful strategy and the determination and intrepidity (of the Portugezen) became terrorstruck, and quickly abandoned their stronghold when De Britto took immediate possession of the towers and drove the enemy away. Hereupon there ensued no small war-cry amongst the dispersed Barbaren who nevertheless plotted together [p. 131] to avenge this defeat and to drive away the Lusitaan with main force.

The Cingalezen who now made common cause with the Mooren, then advanced with a body of 150 of their cavalry, preceded by 25 war elephants with howdahs and armed men on their backs, and of, and projecting from the sides there were made fast in all directions sharp pruning knives, with both edges sharpened



Map of the Fort of Negombo.

so as to injure on contact. This somewhat startled the Portugees at the outset, but it proved afterwards to be a rod to the enemy themselves, for the elephants on being struck by the heavy bullets defied the hooks of their carnakken and drivers who tried to control them, and not being able to endure the impact of the iron balls against their hide they turned their backs to the enemy, which caused no small upset amongst the Cingalezen and the Mooren. Thus did the Portugezen send them back to their homes in shame and raise the siege altogether and gain some breathing time.

The King now again poured forth his malediction on the head of the Mooren a second time, and gave up all hopes of further siege. He sent his envoys to Britto, to effect a reconciliation and to implore his forgiveness for all his foolish and rash acts. Thus we see how that the Portugezen were at intervals at variance with the kings and princes of Cevlon, and of the discord and strife they brewed amongst the great men of the place, with the sole view of gaining their selfish ends—as Maffaeus too justly observes in the 16th Chapter of his work Indische Geschiedenisse.

Much about the same period, the King of Cota, 1 had 3 nephews on his sister's side, who were according to the right of succession of the land heirs to the crown. These seeing the longevity of their uncle and that it will be long before they can come to the throne, they made away with him, and divided the empire between themselves but (Ut regna et Tedae Socium non ferunt, as kingdoms and beds are not to be shared) they soon ran counter to each other. Parea Pandar the eldest, who then held the throne soon found means to get rid of his second brother. Maduyn the youngest of them seemed for a short time to live in harmony with his brother but subsequently he found fault with him under the plea that he Maduyn, was not dealt with according to his merits, as he was the chief organ he said, who had not only at the risk of his life counselled the murder of his uncle, but actually perpetrated the deed, but Parea Pandar narrowly watched the wiles and artful

discord in Ceylon.

Portugezen

The

create

An evil example, as P. Maffaeus savs.

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designs of Maduyn, wrote to the King of Portugaal and obtained his consent to nominate his daughter's son as his successor to the throne, despite the usage of the country and the claims of Maduyn, who became now so much embittered against his brother that he openly declared war against him and beleaguered Cota and laid it waste.

The King, so that it might not be thought that he was contending with a rebel and a robber and with the aid of walls and ditches. drew up his troops outside the town and encamped himself in a fit locality for battle. He had in his camp a company of Portugesche soldiers, one of whom either designedly from being bribed by Maduyn, or by mere accident shot the King to death. Then the King's party raised to the throne his daughter's son, and crowned him with all due pomp and solemnity according to the forms and usage of the land, but they had some misgivings because of his youth nor could they depend on the people who were of an inconstant character, knowing also that Maduyn would not keep quiet. This consideration induced the King's party to apply to Noronha Noronha1 for succour, who without loss of time equipped a fleet goes, to and having manned them with 3000 soldiers personally came over. 3000 men. This expedition was nominally (as Maffaeus observes without any [p. 132] reticence) for the sole purpose of protecting the just rights of the young prince, but in truth it was with an object to rob and plunder the treasure, which lay secretly buried in Columbo wherewith to recruit and replenish the exhausted coffers of the He secures a Portugezen and to fill their purses, as Noronha also succeeded in of 100000 discovering a sum of upwards of 100,000 crowns which he bore Kronen. away with him.

In the meantime Maduyn was actively engaged in erecting a post of defence at Ceta Vaca, distant 9 miles from Columbo which the aforesaid writer (Maffaeus) adds, was subsequently subdued by Noronha with but little trouble and destroyed by fire. Noronha then left the place for Goa greatly heartened by his success. But as to what was the fate of Maduyn, there were no traces left to ascertain the facts, as Maffaeus likewise records.

Thus we see how the town of Columbo, was first founded by the Portugezen, and how it latterly fell into our hands in the year

^{1.} Vijaya Bahu, King of Kotte [1519-1521] was killed by his three nephews who divided the kingdom between them. The eldest referred to as Parea Pandar by Baldaeus became King of Kotte as Bhuvaneka Bahu VII [1521-1551].

^{1.} The Portuguese Viceroy of Goa..

1656. There were found at the time of surrender of the fort to us between 6 and 7 lasts of damaged rice, so that it had stood the test of time long enough, some bales of cinnamon, and a quantity of sound and damaged arecanuts, 24 frigates of which 9 were subsequently destroyed, 150 guilders in hard cash, there were found within the walls of the fort 33 packages of clothes, 25 metal bells and there stood on the batteries 60 brass and 68 iron guns, in all 128 with a mortar piece, and 6 bassen. There were also 10,000 cannon balls of various calibres and weights 6500 pounds of service ableand 150 pounds of damaged gunpowder, and a quantity of nitre and sulphur. Thus have we become now masters of Columbo. But Raja Singa began to growl, and was unfriendly towards us, seeking some cause for displeasure.1

He thus writes—

Raja Singa Rajou etc.

Raja Singa is displeased and writes a letter.

Some strange news has reached my imperial palace yesterday, and the day preceding, respecting the conditions upon which the Portuguezen shall have to surrender the fort and I was since assured that they would keep to their engagement. If such is the case, it was Your Excellency's duty to have made my imperial person acquainted with it, but seeing it was not done, I gave no credence to the report. But if such be however the real fact, be pleased to make me acquainted as early as possible with the terms of the agreements which are expected to be concluded with them. I have in the life time of my much beloved Director-General applied to him by letter for something which was promised me. Therefore pray do not lose sight of it.

In the Imperial Camp at Revgamwatte 11th May 1656. (Signed) Raja Singa Rajou, August Emperor of Ceylon.

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Chapter Forty

Punishment of deserters. Raja Singa deprives the Hollanders of supplies. His letters of complaint. Taking of several Portugesche vessels. Raja Singa persecutes and plunders the Company's subjects.

T was now deemed high time to punish with death our Deserters deserters and offenders. One Simon Lopes, a Portugeesch by sentenced to death and birth, a great villain and rogue was the first to ascend the hanged. scaffold, when the rope was tightened and he was immediately Note. This dispatched. He remained so hung for a considerable time. This had used the man, though in the receipt of a monthly salary of 50 guilders first mortar from the Company deserted to the enemy soon after our ill-success and thereby in the late storming (for which the Portugezen asked that he did us much be forgiven). He was the contriver of a second mortar whilst with the enemy to the no small destruction of our people, and [p. 133] his life was now justly forfeited, and the disloyal thief has received his due recompense. Two other Europaeanen whose names for good reasons we forbear to mention shared the same fate, and another culprit, after he had been publicly whipped and a halter adjusted about his neck, was exposed under the gibbet during the whole of that day, as a warning to others.

Now began the transporting of the Portugezen. The priests and the married were sent to the opposite shore from where they might be sent to St. Thome by His Excellency Laurens Pit. From letters received from Raja Singa it was not difficult to make out that he was then greatly offended. The book keeper Walraven Thome writes from Montual, that he had on the request A Corporal's of Corporal Hans Jacob Lambert, dispatched 10 Mardijkers, expedition stayed. and a Sergeant to the pass Nacclegamme to oppose the movements of the Dissaves of Ouva and the 4 and 7 Corles who were assembled there with their soldiers, but His Excellency the Governor and his Council, thought the step taken to be inexpedient and impolite and calculated to prejudice the King's mind; orders were therefore immediately sent to the corporal, for marching back the Mardijkers to Montual, and not to impede the King's people if inclined to pass over to this side, but to show them all good will.

^{1.} Though the terms of the capitulation quite specifically said that the fort of Colombo was being surrendered to both Rajasingha and the East India Company, the Dutch occupied the fort and manned it with their men immediately after the surrender, while orders were given to shut out the King's troops from the city. This action of the Dutch was completely at variance with the treaty between the Dutch and the King which said the fort was to be handed over to the Kandyans. Rajasingha's displeasure with the Dutch in the face of this deceit was justifiable and natural.

Raja Singa withholds our supplies.

Raja Singa's disaffection became now daily more obviously glaring, for we found that he was taking every precaution for cutting off all our sources of supplies from the interior of the country. This induced us to dispatch the sabandaar Don Joan de Costa to the Dissaves of Saffragam, the Four and Seven Corles for explanation, when both these functionaries excused themselves by saying (although we were assured to the contrary) that there was nothing to prevent the inhabitants carrying their articles of provision to the market. They further stated, that as they had no orders from the court, they dare not therefore call on the Governor.

The vachts Mars and Leeuwinne arrive at the Bar of Columbo.

There now arrived in the bay on the 22nd of May, the yacht de Mars and Leeuwinne and immediately after there came on shore the Vice Commodore Adriaan Roothaas, who had travelled out at the request of the Senior Merchant Reynier Serooskerke with a letter informing us that a Moorish vessel had left Couchin for Columbo, laden with all the necessaries of life on the King's account, and that there were then still left there our yachts the Vlissinghe, Popkensburg, Zee-Rob, de Schelvis and Romeyn, with 2 other crafts replete with provisions, which were supplied them by the inhabitants of Caylpatnam for payment, and that the people there were anxious to see the Company re-establish themselves there in trade. Two more frigates were also refitted to be employed in the same service.

A Cingalees. once a trusted sevant, goes over to the King.

letter complaining that the Hollanders had not. contrary to their agreement, delivered Columbo to him. [p. 134]

It is with much concern we learnt that Cannangere Aratchie a trustworthy servant of the Honourable Company had then likewise transferred his service to the King of Candy and that 90 of our fugitive Maturesche lascarijns had been sent to the pass of Angretotte. These were sad omens as will appear in the sequel. Raja Singa too, became now more insistent in his demand for the Raja Singa's delivery of the towns of Negumbo and Columbo to him, saying that such was the promise of Director General Gerard Hulft. The following is the letter he addressed to us on the subject.

"My imperial person has laboured hard to get the Hollandtsche Natie in my land, as was the case too when Adam Westerwolt came here with his fleet, on which occasion my imperial person subdued the Fortress of Batecalo and concluded a Treaty of Peace with the Hollanders, but after it had been made, sworn to and confirmed some of your officers have not adhered to and

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complied with the conditions entered into. Captain Burchart Koks, commonly called Captain Coque (who was subsequently wounded and killed by a soldier at Punte Gale) and the Commissioner Pieter Kiest, who then attended my court as envoys, these men after they had as it were from the plenitude of their power sworn to and confirmed the said Treaty afresh, on their return to my Fortress Gale, took along with them one of my Dissaves to whom they had to deliver the lands of Mature, but after much dissension and injustice they did not so much as allow the Dissave to stay there, which amounted to disloyalty to the imperial interests and caused much damage and confusion. This grieved me to the heart and caused my imperial person much sorrow and uneasiness. Just about this time, there arrived in my imperial land my well beloved Director-General with full power from Hollandt to do everything which was necessary to promote my imperial interest and for establishing a permanent peace. On a conversation had with him, he requested that I should forget all past misunderstandings and discontent, and that he would give me every satisfaction, and assured me in the name and on behalf of the Prince of Orange and the Honourable Company, that he would deliver into my imperial hands both the defences Negumbo and Columbo (no sooner they shall under God be subdued), leaving only in these defences such small portion of the Hollanders as may be deemed necessary for my service, and it was on the strength of this assurance that I have contributed every possible aid for the taking of the Fort of Columbo by my Hollanders, but since they have now become masters thereof, the promise is lost sight of and forgotten as is now daily experienced. Your Excellency may (as long and until the Prince of Orange and the Honourable Company shall be made aware of these grievances) act just as you please, but those who forget God, and set at nought their plighted word, will have to rue the consequences. I rest confident that when thus correcting and rebuking Your Excellency I have God on my side."

He further adds—"There were 2 letters forwarded from this court, Your Excellency also wrote to George Blom in Nederlantsche but no mention whatever is made in it respecting what concerns my service. Your Excellency may go on writing such empty nothings to whomsoever you please, but not to my imperial

person, aware as I am, that the Director General had his credentials from Hollandt, and would then Your Excellency now say, that he had derived his authority from Batavia. This looks very suspicious, and how can the word of him who speaks thus be depended upon. This goes translated in Neerlants that Your Excellency might the better understand it. George Blomme shall remain here until I receive an answer to this, and then I shall send him to you with my imperial letter.

Thus much for the present-The Lord etc. etc. In the Imperial Court of Reygamwatte 21st May 1656.

The following which was also written in Nederduytsch accompanied the foregoing letter, His Majesty not wishing it to be embodied in his own letter.

Raja Singa complains that some rebels had not been surrendered to him. [p. 135]

This being the 22nd May, I was sent for by His Majesty, on my arrival I was requested to translate for him into Nederlandts his imperial letter penned in the Portugeesch language, that it might go with some others to Your Excellency. When I had finished the letter and handed it over to him, he then remarked to me, that on the arrival of the late Director General with a fleet for His Majesty's service, he the General was made acquainted by some of His Imperial letters, that there were some of his rebellious subjects then lurking about in and out of the Fort of Columbo, amongst others Gaspar Figeiro who had committed many wanton outrages in His Majesty's lands, and that there were some presents which had been sent by the Viceroy of Goa to be forwarded to His Imperial palace only some of which the Director General had sent to him. He further desired me to acquaint Your Excellency that when a town had been conquered by the joint aid of His Majesty that the parties should then act in strict conformity with the stipulated agreement without any shiftings to the right or left, but that Your Excellency never bestowed a single thought now, the fort being surrended, to send His Majesty his chief rebels nor the remainder of the presents, with the exception of 2 Persiaansche cats, a little ship, etc., and which I myself was the bearer of. The retention of the insurgents there is looked upon here in a very suspicious light.

This communication drew from the Governor a very courteous reply, yet Raja Singa knew no rest, but broke out with a spirit of bitter antagonism against the Nederlanders. Yea, even with

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treachery - for the Council was informed by the Portugezen Raja Singa Anthonio de Motte, and Manoel Fonseca de Monijs, that Raja makes overtures Singa had made secret overtures to them (who can say if not to the generally) for coming over to him under promise to afford them such ample incomes as they enjoyed in their flourishing days; in order to overcome these difficulties it was resolved not to admit in future any of the King's soldiers into the fort, besides such only who shall come express from His Majesty or his Dissaves on official business. In the meantime there were dispatched 32 of our soldiers to Caleture to guard the pass, and we got rid of a great portion of the Portugezen prisoners by sending them to Gale under escort. It was now discovered on a muster call of the Matura lascarijns that full 300 of their body had already decamped, and that others were also secretly going away.

On the morning of the 30th of May, there were seen on the Four Galkisse side, close to the land, 4 frigates when we hauled in our frigates off Prince Flag to entice the enemy. The Admiral who sailed which three ahead seemed to have discovered something, tacked and bore were northwards, but seeing the 3 others came to an anchor within the range of our guns, we immediately sent out light crafts, and had the Commander on shore; we learnt from them that they sailed from the Bar of Goas on the 22nd with 6 frigates, that 2 of them were detained at Coulang (Quilon) or elsewhere from stress of weather, and that one of them had been dismasted. They reported also the arrival at Goas of a Carveel (Caravel) from Portugaal that these six frigates were manned with 68 soldiers, and had every requisite on board both of provision and warlike stores, and that as there are no favourable accounts of the armada of Francisco de Seyxa fears are entertained of its safety. Considering the limited quantity of provision then with us, the supplies on board these frigates very opportunely reached us.

Subsequently on the 1st of June, we had another arrival of Another a yacht and a frigate, and when their commanders had landed, frigate and we were informed that a considerable sum of money had been arrive. raised at Couchin to meet the wants of the town of Columbo. The letters which reached us by this opportunity were of minor [p. 136] importance. The Portugesche affairs there with the King were in a state of some confusion.

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Treacherous action by the Cingalezen.

The Governor was now positively informed that some of the Couchinsche vessels which had sailed past about Galkisse had been signalled by the Dissaves of Matule and Ouva by the hoisting up of white cloth, and they were at great efforts to get on board them, that an offer of 400 lareens was made to the fishermen there to get one of them to come and speak with them, that 2 of their tonijs (canoes) put out to sea, but were baffled owing to the rough sea. This savours again of some of their dirty work, (of which there had been no little) and that Raja Singa spares no pains to estrange and draw off from the Company's service all our trusted men. We also learnt that his lascarijns have broken in into the garden where the Company's buffaloes and cattle are stabled and had caused much damage.

Complaints regarding increasing raids.

Incessant were now the complaints which reached His Raja Singa's Excellencies the Governor and his Council daily. The Junior Merchant Cornelis van der Duyn writes also with respect to the lands about Mature, that the inhabitants have been forbidden by the King's soldiers and the chiefs on pain of severe chastisement to make any supplies at all to us, and to yield any further obedience to our nation, but rather to place themselves under the King's protection, that they were now for mastering every frontier and had become so daring that whole troops of them were then occupying Billigam, Mallimande, and the Baigams. Because of these outrages and future possibilities those in Gale have dispatched 3 companies of 40 men each with instructions that 2 of them should occupy Accuras for the protection of its inhabitants against further agressions, and to ward off the King's people by informing them, that they shall have to keep off the boundaries of the Company's territories, the possession of which had been so long allowed to us by His Majesty, unless they can show us the King's special authority for their proceedings, and that in the absence of any such authority, were they to persevere in such acts of violence that they will in that case be repelled as enemies.

> It was now evident from these proceedings that the chiefs of the land had been long since in secret contact with the King. The Adigar who reached Mature via Angretotte also gave out that he had received the Governor's directions to this end too on his leaving him, which was a palpable and foul lie. What

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there further took place, the following translation of an ola will indicate:

"Cattepitty Apuhami, who is now come to Mallimande, sent Clear proof. an ola from thence in which he says, that he had come there by express order of the King, to take possession of the land of Mature for His Majesty's use, with positive injunctions to the inhabitants in general, not to take to the Hollanders or their homes provisions of any kind, were it even unripe fruits either for love or money or on any consideration; he proceeds further, that it was his intention to have been there some time ago, but as he is now come to the spot, that it will be well for the people and the Dissave of Mature to be mindful of the King's service and the honour of His Majesty's Crown. That by a ready compliance of these instructions, the inhabitants can expect to become the recipients of much goodwill and favour from His Majesty. That the Dissave of Saffragam had sent his instructions to the Dissave of Mature to render Your Excellency all and every assistance."

Matters stood not a whit the better in Pasdum-Corle, and Caleture. The mother and brother of Cotteneynde were forcibly carried off to the Pass of Caleture, and the poor inhabitants were [p. 137] made prisoners. What their intention was the following translation of an ola will show:

"Tudoculle Mandonna Apohami hereby informs all aratches, lascarijns, and the great majoraals, and all other headmen of Caleture, Macoene and Barberijn that no sooner they see this ola, they shall cease all intercourse with the Hollanders, and pay them none of the taxes (which were heretofore conceded to them) and suffer none of their labourers to give their services at the fortress. Those who disregard these injunctions, or shall fail to follow these intructions shall be visited with severe punishment. Come then here to me, all of you."

From a letter received by Manoel Andrado (a man who had rendered us many valuable services at Jafnapatan) from his brother-in-law, he was informed that the King's parties had arrived at the Pass of Caleture and had wounded a slave, a woman, and another inhabitant, and the necessity there was for him to keep a strict watch over his lascarijns. About Negumbo things fared not much better. Raja Singa had been after a Chief

Coquielle, entitled to a Patangatti,1 with promise of high reward in order to purchase his service, so that everything being now involved in the utmost confusion, it became imperative for the Council to adopt some definite measures to deal with all this enmity and violence.

A letter or ola tied to a

An ola was also found suspended to a tree, near the Church Guia de Lobo which read thus:-

The Fort of Columbo is now conquered, and a promise was held out, that it will be delivered to His Majesty which promise remains hitherto unredeemed and hence there arose some feelings of ill-will. We do not wish to share or take part in the blame, aware as we are of His Majesty's goodwill and partiality to the If therefore you are desirous of deputing Hollandtsche Natie. some person or other to His Majesty, it will be allowed you, and you shall have free access."

A letter of warning sent to Raja Singa to stop his excesses.

The Governor and his Council now found it expedient to make Raja Singa sensible by a letter of his unjust and vile acts committed at Pasdum, Walewitty, and the Gale Corle, and the lands about Mature, of the loss and disadvantage he has thereby brought on himself and the Company. That these difficulties had only served to cramp their endeavours to subdue the power of their Portugeschen enemy at Tutecorijn and the opposite coast was also clearly pointed out to him and also that it would be advisable for him to lay aside all feelings of ill-will and live with us in all amity by leaving to us the undisturbed occupation of our lands, which we have thus long possessed.

Raja Singa was further requested to answer this letter as early as possible, and to send some envoys or Dissaves it may best please His Majesty to reduce the Fort of Negumbo which will then be delivered to him, and as a further inducement to move His Majesty, and mete out to him his full due, the Governor requested the Emperor to inform him, in what particular respect His Majesty expects for greater satisfaction at his hands, and that His Excellency would then willingly attend to the same, if they do not only materially clash with the interest of the Honourable Company. But should His Majesty persevere in his unjust

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acts of aggression, which are now daily being practiced against the poor inhabitants and the Nederlanders, that in such a case, they protest in the sight of God and the world at large to be blameless for all the difficulties, unhappiness and bloodshed which must then inevitably follow, forced as they shall then be to defend and repel all such violence and inconvenience with the [p. 138] weapons of the Almighty. To render this communication more palatable it was accompanied by a beautiful falcon, and two sparrow-hawks under the care of a Persiaansche falconer.

We learnt from Caleture of the disturbances committed there The King's by the King's lascarijns, and all those who could not have escaped create were forcibly hurried away captives, not letting them even retire disturbances to the river, and also wounding some. That Cannangere and Caleture. Pittikeri, Aratches were then come within the precincts of Alikan, and that orders were issued to the inhabitants residing on the borders of the sea, to appear before them within 3 days, that 10 of our lascarijns and 42 coelijs (coolies) who were sent from Caleture to Columbo had been waylaid and attacked by a gang of 200 soldiers robbers, and forcibly taken away into the interior of the country. Sent to To prevent these unlawful proceedings and for the protection of protect the the inhabitants, especially the Chalias¹ or cinnamon-peelers 200 inhabitants and especially soldiers were marched to Bentot under the command of Maren the cinnamon Scholtes, Pieter Chample, and Joris Hervendonk, with directions peelers. that the chief of the Gale Corle, would join them with his lascarijns for greater safety's sake.2

^{1.} Patangatti, a Tamil word corresponding to the Sinhalese "Patabenda," i.e. one on whom an honorific fillet is tied.

^{1.} Members of the Salagama caste.

^{2.} Baldaeus presents Rajasingha's actions in harassing the Dutch only from the Dutch point of view. The Kandyan King had every reason to oppose the Company's activities for the simple reason that the terms of the agreement to hand over Colombo had been callously disregarded by the Dutch. In military strength Rajasingha was aware that he was not a match for the Company's superior forces, so that he had no way of forcing them to observe the Treaty. The alternative was to harass the Dutch by cutting off supplies and ravaging their territory to make normal activities such as the peeling of cinnamon impossible. For a full appreciation of the position from the Sinhalese point of view see Dr. K. W. Goonewardena. Foundation of Dutch Power Chapter 8.

Chapter Forty One 1

The appointment of a day for a general thanksgiving. Two Caffers come over to us. Jurgen Blomme's curious escape from Candy. A fight. Jungle stragglers punished. News respecting the Portugesche fleet. Failure of their capture. High opinion which is entertained in India of the Fortification of Columbo. Negumbo conquered for the second time.

Day fixed for a Thanks-

day was now fixed according to our usual custom for a general thanksgiving (it being now one month since the Lord God had in his mercy given us victory over Columbo) and to thank Him for special blessings and to invoke further blessings, for the averting of all evils, open violence, and all secret plots, for the forgiveness of our manifold transgressions. unworthy as we were to receive the least favour at His hands. Ever since this time it had become an established custom with us to publicly thank the Lord God on the 12th of May for our conquest of Columbo.

Raja does not reply on the question.

Although Raja Singa thought proper to write to His Excellency, he studiously avoided answering on any material points of business, but only dwelt on the subject of the arrival of the Persiaansche falconer and the present of the falcon with which His Majesty seems much pleased and he employed every means to persuade His Excellency to retain the falconer with him. His Excellency in order to humour His Majesty permitted his stay there, until the arrival of our ships which were to sail for Gamron. but even this was of no avail. For we found out that the marching of the 200 of our soldiers for the protection of the interior of the country had not a little alarmed the King, though the move proved a source of much rejoicing to our inhabitants for a body of more than 1000 souls had then already returned back to us,

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in spite of the rigid orders of Raja Singa to his lascarijns to bring all the Nederlanders they come across to him, and for otherwise punishing the blacks, whether Cingalezen, Mooren or slaves by the cutting off of their noses and ears.

As Raja Singa now showed himself more and more embittered against us, we had to keep an eye on all sides and send out our detachments everywhere. A little beyond Negumbo, a duria and 2 of our cinnamon-peelers were forcibly taken and hurried away as prisoners. Whilst in the meantime the few Hollanders who were yet in Candy apprehensive of their being yet long detained there wrote to His Excellency the Governor for sending [p. 139] His Majesty the Persiaan with the falcons and birds as being likely to be the means of obtaining their early release.

In the interim there arrived a messenger in Columbo named Chitty Maley with one falcon, and some other presents with which to honour His Majesty. Independently of this, we also received from Choromandel coast 6 other falcons, attended by their hunters and keepers.

On the 20th July there came over 2 Caffers, the King's Two Caffers, trumpeter and drummer, from whom we understood, that the and a King was then as yet occupying Reygamwatte and that he was drummer shortly expected to move to Ruanelle, that the Dissave of Matule, from the had preceded him in order to keep the roads clear for him, that King. His Majesty had made some grants of valuable lands to some of the Portugezen of rank, which had excited a spirit of jealousy amongst the struggling ones. That our interpreter Jurgen Blomme was still there and saw little chance of escape. That there were 5 Nederlanders roving about the court supposed to be our deserters. Wonderful however was the escape nevertheless The writer effected by Jurgen Blomme who, having secretly possessed himself and translator of a tony (canoe) during the night escaped from his place of Jurgen confinement (after he had first dulled his custodian with some cleverly liquor) then set it adrift in the river from the vicinity of the escapes over King's encampment at Reygamwatte and was finally carried to us from Candy. Montual the next morning.

About the same time we learnt of a fierce assault which Assault by had been made by the King's party upon our people at Hakman Cingalezen on our people in broad daylight, knowing as the assailants did the absence from at Hakman. the place of Mr. Rabel a bold and faithful Cingalees, who was

^{1.} Fergueon observes that the latter part of Chapter XLI and a good part of Chapter XLII which contains a summary of events that occurred in Ceylon from 1645 to 1655 are taken bodily, with very minor changes, from Adrian van der Meyden's letter of 20th September 1660 to the Council of Batavia. Van der Meyden's letter is given in full in Valentyn's Ceylon p. 141-148.

residing at Mature, as well as our Sergeant and a good number of our soldiers, and that the station was then only guarded by 10 whites and 5 lascarijns. Notwithstanding that the assailing force was 100 strong, our people made a good stand, and soon dispersed them. Matters became now worse and worse daily without any material change for the better, more especially so, as our own dogs began to snap at us, and because of the disloyalty of our principal Cingalezen, owing to which a party of our men who were detached to act against the enemy were never seen or heard of again.

From several communications received we also learnt of the forcible carrying away near Mabelle by the Raja's people of 4 of our soldier's wives and some other natives with our Sergeant Pieter Jansz of Dantzik to the Dissave of the Seven Corles who very charitably intimated to them that as they had so long served the Hollanders they must now make up their minds to serve the Emperor as his slaves and slave girls.

Some jungle stragglers come to rob produce, are seized and beheaded.

[p. 140]

On the 2nd of August, the Junior Merchants Laurens Haurwijk writes from Caleture, that some bushrangers1 had come to Boemboele, to rob paddy crops and that he had dispatched Andrado and a good number of lascarijns to the spot. On their arrival however they only found the bundles of nelv but that on their return they fell in with 2 spies and as they maintained a spirit of stubbornness when asked from whence and from whom they came on this thieving errand they were made a foot shorter. and their heads were left fixed on stakes near the heaps of the *nely*.

On Sunday the 13th August, there anchored in the bay the yacht Columbo which left Tutecorijn on the 11th. From a letter received by this opportunity from the naval commander, His Excellency the Governor was made acquainted of the escape effected by the enemy by stealth in the night of the 7th July, of 15 of their frigates which were seen moored between the islands and the reef, and that our ships had chased them as far as Pambanaar but that the shallowness of the place had precluded our ships nearing them, a clear and manifest proof, that the ruler of the News of land entitled Teuver1 had, in spite of his promise, been bribed frigates off and thus allowed the enemy's vessels to pass the straits to Manaar Tutecorijn or Jafnapatan (which he could easily do whenever he wished) slipped out by filling up the passes which admit the ships passage with masses through the of rocks, and then removing them at pleasure. Thus were our owing to the ships obliged to make for Tutecorijn again.

We now heard of the safe arrival at Chormandel of the ships gained Amsterdam, Avenhoorn, Saphier, Cabeljauw, Worcum and the Jafnapatam fly boat Pelikaan, Patientia and the Swarte Bul but it was at the through the same time a matter of sore regret and much disappointment to strait. have learnt that the chief of the Saphier contrary to the instruc- Serious error tions given him by His Excellency and his Council in Ceylon, had of the landed the Portugezen prisoners, particularly the soldiers about the ship Negnapatan (instead of sending them to Batavia according to Saphier. agreement) and instead of making for the south factories there according to orders, had sailed past. By this unhappy mistake the enemy had received an accession of 80 men, besides leaving the Company saddled with their stock of cloth and merchandize which might have been easily shipped on board at one and the same time. Thus it is that the Company's interest is often abused by careless inadvertence and much therefore depends both in the giving and the faithful execution of orders.

It was now notorious from letters received from the Merchant To the great Adriaan van Nieulant, of the Deenze (Danish) Fort of Tranguebare the that the afore-mentioned frigates have by the aid afforded by Teuver Honourable made their way through the straits (of Pamben) to Jafnapatan from where Anthony Amaral de Menezes (who was later after arrival at Manaar killed by one of our 4 pounders) had on the request of Raja Singa dispatched some boats (called tonijs) to Negnapatan for men for organising a corps. This step was in these hard and difficult times calculated to do us infinite harm (which God forbid). During all these difficulties His Excellency the Governor carefully watched over everything, by often availing himself of the services of Major van der Laan with 2 or 300 of his men to terrorise the enemy and keep them continually on the run. Thus rolled on the Company's affairs for some time under

Teuver's infidelity and

^{1.} Jungle stragglers. Bosch-loopers is the word in the original. Wanderers of no fixed abode are probably meant.

^{1.} Teuver, a feudatory chief.

Raja's hot displeasure, till the year 1665; if there were now and then some little glimpses of hope, still matters stood much in the same predicament, and hence it is doubtful if a reconciliation will ever take place during his the Raja's life, though it be much wished for.

Great
opinion of the
Portugezen
as to the
invincibility
of Columbo,
as evidenced
at Macassar.

[p. 141]

The opinion of the King of Macassar about the siege of Columbo.

We have thus long been speaking of Columbo and made a long halt there, we must therefore no longer keep our attentive reader confined in one place, but lead him across the Montual river, and then look for a short repose at Negumbo. But before we speak of it, we cannot omit to allude to the high opinion which the Portugezen entertained of the invincibility of that apple of their eye, the Fort of Columbo. They bragged high everywhere that if ever the Hollander had struggled hard in their conquests, it was here that they would meet with a decisive repulse. That neither the King of Portugaal, nor the Viceroy of Goa would ever tolerate that such a mother defence should be violated by the heretics. They were more particularly elated when they heard of our unfortunate retreat in the late storming for I recollect whilst at Macassar to have heard some of the Portugesche padres then residing there, as well as from the mouth of some who came from China, speaking contemptuously of our attempted siege, and that we could expect nothing but a disastrous result. Nay, they wagered large sums of money on it. Especially given to such boasting and taunts was Francisco Viero, puffed out as he was by the news of our first reverse. He was a man of great importance, a leading merchant in India.

The King of Celebes (Macassar being the capital of that island) had likewise entertained an high opinion of the invincibility of the place, (as I have myself heard from his own lips, as well as from his great men), inspired perhaps by the Portugezen; but after a short stay of 3 months there and the speedy return to Batavia, (and though the peace then concluded with him was not such as could have been wished) yet he was sufficiently in our power (except that the chief of the Embassy who did not more closely adhere to the brief and lucid instructions of the General and Council of India). They soon learnt that Columbo was conquered by us, which news was received at Batavia with great rejoicings being conveyed there by the late Sr Pieter de Bitter, of blessed memory.

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Thus is the sacred proverb daily verified, that "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall" (Prov: 16. v. 18). Such four was there in Babel, for which they paid dearly afterwards. For how easily God can cause the blast of the trumpet to be sounded against the great strongholds! The inhabitants of Columbo imagined, as the men of Mount Zion did, that the blind and the weak would drive us from their stronghold, but it is the A good lesson strong arm of the Almighty that exalts, for a lesson that none proud and should lean but upon his God, the Rock of Israel. For God will haughty. otherwise manifest himself to the inhabitants of the valley and of the rocks of the plains, who, confident in their own strength, say "who shall dare approach us" (Jer. 2. v.13)—Yea, though we build our nests on high, the Lord God, (who exalts the one, and humbles the other) can easily bring us down, and turn our glory to the eternal scorn and reproach of the nations. So that the passers by will say, "Was this that happy, frisky land, and that once populous city, so much renowned for its antiquity? They are now dragged down by their own feet to dwell amongst strangers." God grant that such might not be verified with us, which is to be apprehended when we rely on our own strength, not on the power of the Almighty. Thus far we have stepped onwards, but have quite reached the end. Having now done a five hours march from Columbo along the seashore to Negumbo we must now make a short halt there.

The Fortress of Negumbo lies north of Columbo at a distance of 5 hours march from Columbo.¹ I cannot speak with confidence as to its original founder, for it is not to be traced in any of the Portugesche memoranda books I have with me, nor is it to be wondered at, for it is but an ordinary defence, considering that the post was reared more for the defence of the cinnamon lands than otherwise. It has been observed already how Batecalo was taken by our Admiral Adam Westerwolt. Subsequent to the conquest of that place, Anthonio Caan in 1639 subjugated the Fort Trinquenemale. Negumbo was in the first instance conquered for the East India Company by the Director General Philip Lucasse

From this point almost up to the end of Chapter 42, Baldaeus goes back in time and recounts events that happened in Ceylon during the period 1645-1655. The explanation for this would be that Baldaeus is here describing events on a geographical and not a chronological basis.

[p. 142]

Commander

Koster shamefully

killed by

on the 9th of February 1640 as before noticed, and shortly after on the 13th of March, the Fort of Gale was taken by assault by the Commander Willem Jacobsz Koster who with four of his life guards was subsequently treacherously murdered by Raia Singa's people.

Koster though he had personally attended the Court of Candy vet could obtain nothing of his reasonable requests but was

fruitlessly detained there a long while. He became thus disheartened and impatient and began not only to threaten the courtiers. but also to use some expressions of abuse (verily a sad indiscretion and sign of shallow policy). This conduct of his was represented to His Majesty by his Ministers in the worst possible, light so that Koster soon after obtained permission to leave Candy which he did without any manifestations of the usual honours and whilst on the road he was shamefully attacked and murdered by the native guides, (who ought to have take him to Batecalo) by the Raja's people. infliction of several wounds. An impious reward indeed for his great services, the more so, as Koster of blessed memory yielded to the Raja Tringuenemale and its inhabitants, and the taxes of the lands of Gale and Mature. Had Raja been sincere in his profession of friendship towards us, he could with great ease have helped us to subdue Columbo, whilst the enemy's main force was then detached for the succour of Gale and the garrison (of Columbo) at the time was but indifferently guarded by monks, Burghers and some soldiers, so that the Portugeesch dared scarcely poke their noses beyond their garrison gate. Nay, but Raja thought it otherwise, that it

[p. 143] The Hollanders lose Negombo.

land.

Negumbo was again wrested from our hands by the Portugezen on their receiving reinforcements from Goa. They then also attacked Gale by their too frequent approaches within sight of the fort, and were as often driven off by Jan Thijseen and our soldiers. All this while we had not the remotest assistance from Raja who saw these scenes with wishful eyes, leaving all the low lands entirely in the hands of our enemies. Thus stood our affairs till the year 1664 (notwithstanding that we had resigned Batecalo

would rebound to his own glory to be thus courted by two peoples, rather than give the ascendancy to one, and so allowed the Portugezen ample time to recover, in all probability for the delight it gave him to see two Europaeische nations in conflict on his



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into his hands as he wished), the Portugezen being well represented by the Ambassador Pieter Borrel.

Heer Francois Caron captures Negombo for the second time.

Don Philippo Mascarenhas Negombo.

In the beginning of the year 1644, the Fortress of Negumbo was recaptured by assault, the second time by Francois Caron who greatly improved it, by raising four new earthen bastions which he faced with sods and garrisoned with full 500 soldiers. But the Portugeschen General Don Philippo Mascarenhas essaved (soon after the departure of our fleet and our infantry to Gale and elsewhere) to dispute and contest for the defence afresh, repulsed from but he met with such vigorous repulse as to force him to abandon the attempt and return to Columbo to the tune of his men's reproaches. At this time there arrived at Goa, Joan Maatzuyker Governor of Netherlandts India and he concluded a clear agreement with the Viceroy Joan de Silva, Telles de Menezes, Count Aveiras for adjusting the boundaries of the lands of the two nations on the Island of Ceylon, which agreement had subsequently been carried into effect on the spot in 1645 when the aforesaid gentleman remained on the Island as Governor of Punte Gale and the other possessions of the Honourable Company.

Chapter Forty Two

Raja plots secretly with the Portugezen. Seizure of his tame elephants. Raja's hostilities against the Portugezen. The Hollanders lose Angurantotte. Reinforcements for Portugezen and Nederlanders. Battle at Tiboene. Caleture abandoned. The Portugezen defeated by sea and land. The conquest of Manaar.

Raja has secret talks with the Portugezen.

The King's tame elephants seized by the company.

AJA SINGA in the meantime envying the Company's interest in the Zeven Corles spitefully suffered his highwaymen and robbers to commit every species of ravage and plunder in that country instigated by the Portugezen, so that war was now openly declared by the Honourable Jan Thyssen against the King. The Commandant of Negumbo, Nicolaas Jacobsz Overschie (who subsequently died at Voorburgh) caused some of the King's elephants to be seized beyond the Company's limits. His Majesty was not

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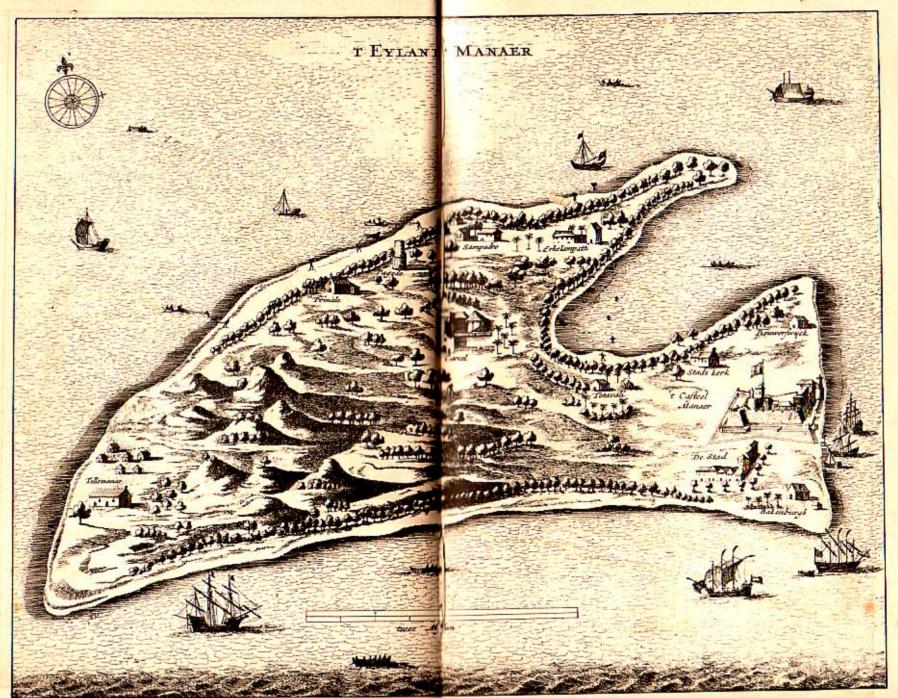
a little disturbed by this and in fact became so exasperated that he gathered all his force and tried all means to annoy and wreak his vengeance on our soldiery and people in the Zeven Corles, who very inadvisedly abandoned the place without any great necessity for doing so. But since the return however of the Honourable Governor Maatzuvker he managed to give security to Negumbo, the Gale Corle and Mature and their suburbs, and the inhabitants got our cinnamon cut and peeled and the wild elephants ensnared, he also saw the taxes and income of the land ensured to the Company, and even in some measure appeased Raja Singa Raja returns who then withdrew with his troops to the uplands, without however highlands. doing the least injury to the outposts and guards of the Portugezen, a clear proof that Raja and the Portugeesch were then under some secret understanding.

Matters remained thus until the year 1649 when His Excellency Maatzuyker procured the liberation of our prisoners from Candy [p. 144] which he effected by an efficient embassy, not to mention some presents. In the beginning of the year 1650 (after a well planned arrangement of the Hon. Maatzuyker) Rampot the King's Dissave left Gale and Mature on his own request. This act had tended to awaken the King's ire but he winked at it, and would not on that account resort to arms again. However on the commence- Raja declares ment of our wars with the Portugezen at the close of the year war against 1652 Raja simultaneously declared war against the Portugezen, Portugezen. chiefly so as to deal with Portugesche soldiery and some of the Manuel principal Burghers who were then in open revolt against their Mascarenna Homen was General Manoel Mascarenhas Homen and were holding his kept a person in durance.

This band of rioters having collected a force chiefly from the Columbo. uplands and elsewhere assembled them in Columbo, made a rapid march with 800 whites and some armed blacks to our fort Hollanders Angretotte, and after a siege of eleven days and the loss of lose many lives, the place was ultimately surrendered to the invaders on the 8th of January 1653 with 98 Duytsche, 24 Javanen and many lascarijns on condition of an equitable release. In the arrives late. interim we received a reinforcement of full 300 men and some natives. Such was however our situation then, that had we even contended for the recovery of our prisoners, the contest would have proved vain and unavailing, for the enemy was of

prisoner by

his people in



Map of Mannar.

Raia attacks the Portugezen.

The Portugezen recall their outposts to Columbo.

Twelve frigates come from Goa with a new General Francisco de Melo de Castro.

The Honourable Company receives no reinforcements.

The Governor Jacob Kittensteyn departs. [p. 145]

double the strength, and in advantageous positions, whilst our party was almost hedged around and had the enemy then made an attack on our retiring force, they would have given us a signal defeat (which, God be praised, did not happen). Raja Singa on hearing of our straitened circumstances at Angretotte sent his Dissave to attack and discomfit the enemy at Cottegore and all the outposts near about Columbo Pass. Hereupon the Portugezen Governor and the Capiteyn Moor recalled their troops from Reygam and Pasdum Corle to Columbo and quickly drove away the King's people, and made for our outpost of Negumbo and encompassed the 4 and 7 Corles or provinces, when Raja Singa advanced with a large force from the Ouvasche direction to Saffragam, the capital of the 5 Corles, and pursued the Portugeschen Dissave and some companies which were stationed there as far as Gurbeville, and hence we could now the better help each other so as to keep the lands of Gale and Mature undisturbed.

In the meantime there now arrived in Columbo on the 10th of May 12 frigates with a new General Francisco de Melo de Castro and a strong batch of officers and soldiers and all necessary stores from Goa and, (to our misfortune) 2 of our cruisers which had then just escaped had sailed for the Port of Gale owing to bad weather. Though the enemy had now received much accession of strength by the arrival of these ships, they were however more intent on ensuring the safety of their cinnamon peelers and other inhabitants than on any extraordinary measures with respect to ourselves.

Raja Singa seeing the Portugezen now supplied afresh with provisions in September 1653 from Tutecoriin, and that with the arrival of 4 of our ships we received not a single soldier to relieve our weary ones, and that the resignation of the Governor Jacob van Kittenstevn also approved of, and that at the end of October the Honourable Commissioner Rijklof van Goens on his way to Perzia and Zuratte with 4 of our ships via Ceylon had brought us no relief, he withdrew his pining and humbled army from Caravanella through the 4 and 7 Corles to Candy and there rested.

The Portugezen seeing themselves delivered of Raja's men came and showed themselves before Negumbo, with the better part of their force to inveigle and allure us, and to bring some

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profit to themselves, but not obtaining any advantage over us, they left on the 1st of the year 1654 and invested the Reigam and Pasdum Corle, where they began to rob cattle and crops, whereupon Major Jan van der Laan and his men were set to restrain them.

On the 20th March His Excellency Adriaan van der Meyde Heer left Gale for Caleture from whence on the 23rd he sallied out with van der such a force as he could have brought together for Berberin, Meyde Dodangodde and Tiboen to catch up with the Portugezen force. He fell in with them on the morning of the 26th in battle array, The where an exchange of shots took place for an hour's time (keeping annear ourselves however somewhat beyond the reach of the enemy's fire outside in order to induce them to advance), but they had not the heart to do so nor to quit their safe position. The number of the The wounded was much more on their side than on ours. We then and made a halt and took our meals at Tiboen and then made for Portugezen Caleture again, but the enemy crossed the river and cut their way meals at to Columbo abandoning the Company's lands.

There now arrived 5 galjoenen (galleys) with a reinforcement Five of 1000 men on board, to relieve the Portugeesch who were 1000 men to be seen by the rampart. They attacked 3 of our yachts, sent from the Windthont, Renocer and Dromedaris, yet they failed to master Columbo any one of ours though so near to the reef of Negumbo, and no engage 3 of sooner the enemy had lost their Capiteyn Moor, and found many of their men wounded they made sail for Columbo, whereupon our yachts sheltered themselves off the walls of the defence of Negumbo. This circumstance induced the Governor to return to Caleture again to consult his Council as to the best mode of proceeding in this emergency when it was resolved to abandon Caleture Caleture altogether, and resolutely stand for Negumbo for verily abandoned this was a very necessary expedient, for otherwise we were not in a for weighty position to protect our more considerable defences or to ensure the safety of our soldiers.

In the beginning of September we fortified the defence of Negumbo as much as it was possible for us to do so with men, but the enemy strengthened as they now were by the late arrival of fresh hands, left Galquisse and came and took possession of Caleture again, encamping themselves at Alicaon whilst we also (seeing that Negumbo was now watched by our yachts) with 200 soldiers, 80 Javanen and a large number of lascorijns protected our long

possessed lands, our cinnamon peelers and other inhabitants against all inconvenience as much as it was in our feeble power to do.

Hon. Commissaris R. van Goens comes from Persia and Zuratte with his fleet and damages Portugesche ships off Achiera and Cobo de Ramos.

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New supplies for the Hollanders in Ceylon.

The Hollanders cross the

A fight with Portugezen. Portugezen.

About this time the Heer Commissaris R. van Goens returned to Ceylon from Persia and Zuratte and had the good fortune to fall in with the enemy's galleys which he defeated near Cabo de Ramos and succeeded in the release of 20 of our Angeretotsche prisoners, and landed them at Gale. This resulted in the enemy being able to send only a few men with their frigates, as most of their ships were not only rendered much too crippled and helpless during the contest with the fleet of the said Heer van Goens but had been utterly destroyed off Achiera. Thus there was not much done on either side, nor on the part of the King until he had reinforced his army in July, when Bentotte was pitched upon as the place of rendezvous just immediately fronting the enemy's lines and separated only by the river. The Portugeesch sustained a loss of 30 whites and a few light crafts (called toniis) so that it had now somewhat cooled their ardour for any immediate attack to be made upon us to the prejudice of our harvests both of cinnamon and arecanuts, besides the capture of elephants, the principal sources of income from the Island to the Honourable Company.

There now arrived on the 13th September the yachts Tortelduyf, Roode Leeuw and the Cabbeljauw with provisions and 50 soldiers. On the 4th December we received by the yacht Koniin a further accession of 54 soldiers, who together with 150 seamen landed from 4 of our ships commanded by Heer Directeur Hendrik van Gent and which had touched at Gale for water. They now joined our force at Bentotte and early on the morning of the 16th December crossed the river of Alicaon between the two armies. then lying there at the distance of about 1/2 a mile, with 20 Cata-Alicaon river. panels (or country boats) 690 strong, including officers, privates, seamen, Javanen and Cingalezen without any opposition, but we were soon after met by a strong party of 300 picked white Portugezen, some Toupassen and Cingalezen, on whose nearer approach our native soldiers ran like hares. They were however brought back and stationed on the seashore. We were now for compelled to contending with our adversaries, and captured one of their brass their troops, guns weighing 1000 lbs. Though the Portugeesch fought most

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manfully, they were forced to withdraw their army to the upper side of Malvane and Columbo, leaving 60 dead on the spot and many severely wounded.

The enemy seeing that we made no further attempt upon Caleture, after paying their soldiers liberally, hurried to the uplands where in January 1655 they attacked and beat Raja's men, who were under the direction of the Dissave of the 4 Corles and then, with the force they had received from Jafnapatan and Manaar and a body of lascarijns, pursued the Dissave of the 7 Corles and drove his men to within the narrow defiles of Candy, also Raia's committing ravages amongst the peasantry on their way. The advance King's displeasure was so strongly excited at these proceedings, defeated by that he collected his force together and marched against them in April, but his advance troops were defeated by Gaspar Figeiro at Attapitin, which obliged the King to return to his capital, sorrow where he remained for a long time greatly depressed in spirit and absorbed in grief.

It was a peculiar blessing that the new General Anthonio de Souza Coutinho (under whose administration in 1656 Columbo was ceded to us) and whom we have fully referred to previously and who had experienced but little pleasure at this place, made the offing of Gale on the 18th of May with 8 frigates and 500 The soldiers, when our yachts the Leeuw and Konijn made all sail Hollanders after them, and luckily got 2 of the frigates in their clutches, with two frigates all the men and stock of provision on board, and ran 2 others and drive 2 more on shore. General Coutinho in fear ran his ship to Ponta das ashore. Pedras, so that only two of their frigates gained the Port of The new Columbo. He the General then came round to Columbo under Anthonio de a strong escort from Jafnapatan and Manaar via Putelaon, Calpentijn Souza and the 7 Corles in August following and shortly after assumed does not his office, when he went immediately with the great Commander arrive in Anthonio Mendes d'Arangie and inspected the defence of Caleture, is forced to where he left 300 stout soldiers and a body of blacks under Gaspar Ponta das Figeiro for its protection.

In this state of affairs there then arrived the Director General Fort overland Gerard Hulft (of blessed memory) and with him Mr. Jan van Jafnapatan. der Laan a gentleman well acquainted with Ceylonsche affairs and knowing too well how to take things in hand for the defeat of [D. 147] the enemy. About the middle of September we directed 2 or 3 of

Columbo but Pedras and leaves for the

our yachts then at Cape Comorijn to scout for the enemy's frigates which were dispatched from Columbo to Tutecoriin for provision and see them captured or hemmed within the islands. and also to make the Portugezen evacuate Caleture for they were well aware that the Director General had brought with him a large and respectable force on the Island and already landed them abreast of Negumbo and that it was his (the Director General's) intention to pay the Portugeesch a visit through the Montual river; but the enemy's armada consisting of 20 frigates and other vessels laden with all the necessaries of life from Jafnapatan and the Indiaansche coast, sailed past Negumbo (whilst our ships were then lying at anchor) and arrived at Columbo. Further, tidings reached Heer Hulft by one of our yachts of the arrival from Portugal of a new Viceroy with 3 galleys, a yacht and many men. Upon this information the General proposed to his Council an attack on these vessels between Marmagon or d'Agoada or to dispatch our vessels then lying at anchor in our bay to watch the return of the ships which were expected here with provisions. Whilst Heer Hulft himself with 4 ships and a large body of soldiers made for Berberijn and landed there on the 28th September and joined the encampment, when the conquest of Caleture followed soon after as has been clearly mentioned already.

A new Vicerov comes from Portugaal with many men. 3 galleons and a vacht.

A journey overland from Jafnapatan to Columbo.

It will be now high time that we quit Negumbo, which was left under the careful protection first of Major Jan van der Laan and subsequently under the Senior Merchant Eduart Hauw and pursue the route to Manaar. In 1661 I travelled from Jafnapatan to Columbo a distance of about 49 or 50 miles which took us 7 days to complete the journey. We leave Negumbo for the river of Chilauw via Cajuel crossing the lands of Madampe and Putelaon passing the island Calpentijn on one side of the road. We then came to Aripou where there is a Christian church (subsequently in our time attached to Manaar) and then, passing through the district of the Wannias, from the church of Mantotte we reach Jafnapatan: of the latter place we shall speak more specifically hereafter.

During the route it was observed that the cinnamon plants were only to be found from this side of the river of Chilauw downwards to Columbo, a circumstance invariably confirmed by

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the inhabitants, for in our travels after we had left Negumbo and crossed the river of Chilauw there was not any sign of the plant upto and beyond Jafnapatan. The lands all around had a fine Beautiful and beautiful appearance, excepting Calpentijn which appears somewhat barren. The lands about Madampe excelled them all, it only requires a population, for it lay then waste and wild, and infested with troops of buffaloes, if cared for the place would yield most plentifully.

We shall now speak of the Island of Manaar which was Description anciently attached to the continent, as the shallow straits designa- of Manaar ted Adams Brugh1 but too clearly indicates. Thereabouts lies the and how the Island Rammana Kojel,2 where there is a rich and famed Pagode won it in under the Teuver, who has also a defence there, within sight and 1658. close to the mainland. In good monsoons one can navigate with some light crafts through these narrow channels of Adams Brugh, as I myself have once done.

The aforesaid Island was conquered by the Hollanders3 under the direction of Heer Rijklof van Goens in 1658. The Portugeesch had carried out an entrenchment all along the sea shore, and had

collected all their forces together of not less than 1000 men, [p. 148] whilst a fleet consisting of 12 frigates were for protecting the roads. We called upon the name of the Lord for aid and assistance, and after mature deliberation had for landing our troops in the most available and fit locality, orders were then given for our large ships to approach the rampart as close as possible in order to effect a simultaneous landing, which was carried through, but not without meeting with strong opposition.

Lieutenant Hendrik van Wel, (then a sergeant) was the first who stepped on shore and bravely met his opponents; he was soon

1. i.e. Adams Bridge, the chain of sandbanks between India and Ceylon. The name is derived from the Arab belief that Adam and Eve entered

Ceylon through it. i.e. Rameswaram. Traditionally believed to have been built by Rama and dedicated to Siva on his return to India after defeating Ravana.

Baldaeus accompanied Van Goens' expedition against Mannar and Jaffnapatam in 1658 as chaplain to the troops. His descriptions of the capture of these two towns are therefore eye witness accounts. The Dutch captured Mannar and Jaffna as they did not feel secure in the Island so long as the northern provinces were in Portuguese hands and also for their economic value, Mannar giving control over the rich pearl banks and Jaffna being a centre for the capture of elephants and as a producer of chava root.

Dutch forces under Van Goens capture Mannai

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

joined by the rest of the men, in the meantime the Portugezen forces which rallied round for the relief of their comrades were so roughly greeted by the guns of our ships with round and case shots, that most of them were made to kiss the sea sand and had

speedy burial. It greatly tended to our advantage too, that the

Portugezen General Anthonio Amiral de Menezes, was shot through

his neck from a prince field piece, and Anthonio Mendes d'Arangie,

a brave chief and others severely wounded. We lost an ensign

and during the landing when the Portugezen captured our boat belonging to the yacht Naarden and also the energetic Lieutenant

N. Blok. At an earlier stage of the contest the Portugeesch ships whilst passing close to our fleet were also severely treated, and had lost many of their men, besides their wounded and ultimately

we deprived them of one and all of their frigates. Major van der

presence and corpulent as he was, he as was his wont gallantly charged through the enemy, and put them to flight thus manifesting his character for intrepidity and being in reality" the Terror of

Anthonio Amiral de Menezes General of the Portugezen hot dead.

The courage of Major Jan van der Laan. Laan most valiantly acquitted himself here, notwithstanding that a little before landing he met with a severe accidental fall in my

[p. 149] Flight

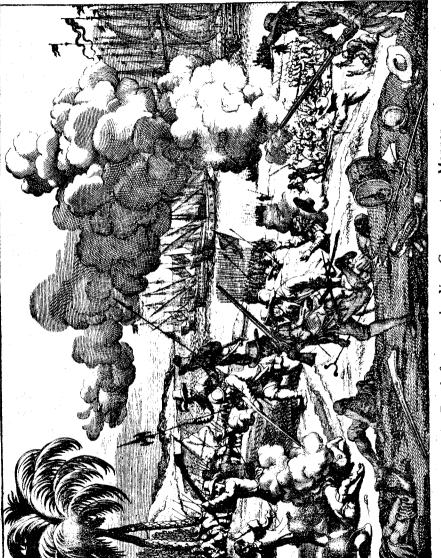
of the

The Portugeesch finding themselves reduced to such miserable straits, dared not trust to the Fort of Mangar any longer, so crossing the river they made their way to Jajnapatan, leaving Andrea Villossa with a handful of men in the Fort St. George, and were it not for the severe rains which prevented us from further pursuing the enemy we could have giving them a more decisive defeat, (but this is what followed).

the Portugezen", as he is commonly termed.

The Fort St. George of Manaar surrendered to the Hon. Company.

On the 22nd of February Andrea Villossa ceded to us the Fort St. George upon equitable terms, and not indeed without reason for he felt shamefully abandoned by his party and was himself in no situation to withstand our force. The number of their prisoners which fell into our hands were 200 Europeans and blacks, amongst whom we found a Caffer who made much of his rank as a Captain and resolutely refused to bear any arms or to remove earth as he was commanded to do, and insisted that he would rather submit himself to a sound thrashing than so degrade himself. This man appears however to be of a kindly disposition.



thanksgiving in the principal church, where there was a large

concourse of people assembled. I preached from 1 Samuel 7.7—

The 24th of the same month was observed as a day of public

Thanksgiving Service for the Manaar Victory.

Extraordinary courage of the Hollanders in the attack on Manaar and special divine protection.

Arrival of the

great ship

had been

drifting

Batavia

in great

distress.

Salamander

which on her

about between

and Manaar for 6 months not timid blacks.

Thus it had pleased God Almighty to so powerfully bless our arms, that we might say with Caesar of old "Veni, Vidi, Vici". that is, "I came, I saw, I conquered." This conquest was indeed remarkable when we consider that we had to land on the enemy's country and then to chase them away from their advantageous positions, notwithstanding our being the weaker party. For on our landing we had no other idea, but to conquer or be drowned and to bury our bones there. I know of no other instance with us, during the whole while I was in India, when so heroic an act of warfare was ever accomplished during our wars with the Portugeesch with such happy results, considering too, that the contending

We must reflect too, that we had yet to break through many difficulties and to face hard work in our endeavours to cross the river, and our troops too consisting of only 800 men (being the only capable ones there were) leaving in Columbo the weak and the defenceless in the expectation of the arrival of the great ship Salamander with men, arms and provision, but unfortunately this ship (which had on board the Commander Pieter de Bitter, Captain return voyage Peter Wasch, the Merchant Eduard Oooms, and the Merchant and field book-keeper Hendrick Roman and some other functiona? ries) had been tossed about here and there in the Maldivische Islands for full 6 months together in great distress, and eventually arrived at Columbo, when she was without much loss of time ordered out to proceed to Manaar by His Excellency Adriaan van der Meyde. On her arrival there, we were then already masters of that island and on the eve of proceeding with our army to Jafnapatan,

parties were Europaeanen on both sides, men inured to arms and

Before leaving Manaar however, we must say something respecting the situation of this Island.

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

Chapter Forty Three

Circumstantial description of Manaar. Introduction of the Christian religion there. Possibility of its being still further extended. Description of the lands of the Wannias. Our expedition to Jafnapatan. The troops cross the river. Defeat of the Portugezen. The carrying of the water castle.

ANAAR is so called both by the inhabitants and by How Manaar foreigners. The word man signifies in Malabaarsche gets its name. sand and aar a river, thus implying a sand river, for [p. 150] it is to be observed that in Cevlon they not only speak the Cingalesche but also the Malabaarsche languages, the former from On the Negombo to Columbo, Caleture, Berberin, Alican, Gale, Belligamme. Mature. Donders etc. But in all the other parts of the only the Island which are contiguous to the Choromandel coast, Malabaarsche is the prevailing language. I have heard it often Malabaarsche asserted by the inhabitants of Jafnapatan that, that part of the is also used. country was in times past peopled from the Choromandel coast and hence the dialect of their fatherland (which is situated so close to Cevlon); the probable accuracy of this account is borne out by the circumstance, that in the interior of the country as Candy, Vintane, Ballanev etc. the Cingalesche is the only language generally spoken.

Manaar is situated 9 degrees north of the equator, in length Situation of it is about a good five hours walk, and two in breadth including Manaar and how many the salt river which winds its course (as is to be seen in the charts) churches it to almost near the chief church of Carcel. In front of the fort, there runs a canal which admits the navigation of small light craft drawing 3, 4 and 5 feet of water, these vessels sailing to Jafnapatan. The fort was considerably improved in our time, The Fort of with a deep, wide and fine trench and in every respect rendered Manaar is more defensible than we found it when we took it from the by us. Portugezen.

There are on this isle 7 churches, one in each of the principal villages, the principal one being the town church, next come Tottavaly, Carcel, Erkelampatti, Pieter's Kerk in the fishers'

Cevlon not Cingalesche hut the

The Reformed Church and Church Home at Telipole.

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

quarters, Peixale and Tellemanaar being the furthest limit of the strand.

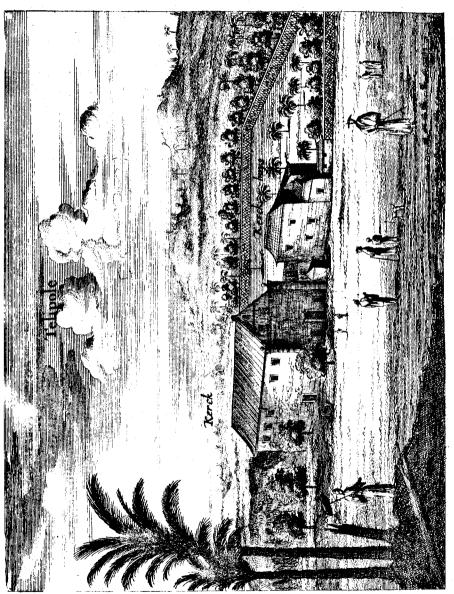
Pearl Fishery at Manaar.

This isle was famed in former times for its pearl fishery like *Tutecorijn* (as has been observed already); as no fishery of the oysters had however taken place for an interval of more than 11 or 12 years, the country was reduced to great poverty; that it was heretofore in a very affluent and flourishing state is easily ascertained from its stately buildings, its churches, monasteries and unique ornaments. In the year 1666 (after my departure) a good and rich fishery took place there (for the first time after the place fell into the hands of the Company), as I have learnt from the letters of some of my friends in *India*, and subsequently I heard from others on their return home that in 1669 there was another successful diving for pearls.

The languages spoken by the inhabitants.

Martyrs for the Christian faith.

The inhabitants of this isle speak, besides Malabaars the Portugeesch language also, and have long since been converted to Christianity, for which they were much persecuted by the King of Jafnapatan, and some of the Christians suffered the most cruel deaths and martyrdom so that those poor creatures the converts were in the first instance baptized with water, and shortly after with blood. Many came across to the continent and betook themselves to Goa, a distant journey of more than 100 miles. Amongst them there was a princely youth who with the



^{1.} The first Catholic missionaries, as distinct from priests working for the Portuguese population, were a group of Franciscan friars who arrived in Ceylon in 1543. Working in the territory of the Kotte Kingdom they had according to Queyroz, converted over 3000 persons within a few years. After the throne of Kotte passed to the Catholic Dharmapala in 1551, conversion proceeded apace, missionary work now receiving the active support of the State. In the 17th Century the Franciscans were supplemented by other religious orders and on the Dutch conquest in 1658 the Portuguese left behind in Ceylon a very large Catholic population. Catholicism first came to northern Ceylon in 1542 when St. Francis Xavier began preaching on the coasts of South India, News of his good work came to Mannar and the people invited St. Francis to Ceylon, This the great preacher could not do, but he sent a colleague who baptised a large number of persons in Mannar. The King of Jaffina Sankili, within whose territory Mannar fell, did not approve of his subjects becoming converts to the religion of the Portuguese invaders against whom he was fighting hard to maintain the independence of his kingdom, and he sent an army to Mannar which put 600 converts to the sword. Sankili's action considered from his political viewpoint and taken together with similar atrocities committed by the Portuguese at the same time could not be termed entirely unjustified. Baldaeus' statement that St. Francis Xavier himself preached in Ceylon is not correct.

The Reformed Church and Church House at Mallagam.

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

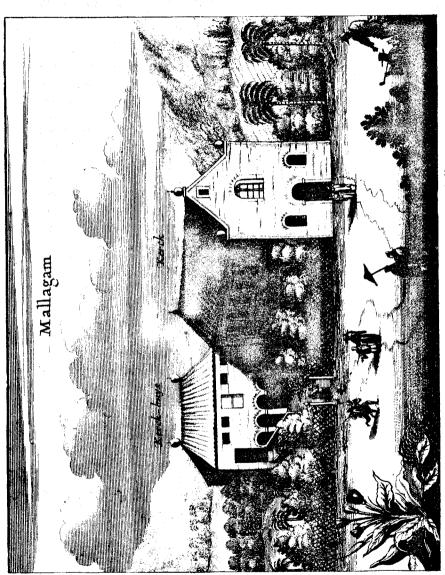
rest of the fugitives received every religious instruction there.

These people as well as the Parruas¹ and others residing on the borders of the strand who went from Cape Comorijn to that island, were in the first instance taught and baptised by Francisco Xavier, as can be more fully learnt and ascertained from the description of the coast of India, and the histories of his life published in the Latinsche, Italiaansche and Portugesche languages. The aforesaid Xavier appointed teachers called canacappels all over the place for instructing the youths in the first rudiments of religion, such as the Ten Commandments, and the Creeds the Our Father. They laboured with great earnestness and unwearied zeal, but the only thing to be regretted was that underlying it all were Romish vanities. After him there came the Jezuyten2 designated Paulisten because they were sent out to India by Pope Paulus III, who laboured hard here, excelling in zeal and good disposition and in their morals, fitted to instruct the youth, as well as to attract the older ones and surpassing the Franciscan and other orders. For I must confess, that I approved of all their maxims and followed their footsteps in my reorganisation of all the schools and churches of Manaar and Jafnapatan, so far only as it was consistent with the doctrines and tenets of our own worship and religion, and as far too, as it was calculated to suit the nature and capabilities of the nation, for it is very necessary in a teacher, that he shall know the pupils he had to deal with, so as not to encumber immature would be Christians with difficult problems, tedious questions and deep secrets, but lay before them the bare simple truths in as short and concise a manner as

Francis
Xavier's zeal
for the
conversion of
the heathens
of Manaar
and
elsewhere

[p. 151]

Considerations necessary on the part of teachers sent to India.



The parruas were the fisher caste originally from South India. They also supplied divers for the pearl fishery. Pieris, The Kingdom of Jaffnapatam. p. 65

^{2.} The first Jesuits arrived in Ceylon in April 1602. Since the work of evangelising Ceylon had been already entrusted exclusively to the Franciscans there was some initial opposition to them but soon the Jesuits came to play a major part in the work of conversion. As in other countries the Jesuits began in earnest with education, establishing first elementary schools and later colleges in the major towns. As missionaries the Jesuits were far more successful than the other religious orders and the areas in which Catholicism is strongest in Ceylon even today are those which were entrusted exclusively to them—Chilaw, Negombo, Kalpitiya, Moratuwa etc. The Jesuits were followed in Ceylon by two other religious orders, the Augustinians who arrived in 1606 and the Dominicans who came shortly after. See S. G. Perera, Jesuits in Ceylon and R. Boudens, introduction to Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch Rule.

possible, both verbally as well as in writing, which will be easily caught and impressed in the minds of the learner, especially those of this country, who are so wonderfully ready to learn anything new and store it in their memories; wherefore constant catechising and other oral instructions should then be perservered in, in the presence of people of mature years, who hearing the praises of God from the lips of children, will be stung to the heart with shame and be induced to follow their example, and thus gradually arrive at a state of perfection, for the planting and establishing of churches are not the work of a day or two, Esdr 10.13, as inculcated by Paulus, (St. Paul) that we must in the first instance lay the foundation of the knowledge of Christ, and then carry it on to perfection. He then points out what those first principles are, repentance to God, and the renouncing of evil works, faith in God, the doctrine of baptism, the laying on of hands, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment. It is also very necessary for the extension of our religion, that all the native converts do not only possess some slight knowledge of it, but likewise live accordingly and not swerve therefrom, for were every new minister on their arrival on the Island to change and prescribe another formulary, it cannot but tend greatly to encumber the minds of these poor people, and be productive of confusion and dissension to the Church of God. I have accordingly on taking over the reformation of the churches on the request of government compiled for the use of the people the principal precepts of our religion along with questions and answers which were afterwards used not only in the Churches of Jafnapatan and Manaar, but in the Churches of Gale, Columbo, Negumbo and Mature, and on its being approved by the General and Council of India and His Excellency the Governor, it was generally adopted for instruction, as will appear by an act passed in a general assembly on the Ceylonsche church affairs held in Columbo in the year 1659 from and questions the 24th February to 3rd May.

[p. 152] All variations in catechism do much harm to God's word and were not tolerated of old, there being also Indian versions.

How the

be first introduced.

Native

Christians should

have terse.

religion and

succinct.

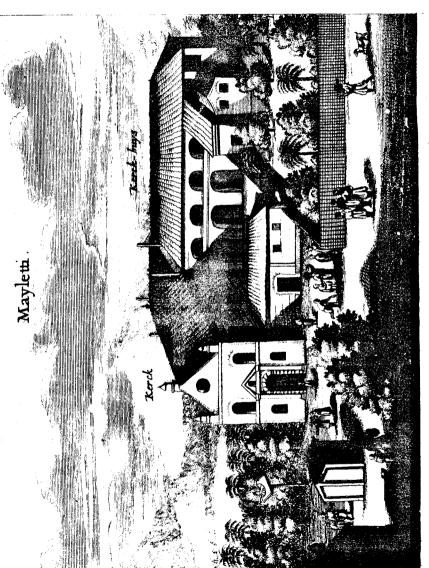
definite teaching of

can later reach higher

levels.

Gospel should

This was a very serviceable and necessary work, which under God's blessing has been productive of much fruit. We have seen the bad effects of the various changes of doctrine which have taken place with the new arrival of ministers at Formoza, and it had been much better had we but followed the footsteps of D. Roberti Junii and Georgii Candidy and built upon the



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foundation laid by them, but it is to be hoped, and meanwhile the authorities must now carefully watch all such innovations and changes. And these catechisms had not only to be circulated in the Portugesche language which is much used in these quarters, but also in the Malabaarsche version as it is now the case, and upon the request of our reverend the brethren in Columbo, Gale and Negnapatan a large supply of these manuscript copies were forwarded to them.

The surest and most efficient means of setting forth the truths of the Gospel are not so much to teach the people the Nederlandtsche language but for a minister to learn theirs, for in the former case, it would take a long time and be attended with expenses, as experienced elsewhere; it is besides more befitting that a teacher or minister masters the language of his congregation, rather than for the congregation to learn the language of their minister. So it behoves also, that the ministers walk not vice versa. circumspectly and maintain a good understanding with the authorities and thus be held in respect.

In Manaar fish are very plentiful.

The predikants

must learn

inhabitants

the language of the

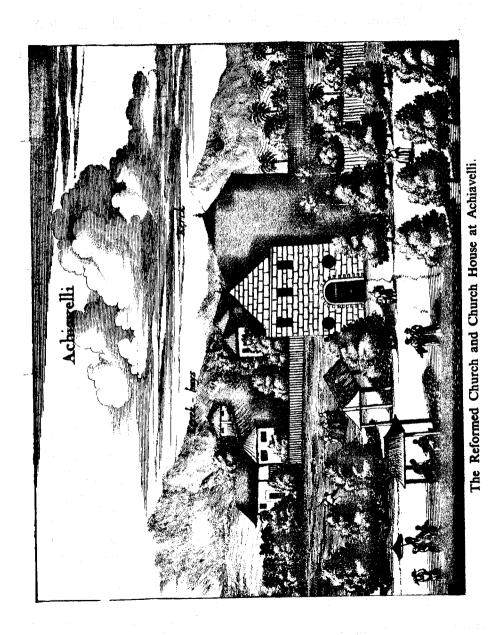
A wonderful fish at Manaar.

Description of the lands of

The Island of Manaar is productive of an abundance of fish, which not only serves the inhabitants for their sustenance, but they know also how to dry it for exportation to other places. There are here a species of fish which could be given no better name than "sea calf", it is amphibious, and the females have milk in their breasts, and, when well dressed for food, far surpasses the steur in Hollant, and the person partaking of it might well believe that he is feasting on good veal.1

It is now high time that we should quit Manaar and pass over the river to Mantotte; the river itself is not deep and the canal which skirts the fort as adverted to already might then be waded through knee deep, which will occupy half an hour's time. These lands are called the Wannias and are attached to Manaar and are under the control of the Honourable Company. the Church of Manaar the total amounts to 14 churches which are under the care and tutelage of the minister residing on the said island, who inspects them monthly.

The Wannias live on very good terms with the Company and regularly pay their taxes and bring their elephants likewise, but



^{1.} The dugong is being referred to.

they should invariably be treated with gentleness and forbearance. for they would fain not see Raja become their enemy, nor be on unfriendly terms with the Company.

Early in March 1658 after the conquest of Manaar we marched to Jafnapatan through these lands (leaving a good garrison at the former place for its protection). The boundary of Mantotte begins north of the salt river near the village Peringaly stretching southwards on the borders of the sea as far as the river Aripouture where the confines of Mousilipatto commences near the village of Aripou, stretching southwards to the hills of Condremale facing the bay just opposite the Island of Calpentiin leaving Mantotte abreast of the land Setecoulang, where there are 6 villages appertaining to Manaar, 6 to Jafnapatan and 5 to Mantotte.

[p. 153]

Description of the

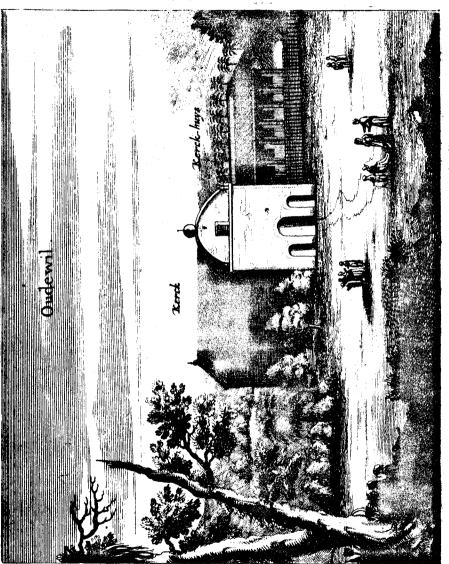
Wannias.

The rest of Mantotte and Mousilipatte stretch further eastwards to the great forest where its confines and boundaries terminate, giving to Mantotte 64, Mousilipatte 14, and to a portion of Setecoulang 6 villages, in all 84 villages. These lands are extremely fertile and calculated for the growth of rice, yea it thrives so well that a stalk has been often found to yield a hundred fold, but the place is open to the depredations of elephants where no habitations are near.

Comparision of the various seasons prevailing around Caap Comorijn and Ceylon at the same time.

It is remarkable (as Joan de Lucena likewise observed in his work of the life of F. Xavier) that when there prevails winter on the one side of Caap Comorijn, there is summer on the other side. so that one can soon shift himself from winter to summer and vice versa. Such is the case in Cevlon too. For when the winter and rainy seasons set in about Jafnapatan, the Wannias, and Manaar, namely in October, November and December, the summer then prevails and there is the finest weather and whilst in the months of April and May there prevail the greatest drought in Jaffna for six or seven months together, there is then heavy rain at Columbo, Gale, and the adjacent lands. In these lands which are flat and low, and not so hilly as the other parts of Ceylon, there but 2 winds in prevail generally but 2 winds; about Columbo, Gale and other places, we have the land wind at night, and the sea breeze during the day, as on the continent of India, the Malabaar and highland have Choromandel coasts. From April to October there prevails a strong south wind with a clear sky, and a bright sun shines, and

Jafnapatan and the Wannias have the year, the North and the South, but the sea and land breezes.



from November to April the north wind, but during January. February and March there prevails a great calm with an oppressive heat and a copious fall of dew during the night which is very pernicious to health, so that the inhabitants after sunset generally keep under the roofs of their houses. How wonderfully has the Lord God ordained for these lands these invigorating winds which by their cooling breezes reduce the great warmth and the burning sunshine, otherwise not easy to endure.

[p. 154] Passage of our troops through Manaar and Jafnapatan.

Our forces now got clear of the lands of the Wannias in all good order, and though we were much straitened for provisions. yet we did not in the least become a burden to the inhabitants. but helped ourselves most sparingly, by dealing out to each of our soldiers a small quantity of rice from a coconut shell, and as we now saw our men weary owing to the continued long march, and that they must needs be rendered more depressed in spirits were they to continue their march all along the side of the river which would occupy a whole day, and thus render them unfit for fighting the enemy who were continually on the watch for us, we Ferriedacross decided to have the men ferried over the river in as many of the light boats as were procurable, the river being of the width of only one and half hours going.

the river.

Here we were really in a sad plight, whilst the enemy were awaiting us on the other side of the river knowing too well that we can only at the utmost get 200 or 300 of our men ferried over the river at one time, and that there was on the other side of the water a deep bog; as we have subsequently been informed, that of two elephants, who found their way here from some of the districts about Jafnapatan in quest of food, and after they got clear of the river, one of them had got stuck fast in the mire. and it was afterwards killed by the inhabitants of the place, for these elephants cross the water in search of food when the wild palm trees are in bearing, they trample on the roots with their feet and then with their posteriors they cause the trees to fall and satisfy their appetite filling their stomachs and intestines with the fruits and leaves.

Landing of aur soldi ers at a f napatan.

We nevertheless succeeded without meeting with any opposition, in safely landing our first batch of troops who immediately got into position, for we understood that the enemy had been there the previous day, surmising that we would navigate the

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

whole extent of the river and then proceed dry-shod. When all our men were safely landed, we pushed onwards. We were courteously met by the inhabitants and plentifully supplied by them with the necessaries of life, as well as with all kinds of fruits. We proceeded further on and reached the principal church of the province Tenmarache called Chavagatzery where we partook of our meals, and then left it the same day with 2 of our field pieces for Navacouli (which lay at a distance of 2 hours march from the town and fort of Jafnavatan) where the troops halted for the night.

On the following morning after prayers had been offered up by me for the people, we marched to the river, where we expected to meet with resistance, but there being nothing of the sort, we made our way further up and by the evening came close to the fort in the vicinity of the Church of Sundecouli, here we Fight between came in collision with the Portugeesch, and swept off many of Portugezen them. Our troops rested for the night in and about the said church. The next day we broke into and entered the town. which we found not well and sufficiently walled, but furnished with strong and large houses having thick walls (built in the Portugezen style), here we sent adrift the enemy from street to street, and pierced the walls with our heavy brass guns, so that we approached hourly nearer and nearer the fort, and on the 9th of [p. 155] March we took possession of the principal church and convent of the Jesuiten lying west of the town, and on the 18th the church and convent of the Dominicanen on the east side of the town. Prayers of thanksgiving were offered up to the Almighty the very next day the 19th from Psalm 20 v.7.

Having thus driven off the enemy to his nest, and the Lord God having lent us 2 churches, wherein to hold our divine service in the fore and afternoons of the sabbaths, and for the instruction of the people, as well as good and permanent dwellings to live in during the remainder of the siege there was abundant cause for penitent thankfulness, and to say with Jozua Chap. 24. vs. 13. And "I have given you a land for which ye did not labour; and cities which ye built not, and yet dwell in them: of the vineyards" (which there were, and still are in abundance) "which yet planted not do you eat." The enemy being now thus driven away from their houses, they had no alternative left them



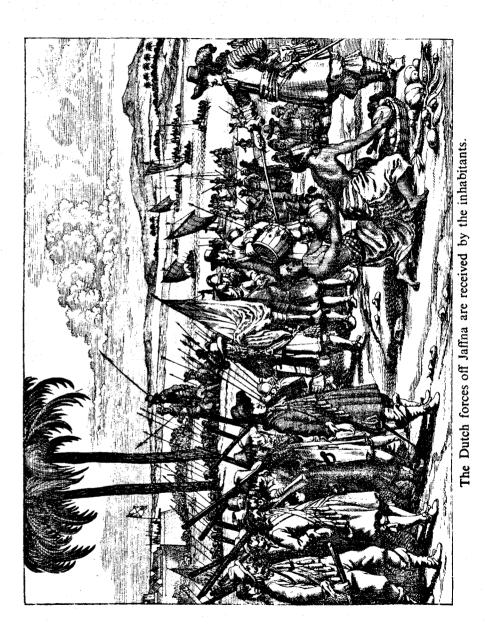
but to go to the fort, where besides the *Portugeesch* many other people of the place also had taken shelter, so that they were much in each other's way and suffered great hardship.

For an early conquest of Jafnapatan, and for further pressing the enemy and interfering with their supplies it was now necessary that we become first masters of a certain fortress which stood in the middle of the river near the mouth of the sea, and was useful for controlling the ingress and egress of all vessels. This stronghold was built at the time of Anthonio Amiral de Menezes, and is the key of Jafnapatan. It was a very desirable object indeed, that there had been such a defence at point Calmon for there would then have been no possibility of ships approaching the fort, and they could have been easily overpowered. Hence we detached a respectable force to the Island Ourature for mastering the said defence, which was then strongly garrisoned and under the command of Hieronimo de Paiya.

[p. 156]

At Ourature there was a Portugees defence formerly (as is still to be seen by its ruins) but as it stood much too far from the water castle we were obliged to open our fire from the Island of Caradiva: but owing to the strength and thickness of its walls, and the distance we could not effect a breach. It was then resolved to attack it with our ships, and with the aid of gabions, parapets and artillery, but we did not do so however before the following letter was previously dispatched to the Chief in Command there.

The Cays Fort is demanded. "Forasmuch as it has graciously pleased the Almighty, hitherto to bless and prosper all our endeavours and whilst we rest assured that (by His divine assistance) you will no longer be able to withstand or resist the force of our arms, we thought it proper therefore, consistent with the rules of warfare and Christian usage, to communicate with you, and to demand of you, as we now do in the name and on behest of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, the Honourable Directors of the Chartered East India Company, His Excellency Governor General Joan Maatzuyker and the Honourable the Council of India, the surrender of this your



The fortress is situated in the channel between the island of Ouratore and Caradiva. Baldaeus subsequently refers to it by its Portuguese name of 'Cays'. The Dutch renamed it Hammen-hiel.

Fortress of Cays. Your continued resistance and your heroic and manly conduct hitherto displayed must now prove unavailing, considering your wants. Resist then not the will of God, and our power, we offer you at the same time all that is consistent with honourable and soldierly treatment. But should you on the contrary prove refractory and be disposed to test our power, we do protest in the sight of God and all Christendom for all the evil consequences which there then await you, being resolved (should it please God to grant us the victory) to observe the most stringent military discipline, nor listen to any terms of agreement with you. Your intrepid and gallant conduct has been sufficiently evidenced to on astonishment. Be then wary in your counsel, whilst we shall await an answer within 3 hours time by the bearer hereof, or by anybody else whom you might be pleased to send with him, whom we pledge our word to protect and permit to have free access to us.

In conclusion we remain either friend or foe.

In the camp 19th April 1658.

(Signed) The Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Hollandtsche forces by land and sea.

Reply of the Commanaer of Cays to the demand.

This letter on being translated by me into the *Portugesche* language was dispatched to the enemy but they thought (*Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps*) which is "How sweetly can he whistle, to wheedle us into the net." Their reply was therefore couched thus: That the defence in question belongs to his lord and master the King of *Portugaal*, and that he will defend the place for his King with the last drop of his blood. That he can do no more than what is permitted him by God, and as for our threats they feared them not.

Thus circumstanced, we were then for resorting to extreme measures but may God save us the necessity to storm it, which no doubt would be very costly to the Company but the great scarcity of water, and to some extent the timely removal of all the wealthy females from Jafnapatan to Negnapatnam had compelled them to surrender the place to us, as they had no wells within the walls but only some wooden cisterns, which, too, our shells had shattered to fragments, but during our government there were constructed many capacious reservoirs for holding water not only here but also at Manaar.



[p. 157]

Jaffna-

patnam's

strong and high

ramparts.

Damage to the enemy

large stones

were shot.

from our

mortars wherefrom

The Cays Fort compelled to surrender for lack of water. Thanksgiving Service.

Reasonable conditions were proposed by the enemy. Their troops had to march out with their equipment, with loaded muskets and lighted match-cords, and had to be transported to Europa. The chieftain who was a married man, and had a family of children had to be removed to India or the Choromandel coast. I held a service of thanksgiving over this conquest on the 28th April preaching from Psalm 46.8. Those who displayed conspicuous gallantry in this siege were the Commander Cernelis Rob de Jonge, (since dead 2 years ago at Amsterdam) Captain Petrus Wasch, who fell subsequently at Cochin, and the nobleman N. van Rheede.

Chapter Forty Four

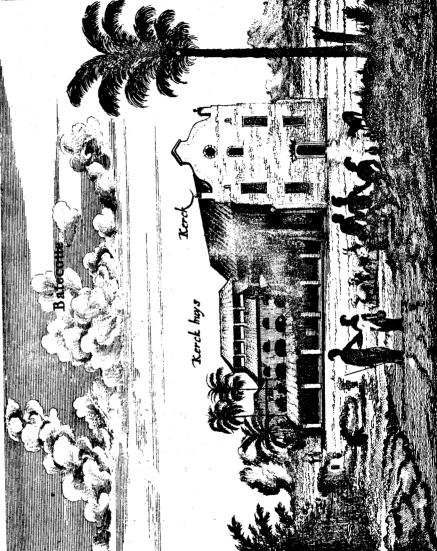
Sequel of the siege of Jafnapatan. Action at sea before Goa. Frequent encounters between the Hollanders and Portugezen. The surrender of Jafnapatan. Conditions. Attempted treachery of the Portugezen discovered by a toepas. The provinces of Jafnapatan. Its churches.

delay to exhaust and embarrass the enemy. By so wearing them down and by the throwing of heavy stones from our mortars and by means of our fire-balls we caused no small loss and damage to the enemy.

The enemy perceiving their situation becoming more and more straitened daily, and their stock of provisions and necessaries

EING now returned to Jafnapatan we considered the probabilities there. We saw that the fort was not to be taken by storm, owing to the unusual height of its walls, nor was it to be effected by mines, owing to its rocky soil when dug out a little, nor was it to be levelled with the thunderings of our cannon owing to the triple thick walls, which would not yield to the heaviest of our cannon shots, and powder had likewise become a scarce article with us, so that we found it advisable to await the slow development of time and follow the counsel of the Emperor Karels "Yo, y El Tiempo Para Dos Outros" and to make time available to our purpose, and by





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at Paneteripou Church House

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The enemy's boats try to get foodstuffs from the Islands but are prevented.

reducing, an attempt was now made by them for venturing out with their vessels to the adjacent Isles in order to procure food, but they soon met with opposition from our people, and they hastily returned. On this and many other similar occasions much credit is due to the courage and manliness displayed by Ysbrandt Godskens a native of 's Gravenhage, then filling the post of merchant in the Honourable Company's service, but at present Director of Trade in Persia and Lieut. Barent Clebont then a Lieutenant and now a Captain in Jafnapatan; both these gentlemen were wounded, the former in his mouth, and the latter on the knee. The Portugeesch were however, consoling themselves and making much boast in imaginary expectation of soon obtaining relief from Goa, for they dispatched from their garrison a letter by the hand of a toepas, Ignatio Feras a native of Trinquenemale, to the address of the Chief Commander of their ships, but this black deserted to us, and we had a respectable force in readiness to prevent the landing of any reinforcement should they be sent out, but nothing of the kind ever transpired.

A toepas comes over to us with a letter from the fort.

Sea-fight off Goa.

ders prevail, the galleon S. Thomas being burnt. Thanksgiving Service.

[p. 158] Repeated encounters between the Portugezen and the Hollanders in 1658.

On the contrary we have been informed of an engagement which had taken place on the 23rd of March at the Bar of Goa between our Commander Adriaan Roothaas and the Portugezen, The Hollan- and of the destruction of one of the enemy's galleys S. Thomas by fire, whilst many others had been rendered quite helpless by our guns; all which destroyed the hopes of those in Goa of sending relief to Jafnapatan. Over this victory a sermon of thanksgiving was preached by me in our church on the 26th of May 1658 from Exodus 15. 9.

> From a letter of the very learned Reverend Dr. Theodorus Zas, then at Malacca but formerly attached to our fleet before Goa, I have received further intelligence of a protracted action which had taken place on the 20th January, 1658 between our fleet and ten of the Portugeesch galleys and some frigates and that they only parted company at night with but little loss and of their second encounter on the 27th and 29th of the same month, which ended again in their separation with small loss on both sides. That on the 3rd February, while the enemy was bearing down for another attack upon us, that they were driven back to their castle. And that during the whole of the 3 attacks the general loss sustained by us was only 9 killed and a few wounded. This letter was dated



on board the ship *Phoenix* cruising off the Bar of *Goa*. 11th February 1658: It was signed:—

Your Honour's dutiful friend and colleague.

Theodorus Zas.

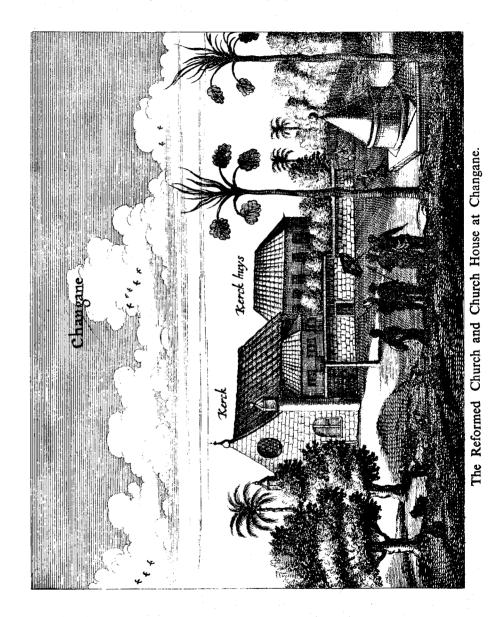
Our troops had not only surrounded Jafnapatan with ditches and batteries, but the enemy were so straitened and also disheartened regarding there being no egress or ingress through the river for any of their vessels, that seeing themselves thus without help or relief, there was seen on the 21st of June issuing from the south east side of the fort a flag of truce, with an offer to come to terms with us, which were accordingly entered into on the 22nd. The chief articles were the following:

Jafnapatan surrenders.

Conditions agreed to.

The troops had to march and quit the fort with flying banners, charged muskets and a field piece, and were to be sent to Europa. Their chiefs and other officers were to receive honourable treatment and sent to their respective stations. The ecclesiastics had to be transported to the Choromandel coast. The enemy were not allowed to take with them their gold, silver and other costly goods but had to surrender them to the victors. The married were also to go with them, as they were also for the most part subsequently shipped off via Malacca for Batavia.1

The Governor Joan de Melo, Leonardo D'Oliveiro, Controller of Revenue and Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha left the fort then with other high officers, and Rodrigo Boralho handed over the keys of the defence to Major van der Laan. The enemy found themselves unequal to dragging the desired gun. Two full days were spent over the evacuation. A large body of soldiers had now laid down their arms and banners in front of the Honourable Company's standard. There was also a considerable body of Burghers, including Gaspar Figeiro (the plague and scourge of the Cingalezen and the perdition of the Portugezen in his defeat at Paneture), many women and children, blacks, whites and a



The Portugezen take two days to evacuate the fort.

^{1.} Dr. Goonewardena notes that the terms of the capitulation of Jaffna were much harder than those of Colombo and were besides dishonourably kept by Van Goens. Thus for example article 4 said that all officers of the rank of Captain and above should be sent to Goa. Van Goens instead sent them to Batavia to prevent them from augmenting the Portuguese forces on the mainland against whom he was to turn his army after capturing Jaffna. Ibid. p. 180.

Many people had died during the siege.

News of this victory conveyed to His Excellency the General and the Council by Pieter de Bitter.

Great stench and mess in the fort. Necessary repairs effected. [p. 159]

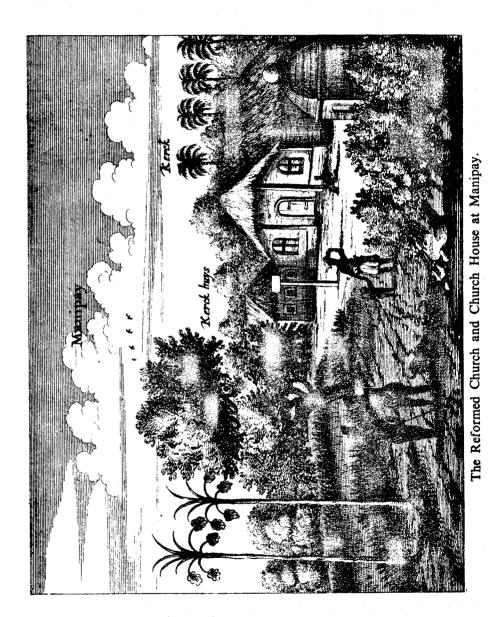
The Portugezen who had been given employment by the Hon. Company treacherously plot to kill the Hollanders and capture the fort.

medley of old and young people, 40 or 50 monks and friars of various orders *Franciscanen*, *Jesuiten* and *Dominicanen*, (not to mention that during the 3½ months siege there occurred more than 1600 deaths).1

There was now dispatched to Batavia via Malacca Captain Pieter de Bitter to communicate this happy intelligence to His Highness the Honourable General Joan Maatzuyker and the Honourable the Council of India. On the 23rd June a thanksgiving sermon was delivered by me from Exodus 17. 15 and it has ever since become a custom with us to commemorate that day every year. In the fort everything was in remnants from the havoc caused by our grenades and by the stones from our mortars, and there prevailed such a stench as could not be endured.

The wells were immediately cleared of all impurities, the heaps of dirt and rubbish removed, the church and houses repaired, and the place planted with 2 or 300 coconut trees, and many dwelling houses which stood too close to the canal and the fort pulled down. There were employed in this work 3000 coelijs and as an encouragement to ensure the services of such a vast body of labourers (there were usually 300 of them only employed daily in the service of the King of *Portugaal*) we abolished the duty on their tobacco. The Senior Merchant *Jacob van Rhee* a most active and able man, was then temporarily appointed chief of the place. (He died later at *Batavia*).

Shortly after, our troops left on an expedition for invading the fort of Negnapatan on the Choromandel coast, leaving but a small garrison of soldiers at Jafnapatan, consisting chiefly of Portugezen, who forgetting their old allegiance to the King of Portugaal, had enlisted in the Company's service, besides a large portion of prisoners of war who had been confined in the fort. These men now plotted together with the natives (not without the knowledge of Raja Singa too) to extirpate us from the land. Their wild scheme was that whilst I was busy preaching outside the fort in the Portugeesch language, to massacre all the principal



 [&]quot;At the conclusion of the siege of Jaffna, 3500 persons emerged from this enormous castle, consisting of 800 Portuguese, 200 white women, 300 armed toepas and kaffirs, 600 natives from Malabar, 300 slaves, male and female and 1200 sick people." Pieris, The Dutch Power in Ceylon p. 25.

of some conspirators against the Dutch in Jaffna execution

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officers who were there then present, whilst their comrades in the fort were at the same time to kill the main guards and take possession of the fort, nor was this a very difficult task for them to have effected had it not pleased the Almighty to confound their plan, and bring their counsel to nought.

It happily fell out, that during the sermon, Don Manoel Andrado, (a Cingalees chief and Modliaar in the employ of the Company's service) and 17 other persons in his company and with whom he usually associated were then just standing at the portal of the church, without enterng it, as they could from there well hear and understand the sermon. He was, he said (as subsequently related), struck at the moment with some strange presentiment of the murderous intention of the Portugesche the more so, as he then observed those who stood near him constantly lay their hands on their weapons, or as they say "Cinco Palmas". Meanwhile seeing Don Andrado and his people not enter the church, they in like manner refrained from entering it. These wicked designs lay concealed for a few days when the whole plot was revealed by a toepas to the Chief Jacob van Rhee who immediately ordered that a good watch be kept, and had the fort gate closed, and the persons of the conspirators secured. I who was then absent from town on a clerical visitation of the churches was called for by a letter, and on my arrival I was made acquainted how that by God's providence the said plot was discovered and the conspirators secured for the punishment so justly due for their crime. Thus we The Lord God had great reason for thankfulness to God, for this gracious deliverance; a sermon to that effect was preached by me, on 15 Sept. 1658 in the presence of all our people from Esther 9. vs 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24.

The treachery was disclosed by a toepas.

publicly thanked.

The traitors punished with death.

[p. 160]

An investigation into the affair soon after took place and when everything was satisfactorily established from the mouths of the culprits themselves, they were then severally sentenced to be hung, decapitated and exposed on cross-bars. The arch-mover of this godless plot was a native of Manaar and he and one Don Louys and another Portugeesch, these three were made fast to the rack, and then struck with an axe, first on their throats and then on their breasts, and their hearts taken out, and thrust in their treacherous faces. A Jesuit friar named Caldero a native of Malacca, was beheaded. This man was prevented by illness



Pitiable case of a Jesuit Friar.

from accompanying the other ecclesiastics on their departure from the Island as if destined for this fate. He was in some respects to be pitied indeed, for he had no direct hand in this shameful transaction, yet there was a letter which the conspirators had addressed him, styling him Padre de Suas Almas, or Father of their Souls, in which they made known to him their abovesaid intention, but he did not deliberately share in the godless plot, yet his better feelings did not at the same time permit him to betray his own countrymen, a fatal silence, which he broke with his life. The rest of the culprits eleven in number were executed on a triple scaffold, the recompense they sought for; to prevent however any recurrence of the thing, the rest of the prisoners were sent out of the Island. The corpses of the sufferers were left suspended on trees as prey for the fowls of the air, and the heads of the principal agitators in this abominable affair were fixed on stakes and exposed in the public market as a warning to others.

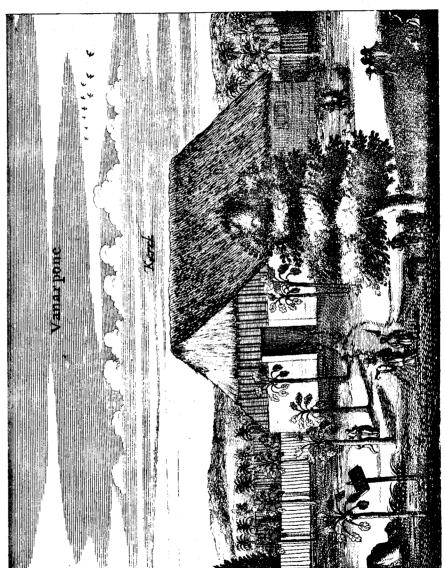
The Kingdom of Jafnapatan ruled by the Portugezen for 40 years having been the King of Candy by Philippo d'Olivero near Achiavelli. A wonderfully deep and wide well at Achiavelli.

Breadth and length of Jafnapatan.

[p. 161]

The Fort of Jafnapatan is a square surrounded with strong high walls as the print exhibits, it is larger than the Fort of Batavia and is the capital of the entire kingdom. It remained under the Portugezen sway for upwards of 40 years, wrested from the captured from Emperor by Philippo d' Olivero when he defeated the Cingalezen forces near Achiavelli by the great pagode, where there are still to be seen its ruins and a wonderfully large and wide well, deep and round and its centre 24 fathoms deep, truly a wonderful work hewn out of a huge rock (or, as the inhabitants would have it, split and laid open by thunder)1. When we come to speak of the Islands of Jafnapatan, we shall give the reader some similar intances.

> Jafnapatan is divided into 4 provinces and is very thickly inhabited. It is in length a 12 hours journey and 6 in breadth. All along the road we see the place adorned with its villages and churches. These villages amount to 159 and belong to 34 of the native churches, including the Nederlandtsche and the Portugesche ones. To the north of Jafnapatan there washes the great ocean and the river runs southwards giving it the appearance of an Island and discharging into the sea at both ends.



^{1.} Apparently the well at Puttoor is being referred to.

It has 4 provinces.

The Telipole Church.

Reformation of all the village and subordinate churches of Jaffnapatnam The First Lord's Supper for the Indians.

Progress in Christianity and increase through catechism.

Curious question from an Indian of Telipole. [p. 162] The following are its several provinces — Belligamme, Tenmarache, Waddemarache and Patchiarapalle. The province Belligamme has 14 churches of which the principal one is that of Telipole. It is a large roomy building with 2 rows of well-built pillars, a stately house, built by the Jesuiten in earlier days, also a very pleasant garden and compound, with a rich vineyard and all kinds of Indian fruits, besides fine wells of water. In August 1658 I have for the first time introduced here the doctrines of our religion (and in all the subordinate churches here as well as at Manaar). On the 12th January 1661, I have for the first time administered the Lord's Supper to the native inhabitants of the place when there were 12 communicants. On the 19th of April of the same year there were 15, which augmented on my leaving the place to 30.

In the year 1665, there were nearly 1000 scholars 480 of whom were not only capable of answering to questions and catechism and saying prayers but could also give the meanings of them, an uncontrovertible proof that they then understood what they had been taught, which had been also tested on the part of the minister himself. In this church I had often a congregation of 2000 hearers.

Here I once had a wonderful question propounded to me on the part of a native, namely whether when St. Joannes baptized Christus he baptized him in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. On my answering in the affirmative, he then observed by saying that Jesus was then baptized in His own name, and that he could not well comprehend it. I then instructed this black man named Michael Fonzeca and showed to him that there was no absurdity in this matter, inasmuch as our Lord, was not baptized for himself, nor simply as God, nor as a mere man, but as mediator having both the divine and human nature, and as a solemn installation in his holy office, and that the Son of God could not otherwise be baptized than in the name of God, for it stands now confirmed, that God is not the Father only, but also the Son and the Holy Ghost, and that no one person is baptized but in the name of one above him, just as we are therefore baptized in His name, and Jesus was essentially one with the Father and the Holy Ghost, and in His divinity nothing less or more. The Father is the first person in the Godhead, but the Son is God also, alike



with the Father and the Holy Ghost. With this explanation he seemed quite satisfied. The inhabitants are usually very acute and ingenious and have frequently come upon me with curious questions, such as concerning the creation and the end of the world, its attendant consequences, of the immortality of souls, of hell and such like. There are stages attached to almost all their churches, there being a spacious theatre for the Church of Telipole built by the Portugesche padres, Jesuiten where some scriptural dramas are wont to be represented to the people on their holy days.

Theatres or stages built by the Romish clergy at most churches.

The Mallagam Church. Half an hours walk brings you to the Church of *Mallagam*, which is built of good lime and stone, with a fine house attached to it, with many arches and a long staircase leading to the top of it. This church was started by the *Portugezen* but finished in our time. The school boys here were 400, the people more slow in hearing, than those of other churches, and scarcely 600 who give their attendance.

The Church of Mayletti lies full one and a quarter hours

march from the principal church Telipole. Here there is a

very respectable school comprising 750 children far advanced in knowledge, with a clever school master, who single handed

does much more than the 2 who preside over the school of *Telipole*. Here there is a congregation of 1500 to 1600 persons very attentive

and far exceeding the others. The church is built of good coral

stones and is wide and roomy. The house attached to it is very lofty with a flat roof extending over the choir of the church, affording a fine prospect of sea and land, and might well be designated as the church of the church

nated Belle Videre or Boa Vista; the church is not above a half

or quarter hour's distance from the seashore. We have here plenty of fish, soles, plaice, crabs etc. The place abounds also

The Mayletti Church.

The zeal of the Christians there

Pleasant surroundings of Mayletti.

The Achiavelli Church. in hare and partridges.

The Church of Achiavelli lies about 2 hours from Telipole. It is a lofty and wide building of coral stones capable of containing 200 persons. It was only completed in our time to which end there was a donation of 100 rix dollars made by some kind gentlemen and other friends.

Pleasant surroundings of Achiavelli. This village is most pleasantly situated among the woods where there are innumerable coves of turtle doves, which coo at regular periods three times in the day and which serve the inhabi-



[d, 163]

A Bramine Christian there wrote on the Life and Passion of Jesus in high Malabaars verse.

The Oudewil Church.

The Batecotte Church.

The Paneteripou Church, [p. 164]

tants as a clock. Here are also plenty of hare, deer, and wild boars, but the place excels all the others for danger from snakes.

The inhabitants are indifferent in their attendance to hear the Gospel preached, for they are not altogether free as yet of their superstitious notions, which is to be attributed to the influence of many old Bramines who reside there. The aged Bramine Philippo has a good and sound knowledge of our religion, vet it seems to be more of an historical than doctrinal belief. Here there also resides a learned Bramine with whom I had long talks when I had my house and garden at Achiavelli. This man after he had undergone a strict examination has been baptized by me in his 46th year. He published a learned work, composed in high poetic style on "The Life and Passion of Jesus" and written in Latijns Malabaars or Hanscret¹ diction, which entirely differs from the common Malabaarsche. The school here consists of from 4 to 500 scholars, and the ordinary congregation of the church amounts to 7, 8 or 900 persons.

A full hours walk from Telipole brings you to the Church Oudewil in a large plain, which commands a fine view. It has a large house to it with a regular gallery built of brick and was formerly the residence of a Franciscaner friar. The soil is a fine red clay adapted for the culture of rice, *Naceny*, and other eatables. The pupils amount to 600, who are pretty well advanced in learning, and the congregation from 900 to 1000 souls.

At a distance of 2 hours walk from the fort is situated the Church Batecotte, where there is also a fine lofty house with a flat roof and a pleasant garden planted with coconut trees, surrounded with exceedingly rich sowing fields. The church lies seated near the salt river. The people are very eager to hear God's word and number 2000, the pupils vary from 8 to 900. The place is rich in provisions and produces fish in abundance.

A short half-hour from Batecotte is situated the Church Paneteripou, a neat and ingenious building of coral stones, with an elegant and well built house constructed upon arches, with a very commodious gallery with 2 spacious rooms and a luxurious and pleasant garden attached to it, with a fine tank or cistern of water for the cattle. The school here has full 600 children very

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

far advanced in the principles of the Christian religion, wonder- Zeal and fully able to confound popish errors with respect to purgatory, of the the mass, indulgences, and auricular confession with sound people and reasoning in my presence. The head schoolmaster Andree and Paneteripou. his assistant are also very zealously employed in teaching these vouths. The inhabitants come in large numbers, from 12 to 1300 when they know that the minister is to preach in person; and in devotion they excel all the other people.

The Church of Changane is situated at a half hours distance The from that of Paneteripou, so that Batecotte, Changane, and Church Paneteripou lie in a triangular direction almost equidistant from each other. Both the church and the adjacent house are built of coral stones like that of *Paneteripou* and well-designed. The church is as large as the house, having a fine esplanade in front, and surrounded with a brick wall, behind which there is a fine orchard planted with coconut trees, grapes, sweet potatoes, bananas and Portugaalsche fig trees.

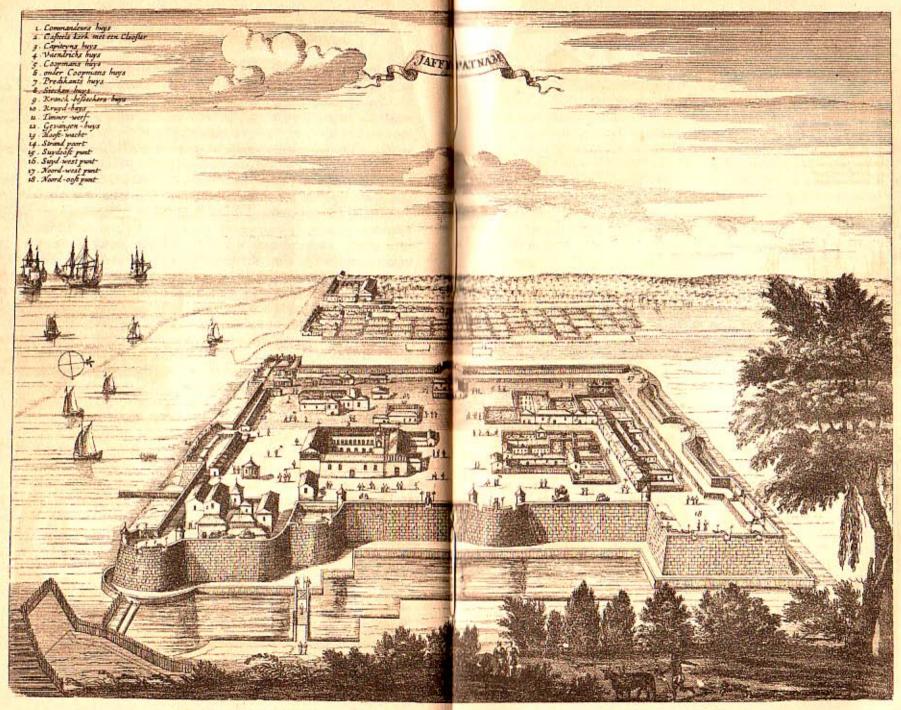
The school of this church has upwards of 700 scholars, Changane who in common with those of *Paneteripou* deserve much praise. Cartist to be The exertions of the schoolmaster Ambrosio for the advancement praised. of his pupils have been sufficiently evidenced to me on my visits. The people are very diligent in their attendance at church, which is often so full as scarcely to afford room for them all.

Two hours from Jafnapatan and one from Changane lies the The Church of Manipay. It is hardly to be believed that at so small Church. a distance there can exist so great a difference between the people of these places. About 560 children attend the school here. The inhabitants throughout are a malicious set of people, the The people majority of whom are still addicted to paganism and slow in malicious and hearing the Gospel preached to them. The church is large and heathenish. capable of holding 2000 people, but the auditors are not above 7 or 800. The church house is built of clay and thatched with atap or palm leaves. In front of the church, there is a fine tank of water, where there stood formerly a heathen pagode. Here there reside many of the Madapoli caste, the adherents of the traitor Don Louys aforementioned. The Church of Vanarpone The Vanarpone

is situated close to the Fort of Jafnapatan, the place is mostly Church.

inhabited by washers, for Vanar signifies in Malabaars a washer.

^{1.} i. e. Sanskrit.



Map of the City of Jaffnapatam.

Church and Church House at

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

there are 200 school children who take instruction well and it has a congregation of from 5 to 600 people.

The Nalour Church.

Heathen cloth-dyers and hundreds of others came to Jafnapatan frem Choromandel with no benefit to God or the Company.

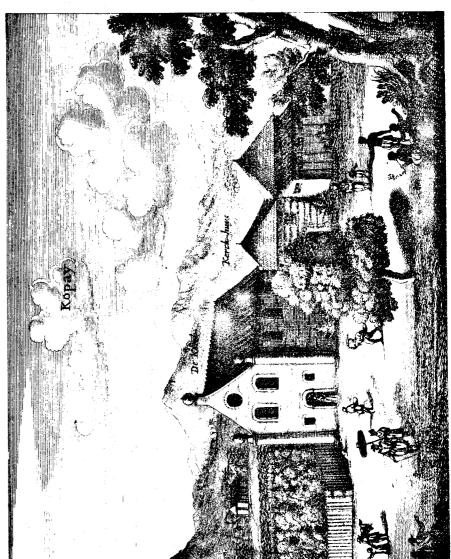
[p. 165]

Anthony Pavilioen the first Commander Jafnapatan. His zeal in establishing the faith and discouraging idolatry.

Just close by Vanarpone is the church Nalour, which is built of clay and lightly covered. Here also stood in earlier times a heathen pagode. 590 children attend school for instruction here, and are tolerably well advanced in knowledge, the inhabitants are sluggish and still much adhere to pagan worship, more especially so, since the introduction some years ago of about hundred Heydensche Schilders from the Choromandel coast, to the no little prejudice of the Christian religion, and the Hon. Company were no gainers by it, for they were still obliged to import all their stuff from the coast, without a chance of improvement of the the Church of cloth manufactured in Jafnapatan, for the lack of good water, etc.

> These people are a pest amidst the weak converts, for they do not abstain from besmearing them with cinza or ashes (which is held sacred by them) and from wearing their idolatrous paternosters1 which I often beheld with sorrow and admonished them accordingly by showing them that they were then not living in an idolatrous but in a Christian land, and though such interference is not very safe from a political point of view, yet it ought to be carefully looked to and watched over. So also there are the increasing inroads of the Mooren who have now openly instituted their schools. I must confess that Mr Anthony Pavilioen, who was the first Governor of the place whilst I was residing in Jafnapatan and at present Extraordinary Councillor of India and a much respected Governor on the Choromandel coast, did all he could to assist me (at my complaint and request) to stop these idolatrous proceedings and set his force against the introduction of the Heydensche Schilders to Jafnapatan. It is to be feared that with the promiscuous intercourse between these men and women, they might so increase in time as to endanger both church and state, especially were we to wink at their ceremony of burning the dead and tolerate the least of their pagan rituals.

Nor is it less dangerous in this respect too, for were an indiscriminate and promiscuous intercourse to take place, between the heathen or the Moorish men and Christian women and vice



^{1.} This is the word actually used by Baldaeus. Hindu rosaries are meant.

versa, and were we to punish the offending parties with death (as has been the case in this Island) yet the evil is not thereby removed, and whether any such hard procedure will do any good or is consistent with the will of God and whether the observances of such severity are not the greatest injustice that can be inflicted, each might judge for himself. For I am confident that many good and devout judges, will take no delight in such consultations and will not willingly be members of such assemblies. The example of Cosbi and Simri (Num: 25) is much too singular an instance and cannot therefore be followed by us, for that fornication took place at such a time when the people of God were mourning before the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation and Pinehas himself was an eye-witness. Esdra mourned for the affinity of the people with strangers by offering up a supplication, but he destroyed them not, but only brought on a separation between the righteous and the ungodly.

The Sundecouli Church.

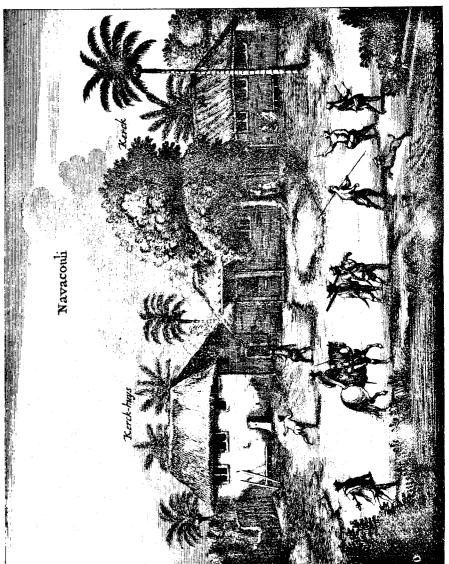
[p. 166]

Wicked people there.

The last church which is close by the fort is called Sundecouli, its chief inhabitants are the Civias or pallinkijn bearers and water carriers. It is a respectable and ornamental building, but the people an impious and profligate race, verifying the adage "The nearer Rome, the worse the Christian." Here we find 450 school children but not apt to take instruction, for most of them generally go out fishing with their parents. The congregation of the church is scarcely 400, notwithstanding a population of more than 1500 souls.

The Churches of Copay and Pourour.

Discipline amongst school children. The place is very pleasantly situated among trees where there is a sweet chirping of many songbirds. Thus much for the first province Belligamme, and its churches, under which are also to be reckoned Copay and Poutour containing full 800 scholars and 200 hearers. These scholars are ranged into classes, and in rows, the better informed ones teach the less advanced in such a way, that even those who know the Creed and the Lords Prayer are set over those who know only the Lords Prayer. There are some amongst these youths who act as Merinhos and keep a list of the absentees and submit it for the inspection and inquiry of the master and chief Merinho.



Chapter Forty Five

[p. 167]

The second, third and fourth provinces of Jafnapatan. The churches belonging thereto. The Islands of Jafnapatan. The great body of Christians. Efforts of the author for the spread of the Gospel.

The Navacouli Church.

HE second province of Jafnapatan is Tenmarache which contains five churches with the villages thereunto belonging, the first is called Navacouli which is seated in a most agreeable locality, where there is a super-abundance of cattle, also fruits and vegetables, and amongst the trees are many apes and monkeys. The interior of the country affords good game and waterfowl. Both the church and adjacent house are built of clay and covered with atap. The school has 400 children, and the church generally 7 or 800 listeners.

The Church.

An hour from Navacouli, lies the Church of Chavagatzery, Chavagatzery the largest in the whole Province of Tenmarache. The house belonging to it is strong and well built with many apartments and commands a pleasant view of the sea. At the back it has a fine courtyard attached to it planted with various kinds of Indiaansche fruit trees. Here are also fish in abundance, the trade and pursuit of life of the inhabitants are agriculture and seafaring. The school of Chavagatzery has upwards of 1000 children with 2 schoolmasters and an assistant, and when the minister himself preaches the congregation is from 2000 to 3500, which renders the place very warm and oppressive.

The Church Cathay is situated an hour's march from Chava-

gatzery through a sandy and difficult road, but here and there are

several ponds of water which are seen teeming with wild ducks or teal of excellent flavour, there are also here snipes, herons, green Indische ravens, martins, and diverse other small birds. Both the church and house are built of clay, and thatched with atap like that of Navacouli. The school has 550 pupils with a

Total of Christians there.

The Cathay

Church.

[p. 168]

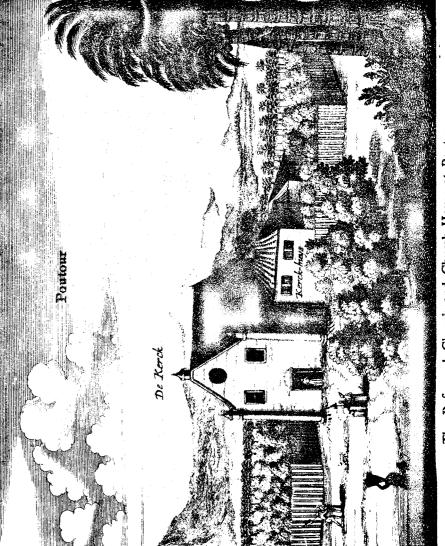
The Waranni

The road all along from Cathay to Waranni is very sandy and difficult. The church is seated in a very thickly planted locality and is an imposing sight especially in the morning and

qualified master, the total at divine service sis from 11 to

Church.

1200 people.



Pleasant surroundings of Waranni Various fruit trees.

at sunset. Beside the vast quantity of areek trees, there are also here coconut, palm and banana trees, as well as mangoes, cajou, and guavas. Here are the finest water melons to be found in India, and exceedingly well-scented lemons. The church is badly built of clay, as also the house belonging to it; it has nevertheless fine wide rooms and a hall and has cool upstair rooms. The school has 800 scholars, the listeners are 2500.

The Illondi Matual Church.

The last church of Tenmarache is Illondi Matual to which belongs also the village Nagar Kojel where there stood a famous pagode in earlier times. The church is clay-built but the house, which one climbs up to by a long stairway is built of stone and has 3 rooms and commands a fine prospect. Here troops of peacocks are to be seen, and the elephants too are now and then seen. The Company's tame elephants are also stalled here, (as well as in diverse other places) as their fodder is easier. To this school there belong 650 scholars, and the congregation is generally from 11 to 1200 persons.

The Waddemarache Province has two churches. The first is Catavelli. Prosperity of the Province. [p. 169]

The third province is Waddemarache where there are 3 churches. This province is rich in pasture and there are cattle, sheep, goats, fowls, pigeons, partridges, and wild fowl in abundance. A good sheep can be had here for 8 or 10 stuyvers, 60 eggs for 3 stuyvers, and 4 fowls for one sanam that is 5 stuyvers. The first church is called Catavelli which with the adjacent house are built of good bricks, having also an excellent summer-house situated on an eminence with a fine view of the surrounding flat lands. 600 children attend the school here, and the congregation is from 1000 to 1100 persons.

The Church of Ureputti. Many thieves here.

The second church is U Reputti. This place is infested with a gang of rogues of the Nalloas caste, who are indifferent to religion. We find here 690 schoolboys, and the church has more or less 8 or 900 hearers. The children are taught to form the letters of the alphabet on sand, easily wiped off later.

The Paretiture Church.

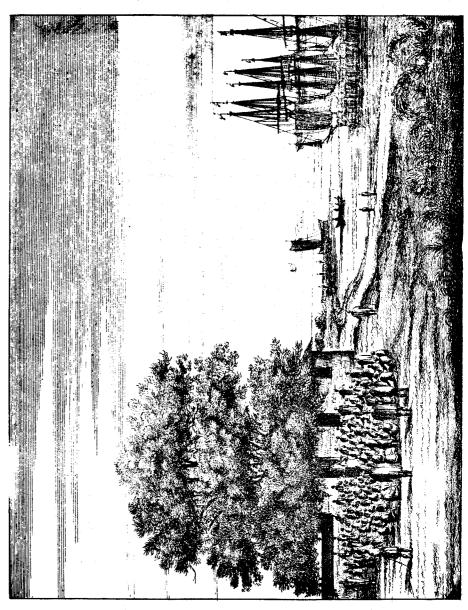
Paretiture .

during the the English

fortified

all Wademarache. The place is called by the Portugesche "Punta das Pedras" or "Steenhoek" (Rocky Point). Paretiture means in the Malabaarsche language "Catoenshaven" (cotton harbour) because of the large amount of cotton produced there on small trees. Not long since whilst we were at war with Engelandt a small defence was raised here skirting the sea. During our

The church Paretiture is the largest and most stately in



n encounter between us and the Portugezen had occurred there.

Mooring possibilities there.

[p. 170]

A high total of Christians

The Patchiara palle Province and its situation. The Poelepolay Church. A curious disease in Patchiarapalle.

This Province is much subject to depredations by elephants. war with Portugaal the Hollanders carried off from hence one of their priests, and plundered Manaar at the same time. This gave rise to a serious encounter betwixt the Portugeesch and ourselves, when we fared badly and lost amongst many others, Captain Jan Hooghzaten. During our siege of Jafnapatan it was at this place that the Portugeesch had expected their succour to land.

The ships might safely be moored here for 7 or 8 months, but they must quit it before the northern monsoon sets in, for then it is a dangerous lee shore. When there are any ships in sight, a flag is then hoisted on a high pole in order to direct them. The church was for somewhile in a decayed state, but has been repaired in my time. In front of the church, there stands a large tamarind tree and it was often that I taught under its shade so as to avoid the heat and consequent weariness of the people.1 Now and then there is an attendance of 3000 at Paretiture. listeners and the school children are 1000 strong.

> The last province is Patchiarapalle which has 4 churches and as many schools. This province is dry and sandy and unhealthy, excessively warm, without any good water, and subject to the depredations of elephants. At a certain season of the year I have noticed a curious disorder prevalent amongst the children, they swell to their utmost and their bellies stretch out like drums, and many die. There are also bad fevers similar to those of Manaar which rage according to the phases of the moon, and sweep off people from the land of the living in a short time. The itch and small pox are also common here. The inhabitants are poor living upon very unwholesome diet, such as dried fish, pounaten, kelengen2 and a little rice, as they cannot afford to fare better.

> This province is full of wild palm trees upon which the inhabitants generally feed, but there is not a year when the fruit arrives at maturity and one sees hundreds of the trees thrown down by the elephants. This province borders on Raja Singa's territory, and was in former times now and then subject to an



^{1.} This tamarind tree which was popularly known as "Baldaeus' Tree" survived till 1956 when it was blown down in a gale.

^{2.} Ponnaten, kelengen i.e. palmyra toffee, yams.

Total of Christians in Poelepolay.

[p. 171] Curious music made by women on earthen vessels.

Mogommale.

Tambamme.

Mulipatto.

The Island of Ourature has three churches. Much subject to inundation.

incursion of the Cingalezen. It is for this reason that the church house of Poelepalle is made strong, and surrounded with a high stone wall with loop holes, similar to a redoubt. The school consists of 300 children in pretty good progress, and the congregation not above 600. Here are certain women who know the art of playing upon earthen vessels (called callangs) by blowing into them. This produces a wonderful sound, which serves them in their dances and they feel that by these exhibitions they pay a high compliment to strangers. This province produces also the best jager-hout1 from which are made good rafters for roof work which are largely exported to the Choromandel coast and other places. A good two hours walk from Poelepolay is situated the

attached to it. The school has 450 children and the church 500 listeners. The church Tambamme is the largest and best seated in the whole province. On our usual visitation we found there 500

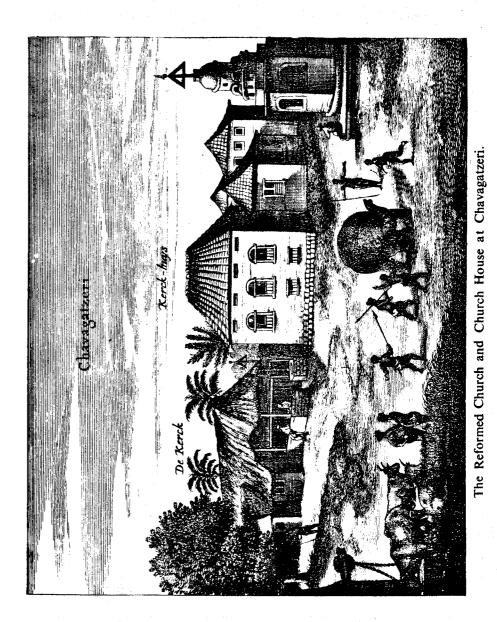
Church Mogommale in a wood with a good and strong house

school children, and the church had 900 listeners. Mulipatto is the last church, and lies a day's journey from Jafnapatan a little beyond it is the Passo seco, or Drooge-doorgangh² where the river terminates. Here there is a Pagger where our men keep watch. The church house is provided with loop holes, but the church is mean and small. The school has not

Thus far of Jafnapatan, and its 4 dependent provinces and churches. We will now pass over to the adjacent isles, which are six in number.3

above 215 children and the church 350 listeners.

The first of the isles is *Ourature* which has 3 churches namely Aleputti, Welane, and St. Jan or Ourature. All these churches have together about 800 schoolboys, and 2600 listeners. This isle has been often subject to great floods, both before and in the



^{1.} Jaggerhout. Literally "jaggery wood". Palmyra wood is here meant. 2. Passo seco (lit. dry ferry) or drooge-door-gaugh (lit. dry passage) refers to the stretch of land which appears during dry seasons to connect the Jaffna peninsula with the mainland.

^{3.} The Company gave Dutch names to several of these islands. e.g. Amsterdam for Karadiva, Leyden for Ourature, Middleburg for Pongardiva, Delft for Nindundiva, Haarlem for Nainativu, Rotterdam for Analativu. Only the name Delft has survived today.

he Reformed Church and Church House at Cathay

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

An instance.

time of the Portugezen, so that the people were obliged to climb to the top of trees to save their lives. In my time in 1658 there broke out a furious tempest tantamount to a hurricane, which swelled the waters to such a height that it not only flooded many parts of the Isle, but roared fiercely into the water gate of the castle in spite of locks and cross-bars, which were smashed to pieces and carried over the walls. The tiles were blown off the houses, trees torn up by the roots, thus causing no small damage both to men and cattle. When the fury of the tempest had abated, there were several fishes taken near the church porch which had been swept along with water over the curtain. This Isle has plenty of fish and stags. Here grows also very good zaye1 root used by the dyers to give calico a red colour—it is dug out from the ground. Very good and tasty butter is also made by the inhabitants. There are lapwings, not to mention their eggs, and lively larks.

Produce of Ourature.

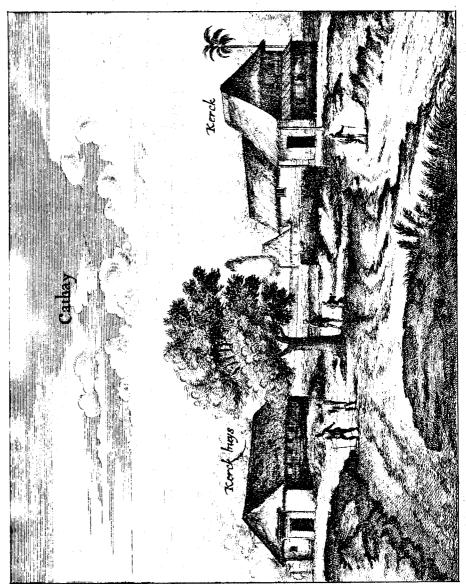
The Island of Caradiva. The river runs between Ourature and Caradiva. Ourature and Caradiva are separated by the river, in the middle of which stands the Fortress Cays (now called Hammenhiel). Its situation, siege and conquest, we have already adverted to. It is from this Island they embark their elephants, by means of a bridge, to be shipped for exportation to the Choromandel coast and Bengale. This place is said to yield the best zaye root in India. It has a well built church and house of stone. The church was completed in our time, as well as that of Ourature which was destroyed with fire by the Portugezen. The school has 490 children, and the church congregation generally from 1000 to 1100 people.

The deserted and uninhabited Island. [p. 172]

Pongardiva.

At a small distance as you sail to the Isle of *Pongardiva* there lies on the right hand side an uninhabited little island which the Portugese call "*Ilha Deserta*" or the deserted island, where people usually cut their firewood. This Isle as well as *Caradiva* abound with serpents.

Pongardiva is a large Isle, but has nothing very remarkable in it to draw attention, the soil being rocky. There is an abundance of deer, hare and peacocks, fish and good large oysters, which are better adapted for stew than to be eaten in a raw state. The



^{1.} i.e. 'Chaya' or Oldenlandia Umbellata used to dye cloth. Its cultivation was one of the chief sources of income of the Company in Jaffina.

Men tall in Pongardiva. men are generally much taller here, than elsewhere in *India*. The church has about 800 listeners and the school 200 scholars.

Analativa once called Dona Clara. The Isle Analativa is small, but there is an abundance of oysters. Here there are about 800 Christian inhabitants of both sexes and 200 school children. It has a small church and good house attached to it. This place was formerly called Dona Clara, from one who in the time of the Portugezen, was the Vrouwe (Lady) of the island. She was uncommonly corpulent and heavy, and there is still to be seen a chair which she used to sit upon and which will comfortably hold 2 ordinary persons.

The island of Nainativa.

Peopled by Christians.

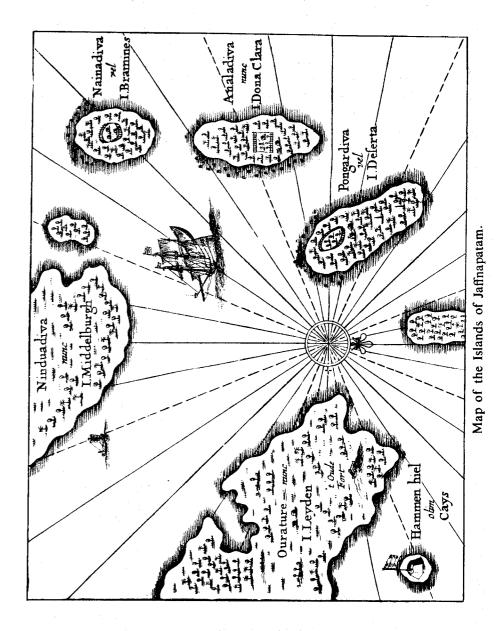
The Isle Nainativa derives its name from the great number of jackals that are found about the place (of which more hereafter). The island is very small and inhabited by converted Bramines, who are a polite and civil people. The school has 70 children and the congregation may be computed at 300 persons, the church is very small, and has a good house attached to it, for the accommodation of travellers.

The Island
Nindundiva
otherwise
called Ilha
das Vacas.
Abundance
of cattle
there.
Greas
murrain
amongst the

cattle.

Nindundiva or the Long Island is so called from its length which extends to 5 or 6 leagues, the Portugezen call it Ilha das Vacas, that is the Cow Island, because of the large imports of cattle thither from Tonday. It is famous for cattle. A good cow may be had here for 4 shillings, but their oxen, steers, and cows are much smaller in size than those on the continent of Jafnapatan. Oftimes there is a great murrain among the cattle, owing to the sterility of the soil, and the poisonous weeds they feed upon.

The inhabitants are wretchedly poor and shift for themselves as well as they can. I remember being once obliged to prolong my stay here for about 8 days, and I and my followers could scarcely get any provision for our sustenance. The Isle is difficult of access and not open to improvement, because of its cliffs and rocks and small inlets and narrow creeks, which can be only navigated in calm weather, for otherwise the sea rolls with such violence against the rocks making caves of water 5 or 6 fathoms deep. For which reason there is no coming at it, but in calm seasons, which happen twice a year at the change of the monsoon, for the south wind can be dangerous, and with the north the shore becomes shallow.



The Reformed Church and Church House at Waranni

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

An old fortress of the Portugezen on that island. There are some other Isles which are scarcely inhabited as, *Paletiva* and *de twee Gebroeders* (the two brothers) now called *Hoorn* and *Enkhuizen*. Of these there is not much to say. The *Portugezen* had formerly a small fortress here of which the remains are yet to be seen.

The Isle produces a large number of goats. In some of them there is found the bezoar stone, 1 but none of the best. Here some horses were introduced by the *Portugezen* which multiplied from time to time to some hundreds, they are small in size, but hardy and fit for use on hard roads. They are caught by means of nooses, and driven into a pond of water. The population is scarcely 900 inhabitants, there are in the school 170 children.

It is very remarkable that there is no fresh water to be found in this island save in one place amongst the rocks which is a quarter mile in circumference. These rocks (so say the inhabitants) were split by a thunderbolt and in each well there is a foot, or a half of water. The entire rock here is whole and sound and a little further one meets again a cavity where men and cattle drink.

Thus then for the kingdom of Jafnapatan and its churches and schools. In the year 1663 myself and my colleague Dr Johannes A'Breyl reported in a letter to the Honourable Joan Maatzuyker, Governor General that there were then in the schools of Jafnapatan 15,012 native children under tuition, besides those of Manaar, and the country of the Wannias where in my last visitation in March and April 1665, I found in the schools of Poenery, Polveraincatti, Peringale, Mantotte, Nanatam and Aripou being the churches of the Wannias, and in the churches of Manaar as far as Totavalli, Karsel, Irkelampatti, Tellemanaar, Peixale. the fort church and the fisher's church 1315 school children. There were found in the district of the Wannias 4533 Christians of an advanced age, and in the Island of Manaar 3520 besides 214 slaves who had embraced Christianity of late, the major part of whom could then have repeated some prayers. We found in the same year, after a careful examination of the

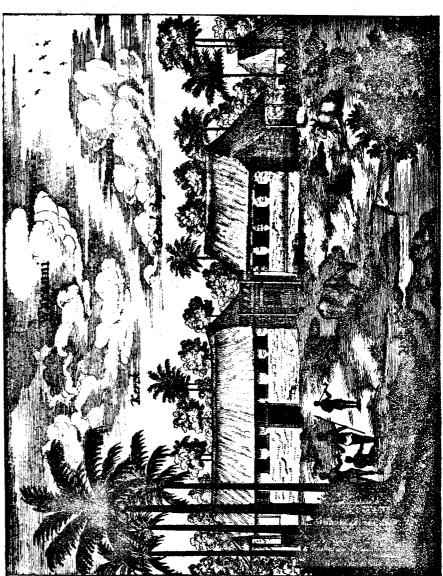
wells made in the rocks by thunder.

Wonderful

[p. 173]

Total of adult Christians and converts both in the Wannias and in Manaar.

Grand total of Christians in the Kingdom of Jafnapatan,



Bezoar, a hardened mass sometimes found in the stomach or intestines of ruminating animals. The word is of Persian origin and means an antidote to poison.

records of the church (called patolas)1 that there were in Jafnapatan 62,558 Christians of both sexes, besides the slaves to the number of 2587 who were then under instruction. From 1658 to 1661 I had to rove about from church to church single handed, till at length the Reverend Dr. a'Breyl joined me in the harvest. His first station was Paliacatte on the Choromandel coast and then Malacca and Manaar and latterly at Jafnapatan but on his return homewards with an intention of enjoying some years of rest he departed this life during the voyage, and his remains were conveyed and interred at the Caap de Goede Hoop, when in 1665 the Revd. Bartholomaeus Heyne succeeded him. In these three and a half years, in the churches of Jafnapatan were baptised 5799 infants and 36 adults. During that period 2158 couples were married, not reckoning those baptized and married in the Nederduytsche and Portugesche churches. At my departure from the island the aggregate number of the school children was 18000. In 1663 the number of baptisms had swollen to 12387.

[p. 174]

How the villages

manage

in the absence

of the

minister.

Necessity of a

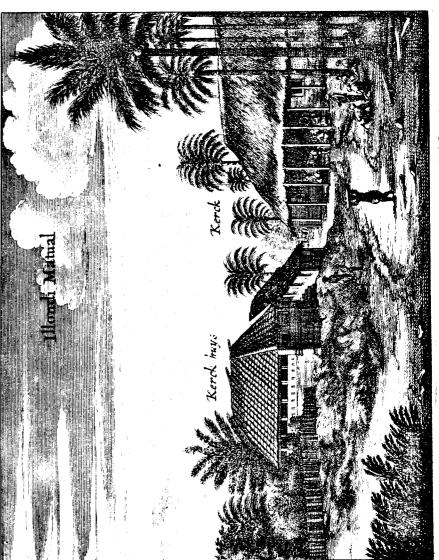
Catechism

for native Christians

In the Church of Jafnapatan there are written in large Malabaarze characters upon tables the Ten Commandments, and on the right and left side the Lord's Prayer and the Articles of the Christian Faith. The people attend the church at 10 o'clock every Sunday, when after the reading of the 10 Commandments and the Creed, and when they have sung a Psalm, the schoolmaster proceeds to read a sermon in the Malabaarsze language for which purpose a series of sermons are allotted to each church to be made use of in the absence of the minister. This done the service is then concluded with prayers.

had taught me) for the more extensive spread of the Gospel, is that the instruction be given informally and attractively to both the old and young for which they evince great aptitude, and this is best done by questions and answers which leave a deeper impression on their minds. Beside, the Malabaarze tongue is so difficult of attainment, that a minister can be hardly expected to arrive to such a degree of perfection in the language as to be able to preach in it, yet one many acquire as much of it as to be able to teach the people the principal points which belong to the

But the most laborious part of the minister's duty (as experience



^{1.} Patolas, old ola or palm leaf records.

The Nederlandtsche Ministers who labour in India have much harder and heavier work than the Romish Ministers.

Necessary

pamphlets

information

instruction

Jafnapatan

Churches

translated

Malaba-

[p. 175]

arsche from

Portugesche.

for the

and

into

the

of the

salvation of their souls. Add to this, that our ministers have a heavier load upon their shoulders than the Roomsche priests, who preach very seldom, and each church has its own minister, and they are not like us obliged to travel from place to place. Besides they bring the Portugesche language with them, a language which is understood and familiar to the people, whilst our ministers are in the first instance forced with much effort to learn and become acquainted with it and but for it, they are as mere automatons, not to mention several other disadvantages to convince such of those apt to extol the labour of the Roomsche clergy and condemn the non-Roomsche clergy, forgetting that there were 40 priests in the time of the Papisten, whilst there are now 2, or at the most 3 of ours, who are obliged to deliver three sermons on Sundays, one in week days, besides their frequent visitations of outlying churches.

At my departure I left to the inhabitants for their instruction the following necessary pieces translated from the Portugesche into Malabaarsche by Franciscus de Fonceca a member of the church, duly revised and compared by me word for word.

The Gospel of St. Mathew, The Lesser Catechism, Instructions for Communicants, Brief Questions and Answers on the New Testament, Short Questions and Answers concerning the chief matters in the Old Testament (N.B. This was not fully completed at the time of my quitting the Island), Consolations and Comfort for the Sick. Formularies of Baptism for Infants and Adults, Morning and Evening Prayers, as also Contemplations both before and after Sermons. Prayers before and after meals. Prayers for Rain and Fruitful Seasons. A Thanksgiving for Victories obtained over our Enemies. A Prayer for the Army before an Engagement. Prayer for condemned Criminals. Formulary and Prayers of Marriage. Some Psalms of David after the Malabaarsche metre to be sung in Churches. Some Sermons viz. On the Nativity of Jesus, Upon His Passion and Death, His Resurrection, Ascension, and the Sending of the Holy Ghost. On the Circumcision of Jesus. The history of the Wise Men from the East. On the Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgement, on Love for our Neighbour from Luke 10, and Who is our Neighbour. The Rejoicing of the Angels in Heaven on the Conversion

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

of a Sinner. The Request of the Pharisees, Matthew 12. 38 and such like.

I had an abundance of other sermons which were written by me in the Portugeesch language, but as there was only one there not interpreter upon whom I could have relied for accuracy and as he was then fully employed night and day, there was no opportunity left for translating more of them, as could have been wished, though at the same time I never thought it advisable to encumber these people with too many books, whilst they had enough with in a letter them to work out the salvation of their souls, pursuant to the opinion of the judicious General Maatzuyker, expressed in his Excellency letter sent to me from Batavia bearing date 18th September 1662:—

decision of the author, which was approved to him from Governor General Joan Maatzuyker, dated Batavia 18 September 1662.

The young

Christians

burden**ed**

with excess

of books by

"It has afforded me no small share of satisfaction to learn of the progressive state of the churches in the country of Jafnapatan, and the praiseworthy efforts which are being resorted to by Your Reverence for its further advancement. The Lord will strengthen you the more and more, and bless your zeal in this cause so as to be productive of many fruits to the honour and glory of His Holy Name and the salvation of many souls. There is such a demand for books for the churches and schools of this country, that it is not possible to gratify your request for some time to come. especially as many of these books are so carelessly handled by some people. It is hoped however that you are well-provided by this time, that your laudable intentions might not be thwarted for want of them. But I conceive that reading and writing are not so essentially required for these poor people, but that they be instructed in the fundamentals of the Christian religion (which embraces a few points). For were Christianity to be propagated by reading and writing it must needs prove a lengthened and tedious proceeding and expensive to the Company. To promote this holy cause we have sent 3 ministers, wherof two have already gone to the coast Malabar and the third is to go with the yacht the d'Achilles. They are all young men, lately arrived from the Vaderlandt, and consequently might be able to serve for a long time. It is hoped, that they have entered the field with an earnest zeal in the cause of religion and for the benefit of the Island of Ceylon, and its dependencies. "There is another minister sent to Negnapatan, which you might be aware of.

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The noosing of wild horses in Jaffnapatam.

"With many friendly greetings and recommending you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your affectionate friend, (Signed) Joan Maatzuvker.

Batavia Castle, 18th September 1662.

[p. 176]

Chapter Forty Six

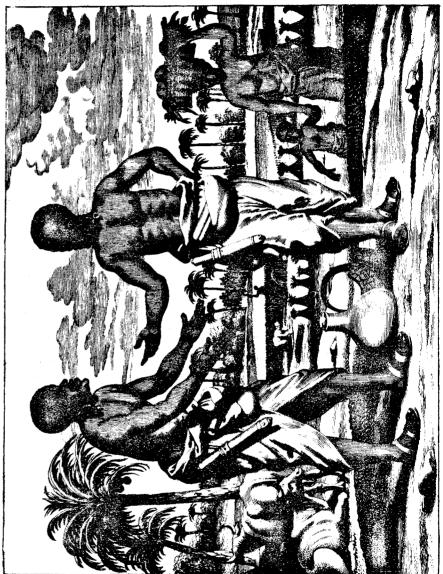
Character of the inhabitants of Jafnapatan. Bellales and their mode of life. The Bramines and their religious tenets set out and refuted.

Customs of the people of Jafnapatan. T will now be necessary to say something respecting the inhabitants of *Jafnapatan*, and then revert to *Batecalo*, and finally quit the subject of the whole Island and betake ourselves elsewhere.

Their costume

The people of this place consist of various castes, as on the Choromandel coast. The first and foremost are the Bellale (especially so, when they have embraced Christianity), otherwise the Bramines rank first. The costume of the Bellales is a cloth hanging down from above the navel and caught up round the legs, like a pair of trousers; they wear seripous (leather soles under their feet) neatly fastened with leather straps which leave the feet almost bare, to prevent sweating. They have in front of their waist a maddi, something like a pouch which is formed from the cloth they wear, in which they lodge their betel and areca nut. They generally carry about them one or two slips of ole which serve them for paper to write upon. There is attached to their right a small case in which there is a knife with an iron stile which is silvered at the top as is likewise its case, besides which there is a small piece of steel for whetting their knives. The flaps of their ears are extraordinarily long, they are bored from infancy, they are seen to reach to their shoulders and adorned with gold rings. Husbandry is their chief vocation in life, and they possess plenty of cattle, such as cows, plough oxen, sheep, goats and buffaloes. They have good and neat dwellings, with large

The Bellales have plenty of cattle.



[p. 177]

compounds attached to them, in which there are many betel creepers. There are also good wells of water, for they water their plants twice a day in the drought or when there is no rain.

Their time for harvest.

How they thresh corn.

Great supply of water sometimes and then drought for 8 months.

The ground in Jafnapatan is rocky.

How the Bellales make butter.

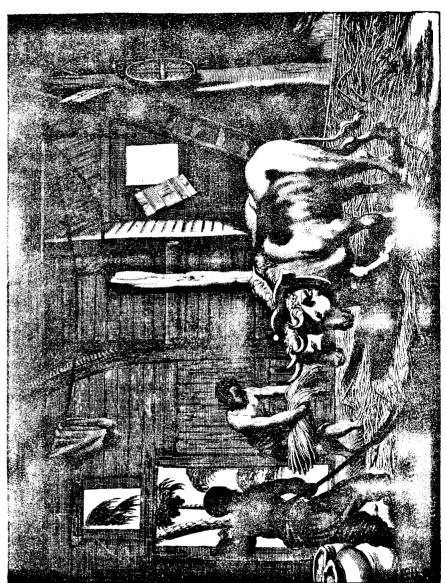
The Mooren are great butter-lovers, so also the Bellales. [p. 178]

How the thabitants eat their attle.

They reap their harvest in January and February for in November and December there is heavy rain. In marshy localities they have two harvests in the year. It is a gratifying sight to see them gather their corn which they do after the Israeliten manner with oxen, which are not muzzled and by treading round and round separate the grain from the stalks. In the rainy season, there are such heavy falls as though water is being poured out with buckets, so that the field appear like one white field. I recollect that once a considerable portion of the curtain walls of the fort fell down from moisture of rain which had continued for two months together; and then there is scarcely any rain for two months to come. Here they water their young coconut trees until they reach their sixth year. The ground when dug to the depth of half a man's height is found all rocky and not suitable for sinking wells, unless with much labour and expense the rocks are first removed.

These people the Bellales make their own butter, but not after the Nederlandt manner with a churn. They employ a stick, at one end of which small bits of sticks are fastened in the shape of a star, having many points, with this stick they keep stirring and whirling the milk in such a way as to produce the best butter. Cheese might also be made here as our Nederlandtsche women do but it is not esteemed among the natives. But they are very fond of butter, as also the Mooren and the Commety1 caste who use butter in liquid form. The curdled milk tayr or what is called by us zaan (thick sour milk) is also an agreeable diet with them for its cooling nature, they also use it for medicinal purposes, more particularly in strong and burning fevers, as well as in cases of small pox which is much prevalent there.

The cattle are let loose in the fields during the day time and at night, but in the evening they are herded together into a *coraal*. In winter they do not stable the cattle as we do but when the fields begin to shoot, they are strictly watched from straying, and are then kept confined and fed upon hay until the fields are mowed.



^{1.} Commety, i.e. Sammati, a higher grade of the fisher caste.

The making of butter in Jaffnapatam.

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

Rules against destruction of hedges by cattle.

Wedding seasons of Bellales.

The Bellales are litigious.

Characteristics of the Bramines.

[p. 179]

Imaginary glory of Bramines ancestry.

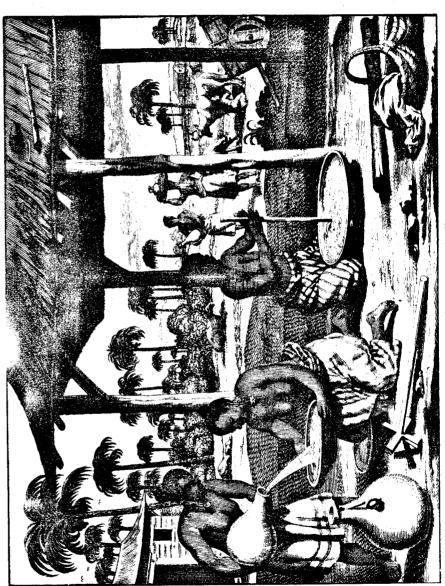
Somewhat confirmed by Epiphanius.

If the cattle break through a fence or tresspass on another's ground the owners can according to the established law of the land have them restored by paying for any damage. These Bellales are all along the wealthiest people, they marry within the circle of their own castes, which generally takes place during the spring, like the ancient Romeynen, who marry not but in May, and the Persianen in spring, in large numbers if the season but proves fruitful.

The Bellales are prone to go to law for every trifle, and are a jealous people, for jabberings and arguing and wrangling they have not their equal. The Bramines who live in Jafnapatan and elsewhere are as modest in their deportment, as could be wished, they are sober, alert, clean, civil and friendly and very moderate in eating and drinking and never touch any strong drink. They wash twice a day, and abstain from eating anything that was endowed with or can produce life. Nevertheless they are very voluptuous and like the whole nation live in luxury.

Such of them as are Christians still hold to the prejudice of their caste, and wear their cords1 (as Rogerius also observes in his work, page 33); they, like those in Choromandel marry only the members of their own families, and often their brother or sister's children, and there is no knowing how to prevent it. But they are great enemies of incest, and palliate their close alliances by the great value they attach to their descent deducing it from Bramma. Some of their learned ones, would have it that they are the descendants of Abraham and Ketura who was sent away with her children, and who were given the power of prophesying by the stars, and the Magia Naturalis. Epiphanius too was of this opinion the more so, as the holy writ make mention that they were sent to the eastern country, Gen. 25, 6.

Though these people bear the Christian name and know surprisingly well how to discourse effectively on God's Ten Commandments and the Christian doctrine, they are not wholly free from pagan superstitions. When we declare that nothing is unclean to a Christian and that we have a sacred privilege allowed



^{1.} Cords, i.e. the sacred triple thread or cord worn over the shoulder which distinguished the Brahman from other castes.

Weighty
arguments of
Christian
Bramines
regarding
choice of
food.

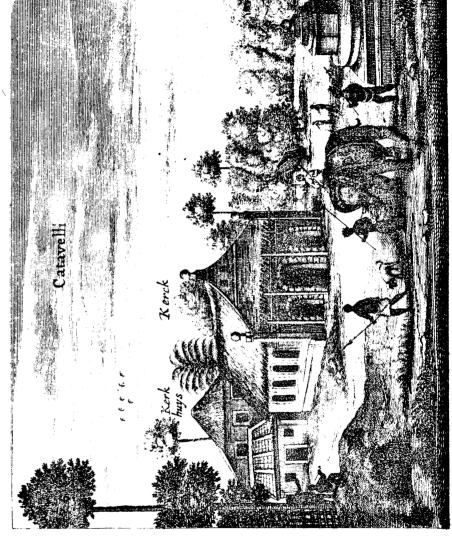
Errors
regarding
the time
of the
creation
of the world
and a
striking
exposure
of them.

us by our Saviour in the matter of eating and drinking, they reply that they know it too well, but as Christianity does not consist in eating and drinking only, that they therefore have a natural aversion to partake of such things as have had life, and that they were from their infancy accustomed to more tender food, and that they are well enough for it, and live to a good old age too.

Though we shall dilate more circumstantially on the grand errors of these pagans hereafter, I cannot yet pass by of what I have myself observed concerning their opinion of the creation of the world, and its age, and their idea of the transmigration of souls, even on the part of those who profess Christianity and amongst whom the traditions of their fathers still have weight. In the year 1665, after the delivery of a sermon by me in the church of Paretiture and after catechizing the people, happening to discourse concerning the creation and age of the world, some of them would have it that the world had then existed 4864 years since their Kaligam which is the last age, but they were told by me that Creitagam was the 1st age, the 2nd Treitagam, the 3rd Dwaparugam and that the 4th was Kaligam, they stood agreeably surprised just as if I had discovered some of their secrets, and yet the Indians on the coast of Choromandel computed in 1639 no more than 4739 years since the creation of the world, a great discrepancy however.

I pointed out to them that there was a wide difference between their computation and that of the *Chinezen*, who make no great account of 100 years more or less, which provoked in them a smile. I showed to them further, that there was no surer criterion for the computation of time, but what was founded in Holy Scripture, and that from the beginning of the world till 1665 according to the Jewish computation, the world then stood at only 5425 years. Respecting the origin of souls I found them not differing from the opinion of the great *Rabbi*, namely, that all souls were created from the beginning, and are reserved to be communicated to certain other bodies, a sure and convincing proof, that they are labouring under the errors of the *Pythagorische*¹ doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

Pythagorean
Doctrine
of the
Transmigration of
Souls still
obtains



^{1.} i.e. Pythagorean.

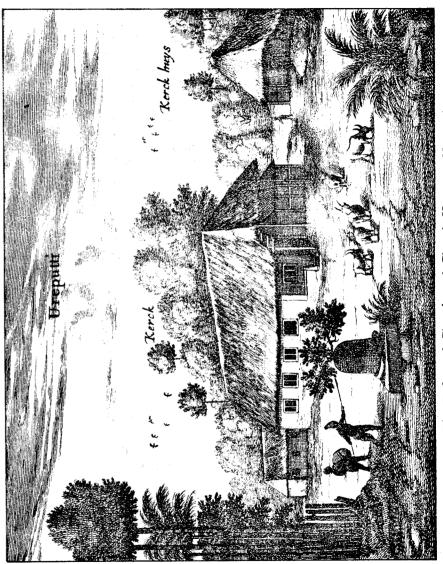
[p. 180]

Chief
objection to
transmigration set out.

It occurs to me, that once during a long discourse I had with some of them during a walk, I endeavoured to refute this erroneous opinion. The objections stated by them were these - That it was impossible that a child could be born paralysed, blind, crippled deaf, etc. or a monster unless having in it a soul that had been guilty of very gross sins, for the child they maintain had not committed any sin, and that God does not punish anyone but for their sins, and the punishment is therefore to be attributed to the sins of the soul which entered the body of the child and which had its lodging elsewhere before. I replied to them in the words of our Saviour, John 9.v 1. When his disciples enquired of him concerning the man blind from his birth, "Master who did sin, this man, or his parents that he was born blind", "Neither for his own sins nor for his parents, but that the works of God might be made manifest through him", showing them at the same time, that the Disciples of Christ were not altogether free from the leaven of the Pharisees, more especially as it was an ancient tradition with the Jews - See Josephus, L. 18 Antiquitat C 11. and de Bello Judaico Lib 2. C. 8 and so also the Rabbi Moses Maimonides -Non est mors absque peccato, et non sunt Castigationes absque But the Rabbijn and all Christians ought to know why delicto. it is that God sometimes visits us (though sin is the chief reason). Yet it is not invariably for sin, but He often does so-1. To try us as gold is tried in the furnace. 2. That by such trials and visitations our virtue might shine forth the better. 3. That the scum and dregs of all our unrighteousness might be destroyed. The tradition of the transmigration could not but have been familiar to Herodes, Matthew 14.2., when he said concerning Jesus (from a disturbed conscience) "this is John the Baptist, he is risen from the dead, and therefore mighty works do show themselves in him." We see likewise in Matthew 16.13.14 the answer given to Christ by his Disciples on his questioning them, "Whom do men say, that I, the Son of Man am?" they replied, "some say, Johnannes, some Elias, and others Jeremias or one of the Propheten."

These errors existed also in Judaism as Elias Levita showed to the Rabbis.

That these absurd errors have made a firm stand in *Judendom* (Judaism) is not to be wondered at for *Elias* (commonly called *Levita*) in his book *Thisbi* speaks of the (Hebrew word) which is as much as a wheel or whirling round which *Josua* 5.9. calls a rolling away or *Gilgal*, thereby exemplifying that there is a turning



of the body as well as the soul. First then of the soul, for the Cabalisten affirm that the soul passes through three bodies, which they pretend to prove from the words of Job. 33. 29 "Lo, all things worketh God twice or thrice through one man", Oh! for the shameful perversion of Holy Writ.

We shall speak more particularly hereafter concerning the pagan idolatry, and show how deeply this noxious weed had taken root in the hearts of most men. Hence the people of the Malabaarze coast hold it as a sacred fact that the King and great Zammorin of Calechut had been for a long time a mere washer in another body, but has now after much wandering come to regal honours and exchanged a hut for a palace.

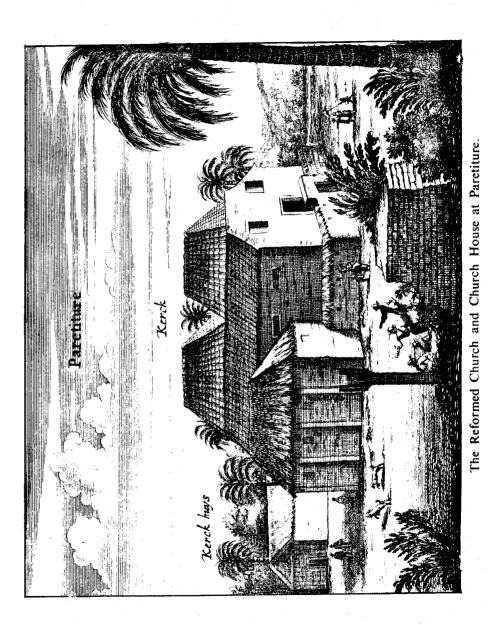
Nor was this opinion singular with the Joden (Jews) for they

Reasons for such errors in Judaism.

[p. 181]

affirm that the soul of Adam was translated into the body of David and ultimately passed into the body of the Messias (whom they yet vainly expect). These poor deluded blindlings labour under a fatal impression, that as the word Adam is composed in the Hebrew tongue of the letters A. D. and M. it of necessity implies a mystic allusion to Adam, David, and Messias. Nor is this strange for it was through Antiochus (with his philosophy) that the Joden scholars and church became greatly corrupted and maintain that there is a rotation not only of souls but of bodies of the unfaithful, which ultimately arrive where they wish to be. It also appears that the said Joden taught that the souls of sinners inhabit the bodies of animals each according to the gravity of his sins. Whereas it is clear that a rational soul must have its own proper habitation, which is not the body of an irrational beast but of a man, who is given suitable powers wherewith to produce rational results. This foolish opinion is also contrary to the Holy Scripture, which teaches us that the soul and spirit of men return to God who gave them. I have too frequently endeavoured to convince them of the absurdities which result from this doctrine. For instance what would the occupation of a rational soul be in the body of a beast — and whether that rational soul is incorporated with the body of the beast, just as our souls and bodies are? And whether such a beast possesses besides its irrational soul also a rational one such as ours? And if that soul only sojourns as a stranger in that body, as a guest does in a house for a night. And whether a body which had not sinned can

Absurdities of this doctrine shown.



The Reformed Church and Church House at Poelopolay.

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

be justly punished by God, by being sent into it a soul which has greatly sinned in another body? Above all by these doctrines the grand bond and system of nature are broken — for if the soul of a deceased person can shift itself into the body of another, can it then be that the soul of either father or mother enter into the bodies of the descendants of their sons.

An ancient doctrine, amongst the Druiden in Gaul. The learned *Vossius* ascribes these errors to certain traditions concerning the resurrection of the dead which were spread abroad even amongst the *Druidas* in *Vrankrijk* (Gaul) according to *Caesar* Lib 6. with this difference only, that the *Pythagoristen* affirm that the souls of men do transmigrate even to the bodies of beasts, whilst the former hold such to be into the bodies of men only, and hence their extraordinary valour and freedom from the fear of death as *Lucanus* observes. Lib 1.

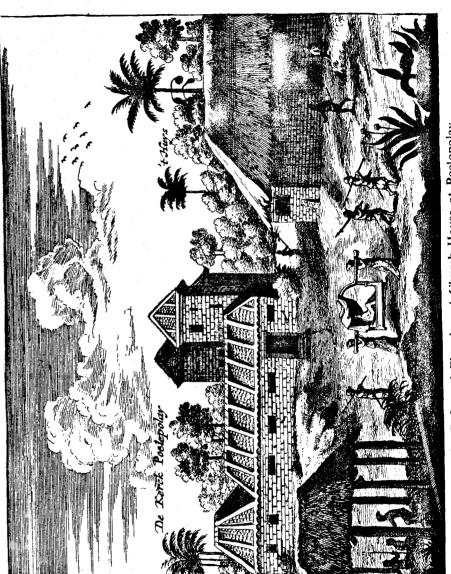
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendie, In ferrum mens prona viris animaeque capaces Mortis, et ignavum est rediturae parcere vitae.

That is

"Happily deceived, for they are free from that king of terrors, the fear of death. This gives the warrior his eagerness to rush upon the steel, his courage to face death, and his conviction that it is cowardly to be careful of a life that will come back to him again."

Even in Duytslandt,

And in Guinea, Virginia, China, Peru and Mexico. [p. 182] So also Appiano speaks of the ancient Hooghduytschen a people very ferocious in disposition but who in their attacks manifested a wonderful boldness and great contempt of death because of their hope of another existence. Thomas Aviot an Engelsman informs us, that this doctrine has been found to prevail in Virginia. Joseph Acosta says the same of Peru and Mexico, the same is related of Guinea and of China as also of the ancient Aegyptenaren and Geten. The Pythagoraei speaking of Athalides says, that his soul before it entered the body of Pythagoras had transmigrated into several other bodies, first into that of



As translated by J. D. Duff, Loeb Classical Series. Lucanes, Pharsalia, Book 1.

Euphorbus the son of Panthus during the Trovaansche war, afterwards into Pyrrhus and next into Eleus, and lastly into Pythagoras.

All pagan teachings have this sour leaven.

It is surprising that the Sadduceen were more guilty of error than the pagans who deny immortality to the soul. So also the Mahometans and Persianen.

A disgrace that amonest Christians are found Epicureans,

A second argument.

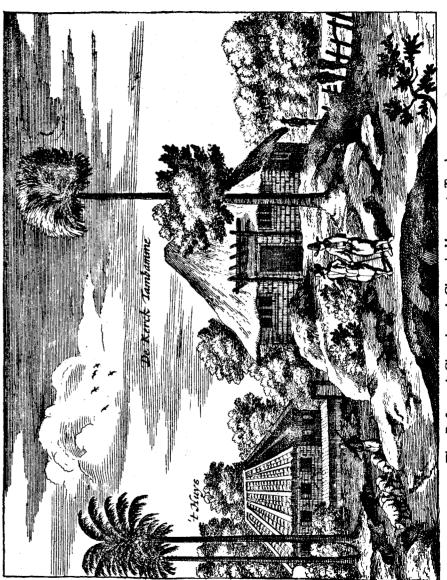
erring

greatly.

All the doctrines of these pagans are infected with this sour leaven, as we shall describe it in detail hereafter when we come to treat of their religion and mode of worship so that even the heathenish Ovidius Naso had not adopted such absurdities. But what is more startling is that among the Joden the Sadduceen who had so much veneration for the books of Mosis, could have fallen into such gross errors and deny the immortality of the soul. whereas it is apparent in Gen. 1.16 that the soul of man was not created out of matter as are the irrational brutes, but proceeds from God, and is therefore spiritual and self existing. But all other gentiles on the contrary admit the immortality of the soul. Hermes, Soroaster, Chalcidius, Epicharmis the last of whom thus expresses himself "Si pius es anima tua non potest mori" that is "If you are spiritual, your soul cannot then die". Seneca teaches the immortality of the soul throughout, and though Epicurus disowned the immortality of the soul he however left funds so that on his death there might be a feast in his honour, according to the learned Mornay. Yea, even the heathen themselves console each other in their grief with the hope of the immortality of the soul. Cicero in Somnio Scipionis says Cogntionem inter Deum animam esse i.e. There is a near relationship between God and our souls. Seneca in his letter to Lucilius tells him that the souls are in heaven; and speaking of the deceased son of Marcia he says In meliori statu est, he is in a better state.

The Turken, Persianen and Mahomet in his Alcoran acknowledge the immortality of the soul, so that it is no small wonder that there are Christians of the Epicuri turn of mind, and others who affirm that the souls of the wicked are annihilated, and again others assert, that the souls rest in the dust till the day of judgement. But the soul never sleeps not even in this life, when the body reposes at night. Even then the soul of man is occupied with its activities and memories.

They think it impossible likewise for a soul no sooner it leaves the body that it can at once enter into a state of felicity and blessedness in heaven, without its being first subjected to some state of probation and punishment, comformable to its merit, whereas the sacred pages are clear and tell us, that the immortal



souls which God himself had planted within us do not return to mortal bodies, which they have done with, but to God.

Chapter Forty Seven

The marriage ceremonies of the Bellales, Bramines. Their various good laws. Their castes, states and artificers of Jafnapatan. Account of the conquest of Trinquenemale.

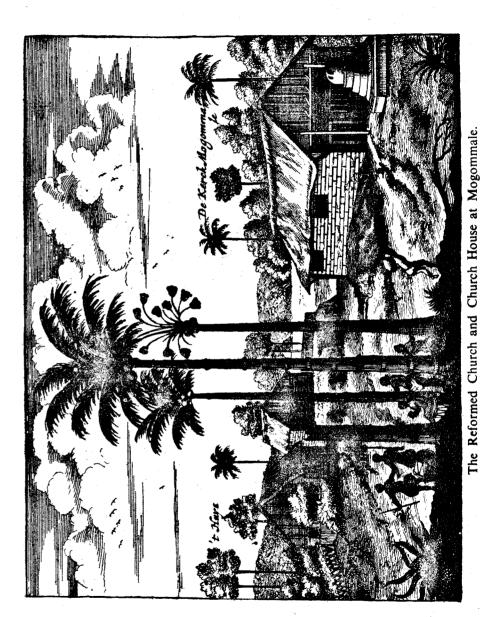
Marriages of Bellales and Bramines.

[p. 183]

N THE preceding chapter mention has already been made concerning the time of the marriage of the Bellales and that the Bramines marry within their caste, generally with their nephews and nieces. Amongst some of the native Christians there still prevails an ugly custom (in order to render the marriage tie more binding) for the bridegroom to fasten a tali or necklace round the bride's neck, inspite of all my reasonings to the contrary because I saw the custom was of pagan origin. For Rogerius tells us that this ceremony was also observed on the Choromandel coast, and unless it takes place, the marriage is not considered properly confirmed and it cannot be omitted but to their great shame. Hence it is that in the case of the death of the husband the tali, that which makes the bond of marriage is also burnt. Rogerius p. 46.

It is no easy matter in this land for a needy female to gain a husband. In all such difficulties there is a collection made (as I have often witnessed myself) to endow the bride with a dote or marriage dowry. Their females marry whilst very young, in their 10th or 11th year of age, and frequently become a mother in their 13th and 14th year. When a marriage is to take place it is the custom of the country (after banns have been called 3 times) and when the couple has been formally married by the minister in the church, for the party to retire to the house where the nuptials are to be celebrated, here there is a ramade, pandaal or canopy erected in front of the entrance of the house, with 4 pyzang or plantain trees in imitation of pillars, the arch above being decorated with various kind of flowers, young coconuts, and pomegranates. Those who are rich give magnificent feasts (I have been often present).

Their betro-



The food consisting of deer's flesh, hares, partridges, fish and every description of confectionery and fruits, and there is no lack of all sorts of jesting, singing, dancing and acting. Howbeit, amidst all this mirth and merriment, no strong drink is introduced there. save for their Nederlandtsche guests, who they know cannot exist on water alone, and who must bring their own Spaansche wine, or are provided with it.

Wedding celebrations.

Early betrothals of the inhahiremain unmarried. So also recommended Plato, Athenen. making celibacy punishable. Furius Posthumius thought the populated in accordance with maritandis ordinibus custom of children

Although these festivities do not exactly last for 7 days together as in days of yore, Gen. 29. 17 & Judic 14. 17, yet they knowhow to carry it through for 4 or 5 days with much gaiety, eating and drinking up to a late hour in the night. There people are very careful as already said, to see their daughters married out early in life as well as their sons, for they seem to believe that a man is no man tants, no one unless he is wedded to a wife, and that those who disregard the means of propagating their species are no better than murderers. As Plato would have it too, as well as the Romeynen and some

It has been frequently the case that young maidens of between 8 and 9 years of age were brought before me that they might in my Camillas and presence, and in that of their parents, pledge their troth to their intended future husbands. I have repeatedly declined this interland should be ference, with the sole view of discouraging such proceedings. seeing that these children on arriving to mature years might not only easily change their minds, but as also paving the way to create feelings of inconstancy and disgust hereafter in the married maxim. Bad couple. We see that these people generally select wives younger than their sons. There is also the reluctance to marry such being betro- women as have already arrived to years of woman-hood. In truth, on the coast of Choromandel, if the daughter of a Bramine is not married before that time, no person whatever would have her for wife ever after.

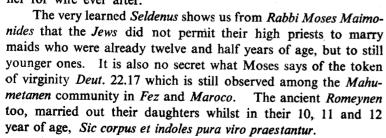
How the Jews are married.

thed before

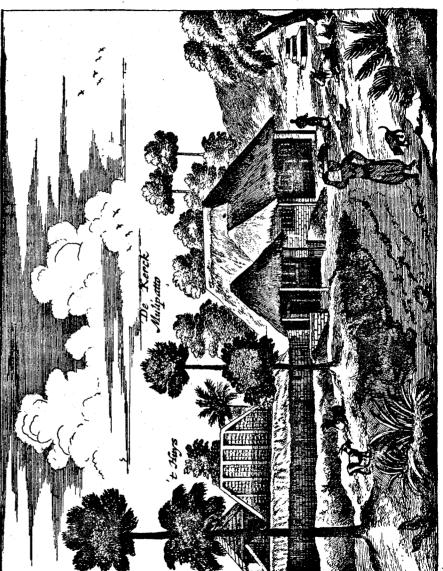
maturity of

mind.

[p. 184]



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It has been said before, that a portionless female was hardly able to obtain a husband, yet there remains something more to be said respecting the dote or marriage gift. It is too often the case in this country, that for the want of such a provision, the consummation of a marriage falls entirely to the ground, but this fact must not strike us with surprise, for we know with what stringency the marriage contracts are often made and entered into returns to the in Hollandt and elsewhere, seeking more for earthly gains, rather than for virtue and godliness, and the hope of a godly family. Were the parties here to die without issue, the dote reverts to the husband's or wife's relations according to who might have brought it.

If there are no children the dowrv relations of the man or the wife.

not marry without the consent of elders.

Soundness confirmed by Holy Writings and otherwise.

It is a very commendable thing that in Jafnapatan neither a Children must young man nor a young woman, would ever consent to form an alliance, or let their banns be published without the consent of their parents. This is as it ought to be, an equitable and just proceeding, and in keeping with the infallible truth and practice of all ages see Deut. 7.3. Jer. 29.6. Gen. 24.1.2. Gen. 29.19 Exod. 22.16.17 more especially Num. 30, vs. 2.3. & 4. If a son has then no just right to dispose of ought which

and justice of belongeth to his father, without his consent, much less can he then dispose of himself, who is his father's dearest pledge. For Ambrosius has long since showed us, that even amongst the pagans the consent of the parents was indispensable in contracting a marriage. Euripides relates of Orestes that when he sought the hand of Hermonia, he was told by her that the matter did not rest with her, but in the good pleasure of her father. Such was the decree of the Council of Lateranen and Innocentius, such was the opinion of Basilius in his letter to Amphilochium for what. he asks, is marriage without the consent of parents, but downright fornication.

> Wisely has then our legislature of late watched against all such unwarrantable abuses, in order to discourage all foul abductions (to the no small annoyance and grief of parents) and beastly wickedness by the enactment of certain salutary laws, denouncing punishment to the offenders. The ancient church held all such children, the offspring of such unlawful marriages as bastards. In curbing as it were the inconsiderate and foolish youth, with bit and bridle, by reminding them at the same time of the 5th Commandment to "Honour father and mother", the first with a promise.

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

Yea, even the very scriptures exemplify this in order that it might not be supposed by the thoughtless youths that by their immature deceptions they can coerce their parents, for we have an instance in Sichem's father who though Dina had been already ravished, he vet asked Jacob for his consent, Gen. 34 v. 8.9. Yea, the ancient councils have also decreed, that no lawful marriage can take place inter raptorem et raptam.

In times past the Chivias have had to give their service to the Different then King of Jafnapatan but at present, they have to supply the Jafnapatan. principal Nederlanders with water which they fetch after a 2 or The Chivias 3 hours walk. They also have to supply us with firewood, so are water that their labour is the labour of the Gibeoniten. Subsequently cutters and termed Nethinim Jos. 9.23 but their yoke is still much heavier. pallinkijn-For they are now and then also obliged to carry a man or woman in a heavy pallinkiin on their shoulders, 10 or 12 of them, to a distance of 10, 20, 30 miles. But nevertheless they are all very proud on the score of being government servants, and will bear no other persons but such as are of some consequence. For those of inferior grades are carried about by common coelijs who are to be found all over the place, but the former reside in the district of the Chundecouli Church.

The caste of the Parruas is also located at Jafnapatan, but The Parruas they are not so numerous here as at Tutecoriin. Their chief caste. employment is sea-faring and diving for chankos1 or zeehoorns [p. 185] and pearls, most of them speak good Portugeesch and are quite civilized.

The Chittijs live by trade in piece goods, and other wares, The Chittys. they are an arch and cunning set of people and know too well how to earn a stuvver.

It is not simply that each caste marries within the circle of their own people, but the profession of the father descends to the son, the son of a weaver remains a weaver, and all his posterity, and the offspring of a smith remains a smith, with all his descendants.

^{1.} Chankos, i.e. chanks. Shells of the genus Turbinella are referred to. They were used as ornaments, the larger ones being also used at Hindu temples and in processions as trumpets. The export of chanks was a considerable item of revenue for the Company.

The Carreas

The caste of the Carreas earn their livelihood by fishing, they have large nets with them and live near the seashore at Jafnapatan, and on the banks of the salt river. The people of the Mokkuas caste are likewise fishers

The Nallouas.

The Nallouas are all along of a deeper black than the others, they are the slaves of the Bellales. Their chief occupation is to draw zuyry (toddy) from the trees, (and can drink themselves stone drunk); they till the ground, take care of cattle, and water the trees, and are a nasty and dirty people, one can smell them at a distance like the Hottentotten at the Caap. They work as coelijs too, and perform every other menial work.

The Parreas.

The Parreas, are the most despicable and nasty set, who perform the most disagreeable and dirty offices in life, they do not scruple to eat rats and mice, in a word they are a despised and vile people.

Curious debasement of some castes of others.

The Indian people refrain from killing or eating cattle.

Here there is a wonderful contempt for the lower castes, and an extraordinary respect for the highest, on an inferior passing and exaltation a superior he must show his insignificance by a deep and respectful bow towards the earth. The husbands also are treated like another caste and are much respected by their wives, who eat apart and alone. These people never partake of beef, and none of it is slaughtered but by the Nederlanders, for the natives hold a cow sacred as did the Aegyptenaren of old, Exo. 8.26, Gen. 43.32 (as fully explained in our book which treats of the religious ceremonies of the Malabaren and Cingalezen) though there are some thieves and sly rogues amongst them, who during the winter. steal many cattle, slay them and sell their hides.

> The castes are many and varied. There are some principal stocks from which spring the different ones, like the branches of a tree. Such differences were also observed by the ancient pagans. Among the Aegyptenaren there were a division into four particular classes, these were the hiereis or priests the 2nd maximoi or soldiers, the 3rd technitai artists and mechanics and the last poimenes or shepherds. Just as amongst ourselves, all inhabitants are classed as edelen, patricios, burgeren and gemeyne volk.

> As a whole, the inhabitants of Jafnapatan, are endowed by God with a good understanding and judgement, being with the exception of the Nallouas and Parreas, sober, neat and clean about their person, not quarrelsome, but great prattlers, and

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know well how to use their tongues. The greatest flaw in The chief the character of the nation is their unchastity. There were people of many complaints heard of the profligacy of married men (who Jafnapatam previous to marriage had so abandoned themselves to profligacy and idolatry. as to render themselves afterwards unequal to conjugal duties). [p. 186] Such complaints were often made to me, but they are at the same time so eager to preserve their name and generation, and we heard them say, that they can besides their own wives have other women too.

Enchiridia ad

Epist. 119 c.7.

as planting a

mentioning

Amongst those of mature years, idolatry and demon worship still prevail, as we have seen them exemplified in one instance, when their books which contained these fanatical doctrines were called for and destroyed. Some of the old people are still strict referred to by observers of good and evil days; (more regarding the like super- Augustinus in stitious notions might be known from the history of Raja Singa Laurentium King of Candv.) It is notorious that the Grieken and Romevnen c. 79 and had also their good and evil days. It is a bad sign with them Various for one to sneeze when leaving the house, to hear the cry of some examples such solitary nocturnal birds on the roof of their houses, or to see one vineyard in a at night, but especially to be touched by the shadow of a crow leap year, in its flight. Amongst the Portugezen themselves they have a homely saying of pagan origin, "I cannot conceive why I saw weather, such an unlucky face (rosto mofinho) this morning."

devilish divination by stars and so

Those on the Choromandel coast view it as a good sign on. All which when they chance to see a red spar-hawk with a white ring about should be its neck. Joan Van Twist in his account of Guzuratte informs us, rejected by that the people there on leaving their houses hold it for a good omen if they meet an elephant, or camel either laden or not; to see a horse, without its rider is better than with one; or a cow or buffalo carrying water; if empty, not so propitious; it is also good to see a goat or dog, with food in their mouths, or to see a cat on the right side; also people carrying meat, milk or butter, or a cock running ahead.

There are not only amongst these old people strict believers in Many magidivination by birds, (in defiance of God's commandments), as cians amongst the inhabitalso did the ancient Romeynen and which God would not tolerate ants. in his own people Deut. 18. 10, but there are also some who pretend to cure the sick by the muttering of some words or by slight whippings on the body of the patient. In short they are

As of old amongst the Jews.

full of faith in predictions and soothsaying, appealing to the devil about anything which had been lost, in order to have it restored to them, delving into the future, jugglery, trying to trace theft by means of a winnow and a pair of scissors and other disgraceful practices. Such debasement doubtless was found also with the people of God, who so strongly bade them to beware of the following sins.—Communing with the dead Esa 8 v. 19 which evil deed is termed by the Greeks Necromanteia. Such a one as is guilty of these is denounced in the sacred pages as a dead-seeker (Hebrew word)1. Secondly, witchcraft and augury, the scripture denominating such a one, through whom an evil spirit speaks (Hebrew) and the Greeks Eglastrimuton because the (Hebrew words) and (Hebrew) Job. 32.19 mean "leathern bags". So that it is not without reason that the very learned Johannes Coccaeus so calls these soothsayers in his Lexico Hebraico, inasmuch they are like blown-out leather bags possessed by the spirit of the devil. As the divines also maintain, these evil spirits do enter and exist in man and woman and then speak from under their armpits or from other less dignified parts, as we read in 1. Sam. 28.v.7 and Actor 16.v.16 of such women possessed of familiar spirits. Thirdly, exorcism, Actor 19.15. Fourthly, black arts and sorcery. Fifthly, bird-cries, just as the heathens had also their liver examination Ezech. 21, 21 lucky days, drawing lots, Esther 3, v, 7, 9. 24. Stock and staff counselling Hos 4.12. Prognostications from the elements. Water, air, fire and earth. The spelling of names after a conjunction of letters, as the cabalistery of the Joden, palmistry, which the Grieken call Cheiromanteia, astrology, the time of one's birth mirror- zing called Kalptromantia, and all such delusions and deceits of the devils, as the movement of a key, the spring of a ring cha thread. Those who are desirous to be further informed of these things had best consult the work of the very learned and renowned Caspar Peucerus intitled De Variis Divinationum Generibus.

These idolatrous sins to be found amongst Christians in Europe also.

[p. 187]

It is to be wished that such rot and shamelessness have no place amongst Christians, who ought to be ashamed of themselves seeing that even *Horatio* a pagan poet detested them—*Odarum* XIV.

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Tu ne quaesieris scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi finem dii dederint.

Leuconoe, nec Babylonios tentabis numeros.

That is

I require not Leuconoe ('its not fitting you should know) How long a term of life the Gods have granted to you or me:

Neither consult the Chaldean calculations.

It is for every Christian to take good heed of his soul, and not to ascribe the power of the creator to the creature or to created things, to words, or letters, which they do not possess. Such is the main road which leads to sorcery. Hesselius a renowned divine of Leuven observes thus—If any one expects to see some wonderful effects produced from any substances which do not by nature possess such power or seeks deliverance in any thing besides God and his holy providence it is nothing less than superstition, Superstitio Vanae observantiae, as he says.

It would be by far the better that

God's Will be sought in the Book of Everlasting Life,

The Father's Testament, In which the Holy Ghost

Has with the Blood of Christ your name as Heir inscribed.

In the Kingdom of Jafnapatan, we have people familiar with all arts and handicrafts. We find men here thoroughly acquainted with local laws. The principal court, the Landtraadt, is composed of Nederlanders and Indianen. A very intelligent native skilled in the ancient laws of his country sits here with 3 other Modliars. There lack no tertulli or advocates, they can harangue for half an hour and yet they have but scarcely begun then.

There is no lack of artzen or doctors, though ignorant of Medical men. anatomy, in which operations would be also impracticable in

^{1.} Untranslated Hebrew words.

^{1.} The Landraad exercised jurisdiction over the non-Dutch inhabitants in all disputes relating to land and in matters of contracts and debts over 120 rix-dollars in value. The Landraad in Jaffna was presided over by the Dissava and had other high Company officials as members. An appeal lay from this court to the Raad van Justitie. During the Governorship of Simons the Tamil customary laws were compiled by the Dissava of Jaffna, Claasz Isaaksz and these laws were in 1707 promulgated as the Thesavalamai. See Anthonisz Dutch in Ceylon p. 185 and Pieria, Ceylon and the Hollanders p. 47.

Their knowledge all based on experience.

this country (owing to its warm temperature) unless they are in the secret of the deceased Louys de Bils to rid the corpses of stench and decomposition. All their cures consist of pure empirics and experience. They possess great written folios, which had passed to them from their fore-fathers, to which they have added the results of their own researches. All their purgatives are administered either in pills or mixtures, which are composed of various medicinal herbs; in cases of too profuse a discharge of the bowels, they advise the patient to apply a little black pepper ground with water on or about their navel. I have myself experienced this to be a sovereign remedy, and it is good for all cases of Tormina Ventris or stomach troubles and for checking strong stools.

Woundhealers.

[p. 188]

We do not lack here wound-healers and barbers; the latter have always a small looking glass with them, their razors are much thicker at their back than those of our country. The barbers not only shave, but also crop the Fair of the head, cut and pare the nails of both the hands and feet, and clean one's ears too.

Weavers.

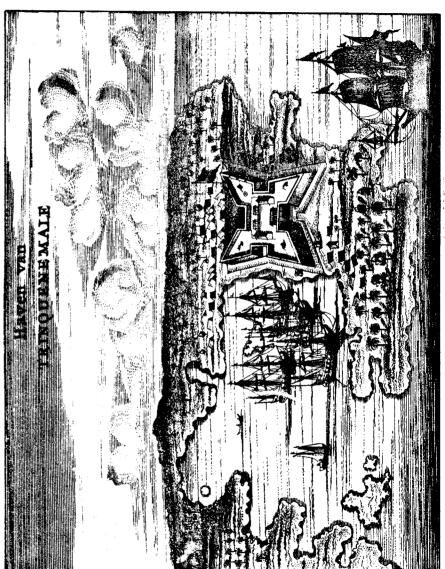
Weavers are also here in abundance. When at work, they place their feet in a hole dug in the ground, so that their hams rest on the elevated ground which serves them as a bench facing their looms.

Dyers.

Here are also painters in large numbers (as noticed before). They first lay the outlines of what they intend to paint, and then proceed with great labour to delineate all kinds of birds, and beautiful festoons; these cloths will stand washing as often as it becomes necessary without injury to the colour of the paint. They are not however equal to those on the coast especially those of *Musilipatan*.

Clever craftsmen in Jafnapatan. There are likewise very skilful workmen in ivory and ebony, there are also gold and silver smiths, who with but few implements come and work at the houses of *Nederlanders*. They know how to assay gold to the very carat.

Some dailypaid workers. Smiths, carpenters, masons and all kinds of artificers are to be found there as in any country in Europe. The highest earnings of a carpenter or mason is 5 or 6 stuyvers per diem.



Thus much then of *Jafnapatan* and all that was worth special mention. It will be now time that we leave its confines, and make our way to *Trinquenemale* along the sea coast.

Trinquenemale was conquered in the year 1639 by Heer Anthonio Caan, a Councillor of India, who was but for a short time in Ceylon (as noticed whilst treating of Negombo) which fortress might well have been reduced much earlier by Admiral Adam Westerwoldt, for it was then garrisoned by not more than fifty soldiers. But it would appear that Raja Singa had a mind to test, in the first instance, the strength of the Company's forces by the taking of Batecalo, or as others would have it Matecalo. Trinquenemale has an exceedingly fine harbour as the plate indicates, yea, one of the best and most spacious in the whole Island, and better protected against the winds than Belligamme, Gale and Columbo.

Trinquen**e**male Harbour

> This place was for a considerable time much neglected by us. but again and again was furnished with pallisades and fortresses. for latterly, prior to and in our wars with the Engelsche in our neighbourhood, it was deemed necessary to the interest of the Company to keep a sharp look out against all arrivals of strangers, lest they might enter into some sort of contract or other with Raja Singa against us. Besides its harbour was of too much importance to be thus abandoned. It is true, that whilst an attempt was made by us for fortifying the place by Captain Peter Wasch, it had devoured many of our people, for there then raged a wonderful disorder. As subsequently ascertained by a post mortem examination of the brains that there lodged a worm in it, which made the patients go raving mad, and oft times running in large crowds towards the sea and rivers to destroy themselves. This fatal malady was since ascertained to arise from the excessive heat during the day, the diggings and delvings of our soldiers, the little food, and that too, of a briny nature, their constant watchings,

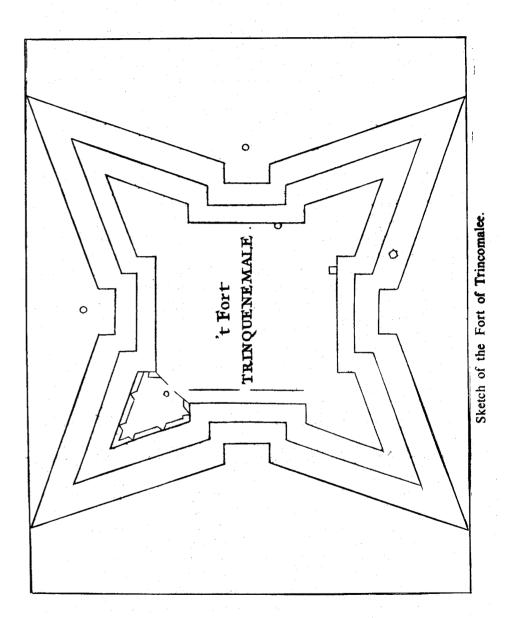
Serious disease there.

[p. 189]

The place was however in a state of defence anew as I have since learnt from a letter of Captain *Pierre du Pon* dated 5th October 1667 from the Isle of *Celebes* in the vicinity of the town of *Macasser* which runs thus—"I have once more sailed for *Trinquenemale* with a force with directions to take possession of the place on the Company's behest, in which I have succeeded

and the intense cold and dew of the nights.

The Fort is rebuilt.



beyond my expectation, and after I had raised a defence there with 4 points, organised all things and brought the people to submission, I left it for Columbo."

From Trinquenemale via Capello, we came back to Batecalo. the place where our hitherto successful arms had in the first instance commenced operations. Thus we have made a short perambulation of the Island and spoken of such things as were remarkable and notable in it. It only remains now that we national desirement between Raia come (under God) into a friendly understanding with the King Singa and the of Candy, who is now grown old, and from the account given by a friend, half dazed and somewhat given to liquor. It is however to be feared, that though the serpent be dead, that there might spring another Basiliscus from its embers, which our countrymen in the interior will yet learn. In the last letter from Tutecoriin to my address under date 20th December 1668 I learnt that (to give the words of the writer) "There was some commotion in Ceylon, so as to induce the authorities to call in the forces from Saffragam and Mannekewarre, but it is now all over, and quiet again, but the troops had not been replaced." May God vouchsafe that the said island may have long-continued peace and prosperity, and that our best hopes may blossom in all quiet and godliness, and that Christianity might flourish more and more, and that the island itself long remain a blessed pearl in the crown of the Honourable Company.

[p. 190]

Latest dis-

agreement

Company.

[p. 191]

Chapter Forty Eight¹

Natural History of Ceylon. Its Pagoden, Convents and Friars. Disposition, dress and household habits of the Cingalezen.

AVING now travelled from place to place in Ceylon in so far as they are under the control and dominion of the Nederlanders, we shall now take a look at Candy, the

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imperial capital in order to investigate somewhat more closely the nature of the Island, and of its inhabitants. Candy lies 30 miles from the sea, and 9 from Vintane and borders the river of Tringuenemale, 21 miles landwards of Matecalo, and 9 from the sea-beach,1 where they build the Emperor's ships and galleys. With respect to the other stations, as there are no authentic accounts of them. I shall therefore omit them.

There are rich pagoden to be seen throughout the Island, as Cevion has the one in *Vintane*, whose base is in circumference 130 paces, many very lofty and wide, it is gilt at the top, in shape it resembles a Monasteries. pyramid, but in its ascent of an oval shape, having at its summit a square pinnacle.2 There is also the great Pagode between Gale and Matecalo, very large and lofty and which serves as a beacon

for ships,3 (like the Pagode of Trinquenemale). In this great lofty Pagode, there is the figure of a huge man in an upright standing position with a naked sword in upraised hand as though to strike. It is to this figure that the Cingalezen have recourse in time of distress and sickness, by making offerings to which end they always have a basket in their house in which they lay aside the things intended as offerings to the demons. They implicitly believe that the world will not be destroyed as long as this Pagode exists. In other places they pay much adoration to the head of an elephant, made of either wood or stone, to acquire wisdom. They adorn their idols with flowers. These heads of elephants are to be found everywhere on the road, and some on the trees (for they have many devil trees) or in some notches of masonry. We often find on the road heaps of stones, and other rubbish, to which each passerby adds something more. I have seen near Belligamme4 the figure of a man carved out in a rock about the depth of an arm, and about 6 yards high, which the Cingalezen honour and make offerings to.

There is a high mountain or peak which is considered the Pico de loftiest in India called Pico de Adam.5 The inhabitants believe it Adam.

^{1.} A large portion of this chapter is taken by Baldaeus without acknowledgement from the Journal of Joris van Spilbergen who visited Ceylon at the beginning of the 17th Century. For extracts from Spilbergen's Journal See Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XX.

^{1.} The references are to 'Dutch' miles one of which is equal to three English miles.

Doubtless the Mahiyangana dagaba at Alutnuwara is referred to. In Kandyan times Alutnuwara was a place of considerable importance.

They reference is possibly to the temple at Dondra dedicated to Vishnu. The original temple was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1587.

The Khusta Raja at Weligama.

^{5.} Portuguese for Adam's Peak.

to be the paradise where Adam was created, saying that his foot print can still be seen there set deep in the rock. To this mountain many Cingalezen resort on pilgrimage to see this foot print, a copy of which is kept in Candy by the Emperor. Here come often many people from hundreds of miles away, especially Jogues, (yogis) to see this famous shrine. This mountain is very difficult of ascent, which can only be accomplished, as Maffaeus the Jesuyt observes by the help of the iron chains made fast to nails. Some say that this is the place where the chamberlain of the Moorish queen Candace was honoured, and some historians, especially Dorothaeus, Bishop of Tyrus, who during the reign of Constantinus the Great particularly excelled in sanctity and learning, would have it that the Gospel of Jesus was taught in Arabia Felice, in Erythreen and Taprobana.

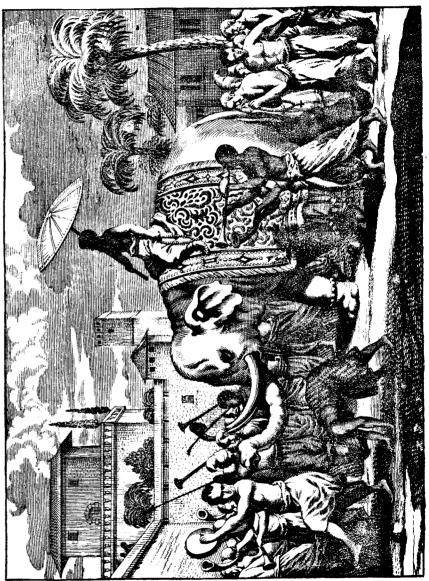
Monasteries and Monks in Ceylon.

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There are also diverse monasteries in Ceylon, as well as a large community of Bramines and priests who eat nothing that has or can produce life, as eggs etc. These people are held in high esteem. In some monasteries there are monks who go along the streets clad in yellow robes, carrying sombreiros or sun screens with them, their heads are shaved clean, they are seen with their pater nosters in their hands, constantly reading, and slowly muttering. These monasteries are built with galleries, corridors and chapels in which there are various images of men and women who they say, have led holy lives. These figures are clad in silver or gold vestments, to whose honour there are lamps and wax tapers kept burning during day and night upon their altars, there being also great candlestands decorated with figures of naked children. The monks enter these chapels at all hours to say prayers and read their breviaries.

Monks' Procession in Ceylon.

When they go in procession through the streets, the chief abbot is seated upon an elephant richly caparisoned and has a gilt sombreiro held over his head, and there is much playing of horns, trumpets, tom-toms and the sounding of bells and cymbals which altogether makes a good effect, followed by many men, women and children. Their finest females ere that the procession moves, perform many wonderful antics and dances, the upper part of their bodies are entirely bare though their arms, ears and hands are adorned with jewelry and precious stones, and they wear clothes of various colours. These people whilst



paying to their idols the daily adoration sombaia, prostrate themselves on the ground and on rising they clasp their hands over their heads, and pray. What further relates to the religion of the Cingalezen will be found in our first book. For in pagan rituals there is no great difference between their mode of worship and that of the Malabaren, and those of the Choromandel coast. but they are not however quite so superstitious, because there is no coercion on the part of the Emperor regarding any particular faith, but he gives them their choice. The nation is not bigoted. for there are amongst them many who have become converts to the Roman Catholic religion, realising the falseness of their own religion so that through the instrumentality of ministers. and the support of our high authorities, many souls can yet be won to Jesus Christ.

Nature of the Cingalezen.

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We shall now say something respecting the nation. The Cingalezen are a nice people, clever and acquainted with all handicrafts, they work in gold, silver, ivory, ebony and iron, and are very dexterous in the forging of arms, and artfully inlaying them with silver, eloquent and nimble, experienced in war and wary in battle, sober and vigilant; in marching to battle, they go one after the other with reversed lances, owing to the narrowness of the roads; their small drums sound very loud and can be heard vibrating through the mountains at the distance of 5 or 6 hours. They are very apt to wound a fallen foe, and to keep on inflicting wounds, whether he be dead or dying. It is not however very safe to place any great confidence in them, but as they are cunning they should not be lightly esteemed for through the Portugezen and other Europaeische people they have now acquired wisdom. They make light of incest, for the men commend their wives during their absence from home to their own brothers for masculine attention; there was one case in particular at Gale, when a women thought it an injustice and yielded not to the command of her husband. Whilst I was living in Jafnapatan a surprising occurrence took place there, but in view of the immaturity of the offenders as Christians and their ignorance of their sin they were both through my intercession freed from capital punishment; they were made subsequently sensible of the demands of God's law, that they might not in future again sin thus with a warning also to the rest of the inhabitants.

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The Cingalezen much resemble in their features and Dress of the manners the Malabaren, having long and bored ear-laps; in complexion they are not so swarthy; the dress of their men is a jacket or ropillos of either cloth or linen, from their waist they wear a cloth wound up like a pair of breeches, on the head those of some consequence wear a red rouansche cap of which they are very proud, their ears are adorned with earrings set with different stones. On their hip they wear daggers with silver, ivory or gold hilts. The common people go about almost nude having only a small bit of cloth wrapped about their loins. The women go bare-breast, they are well made of body, and use no external ornaments to their hair, but know how to bundle it very artfully into a knot at the extremity of their heads like a hive. They wear about their necks gold or silver necklaces and have rings on their fingers and toes.

These Cingalezen are lovers of ease and like the Malabaren little inclined to work, sensual and making much of their caste. They are polygamists and marry as many wives as they can, like the Mahometanen of whom there are many settled in the Island. They marry out their daughters very early in life in their 10th or They marry 11th year, as hundreds of their elders can testify to the marriage out their rites I have performed and there is no counselling them to the early. contrary, it being the only way they say, of testing the chastity of [p. 194] their brides.

They, like the pagans, burn their dead. They are very Their orderly in their household affairs, they make use of plantain. domestic habits. leaves as substitutes for napkins and table cloths, and instead of spoons, they use pieces of old coconuts and drink from gorgeletten,1 earthen vessels having spouts or tubes, they do not reach the vessels to their mouths, but after the Mooren fashion, pour the fluid into their mouths, for they make much of their caste like the Malabaren and will not eat or drink with one of lower caste, just as many amongst the nation do not even take their meals with their own wives.

Their common coin consists of silver larijns, worth 10 Cingalezen stuyvers each, 5 stuyvers make a fanom, but there is a difference coinage.

Gorgeletten. Heydt (Ceylon p. 122) says "When one drinks from such it gurgles, so that the Dutch call it gorgolettes." The Portuguese word was 'gorgoleta'. The word has survived in the Sinhalese "gurulethua."

be ween a silver and gold fanom. A pagode was formerly worth 84 stuyvers. At present both in Ceylon and on the Choromandel coast 6 guilders and 2 gold fanoms worth 5 stuyvers each, make one larijn.

Chapter Forty Nine

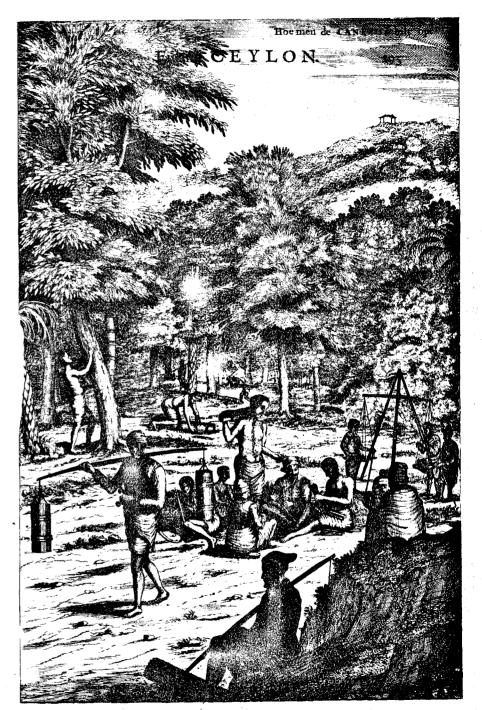
Fertility of Cevlon. Detailed description of the cinnamon tree and the snakewood. The sensitive tree.

The Island is very fruitful.

THE soil of Ceylon is very productive of rice and has all valuable fruits such as pineapple, coconut, jaks, and the best oranges, lemons and citrons far excelling those of Spanien and Portugaal, also plantains, cajou, grapes, sweet potatoes, Ouiavos papaw and pomegranates. We have grapes all the year round except during the winter or rainy months. There are also sugar canes, mulberry plants from which there is now annually a good collection of silk made, also ginger, pepper, cardamom and tobacco. There also grow wild palmyra trees which produce sugar and zuvri, which is a pleasant drink, there are the callabas trees, cotton, areka and Portugal fig trees and every description of mangoes, long pepper, betel etc. melons, pumpkins, water melons, onion, leek, and we have now fortunately succeeded in raising cabbages and introduced the pompelmoes2 trees as also asparagus, root-crops, radish and a variety of Dutch plants, but especially there thrives only in this Island, the finest and costly caneel (cinnamon), the rich bride Helena for which the Nederlandtsche and the Portugesche nations had for so many years contended.

Short description of Ceylonsche cinnamon tree.

The cinnamon which is so much esteemed in Holland and a pound of which is sold at such remarkable prices, is in this caneel and the Island absolutely pure. It is called by the Cingalezen, cureneopotto and the tree curindo-gas, some of which are found to be



The collection of Cinnamon.

^{1.} Sweet toddy as distinguished from the fermented. The word is derived from the Sanskrit 'sura' and is more common in the Tamil districts.

A species of citrus, the shaddock. Usually called 'pomelo' in Ceylon. Sinhalese 'jambola' and Tamil 'jamblica'.

very large, the leaves are not unlike those of the citron tree, but somewhat narrower, the blossoms are white, lovely and of a sweet scent, it produces a fruit resembling an olive, of a slight vellow tint, from which the inhabitants extract an oil which has the colour and virtue of noten muscaten (nutmeg) and is medicinally applied in various disorders, it retains the smell and flavour of cinnamon.

The cinnamon tree has two barks of which the external one is scraped off with a bent knife, and then they proceed to peel off the cinnamon with the curved point by an incision made first circularwise and then in a parallel line, and then expose the bark in the sun to dry, when they warp and get rolled together. The trees thus barked and peeled grow no longer, but there spring up new trees from the seeds, which are dropped down from the parent tree.

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The wood of the cinnamon tree is good, soft and white, the inhabitants use them in building houses. It is singular that these plants do not grow throughout the Island, and are only confined to some places for they are not to be found in the whole Kingdom of Jafnapatan, or on the Island of Manaar, but are only to be met with this side of the river of Chilau, in the lands of Negumbo and its district and also about Gale etc. Nor do the trees grow in regular order to each other, but are to be found even in jungles as I have experienced in my journeys, and it was frequently that I saw my slaves and servants make use of them in common with others for firewood; on the wood being burnt, it emits an agreeable and unusual odour.

It is not less remarkable, that while the cinnamon is considered by physicians and masters of medicine as too heating in its effects, yet there is not only distilled from its root a water which smells like camphor but also yields the strongest camphor itself. I had large balls of them with me, which I could not keep because of the strong smell. From these trees when fresh and tender there are drawn different kinds of water which have a healthy and agreeable scent. The natives know how to use the wood in the construction of little cabinets and boxes. I have one in my possession extraordinarily strong and large which was presented to me as a keep-sake on my quitting Ceylon in 1665 by my brave and gallant friend Capiteyn Major Pierre du Pon.

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There are three sorts of cinnamon in India. 1st. The cinnamon Fino (or Fijne so called by the Portugezen) India. which are those cut of young and middling trees.

Three kinds of caneel in

2nd. The cinnamon Grosso (or Groove) cut of thicker and old trees.

3rd. There is also the cinnamon de Mato (or jungle cinnamon) which is also to be found on the Malabarze coast, but is little esteemed, for while a bhaar1 of Cevlon cinnamon fetches 50 to 60 reals the wild only 10 or 12 reals, I heard the inhabitants say that they can prepare the wild cinnamon well and get advantage from it. The Company is now (under God's blessing) master of all this cinnamon, both fine and coarse, as well as all other spices, such as nutmegs, mace, and cloves besides pepper, which thrives in many places.

The snakewood is to be found abundantly in Ceylon, it is of Snakewood a dull white, somewhat inclining to yellow, very hard and bitter or Lignum of taste, it is much used all over India and especially in Ceylon, as it is of great use in various disorders. The Indians grind it How the very smoothly and anoint their entire body with it, as a remedy Indianen for driving off all external sores and itches, which they are much subject to, from the great heat of the climate. An ounce of snake-root smoothly ground and mixed with some water or wine and taken internally cures the colic, high fevers and a variety of other disorders, it is particularly useful for the bites of snakes of which the Island is full, more of which later.

The Cingalezen in their books assert that the snake-root was How snakediscovered through a small animal called by the Portuguese Quil wood became or Quirpele2 which is of the size of a ferret and is employed in Hollandt and elsewhere for drawing the rabbits from their burrows. Many of these little creatures are to be seen in India in houses. they are kept either for amusement, or for the destruction of the rats and mice. This animal is by nature an enemy of snakes, so [p. 197] that whenever it sees one a battle ensues between them, and when wounded by the snake, it cures itself they say, by partaking of the snake wood. Marcellus de Boschhouwer of whom mention Extraordinary has already been made, and who was so highly honoured and incident.

^{1.} A bhaar contained 480 lbs.

^{2.} The mongoose of which there are four different species in Ceylon.

esteemed in Ceylon, says, that he had frequently witnessed such combats, and that on the said Ouirpele receiving a bite it ran away into the jungle and was seen to return to the spot within half an hour's time without the least injury and overcome its antagonist. The root of snakewood is called by the Cingalezen Nay Lelli and it is much esteemed for its healing powers. Of other matters regarding snakes, their varieties, and nature, we shall say more hereafter.

Snake-wood called Nay Lelli by the Cingalezen.

> There is another wonderful tree in Ceylon, called Wortelboom1 which is enormously outspread and lets fall its stems like ropes from the top to the foot of the tree, these take root and in process of time occupy a great circle.

> There are plenty of tamarind trees in Cevlon, which grow to large and stately dimensions, their fruit is very wholesome and useful against scurvy and dropsy.

A sensiiive plant.

There is also a plant which is sensitive. It might reasonably be termed "little touch-me-not" Herba noli me tangere, for no sooner is it touched, than it springs and quivers. Ceylon abounds in various medicinal plants, and most of their sick are cured with their own native medicines, as there are, too, some clever doctors amongst them, and it is much safer there, to be treated with their local medicine than by unskilful physicians. If their purgatives chance to operate somewhat too strongly, a little ground pepper mixed with some water and smeared round the navel arrests their working. In short, as every country has its own peculiar maladies so they have their own proper physicians and cures. For the presence of our sovereign healer is as well there as here.

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Chapter Fifty

The vast number of elephants in Cevlon. Their harmfulness and some instances thereof. The manner in which they are caught. Buffaloes, tigers, bears, birds, fishes, crocodiles, porpoises etc.

THE Island of Cevlon abounds in various kinds of animals, birds, fishes, and in precious stones and marine products. We shall say something with respect to each of these. The first and foremost in rank is the elephant of which there Excess of are vast numbers in this country, so that one cannot safely travel elephants in unless accompanied by soldiers under the beat of drums, or a gong in order to scare away the animal. About twilight is the most dangerous part of the day, when the animal gets hungry. The coolies or palenqueen bearers when they chance to see an elephant, are wont to leave the palenqueen and the traveller in the lurch, and make away. I know of an instance whilst I was residing there, regarding a certain Portugeesch minister of the Strange Reformed Church, Johannes Fereira d' Almeyda who was traveiling experience with his wife, between Gale and Columbo. The coolies at the sight elephant. of an elephant fled, leaving the palenqueen, with the minister's lady alone in it. The elephant approached the palenqueen and, (by the wonderful protection of God) did the lady no injury but only struck at the pallinkijn roof with his trunk and trumpeting resumed his way. But such lucky escapes are not always to be expected. In one of my travels between Manaar and Jaffnapatan [p. 198] where these animals most abound, and in wet seasons ruin the roads with their huge and deep footprints, it happened that soon after we had quitted a certain station, where the elephants were wont to come in large numbers in search of drink, a respectable native, a chief of the elephant catchers, was killed there by an elephant. On another occasion whilst travelling at night to Manaar, an elephant broke forth owing to the occasional firing by the soldiers and in its run pulled down a large tree, which fell just right before my palanqueen and barred the road. Every year many lives are destroyed by these animals and much damage is caused.

^{1.} Wortelboom, literally the 'root tree'. The banyan tree or fiscus indica is meant.

Taming the elephants and how they are captured.

There is a capacious stall at *Mature* in which the newly caught elephants are tethered and tamed preparatory to their being sold to the Mooren who came for them from Bengale and the Choromandel coast. About Mature they are ensuared by means of coralen which are made of strong tree trunks driven into the ground, having a wide and roomy entrance, but gradually becoming more and more straitened at its extreme end with trap doors to it, into this the tame and decoy elephants allure the wild ones and so make them enter it, much in the same way as we allure the ducks in Hollandt. It means no small trouble before these beasts are properly tamed. It often happens that they would persevere in a standing position for four months without their once lying down. They are taken twice a day to the edge of the river to be washed, the wild ones between two tame ones, and if they prove refractory the tame elephants attack them with their tusks, and they with groans learns obedience; it frequently happens, that young elephants when following their dams become also entrapped in the coraal and they are very sly: I know of an instance, that whilst we were engaged in conversation, one of these little guests quietly pushed an unsuspecting individual so violently in his rear, that he nearly buried his nose in the ground. They feed mostly upon the leaves of plantains, coconuts and other trees, and also like sugar and arrack. At a certain period of the year, there is seen oozing out from the sides of the head of old elephants, a fluid of an oily consistence, which makes the animal mentally unstable and he often breaks the carnak's neck. The Cevlon elephants are reckoned to be the best and largest in India, and it is said that all other elephants honour them.

Horses.

Horses (the elephant's greatest foe) are generally imported into the Island. The Portugezen as will appear hereafter, some years ago introduced them on the Island de Vaca1 and their number is now so increased that they are to be seen in troops of 60, 70, 80 and even 100.

Buffale 28.

Buffaloes there are also in abundance, I saw about the lands of Chilau and Madampe hundreds of them in troops, when that part of the country was not so very populous then. There are also

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porcupines, when these are threatened, they violently shake off their quills which are so sharp. There is no lack of oxen, cows, steers, as well as sheep, goats, deer, hinds, elks, pigs, wild boars and hares, there are also in abundance partridges, greyfowl, peacocks and also apes, which sometimes so much amuse a traveller.

There are also beasts of the more ferocious kind. Some Tigers. make mention of the tiger but I have not seen any. I had a big hunting dog from the Portugezen, and it was said that the animal had been once hadly wounded on the back by the claws of a tiger, which was not unlikely as he carried some very deep marks of injury.

Bears I have seen both at Jafnapatan and Manaar. At the And Bears. latter place there were 5 or 6 young whelps destroyed by drowning in my presence. The people refuse to have more of them at [p. 199] Mantotte and they would rather drop these bad eggs in the pan than have them produce bad chickens.

The jackals are terribly fond of human flesh, which induces Jackals. the inhabitants to secure the graves of their dead from their depredations by laying heavy stones over them. Our hunting dogs attack them now and then, but they deteriorate thereby, for the jackals when in danger discharge such a stench, as of offensive urine, that the dogs cannot endure it. The flesh of the jackal is medically used in phthisis. I have on my premises witnessed the native doctors use it with good effect. In the evenings the jackals flock together and raise such a frightful howling, worse than the howling of our dogs, especially in the vicinity of some encampment or other, where they can get some fragments of food, for they are always hungry. I recollect the case of a drunken caffer who was once attacked in the throat.

In shape the jackals are not unlike little foxes particularly Their about their tails. The Malabaren call them adivijs. It is said that there are leopards also to be found in Ceylon, but I have seen only one of them on the Island. Unicorns and Rhinoceros there are none that I know of. I shall here stop with respect to. the quadrupeds and give a brief account of birds.

There are a variety of birds to be found in Ceylon, both Bird Life in small and large for which the natives have their peculiar names which could be but ill expressed in our language. Crows there

^{1.} de Vaca. A Portuguese name for the Island of Nindundiva which was renamed Delft by the Dutch.

in Ceylon, as in Malabar and the coast.

Crows crafty are by thousands which in the noon make a wretched noise on the roofs of houses. They are so sly and cunning, that they are not to be easily shot, except through a broken pane of glass, or through a rattaned window. About dusk they shelter in the trees outside the town, and are up early in the morning in quest of food, for they delight in smoking chimneys. A singular race I had almost said with a certain poet, who calls the fishes populos pulmone carentes, (a people without lungs, for they are not good eaters, but well conducted guests), besides which there is so much cawing and chattering, that one's ears ring with it. If any of their comrades are lowered by a shot, it is not to be expressed what a funeral they make of it with their cawings and lamentations, and especially if they see the carcase suspended from a tree; were their feet but hands, they would risk all dangers to relieve it from the scaffold. in spite of the vigilance of the cooks and slaves from whom they too frequently pilfer some piece of meat or other, regardless of sharing a similar fate. Thus much then of these amusing thieves. who have often cleared away the cobwebs from one's mind.

Kites.

Night owls.

Various small birds.

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Fishes.

We have also in Ceylon many kites called by the Portugezen minhotos which but too frequently without any leave set off with many a pullet; there are also owls who alight on the roofs of houses at night, and utter a mournful call.

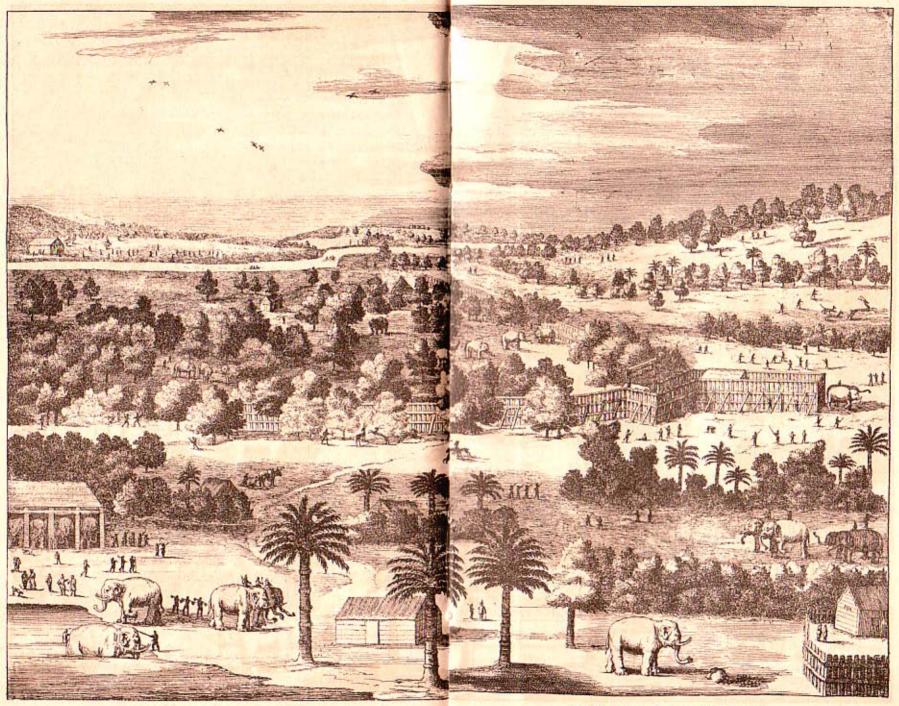
There are geese, herons, and there is no lack of tame and wild ducks, peacocks, doves, partridges, and turtle-doves. parrokeets of beautiful colours, pewits, sparrows, swallows, small and big bats, martins, wood-peckers, there are also birds which build extraordinary nests, which hang from the branches of trees, resembling night caps with long tips, wonderfully constructed. There are also many fine singing birds equal to the nightingale, as also nightingales, larks, sea gulls, snipes, fireflies, bees, gnats, butterflies, grasshoppers; Ceylon also has fish in abundance, such as Cacaps, plaice, skates, crabs, large pikes, king's fish, sail fish, lobsters, Goa-codfish, gallery fish, Harders, d'Orados, sardines, large smelts, bat-fish, soles, oysters, mussels, shrimps, Pampus, Korremans, barbets, Bomten, Corquados etc. etc.

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Amongst amphibians the kaimant or crocodile ranks the Crocodiles first, the Portugezen call them lagarto, and they are very common in Ceylon, and all around its coast, in some localities they were found to measure 18 feet long, and as thick as an ox-head. It has four feet which are armed with sharp claws, its hide bossy and scaly, and so tough on the back, as to be impenetrable to a bullet. The most vulnerable parts are under the belly and about its eyes, its lower jaw is immovable, and its throat wide and armed with sharp teeth, it has no spine bones or vertebrae and hence it can only move in a straight direction without the power of turning, so that one might easily escape its attack by twisting and turning and false moves. It is said, that some look for a certain small stone which is to be found on Its head like unto a tiny bone, this when pulverized is made use of in complaints of gravel, as is done with the small bones of the fierce shark.

In the offshore islands of America according to Doctor Rochefort, there are crocodiles to be found in fresh water, which smell strongly of musk (perhaps to warn people by the scent). I often saw with amazement that these crocodiles lay floating on the water, so that one would take it for an old log of wood; when hungry, he waylay for an attack to be made on either men or beast, floating on the water with its eyes partially closed, and when men or cattle approach the brink of the river for drink, he darts at them with great velocity and plunges his prey down into the deep. Vincent le Blanca relates, that the servant of a burgomaster of Alexandrie imagining that what he saw was a log of wood floating, was carried down below by one of these monsters. They say that their fat which is white is used by physicians in defluxions. There is an excess of them in Jafnapatan. In the siege of that place in 1658 the soldiers often jumped over their bodies at night, but without sustaining any injury. They are found in the neighbouring tanks, water-pools and wells, and when the water is dried up, they make deep holes in the ground and hide themselves in it. The Chinezen feast on young crocodiles and know how to dress them to their taste.

^{1.} Kaiman. A corruption of the Carib word for alligators or crocodiles. The use of the word, survives today in 'Kaymans Gate' which was the old exit from the Fort of Colombo. The moat near the gate had crocodiles which were introduced to discourage trespassers.



An Elephant Kraal near Matara.

On the Island of Manaar, there are plenty of porpoises. They have large teeth, their flesh is good eating, the females have breasts and milk. They are also to be seen in the jungles and feed on herbs.

Chapter Fifty One

The snakes of Ceylon. Remedies against their bites. Extraordinary incident of a snake-catcher. Precious stones. Marine products. Amber, its qualities and character.

Snakes.

THERE are dangerous snakes to be found all over the Island. We also have sea snakes measuring 8, 9 and 10 feet long. There are also some large and long snakes called rat catchers, these keep themselves generally to the roofs of houses, but seldom or never do any injury to people; the most venomous ones are, the Cobres Capellos1 of whose bite I know many persons died at Jafnapatan; no sooner the wound is inflicted. the snake stone should be applied to the wound wetting it occasionally with milk.

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Remedy for snakebite.

Our surgeon Mr Albert van Lambergen writes to me that he was in the year 1666 bitten by a poisonous snake, which wrought on him a species of blindness, but that eventually by divine grace he had recovered his sight. A man at Manipay whilst employed in shifting the decayed ola covering of the church accidentally trod upon a snake which was amongst the olas, and was bitten by it, which caused the man's death. In the vicinity of the same church I once saw two snakes sporting together, they were in an erect position, their bodies coiled together, with mouths close to each other, at my request they were killed by a soldier with a sabre. The inhabitants who are not yet entirely free from their superstitious notions would fain see them not destroyed, but with us Christians, there is no such hesitation.

The Malabaren call them pambo and naga, and stand in great dread of them. They name their children and cattle after

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these snakes and set food for them to feed upon in order that they might do them no hurt. A clear and manifest proof that these heathen know of no enmity with the snakes, so long as they do not know and believe in Jesus who bruised the serpent's head.

These snakes creep into the houses by stealth, particularly in the rainy season. They lurk about mostly where pigeons are kept. At my own residence I have lost 2 of my dogs by their bite, they are sometimes to be seen on the steps of our houses. nay even occasionally upon our beds. It happened once that a snake crept into the house, glided past touching the feet of my wife, and was subsequently destroyed by my servants.

vipres, they are speckled and their poison is of a very deadly ordinary incident in character. There was in the garrison of Jafnapatan a Hoogduytscher Ceylon. who was commonly called the snake-catcher. This individual was once sent for by the then Commandant, at present Extraordinary Councillor and Governor of the Choromandel coast. Anthonio Pavilioen, to take up a large cobra capello which was in his room, which he did with no apparent difficulty at all. Holding his hat close before his face, he seized the monster with his hand without undergoing the least harm, and subsequently we saw him handling it without much ceremony and it was kept in his knapsack at the main guardroom, and when he retired to rest he used to lay it close to him. I had some misgivings whether or not this feat was not the working of some black art and questioned him on the subject, but he avowed that it was done by natural means, and that by the effects of some medicines and other things, he was proof against their poison, and that he then

The inhabitants of the coast of Choromandel, as well as some of the Malabaren and Cingalezen know how to charm these snakes. On their chanting certain songs the snakes dance astonishingly in an erect position. In administering an oath, they make the person to be sworn put his or her hand into a pot. in which there is a snake and if the hand is drawn out unburt the

carried with him in his pocket the head and heart of a snake:

with this explanation I was obliged to be content, as he would

not further let me into the secret.

There is a species of little snake, which the Portugezen call Extra-

^{1.} A Portuguese name for the Cobra.

oath is then considered as solemn, but if hurt, the person has then forsworn himself.

Other remedies for snakehite.

[p. 202]

We shall now for the sake of utility point out some remedies, besides the foregoing one for the bite of snakes. The wounded part, should in the first instance be held over a flame of fire as close as practicable after a good ligature has been tied round about the wound, so as to prevent the poison which is so powerful from being drawn to the heart.

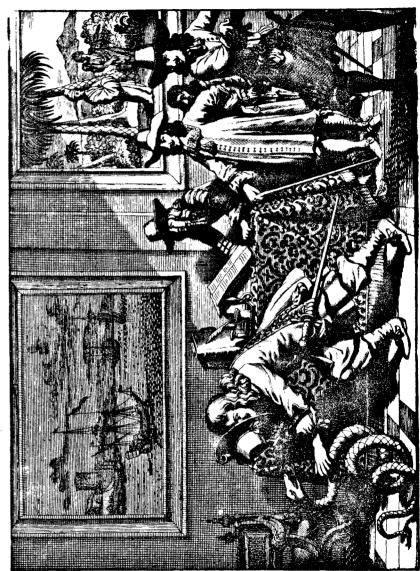
To all persons going to India, I strongly recommed the Orvietan, which is at present so much in renown here, and shall much wish to learn of its effects by our returning ships. The following are also used for invigorating the heart, Theriaca, Mithridaat, Confectio d' Alkermes, Aegyptische Balzem and that of Peru, Wijnruyte, (Rue) Scordium, Scorzonera, Viperine, Angelica, Contrahierva. They also make use of a crown's weight of lungpowder with some water of Bernagie or Buglosse and the hearts of adders, and all such other medicines which are calculated, to strengthen the heart and cheer the spirits. The patient must avoid all blood-heating diet, also blood-letting and purging, and keep the pores open by vapour bath or other means. A ready remedy is to eat the rinds of a fresh lemon or citron; to anoint the wound with fasting spittle is also very good. If we can get the snake, which inflicted the wound, its head should be crushed and spread as a salve over the wound.

But the snake-stone however, of which mention has been made, excels all other remedies, but much deception is practised with respect to it. To ascertain its genuineness it should be dropped into a cup of water when it will send up small bubbles to its surface, and when applied to the palate, it will closely adhere to it.

The Cevlon snakes are not quite so large as those to be found in Java and Banda. There was an instance in Batavia, where on a snake being taken, and examined, it was found to have swallowed an entire deer of some size, and it was produced for the inspection of the Governor General. In Banda, (Bantam) there was found in the belly of a snake the entire carcase of a woman, a slave.

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Enough then of snakes. Ceylon further abounds in various descriptions of reptiles, such as "thousand-legs", the Portugezen call them millepie or centipe, some of which were found to



measure seven inches long; we have there also dangerous scorpions, detestable spiders and many such like, there are also toads, shell-fish, frogs etc.

Precious Stones of Cevlon.

Ceylon also produces many precious stones, such as sapphires, rubies, topazes, garnets, and robassen.1 It is also said that there are in the interior of the Island, mines of silver, gold, iron and metal which the kings did not permit to be dug up -that there are minerals is not to be doubted, and iron comes from the interior, as we have seen it ourselves, there is also abundance of crystal.

Early Portugezen trading in Ceylon.

The chief articles of commerce with the Portugezen in former times were the following-All descriptions of coloured cloth, velvets and silk, red-caps, porcelain, spices, opium, radix chine, camphor, musk, sandal, eagle-wood, lead, copper, tin, pewter, salt petre, sulphur, gilt looking glasses, glass, phials, painted linen of Zurata and Choromandel; these goods are still acceptable there.

Marine products.

There are likewise in Cevlon, various marine products. Of pearl and the pearl fishery we have spoken in the description given of Tutecorijn. There were frequently found on the sea coast of Ceylon large pieces of costly amber.

It is difficult to say of what material the amber² is formed. whether it be the seed of the whales, or something else. The Maldivers call it panahambar. Neither Hippocrates, Dioscorides, or Galenus seem to have known it, it is then a drug unknown to the ancients, nor is its origin as yet known. Jan Huygen of Linschoten informs us, that in 1555 there was such a large piece of amber found near Kaap Comorijn (Cape Comorin) that it weighed 30 quintals. Some suppose it to be a broken mass of earth, and others again that it is some sort of lime formation cast up on land by the sea from the bottom in a tempest. Certainly it is mostly found after a storm, the birds seem very partial to the smell of amber, for small chips of their beaks were frequently discovered in it, and that amber proves to be very good. Others

Origin of Amber uncertain.

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say, such as D. Rochefort in his natural history of the foreshore islands of America, that the amber there, when fresh stinks like a corpse and that the birds seek it, as other animals do carrion. Its stench is really like that of diseased pork.

There is black amber about the Isle of Mauritius which is Various reckoned to be the worst of its kind, and there is a sort which is Amber. white. There is finally the amber grijs1 which is considered the best. In some parts of America, there is to be found the gevostenamber, it derives its name from the foxes swallowing the drug and evacuating it undigested with the loss of its nice smell. The best amber is ash coloured, or as when ash is mixed and incorporated with wax. Various deceptions are however practised with respect to amber, it is sometimes adulterated with a mixture of rosin. wax. tar and bitumen. A trial therefore becomes necessary to Marks of ascertain its genuineness, which is done by pricking the drug good Amber. with a heated needle, when the moisture which sticks to the needle, must yield a good and agreeable odour, and easily melt like wax and prove brittle when cold. The genuine amber is close grained like the seeds of water-nuts. Amber can also be tried by laying a piece of it on a heated knife, when it will dissolve as readily as wax, and if the knife be too hot, the fluid will then [p. 204] evaporate clean off without leaving the least traces of it. Of amber Scaliger, Garcias, Monard, Ferdinandus Lopes, Clusius, Rochefort and others have written. As to its virtue from a medicinal point of view, I leave it to those skilled in the profession to determine.

There is also in the Island much coral, indeed whole bunches of them washed up by the sea. I have several scraps of coral very daintily shaped by nature.

There grow also various cockles called chankos which are very much esteemed in Bengal, as also all kinds of shells, but they are not so beautiful and singular as those of Amboina. There are sea-apples, sea-stars and many other such marine products.

END OF THE DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

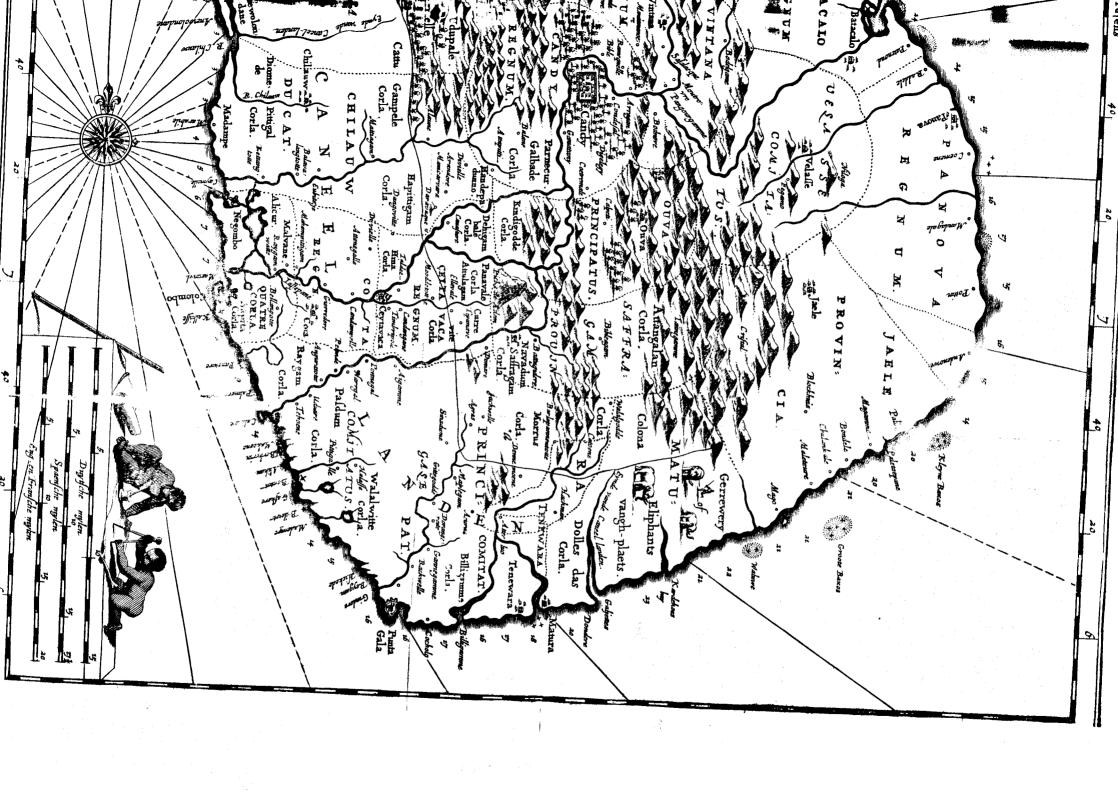
^{1.} Robassen from the Malabar word 'robal' meaning 'dark garnets.' See Ceylon Literary Register, III, p. 34.

^{2.} Amber, a resinous fossil — though how obtained like a mineral product was originally a distillation from an extinct coniferous tree. It frequently preserves within itself plant structures and insects.

^{1.} A fatty substance which is a morbid secretion from the intestines of the cachalot or sperm whale.







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