A TRUE AND EXACT DESC OF THE GREAT ISLAND OF CEYLON

by

PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

A new and unabridged translation from the edition of 1672

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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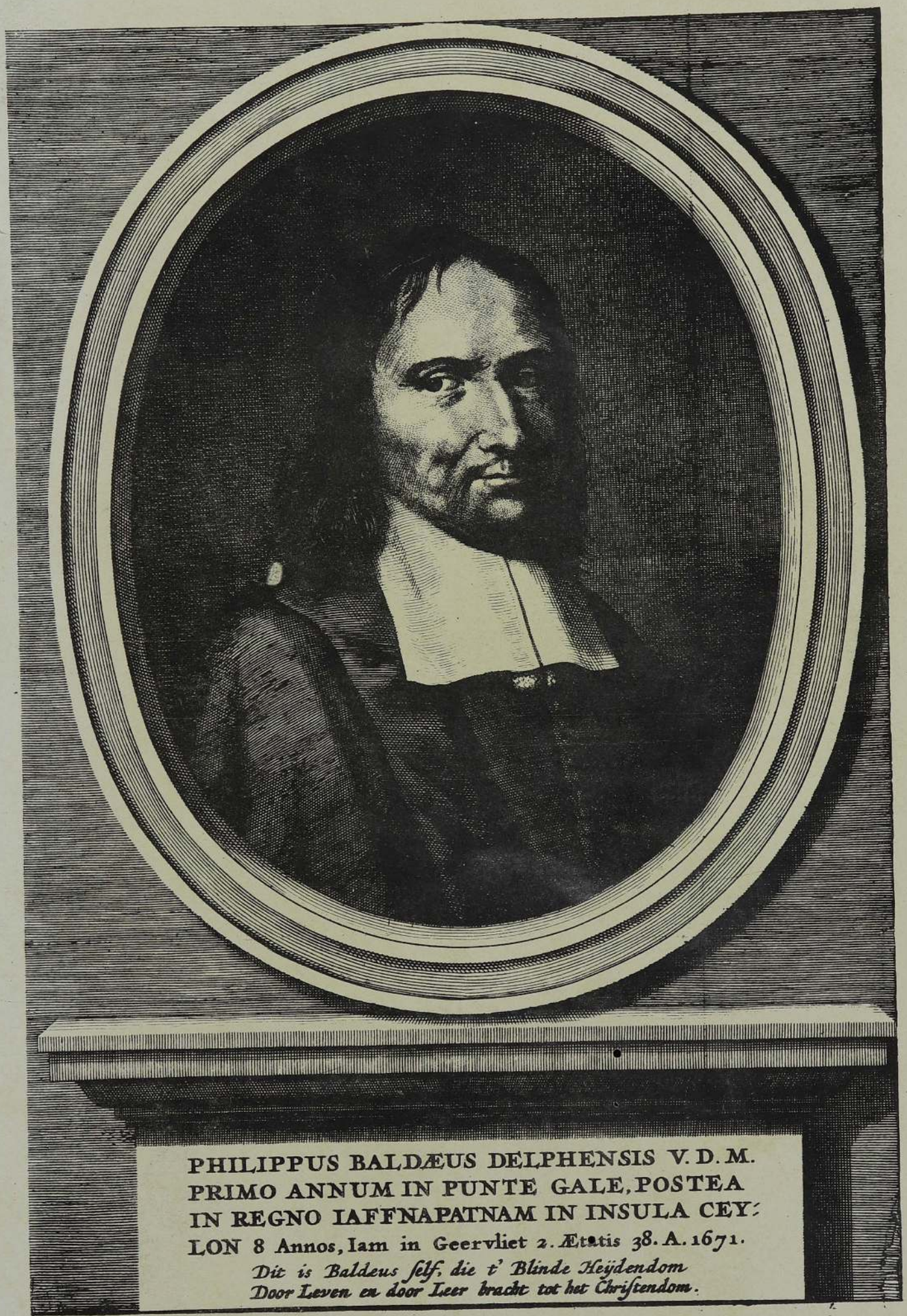

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A

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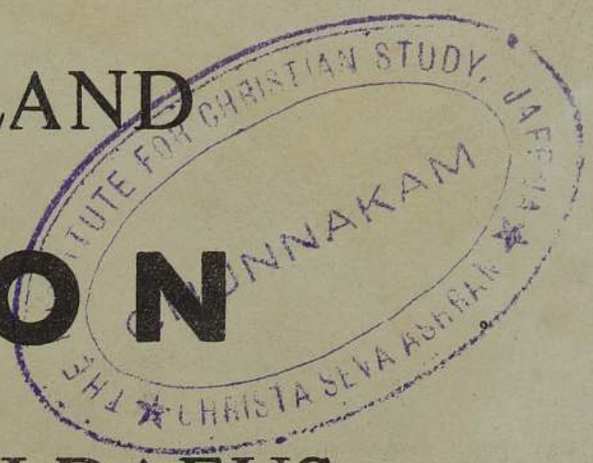

by

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

Published in co-operation with the Ceylon Branch
of the Royal Asiatic Society

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INTRODUCTION

By

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

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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

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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 1958[1] 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 BALDAEUS[2]

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

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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.

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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[1] 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."[2] 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[3] 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

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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.

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to have soon disappeared.[1] 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

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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.
2. 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 Dutch 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.
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.

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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 Fort of Jaffna capitulated and thereafter the Dutch fleet sailed to Negapatam which surrendered without fighting.[1] 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.[2]

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

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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.
2. 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.

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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

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1. 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.

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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 Ceylon, 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

1. *Dutch Power in Ceylon* 1658-1687, p. 217.

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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

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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.

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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

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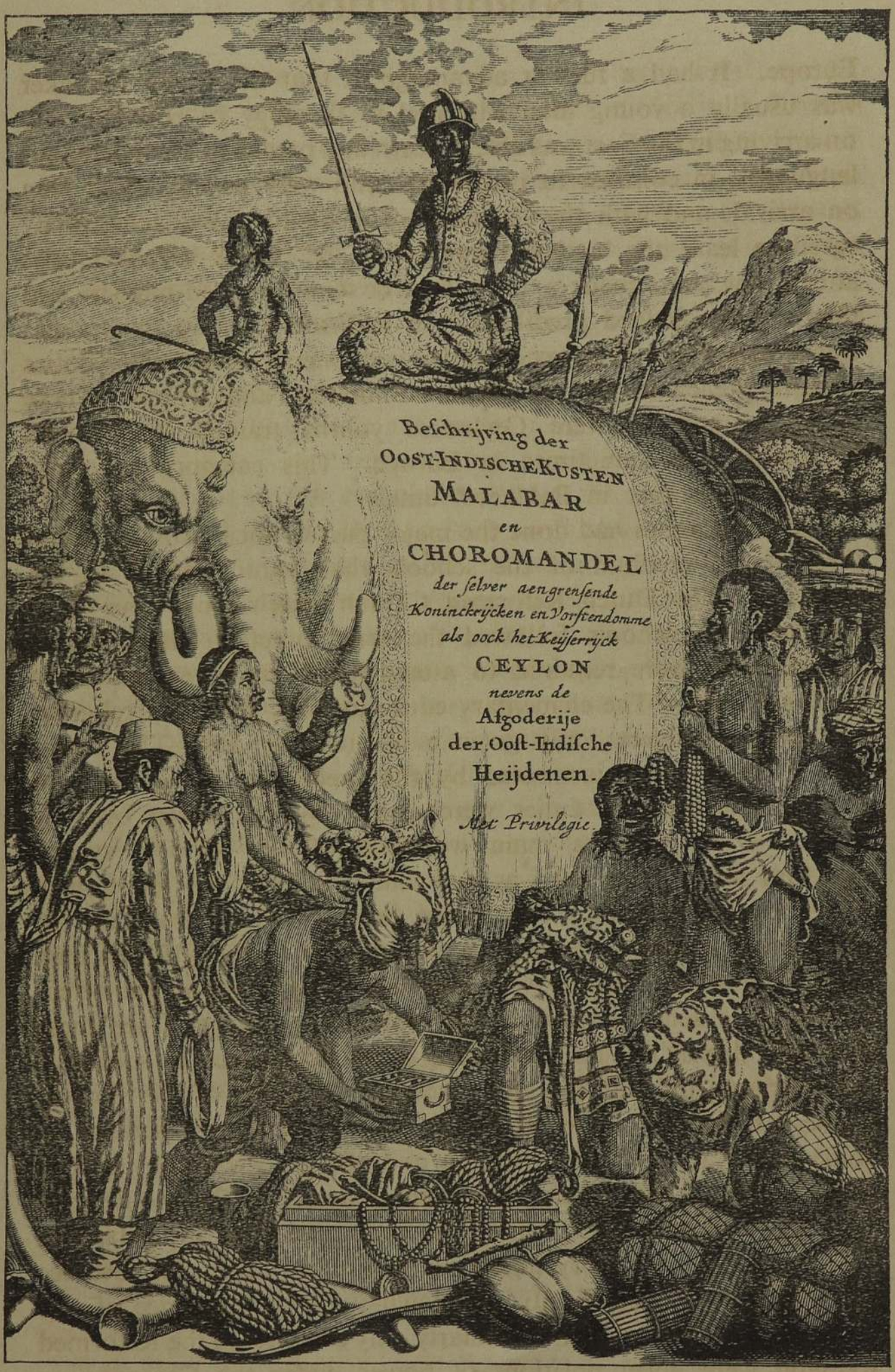

Bastard title page of 1672 Edition.

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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

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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.

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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

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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."

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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.

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INTRODUCTION

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

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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.

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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

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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.

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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,[1] 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. 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.

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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 Ceylon, 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

1. *Dutch Power in Ceylon* 1658-1687, p. 217.

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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 Register*[1] 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

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1. Quoted by Ferguson. *Dagh Register* for 1665.
2. 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.

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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.[1] 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

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1. 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.*

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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 finerq 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

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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

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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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INTRODUCTION

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 Cornelius de Witt[1] 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

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1. 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.

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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 follows[2]:-

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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.

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Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge
VAN
MALABAR
EN
CHOROMANDEL,
Der zelver aangrenzende RYKEN,
En het machtige EYLAND
CEYLON.
Nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de
Afgoderye der Oost-Indische
HEYDENEN.

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

Zijnde hier by gevoeght een

MALABAARSCHE SPRAAK-KONST;

Zeer dienstigh voor alle die het lust met dien Landaard om te gaan.

Met Kaarten, en afbeeldingen van Landen, Steden, Drachten, Boomen, Vruchten, na het leven in Indiën afgeteekent, en kurieus in kooper gesneden.

Door PHILIPPUS BALDÆUS, *Dienaar des Godlijken Woords*;
Eertijdts op Ceylon, *en nu tot* Geervliet.

t'AMSTERDAM,
By JOHANNES { JANSSONIUS van WAASBERGE, En van SOMEREN. Anno 1672.
Met Privilegie voor 15 Jaren.

Title page of 1672 Edition.

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INTRODUCTION

"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

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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

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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.

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

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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

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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

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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*.

1. Ferguson carefully notes these points of difference in his article.

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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."[1] 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

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1. 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.

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BESCHRYVING

Van het machtige

EYLAND

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 de voornaamſte Belegeringen, van* Punte Gale, Negumbo, Columbo, Jafnapatnam *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 BALDÆUS, *Dienaar des Godlijken Woords, eertijdts op* Ceylon, *en nu tot* Geervliet.

t'AMSTERDAM,

By JOHANNES { JANSSONIUS van WAASBERGE, En van SOMEREN. Anno 1672.

Met Privilegie voor 15 Jaren.

Title page of Section on Ceylon, 1672 Edition

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on four occasions.[1] In 1816 the Wesleyan Mission Press published in Colombo *A Short Account of Jaffnapatam 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.

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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.

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INTRODUCTION

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. *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union*, Colombo. Volumes for 1956 to 1959.

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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

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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,

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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".

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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

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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.

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Glossary of Place-Names in Ceylon Mentioned in the Text with their Present-Day Equivalents

By C. W. NICHOLAS

Baldaeus' name	*Present-day equivalent*
	A
Acciapato	— Akkaraipattu
Accuras	— Akuressa
Achiavelli	— Atchuvely
Aleputti	— Allaipitty
Alican	— Alutgama
Alicaon	— ,,
Alicon	— ,,
Alikan	— ,,
Allago	— Alagalla
Ambatane	— Ambatenne
Amorayapore	— Anuradhapura
Analativa	— Analaitivu
Anangepore	— Anuradhapura
Angeretotsche	— Anguruwatota
Angretotte	— ,,
Anguratotte	— ,,
Annavolundane	— Anaolandewa
Anoryapore	— Anuradhapura
Aripiture	— Arippu
Aripou	— ,,
Ariputure	— ,,
Atapeli	— Attapitiya
Attapitin	— ,,
Auguratotte	— Anguruwatota
Axcepan	— Harasiyapattu

Baldaeus' name	*Present-day equivalent*
	B
Badule	— Badulla
Baigams	— Beragama
Balane	— Balane
Baligamme	— Weligama
Ballane	— Balane
Ballaney	— ,,
Barberijn	— Barberyn (Beruwela)
Batecalo	— Batticaloa
Batecotte	— Vaddukoddai
Bategedre	— Batugedera
Belantotte	— Bellantara
Beligam	— Weligama
Belligamme	— ,,
Belligamme Province	— Valikamam
Bentot	— Bentota
Bentotte	— ,,
Berberin	— Barberyn (Beruwela)
Boemboele	— Bombuwela
	C
Cabo de Fradres	- Friar's Hood
Cajuel	— Kammala

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GLOSSARY

Baldaeus' name	*Present-day equivalent*
Calarme	— Kalmunai
Caleture	— Kalutara
Caliture	— ,,
Callamoende	— Kalamulla
Calmon	— Kalmunai
Calmony	— ,,
Calpentyn	— Kalpitiya
Calpetijn	— ,,
Candea	— Kandy
Candy	— ,,
Caradiva	— Karativu
Caravanelle	— Karawanella
Carcel	— Karical
Catajar	— Kataragama
Catavelli	— Kattaiveli
Cathy	— Kachchai
Caymel	— Kammala
Cays	— Fort Hamenhiel
Ceta Vaca	— Sitawaka (Avissawella)
Ceytavaca	— ,,
Changane	— Chankanai
Chavagatzery	— Chavakachcheri
Chilao	— Chilaw
Chilaon	— ,,
Chilau	— ,,
Chilauw	— ,,
Chundecouli	— Chundikkuli
Cockelcorle	— Kukul Korale
Columbo	— Colombo
Condremale	— Kudiramalai
Copay	— Kopay
Coriwitty	— Kuruwita
Cota	— Kotte
Cotemale	— Kotmale
Cotiar	— Kottiyar
Cotiarum	— ,,
Cotomale	— Kotmale
Cottamale	— Kotmale
Cottegore	— Kotuwegoda
Coutjare	— Kottiyar

D

Dambadan	— Dambadeniya
Dambadany	— ,,
Dennevaque	— Denawaka
De twee Gebroeders	— Iranaitivu North & South
Dilege	— Diyatilaka
Dinavaca	— Denawaka
Dodangodde	— Dodangoda
Dolleswagge	— Dolosbagé
Donders	— Dondra (Devundara)
Drembra	— Dumbara
Dumbra	— ,,
Duranura	— Devundara

E

Erkelampatti	— Erukkalampiddi

F

Forago	— Sabaragamuwa

G

Gale	— Galle
Galkisse	— Galkissa
Galquisse	— ,,
Ganetena	— Ganetenna
Gannatari	— ,,
Gannero	— Gannoruwa
Ganneroe	— ,,
Gannoor	— ,,

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GLOSSARY

Baldaeus' name	*Present-day equivalent*
Guiramibula	— Gurubebila
Gurbeville	— Gurubewila (Hanwella)
	H
Hakman	— Hakmana
Halgradoje	— Halgranoya
Harcipate	— Harispattu
Harispate	— ,,
Harkepatte	— ,,
Horne	— Horana
	I
Illondi Matual	— Eluthumadduval
Irkelampatti	— Erukkalampiddi
	J
Jaele	— Yala
Jafnapatan	— Jaffna
Jala	— Yala
Jatteno	— Yatinuwara
Jattenore	— ,,
	K
Karsel	— Karical
Kockele Corle	— Kukul Korale
	M
Mabelle	— Mahabellana
Macoene	— Maggona
Madampe	— Madampe
Mallagam	— Mallakam
Mallimande	— Malimmada
Malvane	— Malwana
Manaar	— Mannar
Manaer	— ,,
Mangel Correlsche	— Mangul Korale
Manipay	— Manipay
Manikeroweri	— Menikkadawara
Mankewere	— ,,
Mannekewarre	— ,,
Mantea Ravane	— ,,
Mantotte	— Mantai
Mapati	— Mapitigama
Marua Goma	— Maniyangama
Matalte	— Matale
Matarette	— *Maturata*
Matecalo	— Batticaloa
Matecola	— ,,
Matele	— Matale
Mateli	— ,,
Matere	— Matara
Mattelape	— Batticaloa
Matual	— Mutwal(Modera)
Matule	— Matale
Mature	— Matara
Mavilgangi	— Mahaweli Ganga
Mayletti	— Mayiliddi
Meddema Honore	— Medamaha-nuwara
Mewater	— Miwatura
Mewatre	— ,,
Migonne	— Migamuwa (Negombo)
Milagre	— Milagiriya
Miwitigael	— Niwitigala
Modeni	— Meedeniya
Mogommale	— Mukamalai
Montual	— Mutwal(Modera)
Mousilipatto	— Musali Pattu
Moutupelle	— Mottappuliya
Mulipatto	— Mullippattu

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GLOSSARY

Baldaeus' name	*Present-day equivalent*
N	
Nacclegamme	— Nagalagam
Nacolegamme	— ,,
Nagar Kojel	— Nagarkoyil
Nainativa	— Nayinativu
Nalour	— Nallur
Nanatam	— Nanaddan
Nani Legange	— Mahiyangana
Navacouli	— Navatkuli
Negumbo	— Negombo
Nindundiva	— Neduntivu (Delft)
O	
Ode	— Udunuwara
Odogodas	— Udugoda
Odogodaskary	— Udugoda Korale
Odogo d'Askeri	— ,,
Ody	— Udunuwara
Oucatte	— Ukwatta
Oudewil	— Uduvil
Oue	— Uva
Ourature	— Uratturai (Kayts)
Ouva	— Uva
Ouvah	— ,,
Ouvasche	— ,,
Ove	— ,,
P	
Palagan	— Palukamam
Paletivu	— Paletivu
Palugam	— Palukamam
Palugan	— ,,
Panciapato	— Pansiyapattu
Panatursche	— Panadura
Paneteripou	— Pantattarippu
Paneture	— Panadura
Pangergame	— Pangara-gammana
Panoa	— Panama
Panua	— ,,
Paretiture	— Point Pedro
Pasdum Corle	— Pasdun Korale
Pasgrame	— Pasgama
Passadun Corle	— Pasdun Korale
Patchiarapalle	— Pachchilaippali
Patoveta	— Pata Hewaheta
Peixale	— Pesalai
Peringale	— Perunkali
Peringaly	— ,,
Pico de Adam	— Adam's Peak
Podere	— Putur
Poelepalle	— Puloppalai
Poenery	— Pooneryn (Punakari)
Polveraincatti	— Pallavara-yankaddu
Pongardiva	— Pungudutivu
Ponta des Pedras	- Point Pedro
Poutour	— Putur
Punte Gale	— Point de Galle (Galle)
Putelaon	— Puttalam
Putulaon	— ,,
Q	
Quatre Corles	— Four Korales
R	
Ratenure	— Yatinuwara
Ratienura	— ,,
Reygamwatte	— Rayigama
Ruanelle	— Ruwanwella

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GLOSSARY

Baldaeus' name	*Present-day equivalent*
Saffra Gamme	— Sabaragamuwa
Samanture	— Sammanturai
Sammature	— ,,
Sete Corlas	— Seven Korales
Setecoulang	— Cheddikulam
	S
Setevaca	— Sitawaka (Avissawella)
Settevacca	— ,,
Sette Corle	— Seven Korales
Sofragaen	— Sabaragamuwa
Sundecouli	— Chundikuli
	T
Tambamme	— Tampakamam
Taprobane	— Taprobane (Ceylon)
Telipole	— Tellippalai
Tellemanaar	— Talaimannar
Tenmarache	— Tenmaradchi
Tiboen	— Tebuwana
Tiboene	— ,,
Tinipane	— Tumpane
Tottavalli	— Tottaveli
Tottavaly	— ,,
Trinquelemale	— Trincomalee
Trinquenam	— ,,
Tripane	— Tumpane
	U
U Reputti	— Udupiddi
Uva	— Badulla town or Uva province

Baldaeus' name	*Present-day epuivalent*
	V
Vallare	— Wellassa
Vanarpone	— Vannarponnai
Velafebuitena	— Wellassa — Bintenna
Velare	— Wellassa
Velaren	— ,,
Velase	— ,,
Vellene	— Velanai
Ventane	— Bintenna
Veta	— Hewaheta
Vier Corles	— Viyaluva Korale
Vintana	— Bintenna
Vintane	— ,,
	W
Waddemarache	— Vadamaradchi
Waelwitty	— Walallawitti
Walane	— Balane
Waranni	— Varani
Welane	— Velanai
Welekande	— Welikanda
Wellikande	— ,,
Willegamme	— Weligama
Wilwela	— Wilpola
Wluat Gamme	— Alutgama
	Z
Zetivaca	— Sitawaka (Avissawella)
Zeven Corles	— Seven Korales

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A

True and Exact Description

of the

GREAT ISLAND

of

CEYLON

by

Philippus Baldaeus

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

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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 re-published 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

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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

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Aen 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.

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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

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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

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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.

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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

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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,

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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 Queen'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.

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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. Philippus Baldaeus.
15 August 1671.

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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.

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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 fortıess, 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

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TEXT

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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 Barrius*[1] as the 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.*

Ceylon situated between 6 and 10 degrees to the north of the 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. *Its situation.*

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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).
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'.

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In shape it is not so oviform, as (*Petrus Maffaeus*[1] 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.

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 *Ceylon*, King of *Candea*, *Cota*, *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*.

Kingdoms and Principalities there existing.

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 *Caneel*[2] 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. [p. 2]

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

---

1. A Dutch cartographer of the East.
2. i. e. Cinnamon.
3. 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.

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The Chinezen were the first settlers, having suffered shipwreck nearby.

Certain *Chinezen* who were cruising along the Ceylon coast were shipwrecked and their junks were driven ashore, and it is believed that when the nation of the Island inquired of them as to their origin and seat of empire they alleged that their sovereign was the son of the sun, which, it will be observed, was an object 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, the *Chinezen* had not only their lives spared them, but the chief of the junks was, by unanimous consent of the inhabitants proclaimed their King.

Their Chief himself made King of Ceylon.

Subsequent Kings and nobles descended from him.

From him there sprang the race of the Kings of this Island, (*who bore the Title of Lord of the Golden Sun*), and of the Emperor and great nobles. They called this first *Chinezen* King well beloved *Son of the Sun who is ever active*. Of him sprang *Lankauw Pati Mahadascyn* 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 Slayer*. 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 *Radjora 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 *Radjora 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 eye*) 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 *Eerst-ziende Koning*).

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From this union sprang many daughters and a posthumous son named *Fimala Darma Soria Adascyn* which means *you 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 Queen* 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]

DURING this contention, it fell out that *Laurentius Almeyda*, 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

1. This account of the early Kings of Ceylon is too confused to be of much use. It would appear however to be a record of then existing traditions on the subject.
2. Lourenco de Almeida, son of the first Portuguese Viceroy of India arrived in Ceylon in 1505 A.D.

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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 Adascyn* who was the most powerful and unrelenting adversary they ever had.

Raja Singa Adascyn[1] was the son of a king and nephew of the King of *Cotta*, although I have heard it said by the *Portugezen* 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. *Raja Singa Adascyn attacks them.*

Being a great enemy of the *Portugezen* he laid siege to, and 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 straits and well knowing that their Governor will not listen to 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 you 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.* *Besieges Columbo.* *Revolt of Portugesche soldiers.*

The Governor and Council cautiously watched their movements, endeavouring with all kindness to bring them to a sense *The Governor tries to quiet the uprising.*

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.

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Columbo relieved by the Portugezen from Goa.

of their duty and obedience, but in a short time however relief arrived from *Goa* and other places both in provisions and reinforcements 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 defeated.

Raja Singa Adascyn being now sole master of the whole Kingdom excepting *Gala* and *Columbo* expelled its lawful sovereign *Mahadascyn*[1] 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 principal councillors named *Vinne Lamantia* (*Unwearied Councillor*).[2] This councillor was father to *Don Jan*[3] who was subsequently Emperor. *Vinne Lamantia* took up arms against the Emperor *Raja Singa* and a great many persons flocked to his standard who 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.*

Raja Singa expels the lawful Emperor Mahadascyn.

Who scatters treasures and jewels along the road.

And Vinne Lamantia is appointed over certain areas.

Vinne Lamantia takes up arms against Raja Singa. [p. 4]

Is named Vinne Ladarma Soria.

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

Delight of the Portugezen over this discord.

Raja Singa plans to regain power.

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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.
2. 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).

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acknowledged the supreme ruler and Emperor.

Vinne Lamantia invited by Raja Singa to the Palace.

In the meantime while this peace was concluded *Vinne Ladarma* begot a son who was named after his father, and who subsequently became Emperor. When the child was a year old *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 manifests). On *Vinne Ladarma's* arrival at *Raja's* Court, he had to pass several enclosures and partitions which *Raja* had caused to be made, here he was laid hold of and separated from his retinue, and brought a prisoner before *Raja Singa* who caused him to be buried breast deep in a hole dug in the earth and in whose 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.

Separated from his followers, and produced before Raja Singa and comes to a miserable end.

Raja Singa advances on Candy which he conquers, making slaves of the inhabitants. [p. 5]

Raja then proceeded to *Candy* and soon subdued it — he made slaves of all the inhabitants without discrimination (the nobles as well as the common people), and divested them of all their arms to prevent a rebellion against him. He also made prisoners of the Empress and her children and very austerely enquired of her (as if he had been a great sorcerer) the precise 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.

Cingalezen, cruelly enslaved by Raja Singa, resolve to negotiate with the Portugezen.

The *Cingalezen* were now oppressed and very hardly dealt with by this tyrant, they were obliged to carry earth on their heads and to assist in the building of the fort and defence at *Settavacca*[1] a distant neck of land. Impatient of this tyranny and oppression they were determined to shake off the yoke, and 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 celebrated man with a respectable force to *Jafnapatan*. *Andreas* made a sudden attack on the town and carried it by storm, and made prisoner of the King, and intended to press on towards

Andreas Furtado marches against Candy and takes it by surprise.

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

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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 *Parangijs*[1] 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.

Raja Singa marches to Jafnapatan.

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

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.
3. See note 2 above.

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The Execution of Virasundara by Rajasingha I.

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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 *Raja 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]

THE *Portugezen* in the meantime erected a strong Fort at *Gannoor*[1] 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*

Don Philippo conducted to Candy.

1. i. e. Gannoruwa.

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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 Philippo poisoned by Don Jan.

Don Jan observing that the major part of the *Portugezen* 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 becomes Emperor and forces the Portugezen to withdraw.

Don Jan being now acknowledged and recognised as Emperor refused all countenance and friendship to the *Portugezen* and through a herald called upon those who were still at *Gannoor* 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.

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

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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 *Raja 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 *Quatre 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.

The Emperor's valour. (p. 7)

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

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1. The Four Korales.
2. Balana, the pass leading into the Hill Country near the modern Kadugannawa.

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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 attacks.

Raja Singa on hearing this scornful reproach was fired with 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 *sombreyros* 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*.

Raja Singa amazed at Don Jan's intrepidity.

Raja Singa was so struck with the bravery with which *Don Jan* repelled his first charge, with a resolution either to conquer or die, was surprised at the coolness and intrepedity which *Don 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 charge he pressed forward with such determined courage that *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 and in half an hour *Raja Singa's* army was completely discomfited

He is defeated and put to flight.

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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.

Total of dead on each side.

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 that it brought on a mortification which eventually cost him his life.

Injured by a splinter he refuses treatment and dies.

[p. 8]

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

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

Priests of Paraneydeyo spared.

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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 Era* 2. p. 94.
2. Terunnanse or High Priest.
3. The "Old Gods"—Rajasingha favoured the Saivites after renouncing Buddhism.

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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 priests to forgive the inhuman butchery he had made of their brethren. He also offered them very valuable presents, which 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]

Asks forgiveness of the surviving Priests.

No sooner had the tidings of *Raja*'s death reached *Don Jan*, than he assembled his forces with the intent of subjecting the entire Kingdom to his sway. But the Private Secretary of *Raja Singa* had been also for a long time aspiring to the crown, and having now become possessed of all the treasure of the deceased monarch, he assumed the crown, styling himself *Janiere Wandaar*.[2] But a consciousness of his inability to compete with *Don Jan* induced him to solicit the aid of the *Portugezen* with whom he entered into a league. The Portuguese shortly after (with the hope of ultimately subduing the Island under the dominion of the King of *Portugaal*) despatched their General *Pedro Lopes de Susa* from *Goa* with a force of 12,500 whites, besides the mystice[3] (or mixed band) and other Indians, but before their arrival the 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

Raja Singa's Private Secretary seized his treasures and assumes the Crown under the name Janiere Wandaar.

He makes advances to the Protugezen.

They assemble a large force.

1. Baldaeus' figure appears incorrect though Rajasingha was an old man at his death.
2. 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.

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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 army.

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 —

[p. 9]

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]

1. i. e. Menikkadavara, Mapitigama and Ganetenna.

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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

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.

Don Jan repulses the Portugezen attack.

WHEN the Emperor *Don Jan* heard that the king of the low countries and the *Portugezen* were on their march against him, he began to be very apprehensive as 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.

Meets them again, suffers a reverse and loses Walane.

But the *Portugezen* made another desperate effort for the third time falling on the enemy with great fury and took possession of the city of *Walane* (though not without 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 *Dolleswagge*[1] which they could not conquer.

Flight of Don Jan and the Empress to the jungles.

Don Jan now with his Empress sought refuge in the *Candy* jungles and where his enemies could not so easily overtake him, subsisting himself on fruits and herbs. The *Portugezen* having 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 *Manaar* may be made their Empress, she being the legitimate daughter of their lawful King *Mahadascyn.*[2] To this solicitation 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.

Dona Catharina desired as Empress.

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1. i.e. Dolosbage in the present Sabaragamuwa Province.
2. Here the reference is to Karaliadde Bandara, King of Kandy who was dethroned by Rajasingha I in 1582.

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Her departure from Manaar.

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*.

Portugesche ship wrecked.

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-

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

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Dona Catharina is welcomed in Kandy.

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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 19½ 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 Emprcss.

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]

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.

Portugezen recklessness and oppression.

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 *Oue*[1] 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

1. i.e. Uva.

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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 yoke than that of their own deceased monarch, convened a meeting and resolved wholly to annihilate the *Portugezen* in case 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.

Inhabitants demand counter-measures.

In the meantime King *Janiere* solicited *Dona Catharina* in marriage at the hands of General Pedro Lopes. The latter excused himself by saying that he could not sanction their union without the express permission of his lord and master the King 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 that was a fair return for all his faithful services, swearing that 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 it does not lie in my power, to bestow the hand of *Dona Catharina* an Empress by birth, and heiress to the realm upon you who 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 ever irritated at this remonstrance, and said, "I comprehend your reasonings well enough and could clearly see what passes 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 in the jungle awaiting an opportunity to be reinstated in his kingdom. In this letter he gave a complete account of what had

Janiere seeks from Don Pedro the hand of the Empress in marriage.

He is refused.

Janiere enraged thereby.

He is addressed rather contemptuously and sternly.

Heated exchanges between the two.

Janiere writes to Don Jan and offers him the Kingdom.

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taken place between him and General *Lopes* and offered the Empire to *Don Jan*, on condition that he (*Janiere*) be allowed to 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.

They arrive at an agreement.

Don Jan not idle.

Don Jan who was now not slumbering or overconfident or dilatory in his movements communicated his views to the *Candenezen*[1] 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 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.

[p. 12]

The Portugezen assembly discuss the matter.

Resolve to capture Janiere.

The Plan.

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 *krits*[2] 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

The murder accomplished.

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

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The murder of Jayavira Bandara by the Portuguese.

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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, "*haddy, 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 [p. 13] the *Portugezen*, except the King of *Cota* and his retinue who were not then acquainted with this villainous act of treachery.

Portugezen inform Dona Catherina of Janiere's death.

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

Her prophetic words.

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 *Portugaal* 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

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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.

Don Jan benefits by Janiere's death.

THIS murder (of Janiere) tended greatly to the advantage of *Don Jan* who took this opportunity of assuring the inhabitants, that unless they were then prepared to 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.

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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*.

[p. 14]

The Portugezen quit Candy.

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 mutilate some of them.

The *Cingalezen* on learning the flight of the *Portugezen* became more embittered against them, and slew some of those, who had 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 prisoners, 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 all the adjacent forts and defences of the *Portugezen*, taking some by storm and leaving none alive there, and others by treaty. 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, 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 pagodas[1] making according to our rule of calculation 43,595,383 guilders.

Don Jan subdues the whole country.

Marries Dona Catharina.

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 possessions very peaceably for a considerable length of time, until the arrival of *Don Jeronimo d'Oviedo*[2] 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

Jeronimus d'Oviedo in Ceylon.

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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.
2. 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.

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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

They are defeated.

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

[p. 16]

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The Portuguese Captives build fortifications for Vimala Dharma Suriya I.

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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 Ceylon.

Dominicus Corre deserts to Don Jan.

ABOUT 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 *Symon Corre*, appointing the former as Commander in Chief to attack and reduce the town of *Gale*. But the forces under 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

Is made a Prince.

Becomes Commander in Chief and leads an army to Gale.

Defeated and, contrary to agreement, is killed.

Don Jan enraged.

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.

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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.

Revolt of soldiers in Columbo.

The soldiers at *Columbo* on seeing the wicked ill-treatment of their brethren in arms wanted to assassinate their General, as the 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.

Simon Corre flees to Columbo.

Shortly after *Simon Corre's* flight to *Columbo* as if to avenge the death of his brother, he was received by the *Portugezen* with great honour and becoming courtesy. They gave him the government 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 [p. 17]

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

Emmanuel Dias' pretended desertion.

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.*

Decieves the Portugezen.

Comes to Candy and tells Don Jan of the deception.

But he *Don Emanuel* himself came to *Candy* 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* knives (called trassados). They were instantly deprived of them and forthwith bound and secured. Those within the walls 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.

The Portugezen miserably betrayed.

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 were eventually executed. [p. 18]

There arrived at this period in *Ceylon* Admiral *Joris Van Spilbergen*[1] with 2 ships. He proceeded personally to *Candy* to pay his respects to His Imperial Majesty, and offer him on behalf 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

Joris van Spilbergen comes to Ceylon.

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.

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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.

THERE arrived now *Sebald de Weert*[1] 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 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

Unpleasantness between him and the Emperor.

[p. 19]

Worsened by Incitement of the king's Ambassadors.

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.

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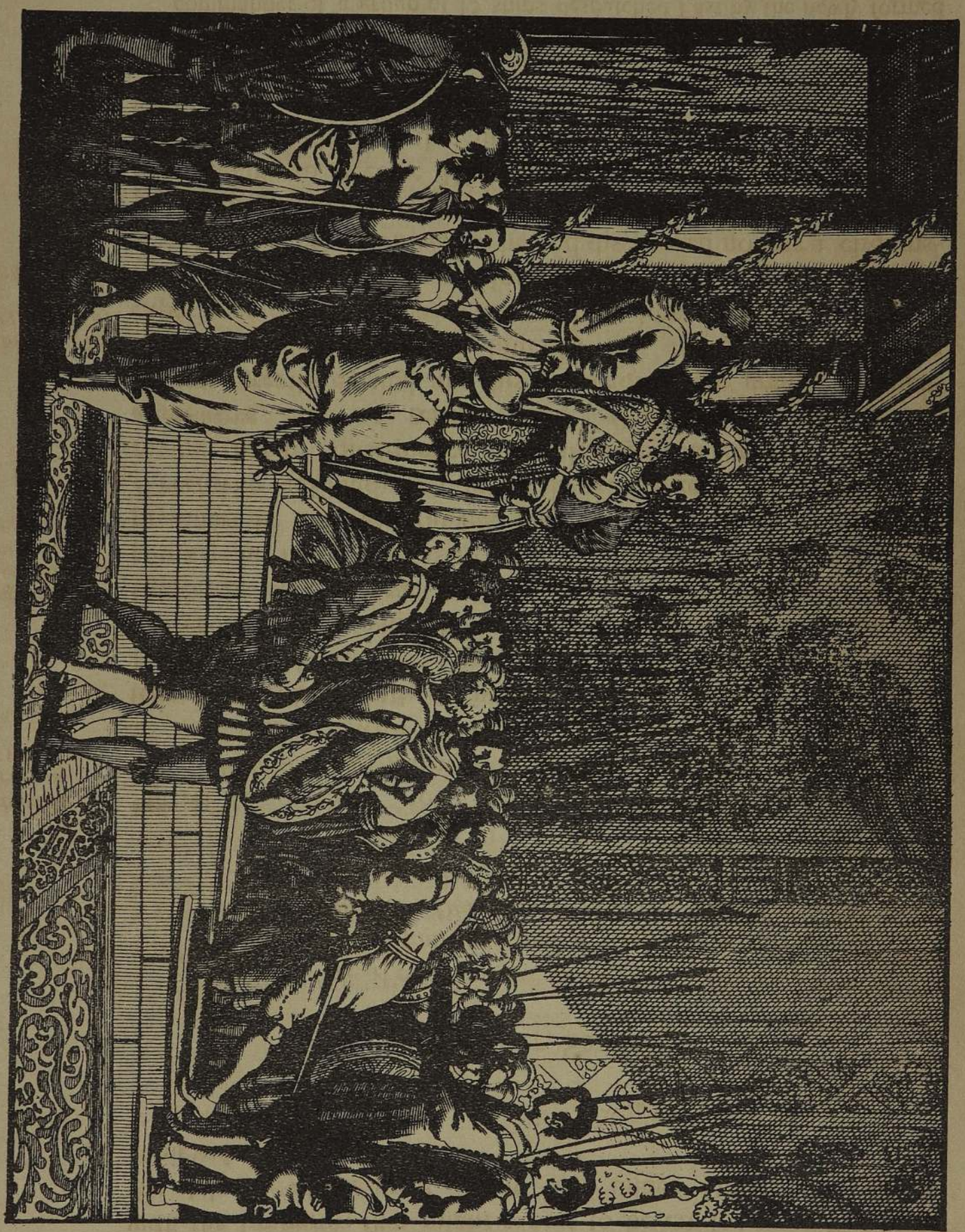

Vimala Dharma Suriya I receives Admiral Joris Van Spilbergen.

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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.

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

Which is refused.

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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.

De Weert's imprudent and rude language.

The Admiral felt himself much hurt at these refusals and observed, that as His Majesty was not willing to come on board, or to attend the beach to view his ship he would not give him any 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.

In a drunken state he speaks rashly.

Sebald who at the time had imbibed more than was good for him, incautiously replied, "Oh, as for the Empress, she will 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 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*.

Whereupon he is seized and killed.

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 might partake the same reward with their master." This command was immediately carried into effect, so that of all the 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 other Hollanders are also killed.

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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.

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 *Halgradoje*[2] 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]

Has unbearable sense of internal heat.

Dies in agony.

His children.

His figure, appearance and characteristics.

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

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1. 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, *Dutch in Ceylon*, p. 18.
2. i.e. Halgranoya.
3. 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.

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The Murder of Sebald de Weert.

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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.

Nobles contend for the crown.

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 *Ove*[1] 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.

Pacified by Dona Catharina.

1. Vidiya Bandara, Prince of Uva.
2. Senerat was a half brother of Vimala Dharma Suriya I. He ruled as King of Kandy from 1605 to 1635.

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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]

THE *Portugezen* were highly gratified with the intelligence of *Don Jan's* death, they dispatched various posts to *Goa* informing the Viceroy of it, who then resolved upon entering into a compact with the Empress and then gradually attempting an invasion of the whole Island. But *Dona 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 and extortions of the Prince of *Ove* and the Emperor's brother, both of whom were now again aspiring to the throne, thereby causing the inhabitants of the low lands to suffer great hardship.

The Portugezen request an agreement with the Empress.

Refused.

New rivalry between the Prince of Ove and Cenuwieraat.

The Empress being much grieved at this internal commotion and fearing that were one of the party to gain the ascendency 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 goods confiscated. But *Cenuwieraat* subsequently so well accounted for his absence that he was pronounced free. The Prince of *Ove* had in like manner through the intervention of the principal chiefs obtained a pardon. These princes abandoning 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 Prince of *Ove* secretly contemplated the destruction of *Cenuwieraat* and resolved on stabbing him to death and marrying the Empress and taking the Empire. *Cenuwieraat* who had a presentiment of it in one way or other affected much friendship for the Prince

Both Proclaimed traitors.

They are pardoned.

Prince of Ove is enticed to go to Cenuwieraat with a view to his murder.

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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.

Stabbed by Cenuwieraat himself.

Great excitement in Candy because of this murder.

Quieted by the Empress' foresight.

[p. 23]

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*

Cenuwieraat protests innocence.

Marries Dona Catharina.

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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.

The States-General makes a 12 year Treaty with the king of Spain.

It fell out at this period 1609 that their High Mightiness the States General of the United Netherlands, had concluded a treaty or contract with the Archduke *Albertus* and *Izabella Clara Eugenia* the Infanta of *Spangien*, for a term of 12 years,[1] with an understanding that the said treaty was also to extend 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 Both*[2] which sailed from *Nederland* on the 30th January 1610 and arrived on the 18th November following at *Bantam*, with instructions from their 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.

General Both sent to India with instructions.

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

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Chapter Nine

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

THE 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 [p. 24] 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 years. 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 yet 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

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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.

[p. 25] *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, Uytrecht, 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 behoves 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 *Ceylon*, King of Candia, Trinquenemale, Jafnapatan, Sete Corlas, Manaar, Chilau, Cota, Batecalo and Punte Gale, Our worthy brother in arms.

Marcellus de Boschhouwer sent to Ceylon with the Letters.

On this letter reaching the coast of *Cormandel* by the yacht *Winthond* it was deemed expedient by the President *Joan van Wezik* to render this means of communication available to the 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] [p. 26]

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

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Chapter Ten

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

ON 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.

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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

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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
[p. 28] 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.

33rd. 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.

ON 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

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.

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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 High Mightinesses the States General, as fabricated and invalid. 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, President of the Supreme Council of War, Second in His Majesty's Secret Council, and Lord High Admiral. *Boschhouwer* had in the short space of time he was in Ceylon obtained such a strong hold upon the Emperor's confidence that the King never undertook anything without his advice.

Which is definitely denied him.

His extraordinary elevation, favours and regard from the Emperor.

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

The Portugezen rob and murder the Hollanders in Cotiarum.

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. 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 Ceylon a part of these territories were administered by the Governors of Ceylon.

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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.

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

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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.

The Emperor assembles the Council of State.

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*, 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]

Decisions arrived at.

At this meeting there were also present governors and presidents of other minor provinces, and an envoy of the King of *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. 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.

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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
[p. 30] 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.

The Portugezen March to Jafnapatan. 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
Defeated. falling in with the Portugezen troops in the rear soon put them to flight in great confusion. The enemy apprehended that the mass

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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 of *Migonne* by treachery and committed great slaughter. The *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*.

They take the principality of Migonne.

The prince[1] 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.

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

Death of the Crown Prince.

1. i.e. Marcellus de Boschhouwer, Prince of Migonne.

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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 engaged 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 war 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

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1. i.e. Kumarasinghe, Senerat's eldest son.
2. i.e. bearers of rondeleen, honorific discs mounted on staves.

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The Funeral Procession of Prince Mahastanne.

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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.

[p. 33]

King of Panua deserts.

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

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The Cremation of Prince Mahastanne.

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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 Council[1] 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-

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.

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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.

King of Panua arraigned.

On the 20th March His Majesty caused fifty of his councillors to be assembled, before whom the King of *Panua* and his co-adjutors 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.

Condemned to death.

The King of *Panua* was to forfeit his life by decollation and the 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

Execution of the sentence.

the King of *Panua* was removed from the castle of *Meddema Honore* to the scaffold he was dressed in a white costume after the royal 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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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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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

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.

THE Emperor had now again assembled a force and with great vigour assailed the *Portugezen* defences at *Walane* and took the fortress by storm, but owing to the looting indulged in by his soldiers they were driven back with great loss. The Emperor was so exasperated at their conduct, that he caused 105 *Cingalezen* to be hanged. The *Portugezen* having in the meantime been reinforced, the Emperor was induced to withdraw his forces from the field.

The Emperor's surprise attack on Walane. [p. 35]

He withdraws.

The prince of *Migonne*, Admiral and Naval Captain General, had at the request of the Emperor fitted out a fleet consisting of 3 war galleys and 3 yachts with which they were ordered to 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 Nay Hanni* as Vice Admiral. The following are the names of the vessels and of their respective commanders.

Prince of Migonne sails with a fleet.

1. the Galley *Candy* — Captain *Sanderappo*
2. the Galley *Hollant* — Captain *Kistena*
3. the Galley *Migonne* — Captain *Dingappe*
4. the Yacht *Fortuyn* — Captain *Ordia*
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 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

Returns with much booty.

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between *Calecut* and *Cabo Comoryn* with a *Portugesche* yacht; 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 Majesty made a distribution to his officers and soldiers.

The Empress falls ill.

In July 1613, the Empress *Dona Catharina* who was then 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 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-guarded.

Her melancholy and anxieties.

Provides for her servants and children.

[p. 36]
Talks at random.

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

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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 intervals she desired that her 5 children might be brought to 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.

Her behaviour towards her children.

While she was in this hopeless state, she hardly condescended to reply to any question that was put to her, except to the Prince of *Ove* to whom she relieved herself of one anxiety, protesting 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* reasoned with her and said "Your Majesty, please understand 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 for me." The prince then repeated the Lord's Prayer and the 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."

Contrition over her idolatry.

The Prince of Migonne consoles her.

She prays and dies shortly after.

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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.

AS 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 [p. 37] of *Velaren; Jalagode Rale*, Prince of *Cotemale; Mewater Rale*, Prince of *Mewatre; Jane Sengati*, Prince and Lord *Podere; Wiek Venesinge* Count of *Quatrecorle; 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,

Business explained to Council.

1. Diyatilaka Nuwara. For a description of the city see Knox, *Historical Relation of Ceylon* p. 34.

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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 Majesty, that they were even then ready to shed their blood in His Majesty'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

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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 *sambaye* and returned to their territories.

[p. 38] 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 Crown Prince chosen.

"*Cenuwiraed* by the Grace of God, Emperor of Ceylon, King of *Candy*, *Setevaca*, *Trinquenemale*, *Jafnapatam*, *Settecorles*, *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 *Mahadascijn*, and on her decease on her sister *Hanta Madascijn*, 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 ordered to show due consideration and respect.

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

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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
[p. 39] 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 gold-inscribed 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.

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.

The Emperor entrusts his children to the two guardian princes.

WHEN His Majesty had caused the aforesaid act to be publicly proclaimed and made known to the people, he gave to each prince copies thereof engraved in sheets of gold plates, and earnestly exhorted them to act with all due care and in harmony with each other, and 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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[p. 40] 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 *Cockelecorle* 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

Prince of Migonne surprises the followers of Gael Heneraed.

Letter of Gael Heneraed.

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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 that he should forthwith repair to court as there were some 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. He was courteously received by the prince, and in the course of conversation *Gael* laid much stress on his fidelity by too frequently 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 him to surrender his sword. On his being seized by a chief, he said "Why, my friend I see you are at the wrong man", trying at 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

Gael summoned to the Court.

He unsuspectingly appears.

And protests loyalty.

[p. 41]

Arrested he tries to escape.

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His soldiers try to rescue him.

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.

Fifty of them seized.

The Emperor's children taken to another Castle.

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.

Gael arraigned before the Council.

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.

Gael Heneraed and 26 nobles found guilty.

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.

Execution 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.

The Prince of Ove marches to Quatrecorle.

ABOUT this period the princes of *Migonne* and *Ove* jointly with the Count of the *Quatrecorle*, set out on a tour to *Cockelecorle* with 2,000 men where they were well received 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.

Battle between the Emperor and some Rebels. [p. 42]

In 1614, there ensued a hard battle between the Emperor and some of his rebellious subjects of the lowlands, and there was loss of life on both sides of not less than 4,000 men. The insurgents finding themselves at length much too weak abandoned 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 sally 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.

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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 de Feriera in 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 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 Viceroy 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 Majesty 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 *Portugaal*, 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 Majesty 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.

The Emperor rejects the proposals.

On the perusal of these conditions it was decided in His Majesty's Council, not to go any further in negotiations with the *Portugezen*, fearing that under the ostensible garb of friendship 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.

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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.

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.

Great rejoicing thereon in Candy.

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 step-daughter.

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.

Candanezen attack a convoy.

On the 5th of October the *Candanezen* attacked and routed a *Portugezen* convoy of 900 men on their way to *Walane* with 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. Two *Candanezen* only who kept themselves quietly huddled amongst their own dead made their escape at night.

500 Candanezen slain by the Portugezen. Two escape.

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*.

[p. 44]

Chapter Seventeen

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

Marcellus de Boschhouwer goes to Nederland fully commissioned

MARCELLUS *de Boschhouwer* who as we have already heard was now made so great a prince, and who had acted in everything according to his own good pleasure during his stay in Ceylon, had now, 1615, at his earnest request obtained His Majesty's permission to proceed to *Mazulipatam* with a view to 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

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his ambassador and promising to hold good and ratify all that Boschhouwer shall do on behalf of His Majesty. He left *Ceylon* on the 9th of May 1615 and arrived at *Mazulipatam* on the 2nd of June following.[1] 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 Reynst* 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 *Molucques* and their contemplated attack on *Poulo Ay* 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 *Ceylon*, etc.

Arrives at Bantam. Proceedings there.

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

Trouble with the Directors in Hollandt.

Agreement with Denemarken.

He leaves for Ceylon.

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.

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

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

Boshouwer[2], as we have said before, having obtained from King *Christian* the Fourth a ship and a yacht on account of the said Emperor of *Ceylon*, and after the recently established company[3] in *Coppenhaven* had added five more ships, making seven in all, under the supreme command of a certain Danish nobleman named *Gule Gedde*,[4] set sail out of the *Sound* and after many contrary winds and other difficulties, they proceeded through the English Channel and the open seas, and after a *cruise* of 22 months, with the loss of many people, including *Boshouwer* himself, who died on the way owing to the difficulties of the journey and the want of provisions, they finally reached Ceylon, where they landed at different times, some in the harbour of *Batecalo* and others in the bay of *Coutjare* and eventually assembled together. *Detailed account of the Danish expedition.* *Gule Gedde, the First Danish Supreme Commander.* *Arrival in Ceylon.*

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

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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.
2. So spelt in the unnumbered 8 pages in the 1672 Edition.
3. The Danish East India Co. was founded at Copenhagen on March 17, 1616, under the patronage of King Christian IV of Denmark.
4. 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.

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No agreement can be reached with the King.

entirely on his behalf at much expense, he seemed greatly surprised 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-of-state' (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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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.

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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 further, he decided with bitter disappointment to weigh anchor and return to *Denemarken*.

Sails back to 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 and where it should be erected, when after inspection of the place, it was finally decided to erect it on the north-west corner of the bay, just behind the pagoda of *Trinquenemale*, where the land 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.

The Portugezen build a Fort at Trinquenemale.

Just about this time when the Portugezen were at war with the Emperor of Ceylon over the fortifying of *Trinquenemale*, they were given additional work by a certain Malabar Raja (either on the instigation of *Zenerat Adassyn*, or perhaps on his own 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

They rout an army from Malabar at Jafnapatnam.

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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.

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 [p. 44 (iii)] 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

Ruse to fortify the harbour of Batecalo.

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

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for two years feigning very well the manner of a yogi, 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.

Cingaleesch Army routed.

Meanwhile the *Candischen* Emperor, having been informed of 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's collusion with the Cingalezen in Columbo.

The King *Zenerat Adassyn*, finding himself now in great straits on account of the fortresses which the Portugezen had erected (being seven in all) on all the avenues round the island, 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-

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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* [44 (iv)] *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.

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

1. Wijayapala and Rajasingha.

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informed how all his Singalezen troops intended to conspire against him and to desert to the enemy; whereupon he was greatly alarmed, 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 their luggage together in a heap in order to set it on fire so that 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, 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 own Singalezen who had deserted, and it was presented on a drum to *Radja 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.

Receives information of treachery.

His wise planning.

[p. 44 (v)]

He is slain with his men.

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Colombo besieged by the Singalezen.

The Portugezen in Ceylon, 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.

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, *Ouve* to the eldest named *Commarra Singe Hastanne*, *Matele* to *Visye Palla Hastanne*, and *Candy* to the youngest named *Mahastanne;* and *Mahastanne*, though he was the youngest, 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 *Radja 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.

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

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 eye 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.

[p. 44 (vi)]

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The Portugezen make peace with the new King.

The Portugezen, seeing that they were so enfeebled now that they dare not embark on anything further against *Radja Singa*, thought it advisable to make peace again with the king; whereupon 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.

The King invites the Hollanders to Ceylon.

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 same way in due course, to which end he resolved to make use of the Hollanders and invite them to Ceylon[1]. Whereupon, he 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 Portugezen[2]. But before the yachts '*Valk*', '*Voorburgh*', '*Kleyn Hollandia*' and the frigate '*Ruttem*' (all destined for *Choromandel*) sailed thither, a certain master of a vessel, mention of whom will be made hereafter, who had been a prisoner in Ceylon,

Four ships sent to Ceylon by General van Diemen.

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.
2. 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.

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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 *Calarme*[1], 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 retire 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

Dutch envoys are sent to the King and are received sumptuously. [p. 44 (vii)]

1. i.e. Kalmunai.

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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 (other) produce, and also about the capture of *Batecalo*. Having thus negotiated for eight days, with audiences twice daily, they 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*.

Their negotiations and departure.

The Portugezen in Columbo then, having learnt how it was agreed between the said King and the (Dutch) envoys to attack *Batecalo* at the first opportunity, were greatly perturbed, not knowing what counter-measures they should take; for having 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 up-country under the leadership of General *Diego de Mello*, as

Uneasines of the Portugezen over this affair.

They march to Kandy.

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[p. 44 (viii)] well as the said *Damijao* and their Sergeant Major, who was commonly known as *Sorde*, in the month of March 1638. *Radja 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 baggage-porters 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

Arson and plunder.

They are deserted by their native soldiers and attacked by Raja Singa.

They are vehemently attacked by the Emperor.

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diverge immediately after discharging their muskets, after which there followed the *Mangel Correlsche*[1] 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 entirely cut down, so that none of the Portugezen survived save 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 the other in the shape of a pyramid. And there survived of the entire Portugezen troops not more than 70 persons who were taken 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 *Radja Singa* will be seen in the relevant letters which follow hereafter.[2]

And completely destroyed.

Pyramid of their decapitated heads.

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

Letter from the Emperor to the Dutch Governor of Paliacatta.

I, *Raya Singa*, Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candy, Zetivaca, Danbadany, Anorayapore, Jafnapatan, Prince of Ove, Mature, Dinavaca, the 4 Corlas, Grand Duke of the 7 Corlas, Matalte, 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

1. Mangul Korale in the Puttalam District.
2. The eight unnumbered pages end here and Pieter Brohier's translation is now resumed.

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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 sergeant-major, 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 *India-ansche* 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

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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 *Trinquelemale* 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 Viceroy of *Jacattra*.

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

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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

Chapter Eighteen

Karel Reyniers' 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.

[p. 47]

Karel Reyniers' action on this letter.

ON the receipt of this letter, the Governor *Karel Reyniers'* afterwards General of *India*, dispatched the same to the Governor General and Council of the Supreme Government of Batavia, in order that they might seriously deliberate and decide upon the best course to be then pursued to advance the interest of the Honourable Company. The Council of *Batavia* on learning the import of the letter in question were all vigilant and active to avail themselves of the advantage thus afforded, 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 Fleet 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.

Resolution to send ships and ammunition to Ceylon.

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 Tyssen*[1] who was subsequently Governor of *Malacca*, but then Extraordinary Councillor of *India*, there were also on board one *Andreas Helmont*, a merchant, and two natives of *Tegnapatan* on the coast of *Choromandel*. On the recommendation of a 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

Ambassadors to the Emperor and their doings.

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

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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 Reyniersz*. The letter ran thus: To the great and majestic King *Raja Singa* etc.

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

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 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 Majesty'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 our ready willingness to deal with in all good faith and understanding, as we are wont to act with all other potentates. If Your Majesty will be pleased to accord to us the cinnamon trade we shall be most willing and ready to give Your Majesty

[p. 48]

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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 *Ceylon* 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 Majesty in health and prosperity and grant victory over all your enemies. *Geldria* Castle 20th October 1637 Your Majesty's devoted Servant.

Karel Reyniersz.

Great honour shown to the Hollanders by the Emperor.

Whilst the envoys were transacting their business the Emperor was all the while seen standing with his crown on, and his dagger in his hand, his person was moreover adorned with various gems, 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.

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The Portugezen try to cast suspicion on the Hollanders.

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 rest-house 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 contents[1]:

[p. 49]

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

Treated with consideration and honour.

Emperor's letter to Governor Karel Reyniersz

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

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.

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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 ready 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, 28*th 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*."

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Chapter Nineteen

[p. 50]

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

Fight at sea off Goa.

WHILST 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:

Names of the Neder-landtsche ships.

The flag ship *Uytrecht*, Admiral *Adam van Westerwold*, Extraordinary Councillor of *India*, Master *Reynier 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 20 soldiers.

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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.

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The Naval engagement between the Dutch and Portuguese fleets off Goa.

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Texel, Captain and Master *Cornelis Leendertsz. Valk*, junior 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 Struyk*, 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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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-

Also the Hollanders.

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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 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 enemy. In the meantime there now sprung a good sea breeze, which enabled our ships to keep aloof with an intention to board 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.

The battle begins.

The Nederlanders attempt to come to grips.

It was the intention of our Honourable Admiral *Adam Westerwold* with his ship *Uytrecht* to approach the *Portugeschen* Admiral, but the latter kept close to his other ships by which we saw that 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 Portugezen evade. [p. 52]

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

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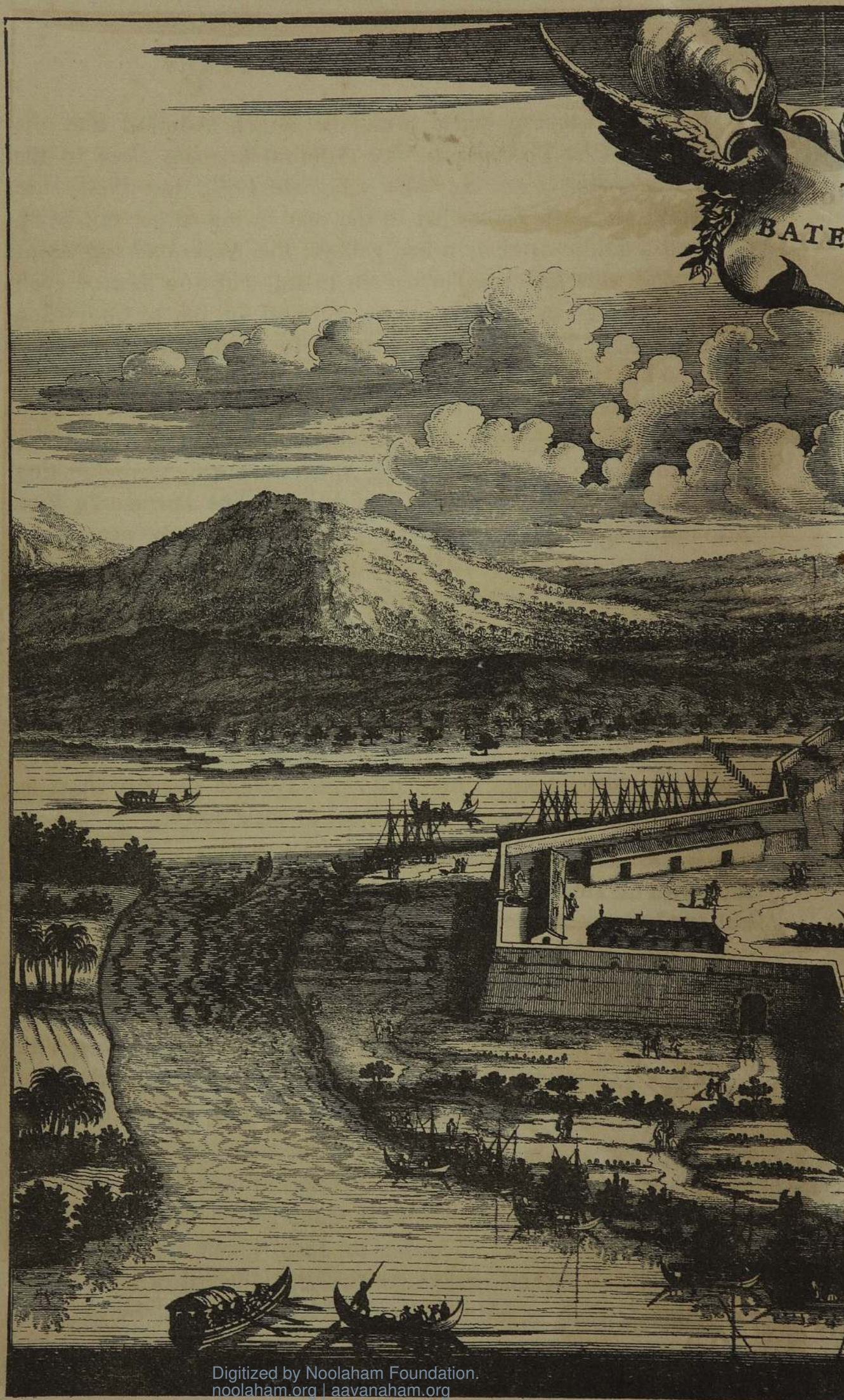

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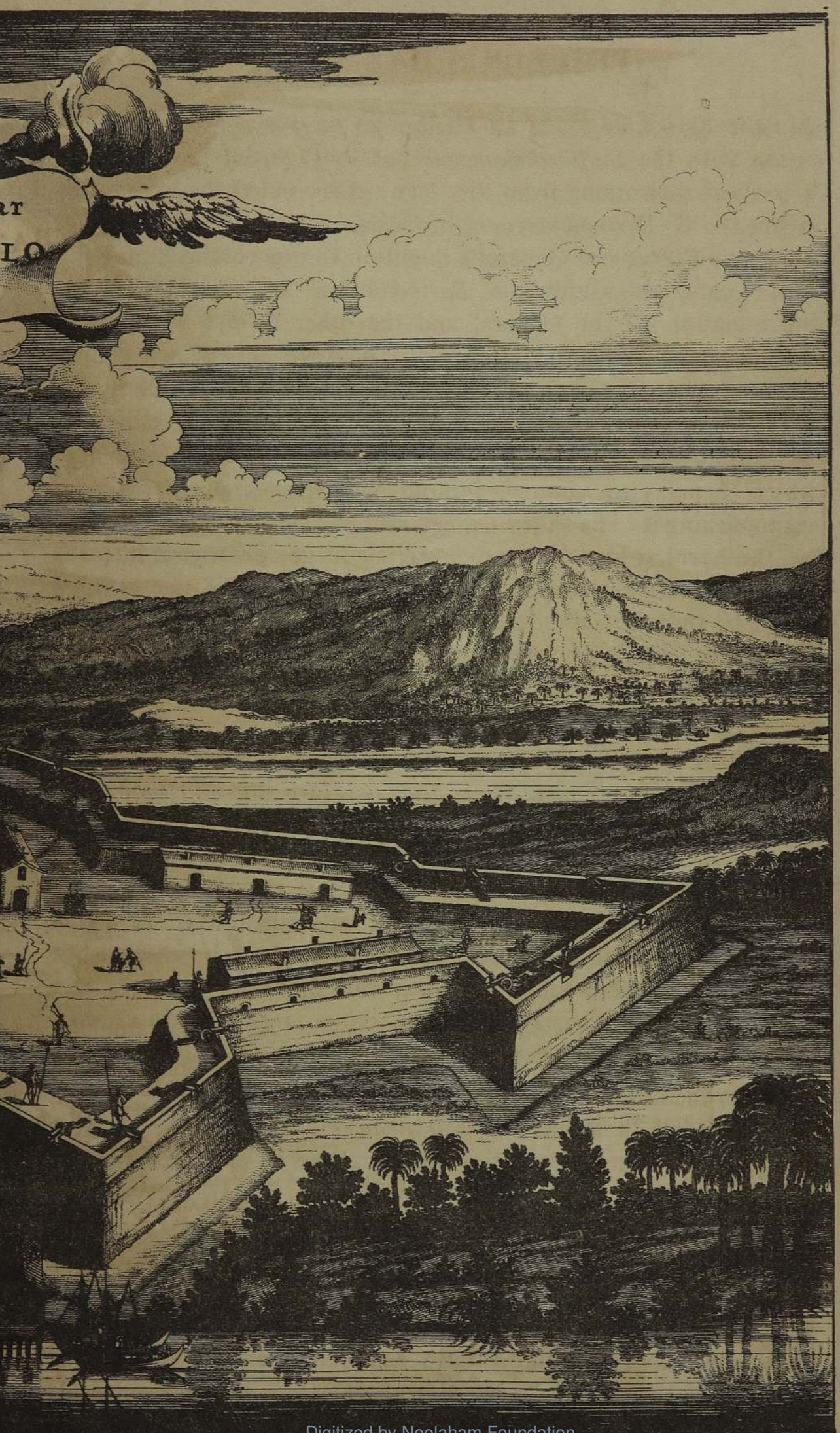

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The Fort of Batticaloa.

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.

The galleon S. Bartholomaeus, the Vlissingen and the 's Gravenhage take fire.

Portugesche Armada flees to the Bay of Goa.

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

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master, the merchant and eight men who had belonged to the yacht *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 Viceroy 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 Ceylon who were on board 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. [p. 53]

Nederlandtsche Fleet anchors round the island off Goa. Reinforced by two ships.

The contest over, the *Nedersche* fleet returned to the bay of the islands south of *Goa* to repair damages, and then resolved manfully to face the enemy again. In the meantime there arrived the splendid ship *'s Hertogenbosch* with the Vice Commander *Willem Jacobsz Koster* from *Suratte* having a valuable cargo to the amount of 412,000 guilders prime cost, which consisted of 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 *Kleyn Enkhuyzen*.

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PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

Chapter Twenty

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

ON 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 *Dolfijn* 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*,

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there arrived in the interim at *Batavia* the fly boat *Huysduynen* [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 personally 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

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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 Ceylon.

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 write to the Emperor.

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

Attack on the Portugezen in Candy.

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

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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

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flights, and others who were slain[1].

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

Siege of the Batecalo Fort.

And whilst the Envoys of the Emperor left the place for Kandy, a consultation took place with the Modliar of *Mattaclape* respecting the situation and strength of the garrison of the fort of *Batecalo*, and it was decided to sail thither, where *Koster* 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* to lay siege to *Columbo*. The Vice Commander *Koster* waited on His Majesty and was received with marks of great honour. 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.

Koster honourably treated by the Emperor.

Chapter Twenty One

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

Arrival of Heer Adam Westerwold in Ceylon.

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

1. 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.

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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 accoutrements and under promise that the *Portugezen* 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 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.

The Fortress of *Batecalo* is situated on an isle, which is 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 bulwark 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.

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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

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1. Baldaeus makes little mention of the assistance made available by Rajasingha at the siege.
2. A Dutch Mile was just over 3 English Miles.

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The impaling of prisoners after the capture of Batticaloa.

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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.

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1. 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.
2. 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.

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6th. Should His Majesty contemplate any hostile movements 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. [p. 57]

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 necessaries 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

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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.

[p. 58]

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

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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.

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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 Majesty 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 quintals[1] 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.

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

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Two Envoys of the Emperor go to Batavia with Heer Westerwold.

For final ratification, and approval of the contract in question, His Majesty sent in company with the Admiral two of his Envoys with some presents to the General and the Council of *India* to Batavia, where the Envoys met with a cordial reception and good 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 continues to besiege Columbo.

The Emperor's army consisting of 20,000 strong continued the siege of *Columbo*, and they frequently fell in with the enemy's detached parties in quest of provision, whom they invariably beat 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.

Willem Jakobsz Koster before Puntegale.

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

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.
2. 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.

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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*.

Governors thereto regularly appointed from time to time.

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.[1] 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

[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. Goonewardane 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.

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The Dutch storm the Fort of Galle.

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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

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1. 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 Maetsuycker*. Translated by R. G. Anthonisz.
2. Jacob van Kittensteyn, Governor of Ceylon from February 1650 to October 1653.

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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

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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 pl[illegible]. Rajasingha remained neutral in these disputes though inclining more to support the Dutch with whom he was bound 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.

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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.

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 [p. 62] 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, dispatching at the same time on board our ships the merchants *Reynier 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 rice and two parcels of dry salt fish.

Shortage of provisions in Caleture.

Cansie is rice cooked in water.

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

A Portugesche clerk comes over to us.

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The Town of Kalutara.

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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 Figeiro*[1] 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.

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.

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

Battery furnished with mortars.

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

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.

Some come from Caleture with a flag of truce.

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

"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.*"

Suspension of fighting.

Hereupon we suspended further operations and dispatched, with the *Portugeesch* envoy, ensign *Marten Scholtes* with a small 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.

Conditions of the surrender of Caleture.

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

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

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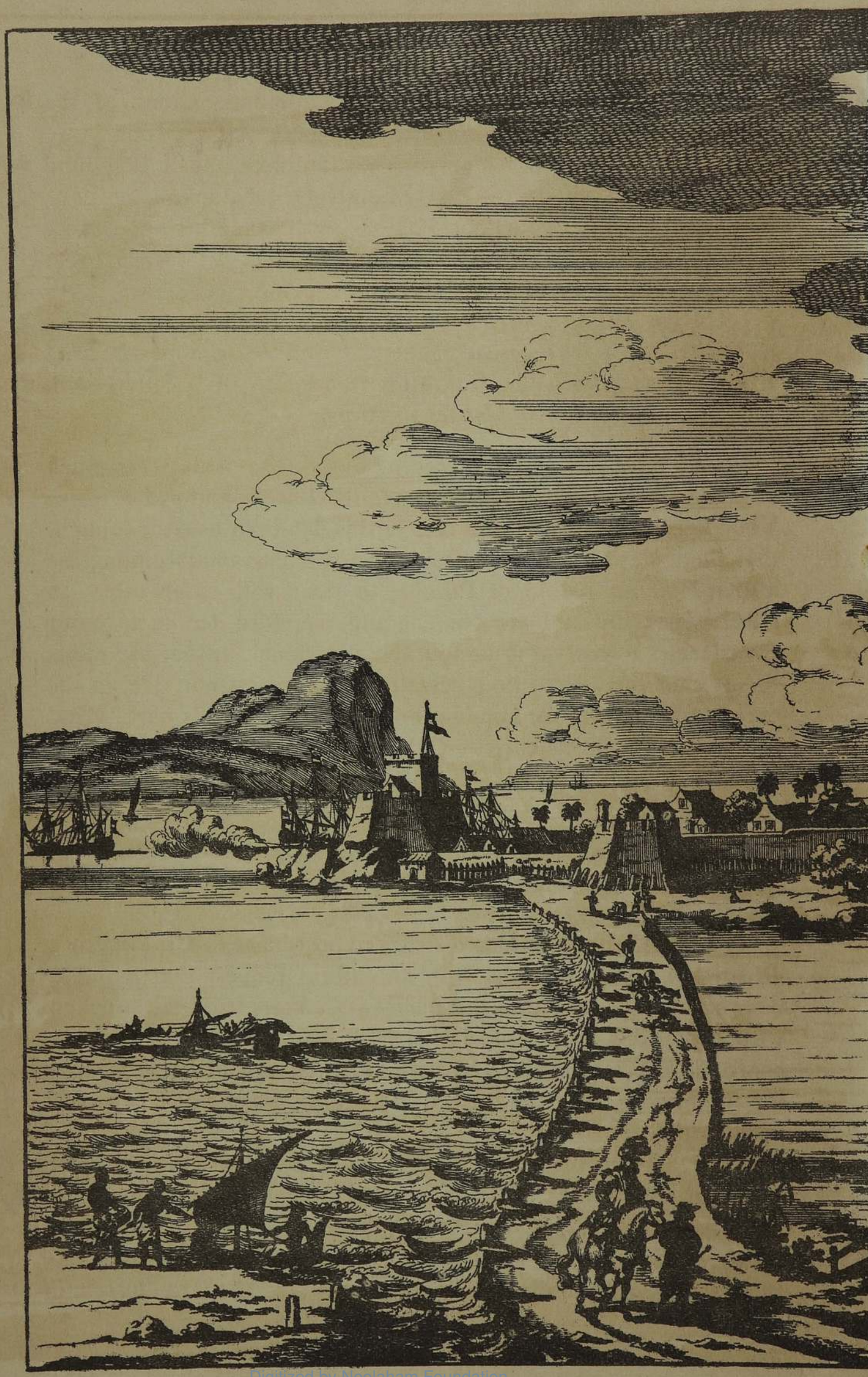

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The City of Galle.

The Monsoon is an unsettled season of the year.

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.

The Portugezen evacuate Caleture. [p. 64]

Early on the morning of the 15th the aforesaid *Fialho* reappeared with the articles of agreement duly signed, and about 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 Chief Officers, Captains and Ensigns of the Fortress.

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

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Joan Anthonio Felthaon	27
Pedro de Barhos	28
Manuel Rodrigos	28
Diogo Frois	36
Jacomo Padraon	28
Manuel Mendes	27
Louys Alvres Pereiro	24
Leonardo de Silva	26
In all	255 men

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 Hulft* 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.

Field ammunition therein.

There were found in this strong defence—

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.

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PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

Chapter Twenty Three

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

Isbrant Godskens as Governor in Caleture.

ON 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 [p. 65] 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.

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.

Fight at Montual.

On the 18th October there was a struggle between us and the *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.

Total of killed.

We now learnt that from the entire force of 650 whites which marched under *Gasper Figeiro* from *Columbo*, for the 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 in receipt of letters from Captain *Kous*, and Lieutenant

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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.

"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.

[p. 66] 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.

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

Dissave is equivalent to a District Magistrate. Lascarijn a common soldier. Apahamy a high functionary. Haratie a Sergeant.

1. 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.

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A famous jungle straggler Francisco Anthunes captured by our Lascarijns.

On the same day we learnt of the capture by our *lascarijns* 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

Thanksgiving Day observed.

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.

[p. 67]

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.

The King offers to help the Nederlanders.

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 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 Kittensteyn*, and subsequent writings of the present Governor *Adriaan van der Meyden* 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 return from his exploits with these conciliatory words "*Que era digno de ser enforcado*" which in plain Neerlants means, "you 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.

Gasper Figeiro's welcome at Columbo.

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 ago with one *Walraven*, re-named *Joan de Rosa* by the *Portugezen*

Joan de Rosa comes over.

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

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and who having resided in *Columbo* later fled to *Candy* 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.

[p. 68]

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

Columbo heavily shelled.

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 *Reynol* 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 yacht *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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Singular incident regarding a bullet.

About noon a singular accident took place in the church of *Quia de Lobo:* while our surgeons were occupied in their bandaging a cannon ball from the bulwark *S. Steven* whizzed along the 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 Majesty. It was accompanied by a gold pectoral, studded with various precious stones, and hanging from a chain. The letter being translated read as follows:—

The Emperor's letter to Commander Gerard Hulft.

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

An Ola is a letter. The inhabitants write on the leaves of wild palm branches with an iron pen. [p. 69]

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*, which news have afforded my Imperial Majesty no little joy. Immediate orders were issued to all my dissaves and captains for assembling my whole army. In the meantime I was in receipt of an *ola* from the *Saffragamze Dissave* dated 23rd October informing me how that Your Excellency had sent for him, and 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

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(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 article 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.

ON 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 Majesty *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*.

Reply to the above letter.

On the 10th about noon the General was in receipt of 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

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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 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. [p. 71]

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* and the landing party near the gate *Rajuha*, with endeavours, under God, to subdue one or other of the bastions, and thereby 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

Order regarding action on land.

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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 Broekhuyzen*, *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 lascarijns* shall be employed in bearing away the wounded, so as to rid the front of all obstructions to the storming.

[p. 72] 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 occur on the appointed day.

On the 11th November the day fixed for the assault 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 flag*[3] seen displayed on their bastion *S. Crusz*, as they were otherwise wont to do.

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1. i.e. natives of the Banda Islands, then a Dutch possession in Indonesia.
2. 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 *bloedt vlagge*, lit. blood flag.

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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

Chapter Twenty Six

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

ON 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 have worked themselves into the harbour in spite of all they did to gain their ends. The *Maaght* and the *Workum* after the interval of an hour opened a most vehement fire against the Water Castle, which was returned from the walls with equal vigour.

The two ships attack the Water Castle.

Orders were then given for a sudden attack being made 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 pond[1] 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 forward; and nobly rushing amidst the thunders of the hostile cannon grasped the ladders with a few other officers, and brought 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

The land attack.

The General handles the ladders himself. Is wounded.

1. Tank, i.e. the Colombo lake.

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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.

Melchior van Schonenbeek alone climbs the bulwark 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 killed or wounded. At length however one was applied to *S. Joan* bastion, by which means the noble stalwart, Lieutenant *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 van Enkhuyzen sinks.

The *Maaght van Enkhuysen* after a long fight became so much crippled and disabled by shots that she could not continue afloat, 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, hence arise the disorders, perplexity, faint heartedness and irregularities—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;

The fortunes of war are variable.

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.

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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 *Raja 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.

Letter from Raja Singa to the General regarding our failure and requesting that no further attack be made without his knowledge

There now arrived on the 19th the Emperor's dissaves who handed to the General a letter which they had received from *Raja Singa*, expressive of his deep regret at the wound received by the General in the late assault, and that in consequence he felt it necessary to make every preparation for his expedition to our encampment for our succour, with a request that the storming of the fort might not be renewed without his counsel and the co-operation of his forces, whereupon a letter of thanks was dispatched to His Majesty. We now heard of a report that the enemy was in the expectation of reinforcements from *Goa* — it was therefore deemed expedient to detach the yachts *Workum* and *Popkensburgh* with a frigate to cruise to the north of *Negombo* in order to prevent the approach of the enemy's vessels.

Some yachts cruise about north of Negombo to intercept 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 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.

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The Yacht de Romeyn arrives from Suratta.

At this juncture there arrived from *Suratta* the yacht *Romeyn*, a vessel built and fitted out at that place, with a cargo of 16 lasts of wheat for Batavia. We understood from the master of the vessel, that certain of the *Portugesche Kaffila*[1] 30 frigates strong

1. Kaffila, an Arabic word meaning a caravan or company of travellers. Here used "of a collection of ships."

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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.

On the 29th after every possible honour had been paid to the remains of the late Captain *Barent Cuylenburgh* 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 *Tutecorijn* 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.

Claas Claasz, a sailor, goes over to the enemy.

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, 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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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

Chapter Twenty Seven

Want in Columbo. Anthonio Amiral de Menezes taken prisoner. The continuation of the siege.

Scarcity of necessaries in Colombo.

WE understand that on the 7th December owing to the great scarcity of rice and other necessaries of life 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.

Anthonio Amiral de Menezes is seized by us with some letters.

On the 10th December there was brought to our camp from *Montual*, *Anthonio Amiral de Menezes* formerly Governor of *Jafnapatan*, and who later in 1658 at the capture of *Manaar* was killed by a ball which hit him on the neck from a piece of 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

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2 nights at *Negnapatam*, he goes replete with everything whieh 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 *Comorijn* with which I shall expect the required aid. Will Your Excellency accordingly communicate with the chiefs of *Comorijn* and Tutecorijn, 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 *Manaar* 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 November1655

(Signed and sealed) *Anthonio Amiral de Menezes*

[p. 77] There was another letter with similar contents and it ran as follows:—

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 Comorijn* that the town had been reduced to such lamentable straits by bad

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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.

200 blacks come from the fort to the beach.

On the 12th December a body of 200 blacks were seen moving along the beach from the fort through the gateway *Mapane*. 3 companies were immediately filed off with a view to cut off 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*-beams[1] from within, with the addition of a fastness furnished with cannon

1. Klappus beams. i.e. Coconut trunks. From the Malay *Kalappa*, Coconut.

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with intent that it might be made their utmost resort of defence in the event of the loss of the bulwarks.

The Siege advances.

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.

Portugezen deserters.

Outrageous cruelty.

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 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 $6\frac{1}{4}$ 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

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evening we missed the *Portugees Simon Lopes*, by reason of enemy activity or his own knavery.

Three black carpenters come over with news of the state of the fort.

On the 26th December there came over to us 3 native carpenters and communicated very important information, viz. that the *Portugezen* had undermined the corner of *St. Jan* bastion, and that 5 barrels of gun powder had been deposited at 5 selected 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.*

The General orders an attack and decides to undermine the St. Jan bulwark.

Upon this information His Excellency called together the principal officers and it was showed to them how that by God's grace we had hitherto made the approaches speedily and without any great loss of people, and that therefore if we expect to meet with fortunate results, we ought to follow up the work with all 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.

First writes to the Emperor.

On the 28th the General informed the Dissaves of *Saffragam* and four *Corlas* that it had been decided to send an envoy to the 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.

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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.

ON 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 breach in the enemy's wall.

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 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.

We attempt to complete this gallery offering 100 rijksdollars.

It was now decided to have the gallery carried out in God's name under the discharge of cannon and musquetry; to effect this, the General engaged six skilful carpenters at a reward of 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 found ourselves compelled to quit the ditch for a time — it was very singular that in this hot work our wounded amounted to 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.

Attempt suspended.

[p. 80]

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 mere copies and extracts from the letters of *Lorenso Barboza*

A Portugesche letter found.

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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 patasjes 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.

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.

An Instantie is composed of 25 to 30 soldiers.

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.

Letters from Choromandel.

On the 19th there were letters received from the Governor of *Choromandel* the Honourable *laurens Pit*, giving a circumstantial 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 arecanuts through wicked carelessness. Several merchants have left the place for *Ceylon* with supplies of rice, and other provisions, so that through God's mercy we and the inhabitants need have any great apprehension on that score.

An ammenam is a certain measure.

Areek is a fruit which the Indians chew and is exported from Ceylon to Choromandel.

That the *Zee Rob* has on board 270 blubbers or 26,822 lbs of new gun powder, 50 bales of *Guinees Lywaat* (cotton cloth) and $10\frac{1}{4}$ lasts of rice, making in all a shipment of 23,862 guilders and 17 stuivers.

Fresh news from Choromandel.

We learnt by the same opportunity that from a report and other manifest preparations which were then going on, that the 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.

Also from Goa and Wingurla.

From the duplicate of a letter of the 8th December forwarded to *Batavia* by the merchant *Leonard Jansz* of *Wingurla*, we were informed of the preparations which were then going on in *Goa*,

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for the relief of *Columbo*, but the Viceroy[1] 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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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.

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24 "*ditos*" were to join from the *Sipaveneycx* 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.

The General issues orders to the Fleet.

On the 21st January two hours before and when the moon rose the General went on board the ship *Tergoes*, and at daylight 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—

Letter from a spy sent to us at Wingurla from Goa.

To His Honour the Commander of the *Hollanders* near *Wingurla*.

Sir,

Two ships start for *Portugaal*, to wit, The *Bon Jesu*, a $4\frac{1}{4}$ decker carrying 65 pieces of ordnance, and the other named

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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.

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 [p. 83] *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.

The Emperor sends a letter to the General.

AT this juncture the General was in receipt of a letter from the Emperor of Ceylon in reply to the one which Lieutenant *Hartman* was the bearer of. The contents 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.

Lieutenant Hartman receives from the Emperor a gold chain and a ring.

On the Lieutenant leaving (Kandy) he received from the royal hands the gift of a gold chain and a ring. His Majesty also wrote that he learnt from some of his dissaves of the explosion of one of our mines and that many of our men had been injured but he was now glad to hear the contrary.

Arrival of ships at Gale and Columbo from Tajouan via Malacca.

On the 26th January a letter was received from the Senior Merchant *Joan Kroon* from *Gale* announcing the arrival at that port of the *Patientia* from *Bengale*, the Persian traders, the ships the *Swarte Bul* and *Windhondt* from *Tajouan* via *Masulepatam*, the Persian Trader, and the yacht *Vlielandt* from *Tajouan* bound for *Zuratta* and that of these vessels the *Kroon* had been sent to *Columbo*.

Two spies hanged.

Two days subsequently two spies who were lurking about the camp inspecting our works were taken up and hung at the 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*

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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 *Malax*[1] tin. The cargo of these vessels generally consists of *Japans* screens copper, silver, bars of copper, alum, gold; *Chineeze* Tea; *Formozaanze*[2] 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 *Ceylon* 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.

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.

Letters from Malacca arrive at our camp in Columbo.

[p. 84]

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

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.

1. i.e. Produce of Malacca.
2. i.e. Produce of Formosa.

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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

A letter from the Emperor to the General.

In times past notwithstanding the minority of years I have by the Grace of God obtained a complete victory over my enemies at *Malvane*, where I entirely routed the force under *Don Constantino*, 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

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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
[p. 85] 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 *Reygamwatte*. 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 Majesty had approved that he had forced back the (Portugezen) turn-outs into the fort; The General then dispatched the following letter
A letter from our General to the General in Colombo. to the General in *Columbo:-*

"Finding that Your Excellency has now with much cruelty withdrawn your protection from the black citizens of the town

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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 rest were driven back within the walls of the fort. They had now become so distressed for want of food that daily from between 15 to 16 people died. The dropsy also began to shew itself amongst the *Europianen.* On the 19th there came over to us 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 —

Notwithstanding the precautions taken in Columbo many blacks come over to us.

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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 *Reygamwatte*. 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 cheered by the gift of a tame elephant from the Emperor.

Lieutenant *Hartman* to whom the Emperor had made a present of a tame elephant now informed the General that the Emperor had in confidence requested him to suggest to the General the necessity of honouring the prince his son with some little present as a token of an immortal friendship.

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 Majesty 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.

Heavy shelling by the enemy.

ON the 22nd instant the enemy opened a damaging fire from their batteries *St. Joan* and *St. Steven*, whereby 3 of our soldiers were severely wounded. His Majesty sent 3 of his messengers to enquire into the cause of the great

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columns of smoke which were perceptible at his camp, and to inform the General of his arrival at *Reygamwatte* on that very day, to inspect the work of the palace which was then being fitted up for him.

The Emperor's envoys 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.

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

Sent back to the fort and threatened with the gallows in case they return.

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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 of February another batch of 150 of these fugitives were likewise forced back to the town under similar treatment.

150 fugitives caned and driven back 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 the aforesaid chiefs in some of their villages under suspicion of being deserters from our camp, and who have escaped the vigilance of our guards. The General acknowledged the obligation 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.

Ten persons captured by the Cingalezen and delivered to us.

There now came into the General's possession an intercepted letter written by one of our *aratches* to the *Vidane* of *Pasdun Corle*, containing the following directions:—

An intercepted Letter.

"*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 *majoraals*[2] 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 Lionayde*, 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 [p. 89] 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.

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1. The 'goraka' fruit, *Garcinia Cambogia*, used for preserving fish and also medicinally.
2. 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.

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Letter sent to Raja Singa.

On Sunday the 27th instant before divine service, the General dispatched a letter to His Majesty *Raja Singa* giving him an 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.

Four fishermen come over to us.

At the same time 4 fishermen in a *tony* crossed over to us from the fort side, when they were informed that they might as well spare themselves the trouble of another visit, if they wish 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.

A Moorsch ship brings news of the Company's affairs in Gale and the surrounding country.

Just about this time there arrived in the roads a certain Moorish vessel from *Punte Gale* with a letter from the Senior Merchant *Jan Kroon* giving a detailed account of the disposal of the several rents of the district of *Gale* for the ensuing year, for the aggregate sum of 15,840 rixdollars on condition that a quarterly payment should be made of one fourth of the purchase 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

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quitting their work escaped to the fort. The enemy made a few shots at our men but the latter returned safe to the camp.

Ships arrive from Coromandel.

With the arrival of the yacht *Arnemuyden* 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 *Cabbeljauw* which never made her appearance. The cargo of the *Arnemuyden* 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

Their cargo.

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

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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.

An elk shot by Raja Singa sent to the General.

Late in the evening three messengers brought from His 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.

17 lascarijns 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 *lascarijns* 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 *lascarijns* 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 there prevailed a strong rumour that the General had dispatched all his money and other movables to *Manaar* the night before

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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.

Also 2 Portugezen and some Lascarijns.

On the 6th, 8th and 9th September the gate *Rajuha* was strongly beset by us. There bolted over 2 *Portugesche* and some defensible *lascarijns*, they declared that the town could not hold out longer than May, and that the remaining stock of the rice with them was stony, damp, rotten, and scrappy.

A new battery built.

Instructions were then issued by the General for the construction 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.

A Portugees deserter informs of the condition of 40 of our prisoners.

AT this juncture, there came over to us several *lascarijns* and a *Portugees* loudly denouncing the bad quality of the rice dealt out to them, the latter also declared that he knew our prisoners in the fort and counted forty of them, one of whom then lay sick and was at the point of death, that their officers lost their lives during the storming, or subsequently 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 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 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.

Warns us.

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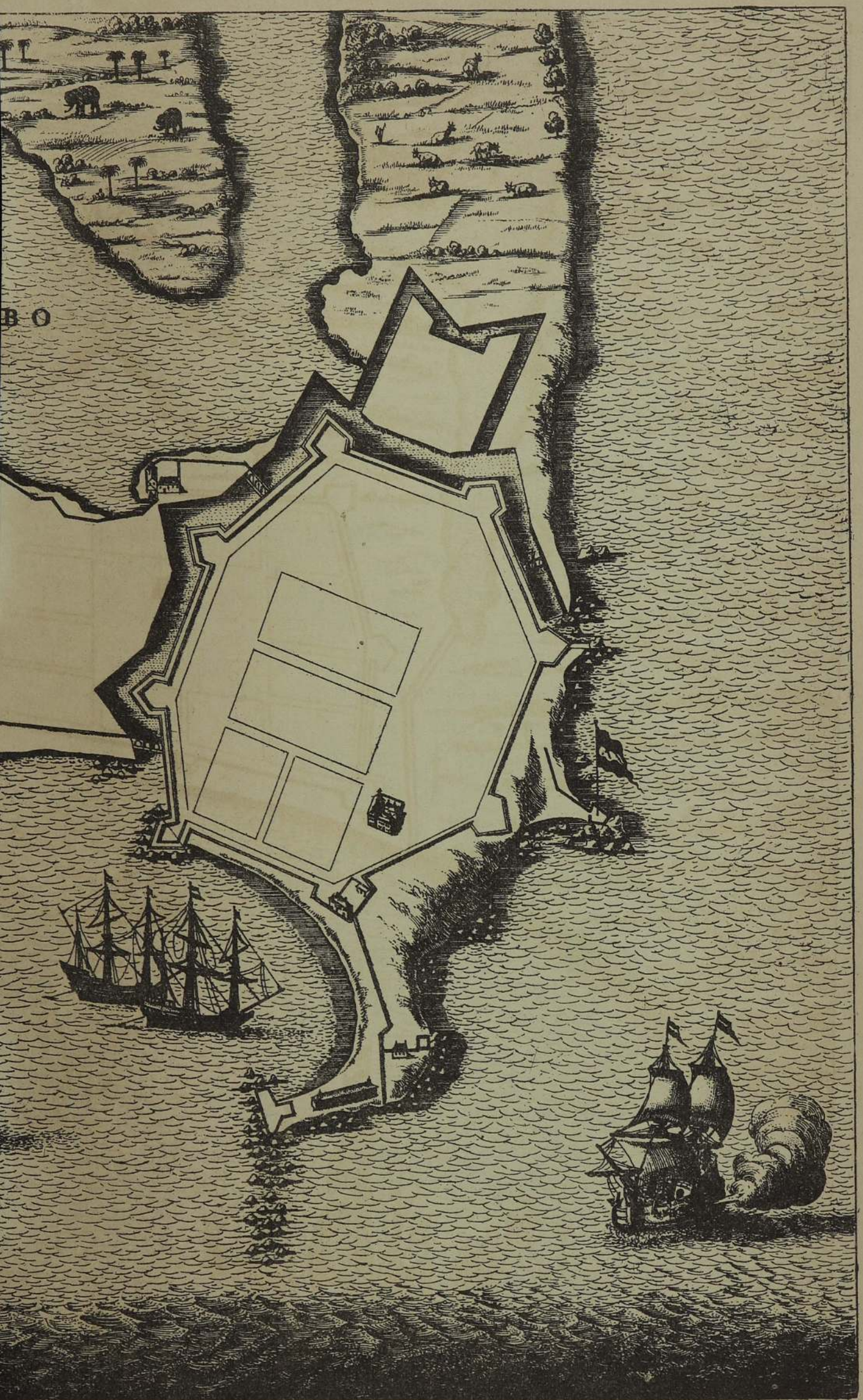

The City of Colombo.

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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 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.

A young lad comes over.

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.

Two of our soldiers desert to the enemy.

On the 14th March Captain *Emont Ruysch* reports from the station *Milagre*, the desertion to the enemy of Corporal *Hendrik Willemsz Bogaart*, and a Private *Pieter van Bruysingen*, truly 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.

10 Lascarijns come over.

On the same evening there came over 10 other armed *lascarijns* from the fort, and before the rising of the moon 2 cannon an 18 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 Godskens* (born at *s' Gravenhage*) was then selected on this service, a gentleman gallant and vigilant, whether wielding a sword or the pen, who had done the Honourable Company good service, when Director of Commerce in *Persia*. He soon betook himself to the Emperor *Raja Singa*.

The Merchant Ysbrandt Godskens goes to Raja Singa as Extra-ordinary Envoy.

To Simon Lopes, a deserting Captain, is sent a letter asking him to create an uprising amongst the blacks.

Another batch of *lascarijns* with their wives and children now had to retrace their steps to the fort, There was a letter privately entrusted to a young lad that it might be delivered over to the fugitive Captain *Symon Lopes* who was requested if practicable to bring about a mutiny amongst the blacks under a promise, that not only would his misdeeds be forgiven him, but that he would be also amply rewarded for that service.

An alarm raised.

At midnight there was a false alarm raised by our men by 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

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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:-

A Letter from His Majesty to the General along with two others.

Raja Singa Rajou etc. etc.

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 self-interest 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.

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Letter of the Citizens of Colombo

To His August and Mighty Excellency, Emperor *Raja Singa* etc. etc. etc.

Letter from leading Burghers of Columbo to Raja Singa Emperor of Ceylon.

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 was likewise informed of the storming which took place both by land and sea, and as the assault was carried on during the day-time, 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.

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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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A black labourer comes over to us with some news.

On the 20th March, a certain black labourer who was employed amongst others in the opening of the enemy's trenches made his escape to us. He said that four *Portugezen* who were taken up in their attempt to make their way to us had been 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.

Heer Hulft goes with this black to view the ditch, not without risk to life.

The General then left the camp for the moat taking this black with him, that he might point out the place where the enemy used to carry on their work. On reaching the place, he seized a gun, and mounted the walls and whilst looking into 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.

A young lad comes over to us.

THE sun had scarcely reached the zenith when there came a 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-mentioned *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

His story.

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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 envoy Ysbrandt Godskens returns to the camp with the leave of His Majesty. [p. 95] *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 Majesty 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 exposing Your Excellency's person to perils and dangers, and in case of any fatal accident befalling Your Excellency, the loss 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.

His Majesty requests the Genera! not to risk his person.

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 who are scattered about the Empire. With regard to the treaty entered into with Admiral *Westerwold*, His Majesty holds it as valid and binding whilst in the meantime, there were many Generals and Governors of India who have been in His Majesty's lands, who had (he said) against all equity and reason occasioned great trouble and confusion, and by such acts of injustice alienated every feeling of friendship and good understanding which there then existed, for which His Majesty feels regret to the very moment and appeals to God, who knows everything to witness that he gave no cause for such proceedings on their part, but with respect to Your Excellency individually he thinks differently, and has

Holds to the contract made with Heer Adam Westerwold.

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Raja Singa deplores many injustices committed by Generals and Governors of our nation.

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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 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 signed by the General be dispatched on His Majesty's behalf, which took place the following day.

The Emperor grants time for Heer Hulft to appear before 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.

Letters received in Columbo.

About the same time we had an accession of 50 men from *Puntegale* to join the camp, being all the force which that garrison could then have spared.

50 soldiers sent to the camp from Puntegale.

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,

How the letters sent were received in camp.

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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.

Stormy weather at camp and around it.

On this very day, there burst out a most frightful tempest, accompanied with high wind, rain, thunder and lightning whereby one of our sentries was hurt, and, what was more remarkable, 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.

Two white deserters.

On the 25th March there came over to us, at the gate *Rajuha*, 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. That 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.

Three fishermen arrested by us.

After a short interval *Commander Roothaas* sent to the camp 3 fishermen captured by our rowing-boats within a musket-shot of the water castle, when the usual rewards were paid to 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

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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.

A 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*.

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News of Goa sent by the Merchant and Resident Leendert Willemze of Wingurla.

That the Viceroy *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 Viceroy,

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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 to send them to *Ceylon*. We acquired this information through our residents at *Wingurla* in order that we might be prepared to meet them in the event of their coming to *Ceylon*. He further 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.

A zeraphijn is according to our reckoning a guilder or 20 stuyvers.

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 Loys 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 crafts 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 yacht 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 Viceroy *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 of *Goa*, that the long talked of armada consisting of from 20 to 30 war-frigates were to sail within 2 days more for *Ceylon* fully 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.

News regarding condition of Goa.

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 *Ceylon* with all procurable provision with 30 war-frigates 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.

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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.

ON 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 *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.

An unfriendly Cingalaas seized by us.

Also five fishermen.

A letter sent to His Majesty by the General.

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 trumpet-soundings, when they fetched just as much as the Company had laid out in rewards for their capture.

Two Portugezen come over to us from the fort, and another the next day.

A sailor brings four fishermen.

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:

A letter, beautifully decorated, from His Majesty delivered to the General.

"Your Excellency's letter of 24th March reached me the same day, in which you say, that you are at all times ready and willing at my Imperial Service, whereat my Imperial person was much gladdened. And of the interest Your Excellency takes in all what concerns me, and it hardly be said, I have had already 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 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. [p. 101]

Sealed in wax.

at Reygamwatte,
1st March 1656.

Date of visit to Raja Singa considered.

A fixed time was now resolved upon for the General to visit His Majesty, and all the necessary preparations were being made, as the King's Dissaves informed His Excellency that His Majesty would grant him an audience on Wednesday following

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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.

Two twelve-pounders are first set up, opposite St. Joan's battery.

16 armed lascarijns come over to us.

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*.

The Emperor's Dissaves invite the General and accompany him to appear before His Majesty.

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.

His Excellency Gerard Hulft's procession to the Emperor of Ceylon.

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 *Reygamwatte*.

His Majesty's indications of honour to the General.

The first marks of honour which were shown to His Excellency the Director General by His Majesty's dignitaries were these:

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 *ammelang*[1] 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 *Ceylon*. They were accompanied by an innumerable number of soldiers and others, as well as bearers of *talpets*[2] 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.

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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.

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.

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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:

A letter from the General to the Emperor.

Most August 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 Majesty, 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.*

In case the Emperor could not be seen soon.

The General then sent the merchant Godskens, and the *Sabandaar Don Joan de Costa* and a select party of the King's *lascarijns* to inspect the line of roads to our encampment in order that, in the absence of any positive information that access might be had to His Majesty on that day, we might quietly return to our encampment and people.

A return to the camp.

On the 8th April the General was in receipt of a letter from His Majesty to the following purport:

Letter from the Emperor to the General.

The individuals whom I sent from my Imperial Court to enquire and ascertain after Your Excellency's health have returned to me highly gratified, bringing with them Your Excellency's 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 you receive my instructions tomorrow, and after we shall have met together, Your Excellency shall then have leave to return to the encampment, when I shall at the same time give all necessary

Contents of the Emperor's letter.

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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
[p. 104] 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.

IN 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

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General Hulft's procession to the Court of Rajasingha II.

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Gerard Hulft's audience with Rajasingha II

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the palace an innumerable body of musketeers, gingallers[1] 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], 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:

The General appears before His Majesty.

"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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1. From Jingals, a Hindustani word for a breech loading gun fired from a rest.
2. Possibly a corruption of the Sinhalese 'maduwa' or pavilion.

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Proceedings between His Majesty and the General.

I willingly confess, that there have been various misunderstandings between Your Majesty's servants and those of the widely renowned Company but while now Your Majesty sees our indefatigable exertions to root out and eradicate from Your Majesty's lands our common enemy at the cost and sacrifice of such a stream of Christian blood, it will it is hoped, be a sufficient proof and guarantee to induce Your Majesty to set aside and 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 Majesty of our sincerity and uprightness."

Presents from His Majesty to the General.

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 had then attained the summit of his glory, he then with all respect held His Majesty's hands and kissed them. [p. 106]

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

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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 his son the prince used himself.

The General is presented with a golden garter.

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.

How our people approached, with gifts for the Emperor.

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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 Quivers
1 Costly Japanese Robe
2 Hunting Dogs
2 Persian Sheep
2 Viziapore Wild Goats[1]
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 [p. 107]
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.

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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.

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.

He goes to inspect the works.

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

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General Gerard Hulft from an engraving by A. Blooteling.

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Our gallery takes fire: all try to extinguish it.

[p. 108]

The General receives a fatal bullet wound.

His last words and his death.

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 pitch-fork 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.

Description of the General's person.

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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

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.

IT was already night when the interpreter *Jurgen Blom* was dispatched with a letter informing His Majesty of this lamentable occurrence. On the 11th the Dissaves of *Vijf* and *Seven Corlas* came to view the body of the deceased General. It was now resolved in Council to have the body removed to *Puntegale*, a journey of 18 hours under the care of the Merchant *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 Dissave of *Matule*, the Adigar and other courtiers to meet the Governor and express condolence for the loss of the well beloved Director General, and to ascertain from His Excellency whether 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 catastrophe took place they neared the spot cowering and trembling, and whilst leaving it, they took away with them handfuls of earth, with a request that, that spot might not be trodden upon.

Raja is informed of the General's death.

His body is take to Gale.

Envoys from the Emperor to the Governor.

They inspect the scene of the shooting.

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 body was removed and buried with great honour in formal procession during the Government of His Excellency *van der 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.

The General's two burial places.

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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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[p. 109] 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 yielding the honour
And for the common weal his life.

The Chief Command on the death of the Honourable Gerard Hulft devolves on the Honourable Adriaan van der Meyde, Governor of Ceylon.

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.

A letter from Wingurla saying that 22 frigates had left Goa for the relief of Columbo.

On the 13th April a letter was received from the Merchant *Leendert Jansz* from *Wingurla* stating that a reinforcement had been sent out by the enemy from the Bay of *Goas* for the relief 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.

The yacht Vlissingen attacks the enemy and sinks a frigate.

There arrived in the evening the yacht *Vlissingen*. Her Commander *Adriaan van der Mart* landed shortly after and communicated the information how that by the Grace of God, he had three days ago fallen in with the *Portugesche* armada between *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*.

A Portugesche Captain with four of his servants comes over to us.

At night there came over a *Portugeschen* Captain *Nicolao de More* one of the *Fidalgos* or noblemen who helped to thrust *Don Bras de Castro* into the Governorship of *Goa*. He had been remanded as prisoner for the space of 3 months on the point *S. Steven* with his four servants and had now effected an escape 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.

Storming of the bulwark St. Steven postponed.

In the meantime it was deemed expedient in Council that the projected assault on *S. Steven* should for very weighty reasons be protracted for a few days longer, with orders however that our whole force should hold themselves prepared during the nights to 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—

A letter received from the Emperor in which he expresses extreme sorrow at the death of the General.

Raja Singa Rajou, Mighty Emperor of *Ceylon* wishes the Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Gale, *Adriaan van der Meyde* much health.

Your Excellency's letter which was written on Monday the 10th of March at 7 p.m. reached my Imperial camp at midnight, and was put into my hands at noon on Tuesday, from which I learnt the death of the Director General; his death has caused in

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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.

His Majesty invites His Excellency the Governor to the Palace.

(Signed) *Raja Singa Rajou.*
Mighty Emperor of Ceylon.

Two whites, three toepassen and eleven lascarijns come over.

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 *Manchous* 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 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 Lieut. *Didelof van der Beek* from the stockade at *Mapane*, that the starving stragglers from the fort had destroyed themselves on the road between the city and our works, and that 2 women had devoured the very fruits of their womb. [p. 111]

Great hunger and misery amongst the blacks.

On the 18th April His Excellency was in the receipt of the following letter from His Majesty:

Raja Singa writes a letter to the Governor Adriaan Van der Meyde.

"Your letter reached me an hour after midnight, from which my imperial person had learnt that Your Excellency was then quite sound and well, and willing and ready for my imperial service, which assurance gave me much pleasure not only on this instance, but ever since your arrival in this country from 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 should be a strict surveillance kept both at land and water. 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*

The contents and substance of the letter.

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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.

Raja Singa requests the Governor to gracefully entrust the jewels presented to Gerard Hulft of blessed memory to honourable persons.

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.

Raja Singa wishes to know the plans for attacking the fort.

[p. 112]

Raja Singa wishes to see the ship's Captain Adriaan van der Markt.

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:

Warning given to the enemy at Columbo.

"Seeing that by these sieges we have reduced the inhabitants of *Columbo*, to the utmost want and Your Excellency too has long enough been vainly expecting the reinforcements and supplies 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. 1656. (Sealed) *Adriaan van der Meyde.*

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Reply of General Anthonio de Souza Coutinho to the above letter.

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.

[p. 113]

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 lascarijns come over.

THERE 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 the Governor.

Raja Singa Rajou etc.

Your letter of 19 April has safely come to hand, it has 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 your 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 friends 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

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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 *Portugese* have not replied to Your Excellency's letter with any propriety is 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 *Sabandaar*[1] of *Gale*, *Don Joan de Costa:*

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.

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A letter from Raja Singa to Don Joan de Costa, Sabandaar.

"I learnt from some of my courtiers who were often sent there with my letters, the civilities you have invariably shown the late Director General ever since his arrival at that place. I would fain have honoured you then with a present as a token of 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* [illegible] April 1656.

A toepas comes to us with a letter for Hon. Major Jan Van der Laan.

On the 24th of this month there came a *toepas* deserter, *Lazaro Henrico*. This man had once before deserted to us during the siege of *Caleture*, and in spite of the kind treatment he had received at the hands of the late Director General, he stepped over to the enemy again; this man was now the bearer of a letter from the Merchant *Manoel Fonseca 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*,

Contents of the letter.

You can place implicit confidence and faith on all the points what I now write you in this letter respecting the situation of the fort. You are warned under no circumstances to prepare yourself for storming it, for everything here is fully prepared

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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 *seraphijns* 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 Monijs.*

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.

The Merchant Ysbrandt Godskens sent to His Majesty regarding some weighty matters. The Emperor's satisfaction.

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 two slaves of *Saffragam* and *Vier Corles* and *Curupele Apoham* 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.

Attack to be made on the fort, and in what manner.

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 *Lascarijns* 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 shot 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 Council's decision, and reasons therefor.

The projected enterprise was then communicated to His Majesty without loss of time. But that evening in the Council there was no unanimity as to the feasibility of an undertaking of such magnitude but rather much excitement and loss of temper,

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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 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.

We find the approach to the St. Steven bulwark dangerous.

[p. 117]

On the 29th instant a letter was received from the commander of the yacht *Leeuwin*, *Abraham van der Mart* containing the heart-cheering news now 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 when our ships to be joined in time by two or more light yachts.

News regarding Portugesche naval strength.

From a letter of the senior merchant *Reynier Serooskerke* we learnt of the engagement of the *Portugezen*, but that it was to remain at the coast of *Malabaar* until the monsoon runs out. That trade at our station *Caliculang* 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 *Ceylon*, 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—

A letter sent from a Hollandts Sergeant (a prisoner in the fort) to the camp.

"*Severijn* salutes his late subaltern officer heartily and wishes him much health. The present brought to me by the priest gave me peculiar pleasure, I and my fellow comrades are as it were half in the grave and there are but a few left. For of the 74 prisoners taken, there are only 10 alive all of them weak and 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 Tutecorijn. Raja Singha displeased. Exchange of prisoners. The Emperor's letters. Scaling of the bastions St. Joan and St. Steven at great cost of life.

Some ships sent to Tutecorijn to attack the enemy's naval force.

WHEN the aforesaid letter had not been submitted to the Council, and the enemy's critical situation near *Tutecorijn* had become known, the following vachts were dispatched thither as a reinforcement, the *Mars*, *Zee-Rob*, *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:—

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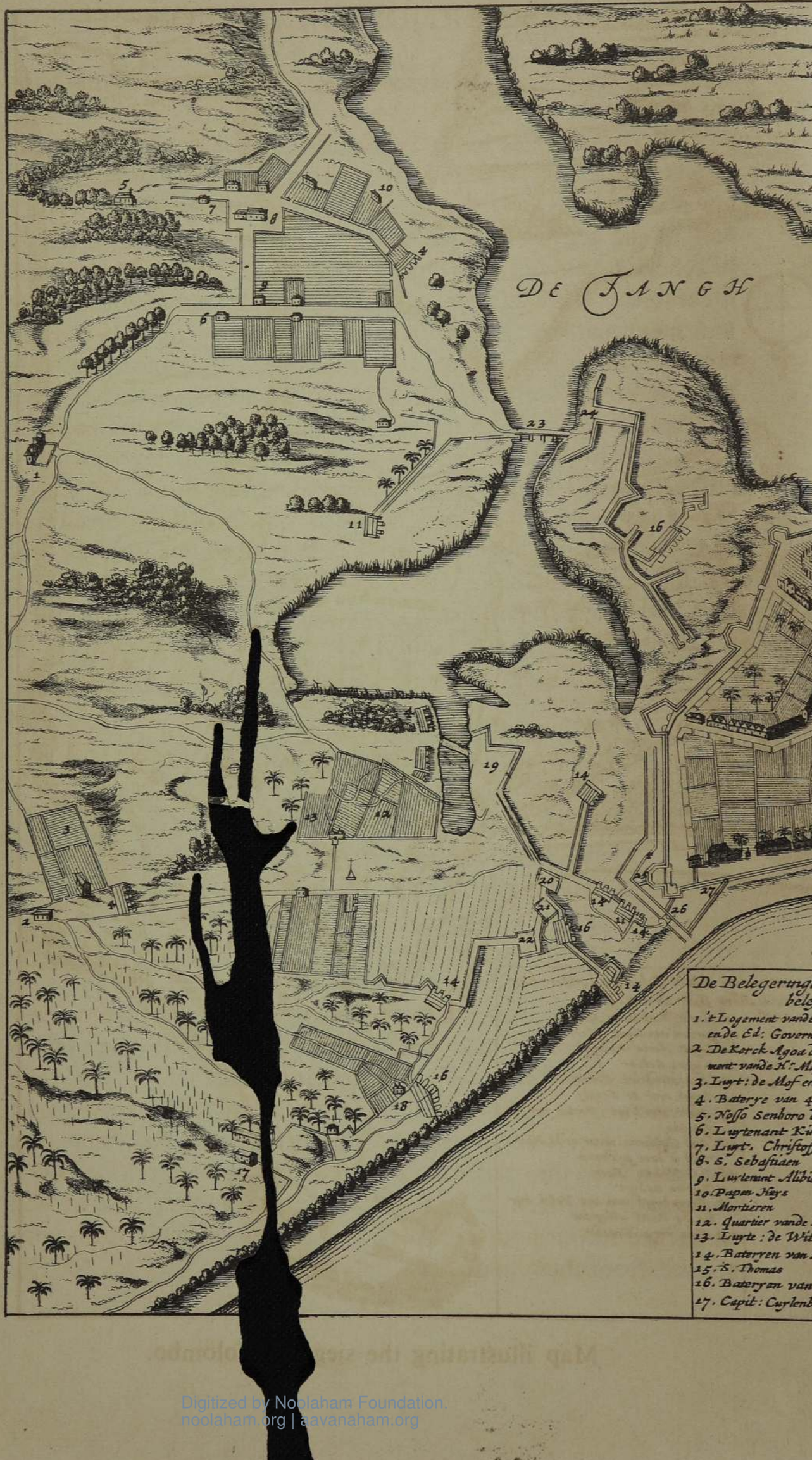

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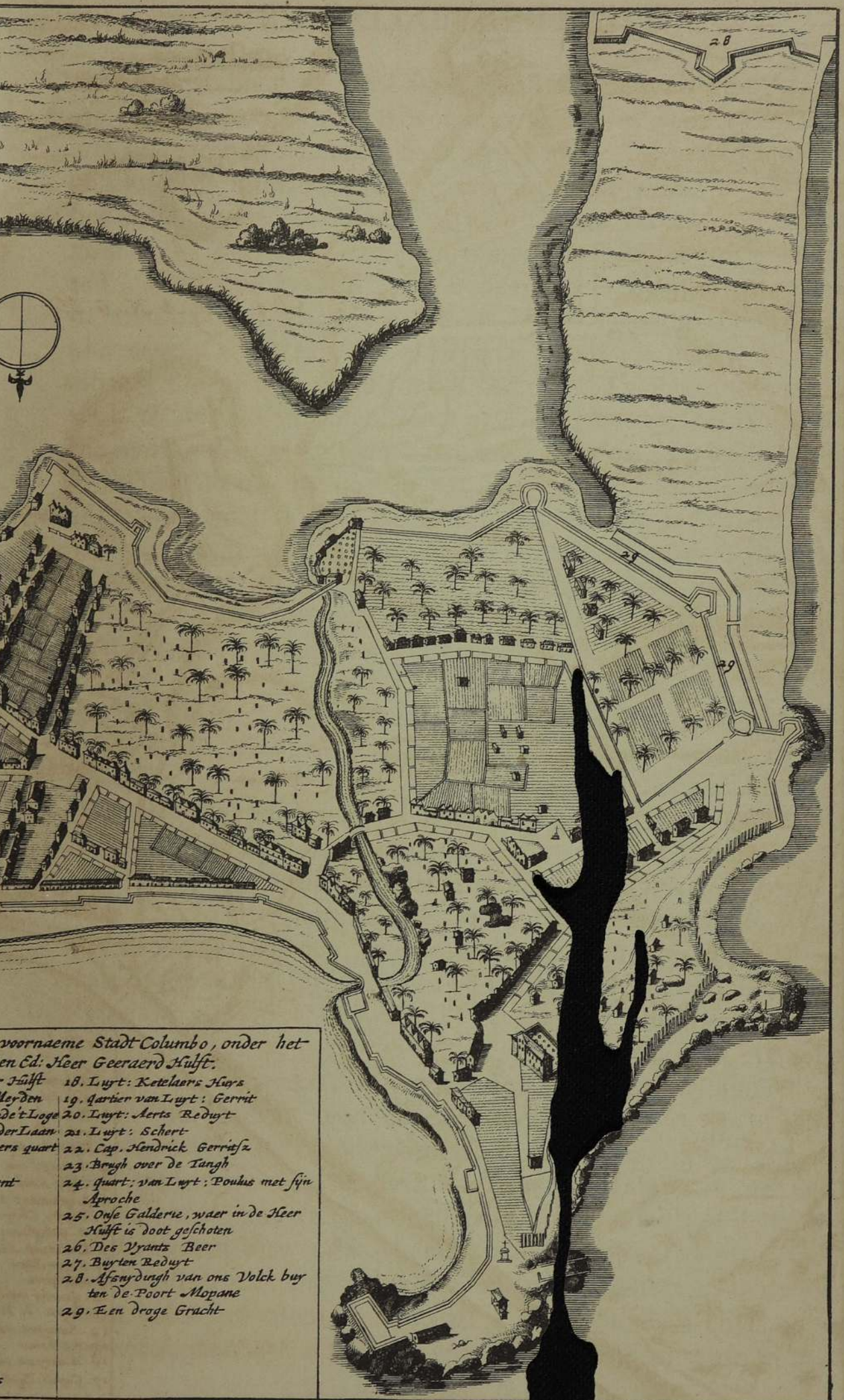

voornaeme Stadt Columbo, onder het
en Ed: Heer Geeraerd Hulft.

- Hulft
derden
de't Loge
der Laan
ers quart
ent

18. Luyt: Ketelaers Hers
19. Quartier van Luyt: Gerrit
20. Luyt: Aerts Reduyt
21. Luyt: Schert
22. Cap. Hendrick Gerritsz
23. Brugh over de Tangh
24. Quart: van Luyt: Poulus met syn Aproche
25. Onse Galderie, waer in de Heer Hulft is doot geschoten
26. Des Vyants Beer
27. Buyten Reduyt
28. Afsnydingh van ons Volck buyten de Poort Mopane
29. Een droge Gracht

Map illustrating the sieg[illegible] Colombo.

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A letter written to our prisoners in the fort.

"Yours through the Priest came safely to hand depicting the 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*

[p. 118]

The enemy offers to exchange 8 of our prisoners for 8 of theirs.

At noon on the [illegible]nd of May, our ensign *B. Pereginus* was spoken to by a *Portugeschen* captain, *Domingos Coelho* who handed him a letter [illegible]the same time wherein the enemy proposed an exchange of p[illegible]ners mentioning the names of 8 of their officers (taken pris[illegible]rs at *Caleture*) in lieu of our sergeant and seven of our soldie[illegible]ch proposal was answered by allowing only 7 of their soldie[illegible]nd a captain of armoury.

Raja Singa annoyed that a letter had been written on half a sheet.

His Majesty [illegible] returned one of our letters, apparently much annoyed and s[illegible]ng that he had never till then received such a letter from the *H[illegible]anders*. The contents of His Majesty's letter are as follo[illegible]

"Your letters [illegible]onday last to the address of some of the chiefs of my court[illegible]been received here an hour before sun set, and the contents[illegible]ll understood, how that Major *van der Laan* on ascertaining [illegible]hat great irregularities were there then prevailing in the *Camp[illegible] Mapane* had made for the place when he found various deserters from *Columbo* who were permitted not only to take shelter un[illegible]er the pallisades, but also well fed and maintained, when the [illegible]Major issued his orders for firing upon them in order to driv[illegible]m 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.

The 8 prisoners arrive from Columbo, very weak and helpless. [p. 119]

In the evening the *Portugezen* sent over from the fort 8 of our prisoners. They were so weak, famished and emaciated, that three of them could neither walk nor stand. They all declared with one voice, that during the attack under our chief officers there was no sense of order and whilst they gained the fort, hardly knew what to do or not, which prevented them from makeing for the battery *Clergos* for they subsequently learnt that it was then only protected by fifteen men, but executing the orders of the Naval Commander *Jacob Lippens* (to 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

Their story.

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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 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 bid 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* 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. The *Hollanders* 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) *Raja Singa Rajou*
Reygamwatte 4th May 1656. Mighty Emperor of Ceylon

[p. 120] It is a notorious and admitted fact, that there had existed 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 will be inferred that he was then in a happier mood.

"Raja Singa Rajou etc.

Another letter from Raja Singa.

Your letter of the 3rd instant, has safely reached me on Tuesday the 4th in which you express your regret for the mistake which had occurred in the letter which had been returned by me. Of all aliens and foreigners I have chosen the *Hollanders* for

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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 here 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

[p. 121]

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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.

Raja Singa has since the death of Heer Hulft allowed no drums to be sounded.

Ever since the demise of my Director General, I have put a stop to the beat of drums in my camp, but as I now expect to move somewhat nearer the enemy it will become necessary to make use of them, and all other sorts of instruments on the road, and on my arrival at the place of your encampment. I thought it proper to apprize Your Excellency of it.

Nothing further. God shield Your Excellency.

(Signed) *Raja Singa Rajou,*
Great and Powerful Emperor of *Ceylon.*

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* late Lieutenant of the *Gaalsche* Infantry and now a Captain, renowned for his martial deeds in former *Bingalesche* and *Malabaarsche* wars was the first hero who gallantly climbed up the 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 by the enemy after an obstinate resistance with the loss of some of our brave men. This incident made the rest of our people on the bastion to stand firm and on this bloody day by God's help, thrice to repulse the enemy.

The bulwark St. Joan is first climbed by Lieut. Marten Scholtes.

Our men entering the fort are forced back.

By the constant throwing of fire balls 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, as will appear hereafter, from the vehement fires from the water

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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.

The Cingalezen also arrive at the trenches. Too late.

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 joy 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 [illegible]tal *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*,

A Caffer comes over.

The great danger we faced on the St. Steven bulwark, later named Victoria. [p. 122]

Total of wounded and dead.

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Juriaan Gebel, *Jacob Viry*, *Jacob Scherf*, *Juriaan Smit*, *Paulus Meno*, *Warnar van der Heyde* 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, *Jacob de With*, by a 10 lb shot in his thigh and since dead, *Marten 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.

Extra-ordinary incident.

Chapter Thirty Eight

The guns on St. Joan turned against the fort. The Portugezen propose a treaty. Their terms. The conditions acceded to. Ratification thereof. Departure of the Portugezen.

AGAINST the 10th of May we have so far gained the advantage over the enemy as to be able to bring to bear our guns on the conquered battery *St. Joan* on the fort, which subdued the enemy and made them give way.

We use cannon from St. Joan and were able to influence the enemy.

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 request of Your Excellency a written assurance, in order to detach 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."

Portugezen propose an armistice.

(Sealed) *Anthony 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

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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
[p. 123] 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 *Capiteyn 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

The conditions which the three representatives from Columbo present to the General and his Council for their acceptance.

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 removed 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 *Capiteyn 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[1] 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.

1. 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.

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Article 6

The *Ovidoor*[1] the Judge, and other functionaries of the chamber, the *Koopman*, the *Alcalde Moor*[2] 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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1. 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.

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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.

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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:-

The conditions accepted by the Portugezen.

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 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 [p. 126] 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.

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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.

[p. 127]

Ratification of the accepted conditions.

About 9 on the following morning the aforesaid deputies appeared again bringing with them the concerted articles of capitulation, also a letter from both the Generals in favour of 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.

Portugezen evacuate Columbo.

The *Capiteyn Moor* (*Anthonio de Melo de Castro*) with the King's soldiers and 36 of their captains denominated *reformados* 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.

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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 *Portugaal* 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 years before entered into an agreement with one of the Kings of *Ceylon*) sailed for that Island with a force of 700 men and

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 who was a capable *Bramine*, was suspicious of *Europaeanen* power, but seeing that the King of *Couchin* had in a very short time 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 makes an agreement with the Portugezen.

The King did not however prove long steadfast, for the fugitive *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

Which he breaks.

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.

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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.

Zoares slays Mooren and Cingalezen.

Zoares in prosecuting the object of his wish, having now landed was struck with surprise to see the raised defences. He dispatched his envoys to the King for an explanation of 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 quit 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 killed and many Portugezen wounded, among the latter was *N. Patieco*, who had lately arrived from *Malacca*.

Great losses on both sides.

Zoares builds a rampart 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 begs his forgiveness. [p. 129]

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 of shells, and converted them into lime, with which he built new and strong walls, cleared and deepened the ditch, and held them in constant good repair, owing to which the *Cingalezen* were enraged seeing that everything was likely to be against their prosperity 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.

De Britto burns lime and builds walls at Columbo.

Anger of the Cingalezen and Mooren over this.

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 soldiers and took possession of the suburbs of *Columbo* in the immediate vicinity of their defence, when the *Cingalezen* and

De Britto captures Columbo.

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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 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*,[1] 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.

De Britto sets fire to the roofs of the houses and thereby gives the Portugezen security.

De Britto's policy was not however commensurate with his 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.

A serious war results from it.

The Portugezen are besieged.

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 Portugezen wearied by carrying water.

The *Portugees* were now much pinched for water, as they had to procure it from beyond the precincts of their defence. The soldiers too became very weary from incessant watchings over such a swarm of the enemy. All their hope depended on 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 Lemos* with only a single galley and 50 men, which was got up together with much trouble, owing to *Seguera's* absence with a large force.

A little military relief from Couchin.

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 that there was some danger in the strategem determined upon an attack being made on the enemy. He therefore directed *Anthonio 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 to avenge this defeat and to drive away the *Lusitaan* with main force.

De Britto attacks the Cingalezen with good results.

[p. 131]

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

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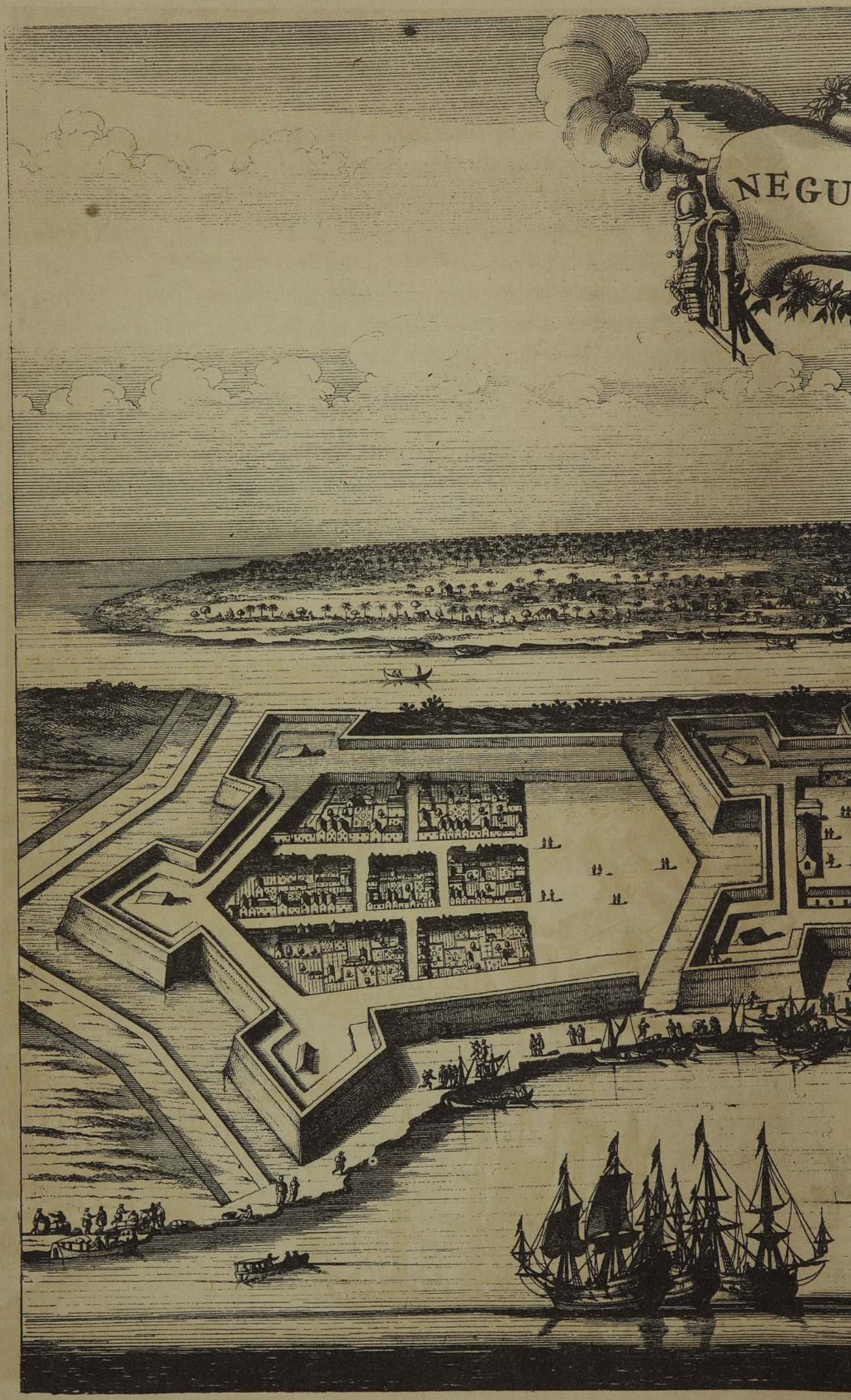

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Map of the Fort of Negombo.

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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 Portugezen create discord in Ceylon.

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 *Ceylon*, 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*.

An evil example, as P. Maffaeus says.

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

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].

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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*[1] for succour, who without loss of time equipped a fleet and having manned them with 3000 soldiers personally came over. This expedition was nominally (as *Maffaeus* observes without any 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 *Portugezen* and to fill their purses, as *Noronha* also succeeded in discovering a sum of upwards of 100,000 crowns which he bore away with him.

Noronha goes to Ceylon with 3000 men.

[p. 132]

He secures a great treasure of 100000 Kronen.

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. The Portuguese Viceroy of Goa.

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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 *Reygamwatte* 11th May 1656.
(Signed) *Raja Singa Rajou*, August Emperor of Ceylon.

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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.

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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

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.

Deserters sentenced to death and hanged.

IT was now deemed high time to punish with death our deserters and offenders. One *Simon Lopes*, a *Portugeesch* by birth, a great villain and rogue was the first to ascend the scaffold, when the rope was tightened and he was immediately dispatched. He remained so hung for a considerable time. This man, though in the receipt of a monthly salary of 50 guilders from the Company deserted to the enemy soon after our ill-success in the late storming (for which the *Portugezen* asked that he be forgiven). He was the contriver of a second mortar whilst with the enemy to the no small destruction of our people, and 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.

Note. This Simon Lopes had used the first mortar in Columbo and thereby did us much harm.

[p. 133]

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 of Corporal *Hans Jacob Lambert*, dispatched 10 *Mardijkers*, 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.

A Corporal's expedition stayed.

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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 yachts 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.

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 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.

Raja Singa's letter complaining that the Hollanders had not, contrary to their agreement, delivered Columbo to him.

"My imperial person has laboured hard to get the *Holland-tsche 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

[p. 134]

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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

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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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Raja Singa makes overtures to the Portugezen.

treachery — for the Council was informed by the *Portugezen Anthonio de Motte*, and *Manoel Fonseca de Monijs*, that *Raja Singa* had made secret overtures to them (who can say if not 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.

Four frigates off Columbo, of which three were contacted.

On the morning of the 30th of May, there were seen on the *Galkisse* side, close to the land, 4 frigates when we hauled in our Prince Flag to entice the enemy. The Admiral who sailed ahead seemed to have discovered something, tacked and bore 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.

Another frigate and a yacht arrive.

Subsequently on the 1st of June, we had another arrival of a yacht and a frigate, and when their commanders had landed, we were informed that a considerable sum of money had been raised at *Couchin* to meet the wants of the town of *Columbo*. The letters which reached us by this opportunity were of minor importance. The *Portugesche* affairs there with the King were in a state of some confusion. [p. 136]

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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 Raja Singa's increasing raids.

Incessant were now the complaints which reached His 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 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." *Clear proof.*

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 made prisoners. What their intention was the following translation of an *ola* will show: [p. 137]

"*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

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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 tree

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 *Hollandtsche Natie*. If therefore you are desirous of deputing 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

1. Patangatti, a Tamil word corresponding to the Sinhalese "Patabenda," i.e. one on whom an honorific fillet is tied.

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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.

The King's lascarijns create disturbances around Caleture.

We learnt from *Caleture* of the disturbances commited there by the King's *lascarijns*, and all those who could not have escaped were forcibly hurried away captives, not letting them even retire to the river, and also wounding some. That *Cannangere* and *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 robbers, and forcibly taken away into the interior of the country. To prevent these unlawful proceedings and for the protection of the inhabitants, especially the *Chalias*[1] or cinnamon-peelers 200 soldiers were marched to *Bentot* under the command of *Maren Scholtes*, *Pieter Chample*, and *Joris Hervendonk*, with directions that the chief of the *Gale Corle*, would join them with his *lascarijns* for greater safety's sake.[2]

200 soldiers sent to Bentot to protect the inhabitants and especially the cinnamon peelers.

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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.

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PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

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 Thanksgiving.

A 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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1. Ferguson 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.

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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.

Two Caffers, a trumpeter and a drummer desert to us from the King.

On the 20th July there came over 2 *Caffers*, the King's trumpeter and drummer, from whom we understood, that the King was then as yet occupying *Reygamwatte* and that he was shortly expected to move to *Ruanelle*, that the Dissave of *Matule*, had preceded him in order to keep the roads clear for him, that 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 effected by *Jurgen Blomme* who, having secretly possessed himself of a *tony* (canoe) during the night escaped from his place of confinement (after he had first dulled his custodian with some liquor) then set it adrift in the river from the vicinity of the King's encampment at *Reygamwatte* and was finally carried to *Montual* the next morning.

The writer and translator Jurgen Blomme cleverly escapes over to us from Candy.

Assault by Cingalezen on our people at Hakman.

About the same time we learnt of a fierce assault which had been made by the King's party upon our people at *Hakman* in broad daylight, knowing as the assailants did the absence from the place of M[illegible] *Rabel* a bold and faithful *Cingalees*, who was

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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.

On the 2nd of August, the Junior Merchants *Laurens Haurwijk* writes from *Caleture*, that some bushrangers[1] 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 *nely* 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

[p. 140]

1. Jungle stragglers. *Bosch-loopers* is the word in the original. Wanderers of no fixed abode are probably meant.

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News of Portugesche frigates off Tutecorijn having slipped out through the shallows owing to the Teuver's infidelity and gained Manaar and Jafnapatam through the narrow strait.

nearing them, a clear and manifest proof, that the ruler of the land entitled *Teuver*[1] had, in spite of his promise, been bribed and thus allowed the enemy's vessels to pass the straits to *Manaar* or *Jafnapatan* (which he could easily do whenever he wished) by filling up the passes which admit the ships passage with masses of rocks, and then removing them at pleasure. Thus were our ships obliged to make for *Tutecorijn* again.

Serious error of the Captain of the ship Saphier.

We now heard of the safe arrival at *Chormandel* of the ships *Amsterdam*, *Avenhoorn*, *Saphier*, *Cabeljauw*, *Worcum* and the fly boat *Pelikaan*, *Patientia* and the *Swarte Bul* but it was at the same time a matter of sore regret and much disappointment to have learnt that the chief of the *Saphier* contrary to the instructions given him by His Excellency and his Council in Ceylon, had landed the Portugezen prisoners, particularly the soldiers about *Negnapatan* (instead of sending them to Batavia according to 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.

To the great prejudice of the Honourable Company.

It was now notorious from letters received from the Merchant *Adriaan van Nieulant*, of the *Deenze* (*Danish*) *Fort* of *Tranguebare* that the afore-mentioned frigates have by the aid afforded by *Teuver* 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

1. Teuver, a feudatory chief.

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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.

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.

Great opinion of the Portugezen as to the invincibility of Columbo, as evidenced at Macassar.

[p. 141]

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.

The opinion of the King of Macassar about the siege of Columbo.

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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 folly 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 strong arm of the Almighty that exalts, for a lesson that none should lean but upon his God, the Rock of Israel. For God will 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.

A good lesson for the proud and haughty.

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*

1. 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.

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on the 9th of February 1640 as before noticed, and shortly after on
[p. 142] 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 *Raja Singa's* people.

Koster though he had personally attended the Court of *Candy* yet 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 infliction of several wounds. An impious reward indeed for his great services, the more so, as Koster of blessed memory yielded to the Raja *Trinquenemale* 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 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 land.

Commander Koster shamefully killed by Raja's people.

Negumbo was again wrested from our hands by the Portugezen
[p. 143] 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 designed *Batecalo*

The Hollanders lose Negombo.

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The murder of Jacobsz Koster by the Sinhalese.

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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.

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.

Don Philippo Mascarenhas repulsed from Negombo.

But the *Portugeschen General Don Philippo Mascarenhas* essayed (soon after the departure of our fleet and our infantry to *Gale* and elsewhere) to dispute and contest for the defence afresh, 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.

RAJA 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 King's tame elephants seized by the company.

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 *Maatzuyker* 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* who then withdrew with his troops to the uplands, without however 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.

Raja returns to the highlands.

Matters remained thus until the year 1649 when His Excellency *Maatzuyker* procured the liberation of our prisoners from *Candy* 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 commencement of our wars with the *Portugezen* at the close of the year 1652 *Raja* simultaneously declared war against the *Portugezen*, chiefly so as to deal with *Portugesche* soldiery and some of the principal *Burghers* who were then in open revolt against their General *Manoel Mascarenhas Homen* and were holding his person in durance.

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Raja declares war against the Portugezen.

Manuel Mascarenhas Homen was kept a prisoner by his people in Columbo.

This band of rioters having collected a force chiefly from the uplands and elsewhere assembled them in *Columbo*, made a rapid march with 800 whites and some armed blacks to our fort *Angretotte*, and after a siege of eleven days and the loss of 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 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

The Hollanders lose Angretotte.

Relief arrives late.

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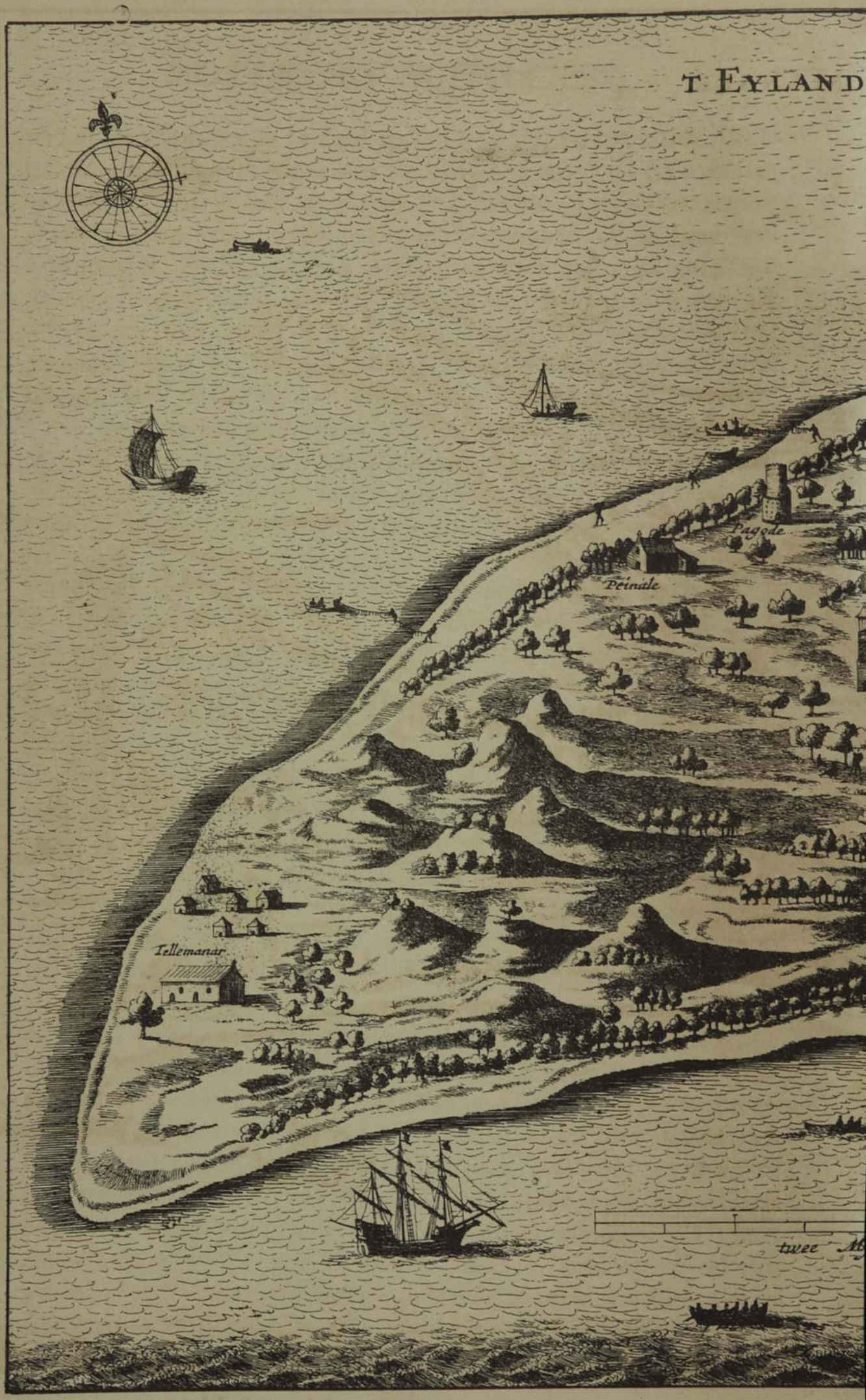

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Map of Mannar.

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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.

Raja attacks the Portugezen.

The Portugezen recall their outposts to Columbo.

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.

Twelve frigates come from Goa with a new General Francisco de Melo de Castro.

Raja Singa seeing the *Portugezen* now supplied afresh with provisions in September 1653 from *Tutecorijn*, 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 Kittensteyn* 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 Honourable Company receives no reinforcements.

The Governor Jacob Kittensteyn departs. [p. 145]

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.

Heer Adriaan van der Meyde succeeds him.

On the 20th March His Excellency *Adriaan van der Meyde* left *Gale* for *Caleture* from whence on the 23rd he sallied out with such a force as he could have brought together for *Berberin*, *Dodangodde* and *Tiboen* to catch up with the *Portugezen* force.

The Portugezen appear outside Negombo.

He fell in with them on the morning of the 26th in battle array, where an exchange of shots took place for an hour's time (keeping ourselves however somewhat beyond the reach of the enemy's fire 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 wounded was much more on their side than on ours.

The Hollanders and Portugezen halt for meals at Tiboene.

We then made a halt and took our meals at *Tiboen* and then made for *Caleture* again, but the enemy crossed the river and cut their way to *Columbo* abandoning the Company's lands.

Five galleons with 1000 men sent from Goa to Columbo engage 3 of our yachts.

There now arrived 5 *galjoenen* (galleys) with a reinforcement of 1000 men on board, to relieve the *Portugeesch* who were to be seen by the rampart. They attacked 3 of our yachts, the *Windthont*, *Renocer* and *Dromedaris*, yet they failed to master any one of ours though so near to the reef of *Negumbo*, and no 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*.

Caleture abandoned for weighty reasons.

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* altogether, and resolutely stand for *Negumbo* for verily this was a very necessary expedient, for otherwise we were not in a 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

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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.

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 *tonijs*) 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.

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New supplies for the Hollanders in Ceylon.

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 *Konijn* 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 *Catapanels* (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 contending with our adversaries, and captured one of their brass guns weighing 1000 lbs. Though the *Portugeesch* fought most

The Hollanders cross the Alicaon river.

A fight with the Portugezen. The Portugezen. compelled to retreat with their troops.

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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 committing ravages amongst the peasantry on their way. The King's displeasure was so strongly excited at these proceedings, 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, where he remained for a long time greatly depressed in spirit and absorbed in grief.

Raja's advance troops defeated by Gaspar Figeiro.

Raja in sorrow leaves for Candy.

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 soldiers, when our yachts the *Leeuw* and *Konijn* made all sail after them, and luckily got 2 of the frigates in their clutches, with all the men and stock of provision on board, and ran 2 others on shore. General *Coutinho* in fear ran his ship to *Ponta das Pedras*, so that only two of their frigates gained the Port of *Columbo*. He the General then came round to Columbo under a strong escort from *Jafnapatan* and *Manaar* via *Putelaon*, *Calpentijn* and the 7 *Corles* in August following and shortly after assumed his office, when he went immediately with the great Commander *Anthonio Mendes d'Arangie* and inspected the defence of *Caleture*, where he left 300 stout soldiers and a body of blacks under *Gaspar Figeiro* for its protection.

The Hollanders overcome two frigates and drive 2 more ashore.

The new General Anthonio de Souza Coutirho does not arrive in Columbo but is forced to Ponta das Pedras and leaves for the Fort overland via Jafnapatan.

In this state of affairs there then arrived the Director General *Gerard Hulft* (of blessed memory) and with him Mr. *Jan van der Laan* a gentleman well acquainted with *Ceylonsche* affairs and knowing too well how to take things in hand for the defeat of the enemy. About the middle of September we directed 2 or 3 of [p. 147]

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our yachts then at Cape *Comorijn* to scout for the enemy's frigates which were dispatched from *Columbo to Tutecorijn* 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*.

A new Viceroy comes from Portugaal with many men, 3 galleons and a yacht.

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 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 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.

Beautiful landscapes.

We shall now speak of the Island of *Manaar* which was anciently attached to the continent, as the shallow straits designated *Adams Brugh*[1] but too clearly indicates. Thereabouts lies the Island *Rammana Kojel*,[2] where there is a rich and famed *Pagode* under the *Teuver*, who has also a defence there, within sight and 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.

Description of the island of Manaar and how the Hollanders won it in 1658.

The aforesaid Island was conquered by the *Hollanders*[3] 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.
2. i.e. Rameswaram. Traditionally believed to have been built by Rama and dedicated to Siva on his return to India after defeating Ravana.
3. 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 chaya root.

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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 Laan* most valiantly acquitted himself here, notwithstanding that a little before landing he met with a severe accidental fall in my 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 the *Portugezen*", as he is commonly termed.

Anthonio Amiral de Menezes General of the Portugezen hot dead.

The courage of Major Jan van der Laan.

[p. 149]

The *Portugeesch* finding themselves reduced to such miserable straits, dared not trust to the Fort of *Manaar* any longer, so crossing the river they made their way to *Jafnapatan*, 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).

Flight of the Portugezen.

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.

The Fort St. George of Manaar surrendered to the Hon. Company.

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The Dutch forces under Van Goens capture Mannar.

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Thanksgiving Service for the Manaar Victory.

The 24th of the same month was observed as a day of public thanksgiving in the principal church, where there was a large concourse of people assembled. I preached from 1 Samuel 7.7— 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 parties were *Europaeanen* on both sides, men inured to arms and not timid blacks.

Extraordinary courage of the Hollanders in the attack on Manaar and special divine protection.

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 *Peter Wasch*, the Merchant *Eduard Oooms*, and the Merchant and field book-keeper *Hendrick Roman and* some other functionaries) 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*.

Arrival of the great ship Salamander which on her return voyage had been drifting about between Batavia and Manaar for 6 months in great distress.

Before leaving *Manaar* however, we must say something respecting the situation of this Island.

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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.

How Manaar gets its name. [p. 150]

MANAAR is so called both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. The word *man* signifies in *Malabaarsche* sand and *aar* a river, thus implying a sand river, for it is to be observed that in Ceylon they not only speak the *Cingalesche* but also the *Malabaarsche* languages, the former from *Negombo* to *Columbo*, *Caleture*, *Berberin*, *Alican*, *Gale*, *Belligamme*, *Mature*, *Donders* etc. But in all the other parts of the Island which are contiguous to the *Choromandel* coast, *Malabaarsche* is the prevailing language. I have heard it often asserted by the inhabitants of *Jafnapatan* that, that part of the country was in times past peopled from the *Choromandel* coast and hence the dialect of their fatherland (which is situated so close to *Ceylon*); the probable accuracy of this account is borne out by the circumstance, that in the interior of the country as *Candy*, *Vintane*, *Ballaney* etc. the *Cingalesche* is the only language generally spoken.

On the Island of Ceylon not only the Cingalesche but the Malabaarsche language is also used.

Situation of Manaar and how many churches it has.

Manaar is situated 9 degrees north of the equator, in length it is about a good five hours walk, and two in breadth including the salt river which winds its course (as is to be seen in the charts) 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, with a deep, wide and fine trench and in every respect rendered more defensible than we found it when we took it from the *Portugezen.*

The Fort of Manaar is strengthened by us.

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'

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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.

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.[1] 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

Martyrs for the Christian faith.

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 Jaffna 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.

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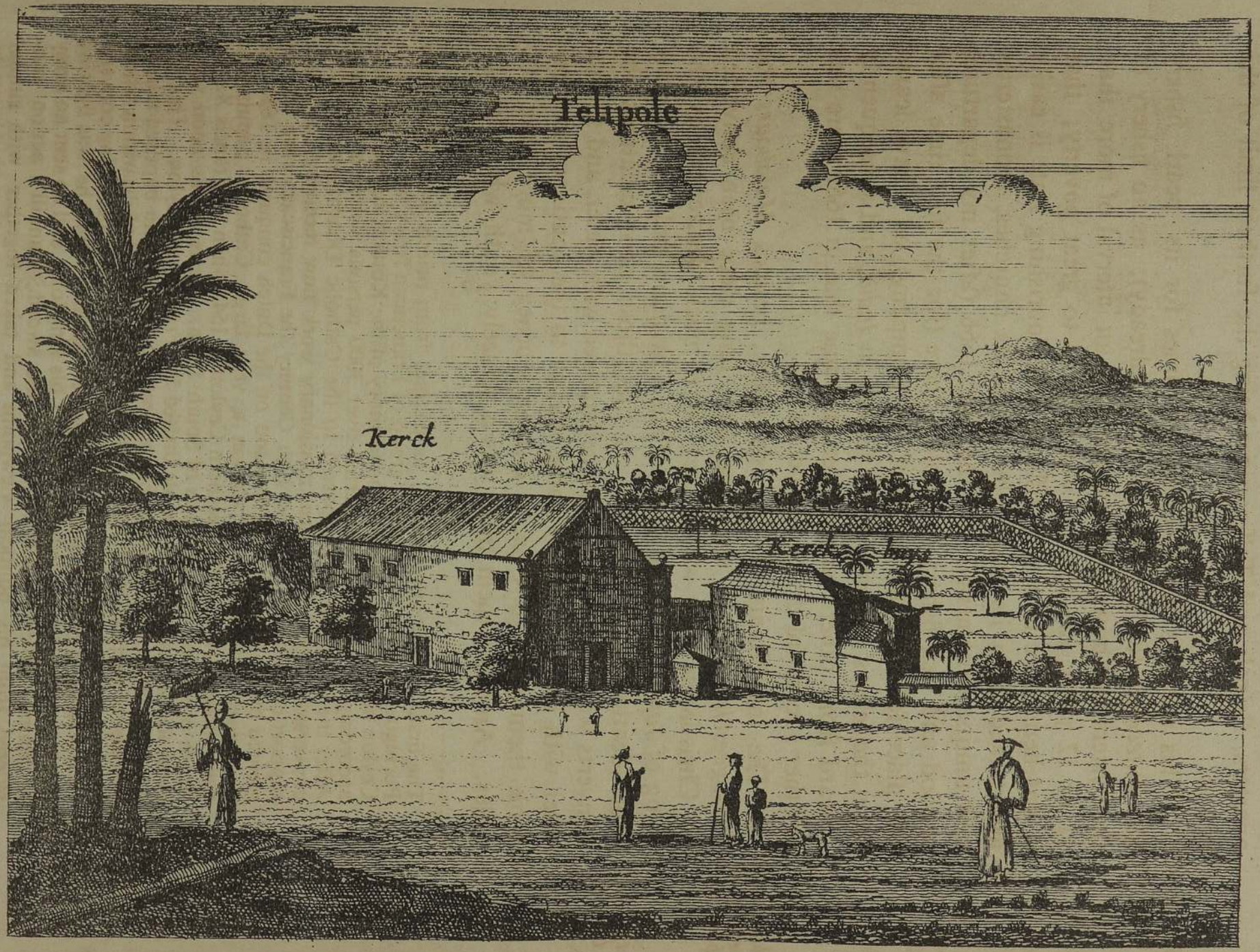

The Reformed Church and Church Home at Telipole.

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rest of the fugitives received every religious instruction there.

These people as well as the *Parruas*[1] 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. [p. 151]

Francis Xavier's zeal for the conversion of the heathens of Manaar and elsewhere.

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 *Jezuyten*[2] 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

Considerations necessary on the part of teachers sent to India.

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1. 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.*

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Mallagam.

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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 the 24th February to 3rd May.

How the Gospel should be first introduced.

Native Christians should have terse, succinct, definite teaching of religion and can later reach higher levels.

[p. 152]
All variations in catechism and questions do much harm to God's word and were not tolerated of old, there being also Indian versions.

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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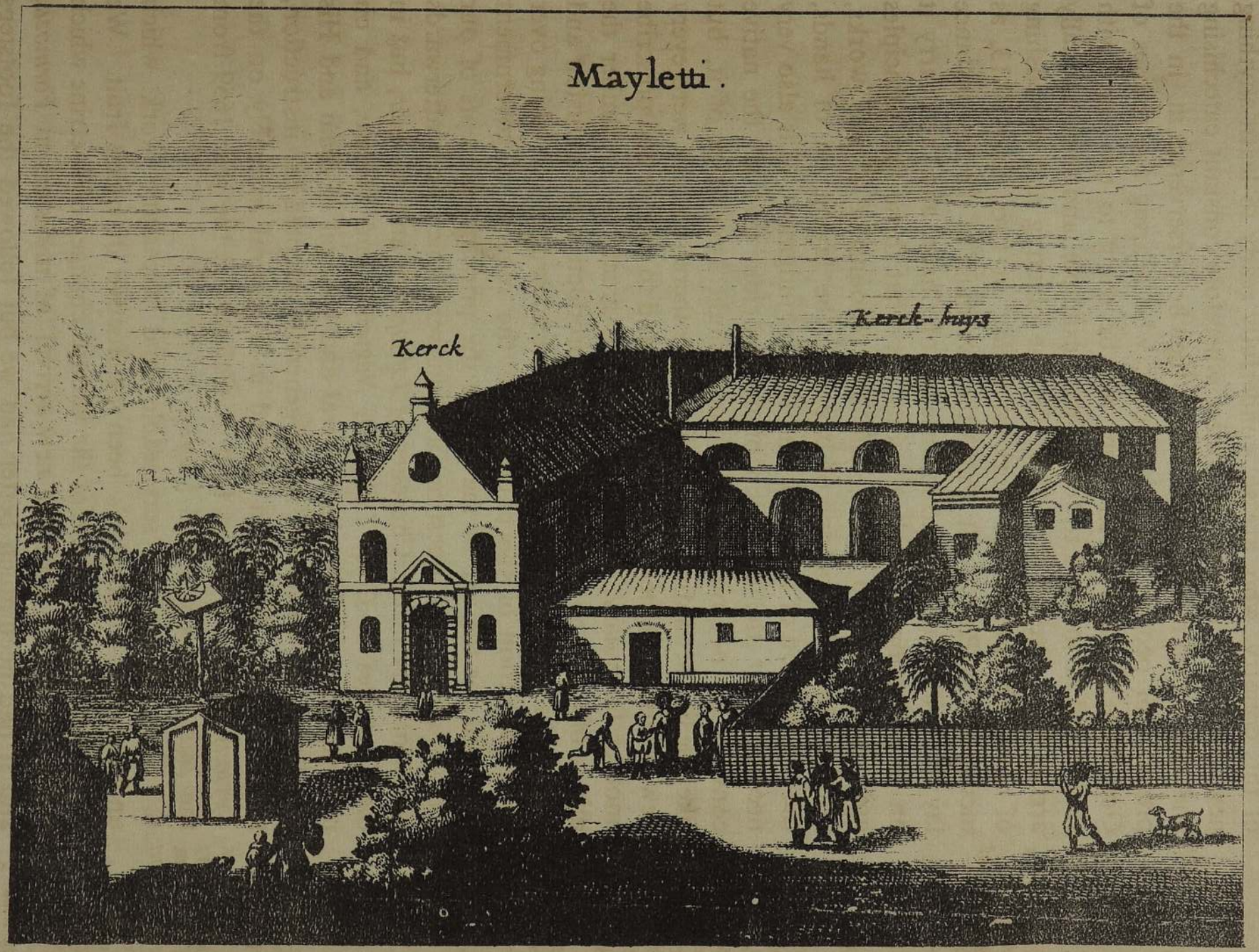

The Reformed Church and Church House at Mayletti.

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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 predikants must learn the language of the inhabitants not vice versa.

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 circumspectly and maintain a good understanding with the authorities and thus be held in respect.

In Manaar fish are very plentiful.

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]

A wonderful fish at Manaar.

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.

Description of the lands of the Wannias.

These lands are called the *Wannias* and are attached to *Manaar* and are under the control of the Honourable Company. With 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.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Achiavelli.

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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 *Calpentijn* leaving *Mantotte* abreast of the land *Setecoulang*, where there are 6 villages appertaining to *Manaar*, 6 to *Jafnapatan* and 5 to *Mantotte*.

Description of the Wannias.

[p. 153]

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 *Ceylon* 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 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 *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 but 2 winds in the year, the North and the South, but the highland have sea and land breezes.

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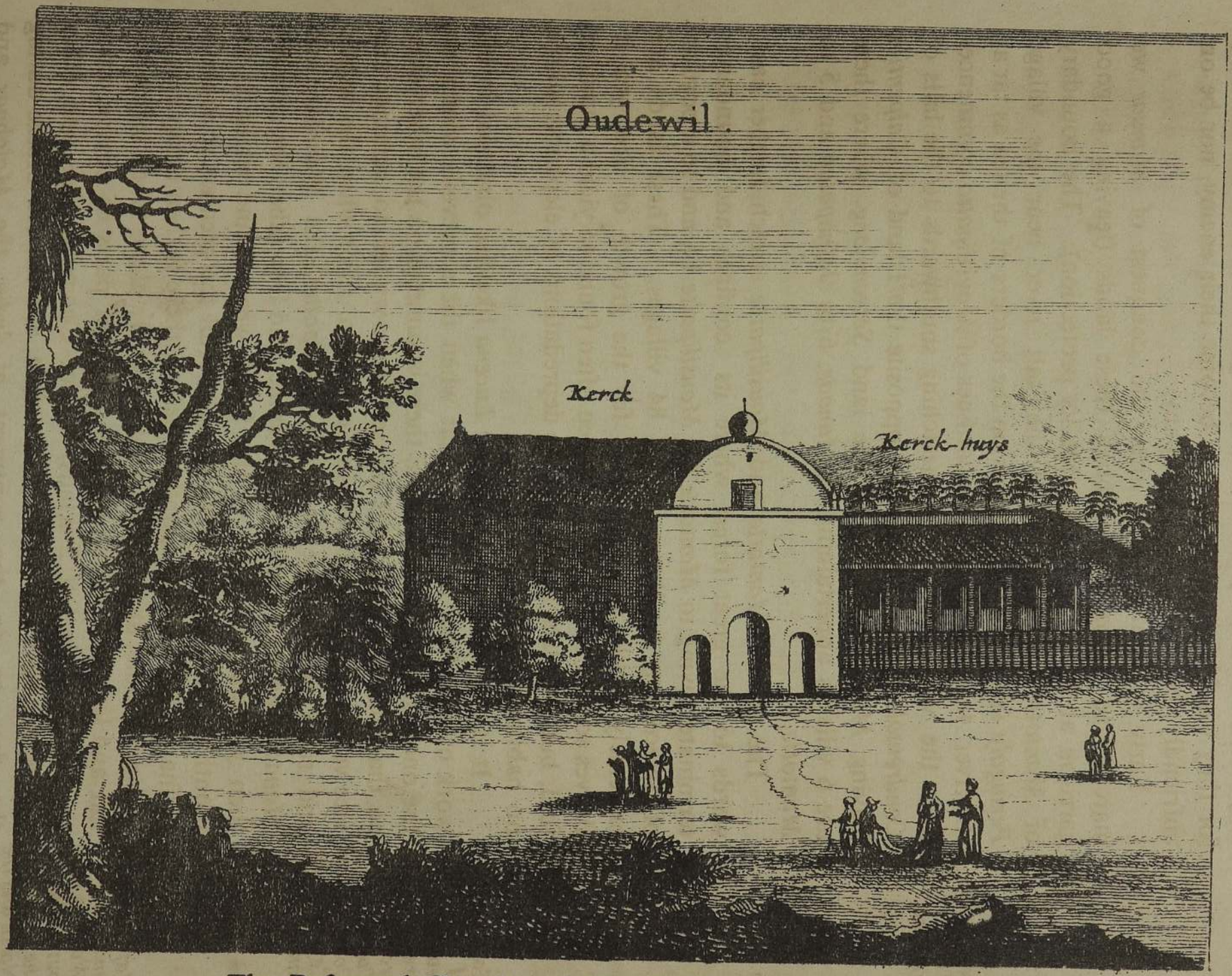

The Reformed Church and Church House at Oudewil.

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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 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.

Ferried across 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 our soldiers at Jafnapatan.

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

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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 *Jafnapatan*) 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 came in collision with the *Portugeesch*, and swept off many of 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 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.

Fight between us and the Portugezen.

[p. 155]

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

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Map of the Kingdom of Jaffnapatnam and the adjacent Islands.

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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[1] 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 Paiva*.

[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

1. 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.

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The Dutch forces off Jaffna are received by the inhabitants.

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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 Commander 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*.

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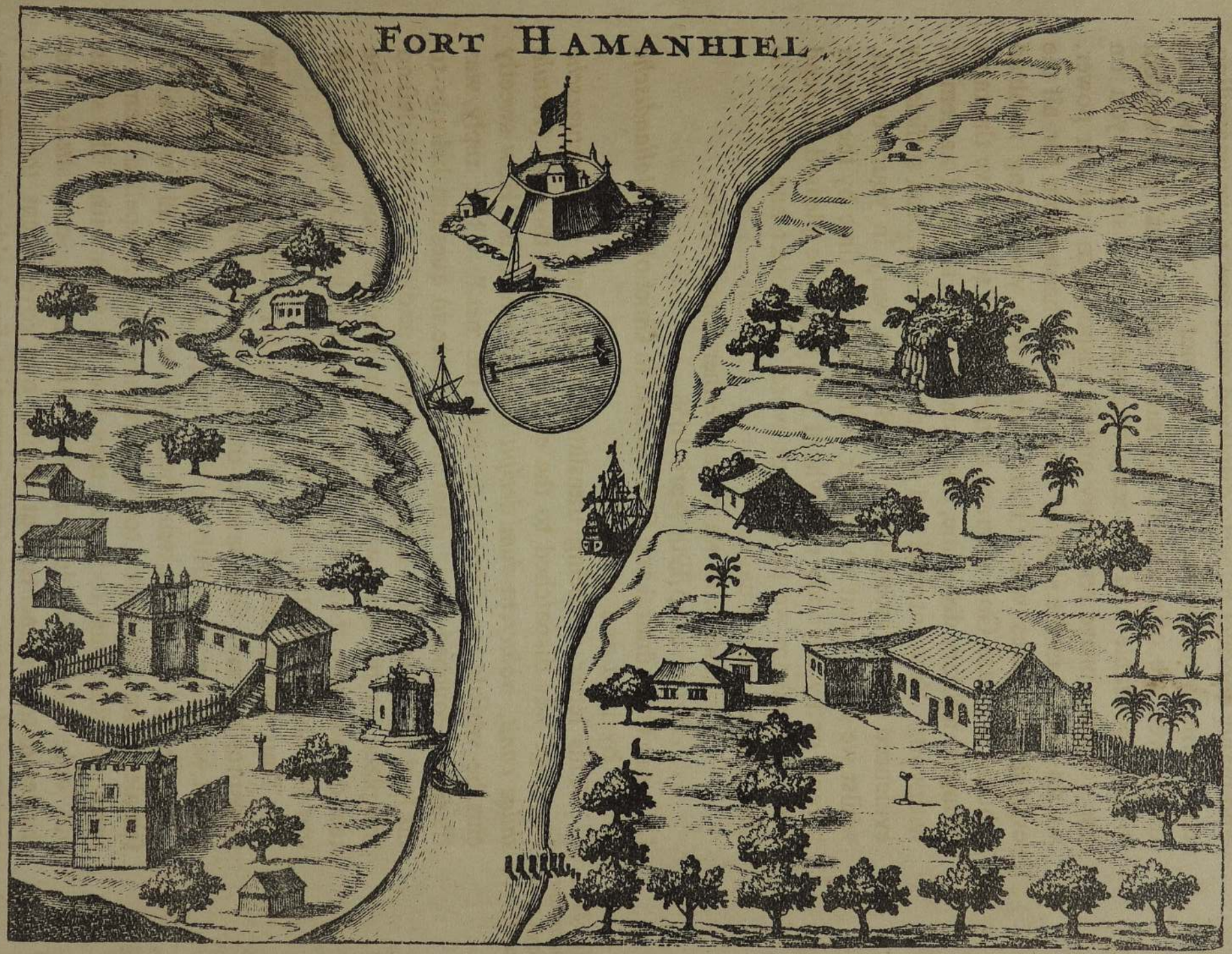

The Fort of Hammen-Hiel.

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[p. 157]

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 *Cornelis 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.

Jaffnapatnam's strong and high ramparts.

Damage to the enemy from our mortars wherefrom large stones were shot.

BEING 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 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

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Batecotte.

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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.

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*, 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.

The Hollanders prevail, the galleon S. Thomas being burnt.

Thanksgiving Service.

[p. 158]

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

Repeated encounters between the Portugezen and the Hollanders in 1658.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Paneteripou

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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.

Jafnapatan surrenders.

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:

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 Portugezen take two days to evacuate the fort.

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

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.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Changane.

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Many people had died during the siege.

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 $3\frac{1}{2}$ months siege there occurred more than 1600 deaths).[1]

News of this victory conveyed to His Excellency the General and the Council by Pieter de Bitter.

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.

Great stench and mess in the fort. Necessary repairs effected. [p. 159]

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*).

The Portugezen who had been given employment by the Hon. Company treacherously plot to kill the Hollanders and capture the fort.

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

1. "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.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Manipay.

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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 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.

The Lord God publicly thanked.

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

The traitors punished with death.

[p. 160]

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The execution of some conspirators against the Dutch in Jaffna.

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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 captured from the King of Candy by Philippo d'Olivero near Achiavelli.

A wonderfully deep and wide well at Achiavelli.

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 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.

[p. 161]

Breadth and length of Jafnapatan.

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.

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1. Apparently the well at Puttoor is being referred to.

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The Reformed Church at Vanarpone

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It has 4 provinces.

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.

The Telipole Church.

Reformation of all the village and subordinate churches of Jaffnapatnam

The First Lord's Supper for the Indians.

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.

Progress in Christianity and increase through catechism.

Curious question from an Indian of Telipole. [p. 162]

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

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The Reformed Church at Nalour.

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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 Mayletti Church.

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*.

The zeal of the Christians there.

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,

Pleasant surroundings of Mayletti.

affording a fine prospect of sea and land, and might well be designated *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 in hare and partridges.

The Achiavelli Church.

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-

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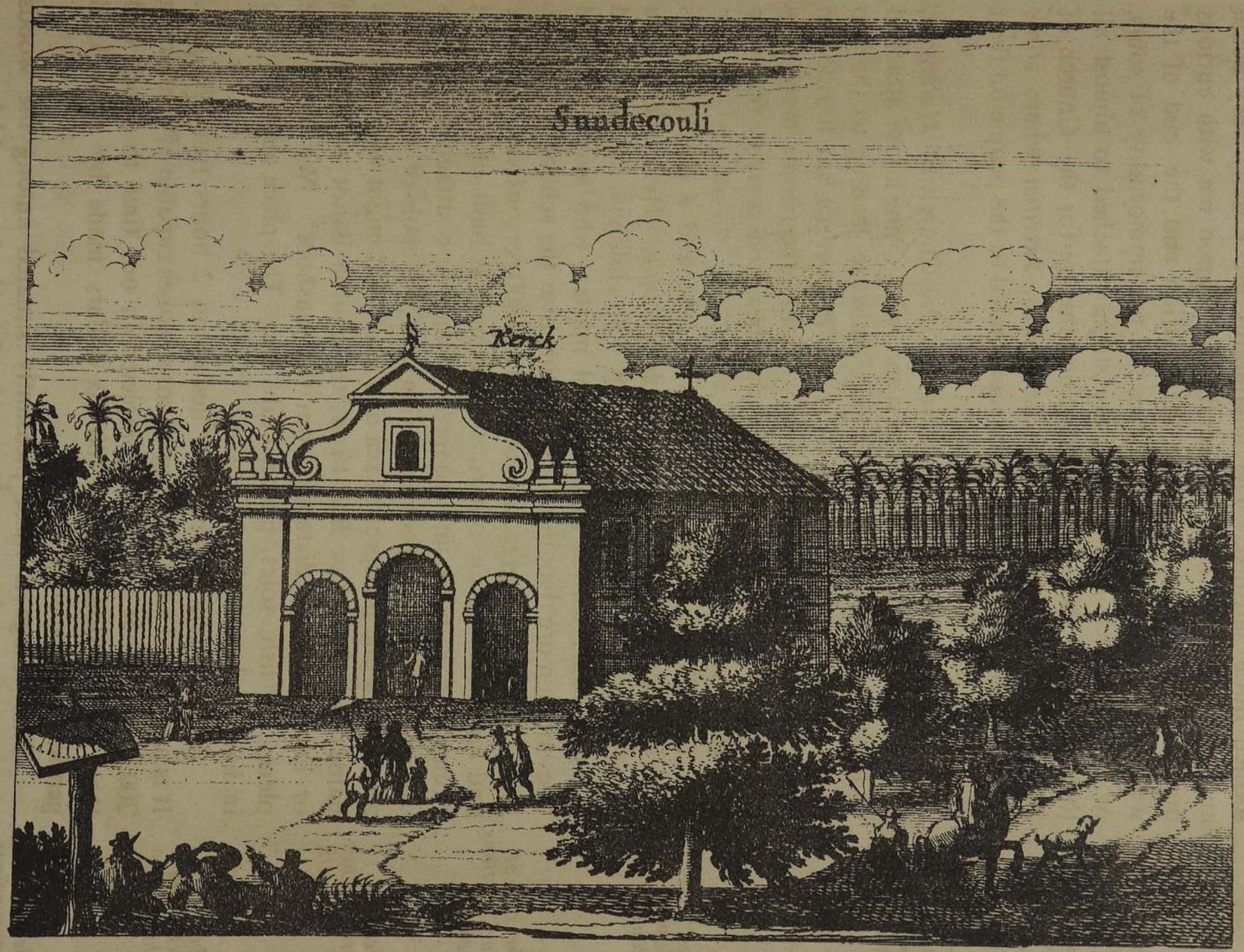

The Reformed Church and Church House at Sundecouli.

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tants as a clock. Here are also plenty of hare, deer, and wild
[d. 163] 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, yet 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 *Hanscret*[1] 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 Bramine Christian there wrote on the Life and Passion of Jesus in high Malabaars verse.

The Oudewil Church.

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.

The Batecotte Church.

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.

The Paneteripou Church.
[p. 164]

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

1. i. e. Sanskrit.

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far advanced in the principles of the Christian religion, wonderfully able to confound popish errors with respect to purgatory, the mass, indulgences, and auricular confession with sound reasoning in my presence. The head schoolmaster *Andree* and his assistant are also very zealously employed in teaching these youths. 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. *Zeal and knowledge of the people and children of Paneteripou.*

The Church of *Changane* is situated at a half hours distance from that of *Paneteripou*, so that *Batecotte*, *Changane*, and *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 Changane Church.*

The school of this church has upwards of 700 scholars, who in common with those of *Paneteripou* deserve much praise. The exertions of the schoolmaster *Ambrosio* for the advancement 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. *Changane Christians to be praised.*

Two hours from *Jafnapatan* and one from *Changane* lies the Church of *Manipay*. It is hardly to be believed that at so small 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 majority of whom are still addicted to paganism and slow in hearing the Gospel preached to them. The church is large and 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* is situated close to the Fort of *Jafnapatan*, the place is mostly inhabited by washers, for *Vanar* signifies in *Malabaars* a washer. The church is small and has no house attached to it. Here *The Manipay Church.* *The people there are malicious and heathenish.* *The Vanarpone Church.*

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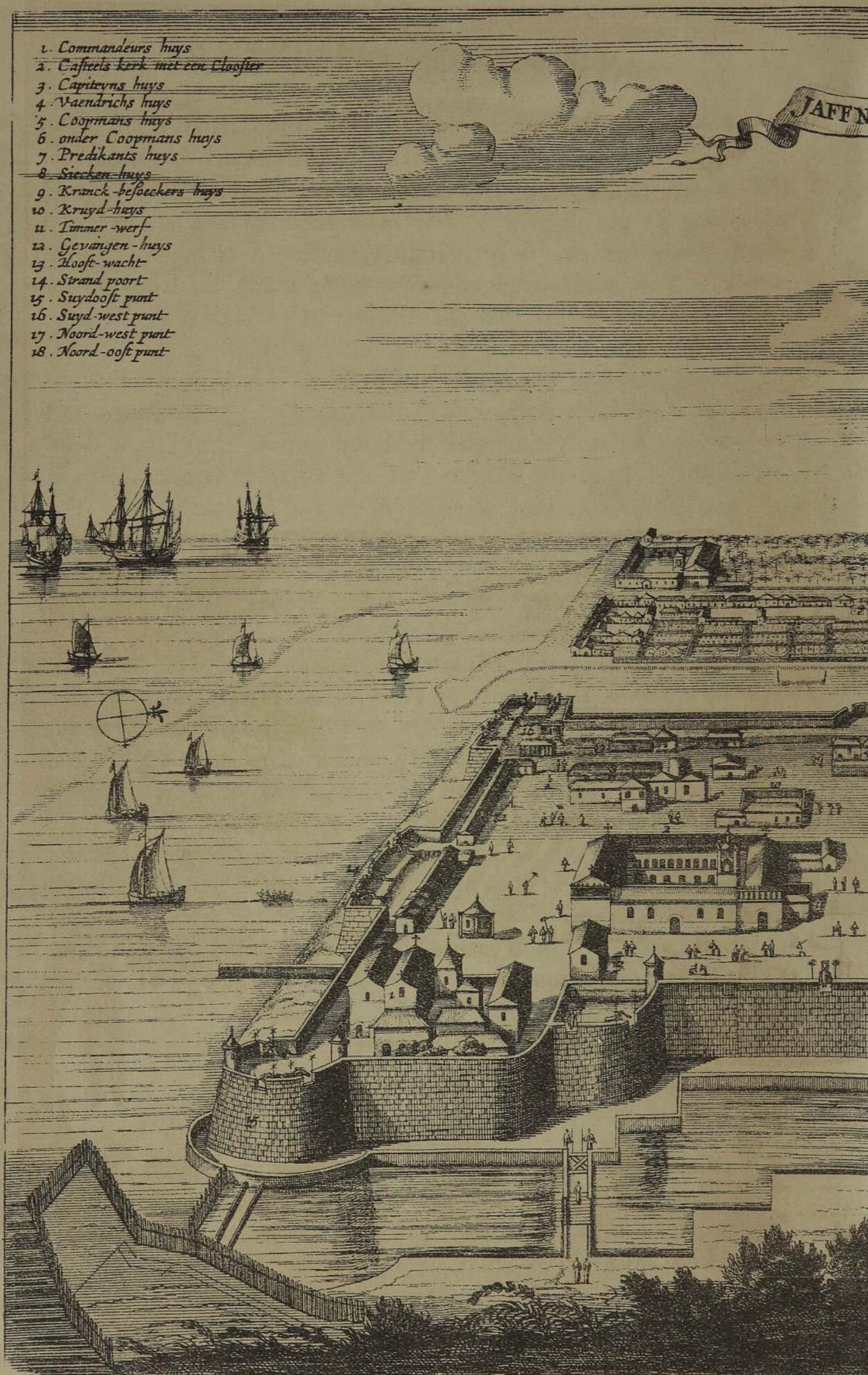

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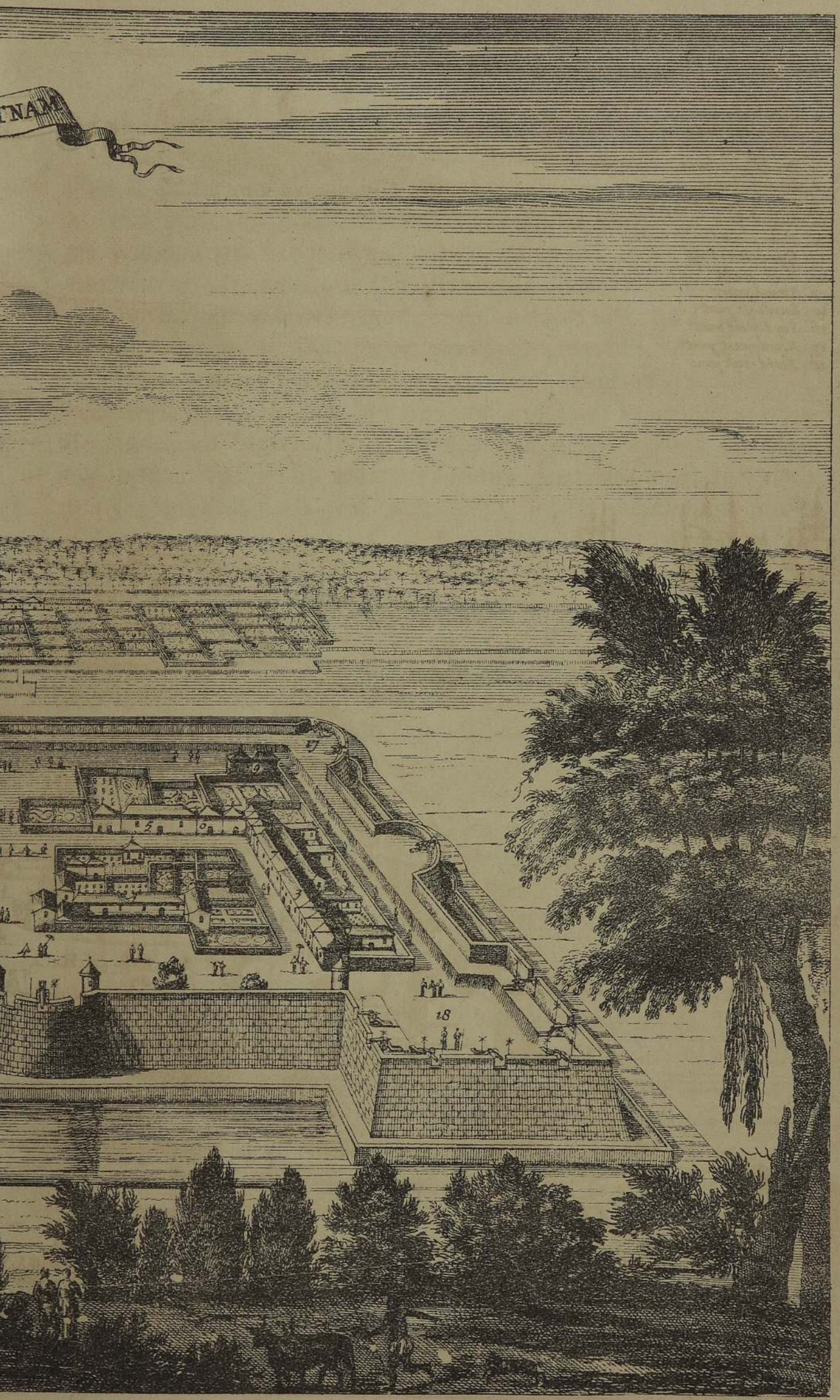

Map of the City of Jaffnapatam.

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there are 200 school children who take instruction well and it has a congregation of from 5 to 600 people.

The Nalour Church.

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 cloth manufactured in *Jafnapatan*, for the lack of good water, etc.

Heathen cloth-dyers and hundreds of others came to Jafnapatan from Choromandel with no benefit to the Church of God or the Company.

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 *paternosters*[1] 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.

[p. 165]

Anthony Pavilioen the first Commander of Jafnapatan. His zeal in establishing the faith and discouraging idolatry.

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.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Kopay.

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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 [p. 166] 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.

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

Wicked people there.

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 place is very pleasantly situated among trees where there is a sweet chirping of many songbirds. Thus much for the first

The Churches of Copay and Poutour.

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

Discipline amongst school children.

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*.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Navacouli.

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PHILLIPUS BALDAEUS

Chapter Forty Five

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.

[p. 167]

THE 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 Navacouli Church.

An hour from *Navacouli*, lies the Church of *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 Chavagatzery Church.

Total of Christians there.

The Church *Cathay* is situated an hour's march from *Chavagatzery* 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 qualified master, the total at divine service sis from 11 to 1200 people.

The Cathay Church.

[p. 168]

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

The Waranni Church.

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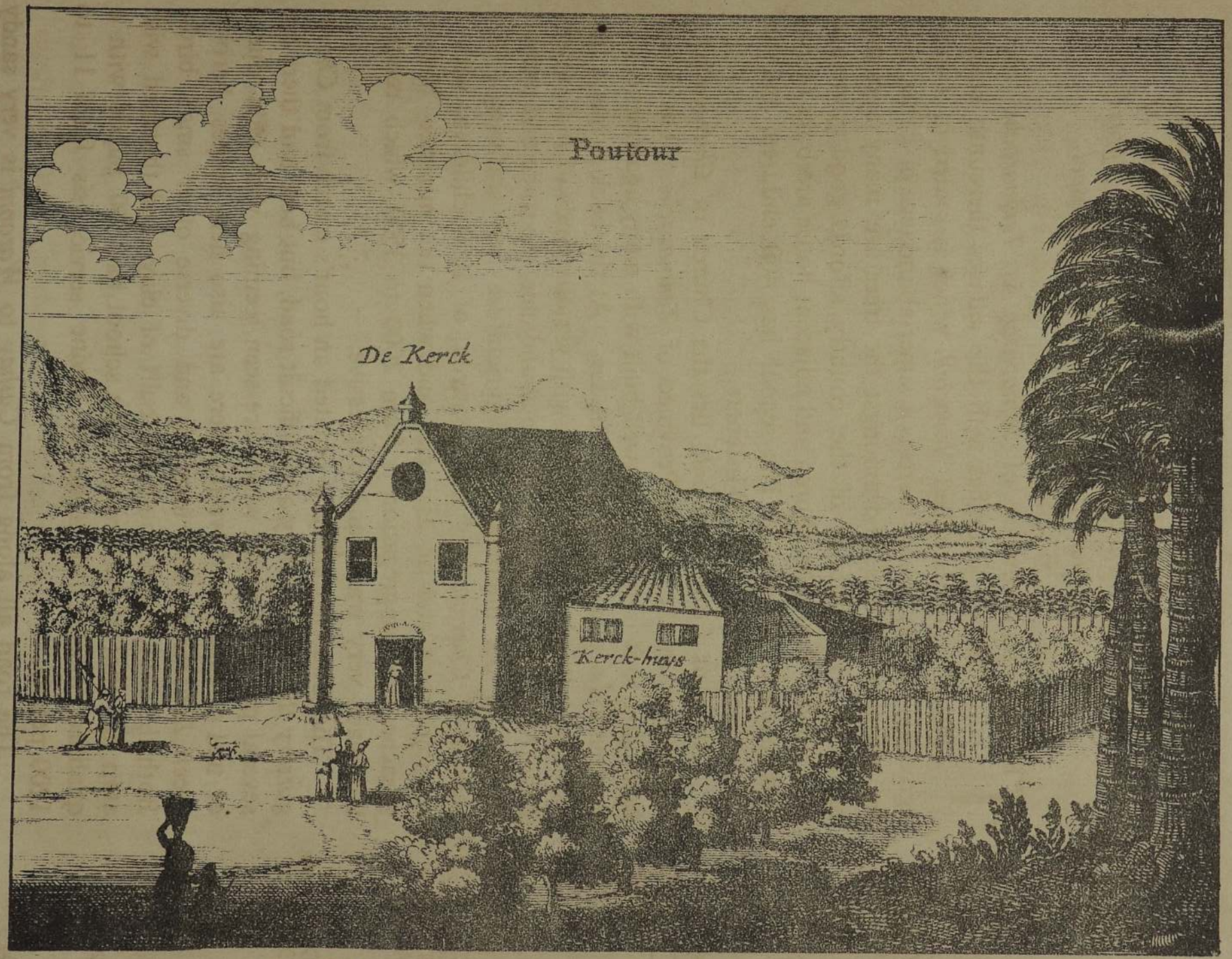

The Reformed Church and Church House at Poutour.

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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.

The church *Paretiture* is the largest and most stately in 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

Paretiture fortified during the the English war.

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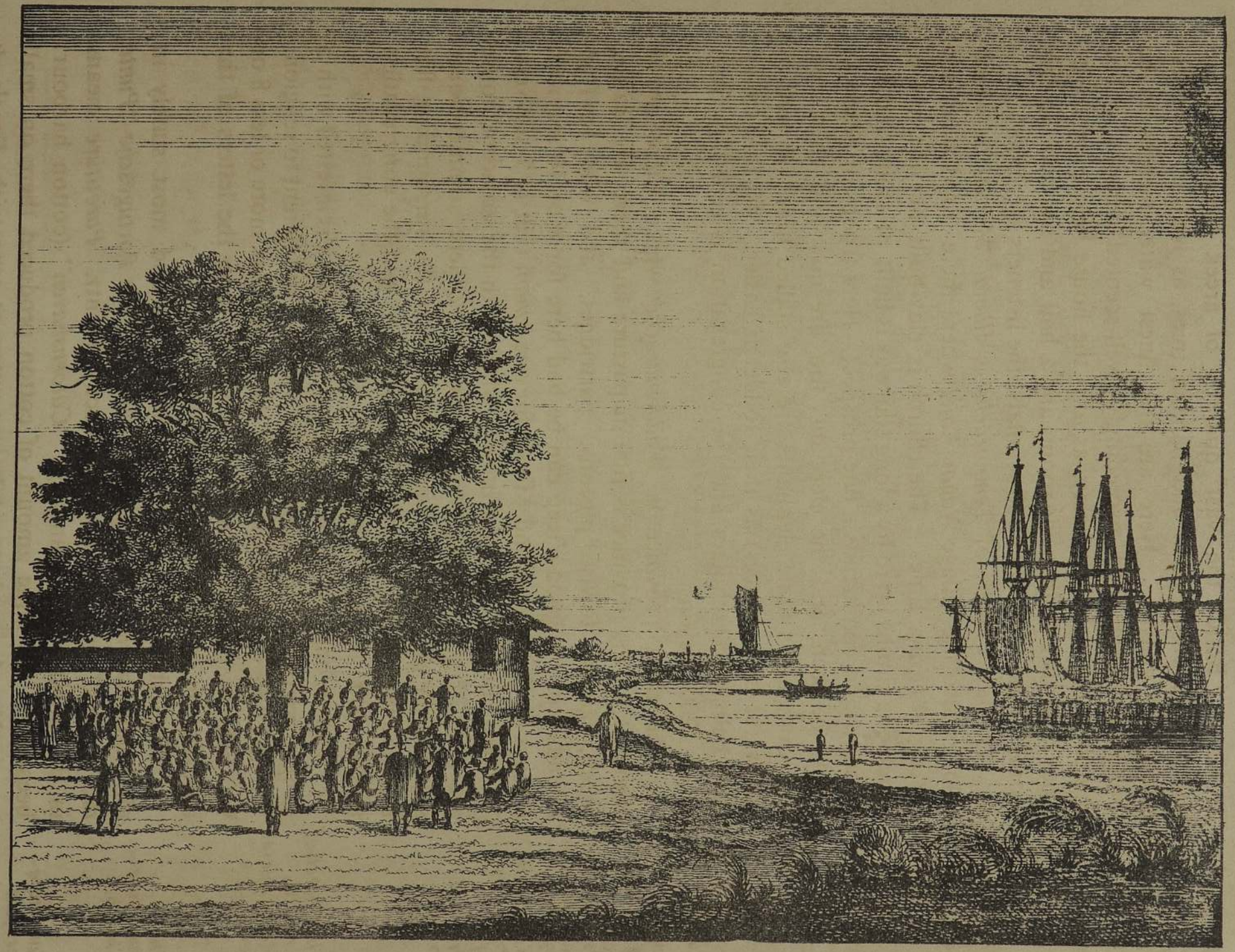

Preaching under a Tamarind tree at Paretiture.

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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.

n encounter between us and the Portugezen had occurred there.

Mooring possibilities there.

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 listeners and the school children are 1000 strong.

[p. 170]

A high total of Christians at Paretiture.

The Patchiarapalle Province and its situation. The Poelepolay Church. A curious disease in Patchiarapalle.

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*, *kelengen*[2] and a little rice, as they cannot afford to fare better.

This Province is much subject to depredations by elephants.

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.

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Wild elephants in the province of Patcheripalle.

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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-hout*[1] from which are made good rafters for roof work which are largely exported to the *Choromandel* coast and other places.

Total of Christians in Poelepolay.

[p. 171]

Curious music made by women on earthen vessels.

Mogommale. A good two hours walk from *Poelepolay* is situated the Church *Mogommale* in a wood with a good and strong house attached to it. The school has 450 children and the church 500 listeners.

Tambamme. The church *Tambamme* is the largest and best seated in the whole province. On our usual visitation we found there 500 school children, and the church had 900 listeners.

Mulipatto. *Mulipatto* is the last church, and lies a day's journey from *Jafnapatan* a little beyond it is the *Passo seco*, or *Drooge-door-gangh*[2] 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 above 215 children and the church 350 listeners.

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]

The Island of Ourature has three churches. Much subject to inundation. 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

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1. Jaggerhout. Literally "jaggery wood". Palmyra wood is here meant.
2. *Passo seco* (lit. dry ferry) or *drooge-door-gangh* (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.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Chavagatzeri.

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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 *zaye*[1] 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. *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 river runs between Ourature and Caradiva.

The deserted and uninhabited Island. [p. 172] 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. *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

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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 Jaffna.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Cathay.

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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.

Great 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.

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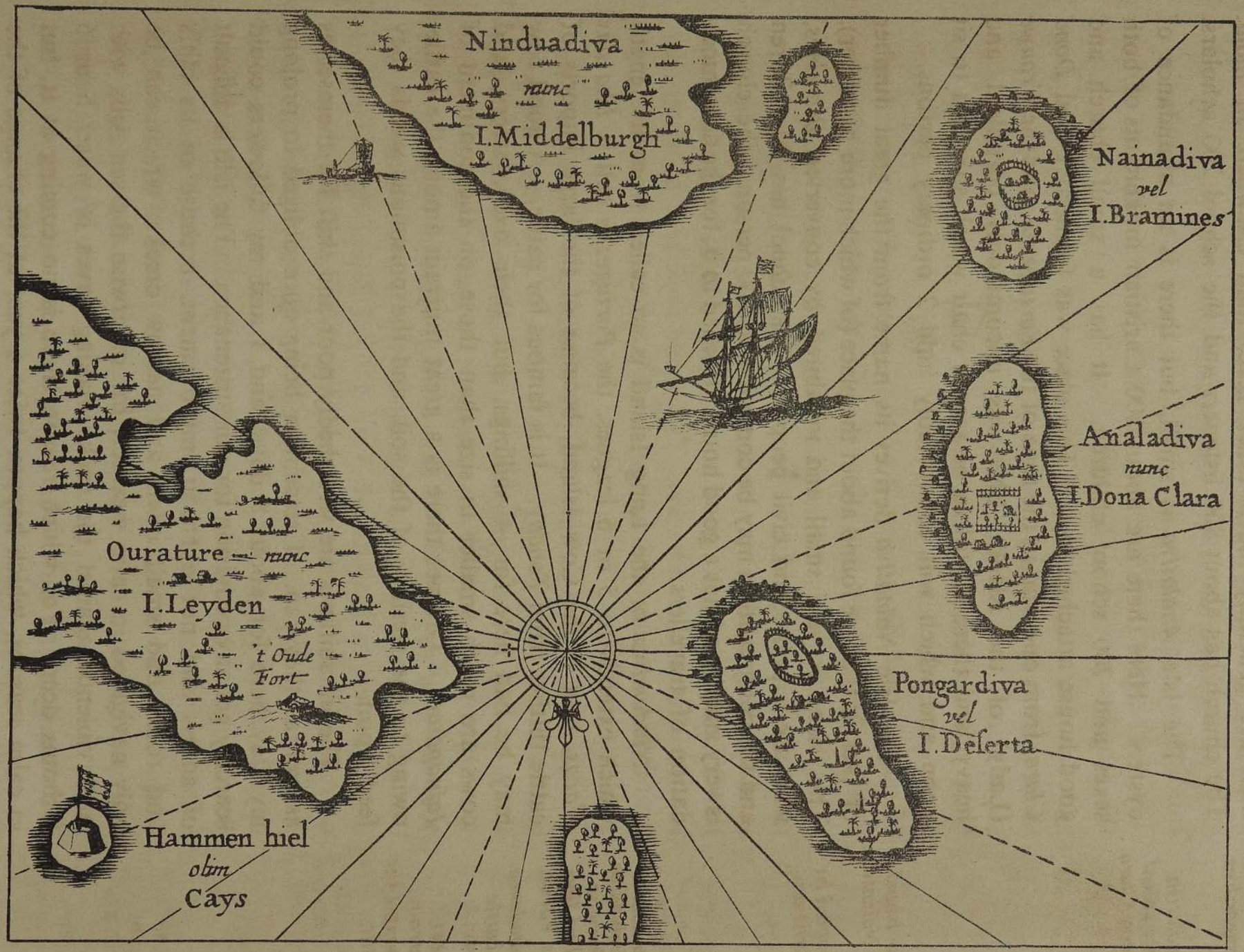

Map of the Islands of Jaffnapatam.

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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.

[p. 173]

Wonderful wells made in the rocks by thunder.

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

Total of adult Christians and converts both in the Wannias and in Manaar.

Grand total of Christians in the Kingdom of Jafnapatan.

1. **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.**

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Waranni.

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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 [p. 174] 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.

How the villages manage in the absence of the minister.

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.

Necessity of a Catechism for native Christians.

But the most laborious part of the minister's duty (as experience 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

1. ***Patolas***, **old ola or palm leaf records.**

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Illondi Matual.

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The Nederlandtsche Ministers who labour in India have much harder and heavier work than the Romish Ministers.

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.

Necessary pamphlets for the information and instruction of the Jafnapatan Churches translated into Malabaarsche from the Portugesche. [p. 175]

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

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of a Sinner. The Request of the Pharisees, Matthew 12. 38 and such like.

The young Christians there not burdened with excess of books by decision of the author, which was approved in a letter to him from His Excellency Governor General Joan Maatzuyker, dated Batavia 18 September 1662.

I had an abundance of other sermons which were written by me in the *Portugeesch* language, but as there was only one 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 them to work out the salvation of their souls, pursuant to the opinion of the judicious General *Maatzuyker*, expressed in his letter sent to me from *Batavia* bearing date 18th September 1662:—

"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.

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"With many friendly greetings and recommending you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your affectionate friend,
(Signed) *Joan Maatzuyker.*

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.

IT 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.

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

Their costume

The Bellales have plenty of cattle.

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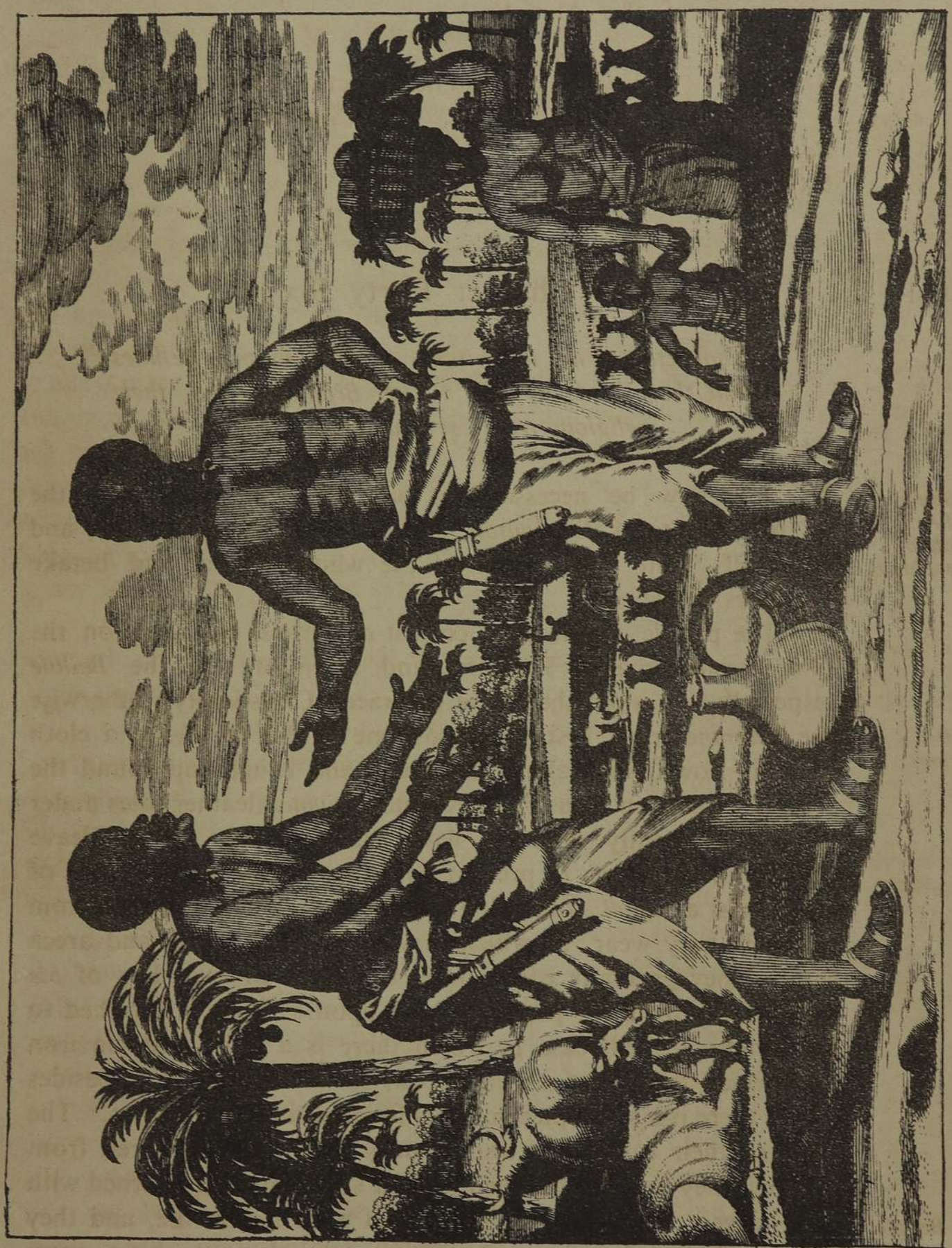

Bellales of Jaffnapatam.

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[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.

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.

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.

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 *Commety*[1] 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 Mooren are great butter-lovers, so also the Bellales.

[p. 178]

How the inhabitants treat their cattle.

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.

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1. Commety, i.e. Sammati, a higher grade of the fisher caste.

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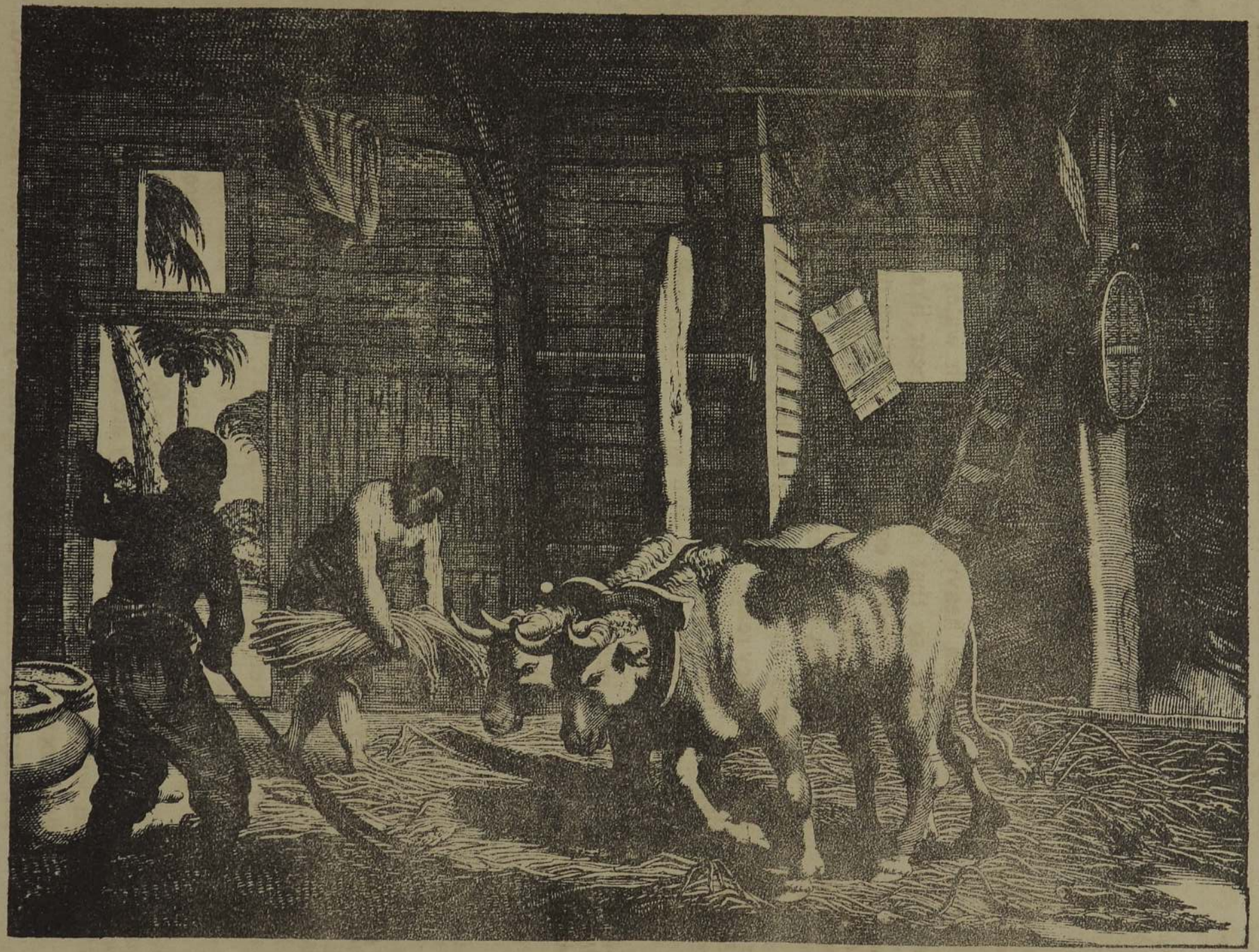

The threshing of corn in Jaffnapatam.

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Rules against destruction of hedges by cattle.

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.

Wedding seasons of Bellales.

The Bellales are litigious.

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.

Characteristics of the Bramines.

Such of them as are Christians still hold to the prejudice of their caste, and wear their *cords*[1] (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.

[p. 179]

Imaginary glory of Bramines ancestry.

Somewhat confirmed by Epiphanius.

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.

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The making of butter in Jaffnapatam.

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Weighty arguments of Christian Bramines regarding choice of food.

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.

Errors regarding the time of the creation of the world and a striking exposure of them.

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.

The Pythagorean Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls still obtains.

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.

1. i.e. Pythagorean.

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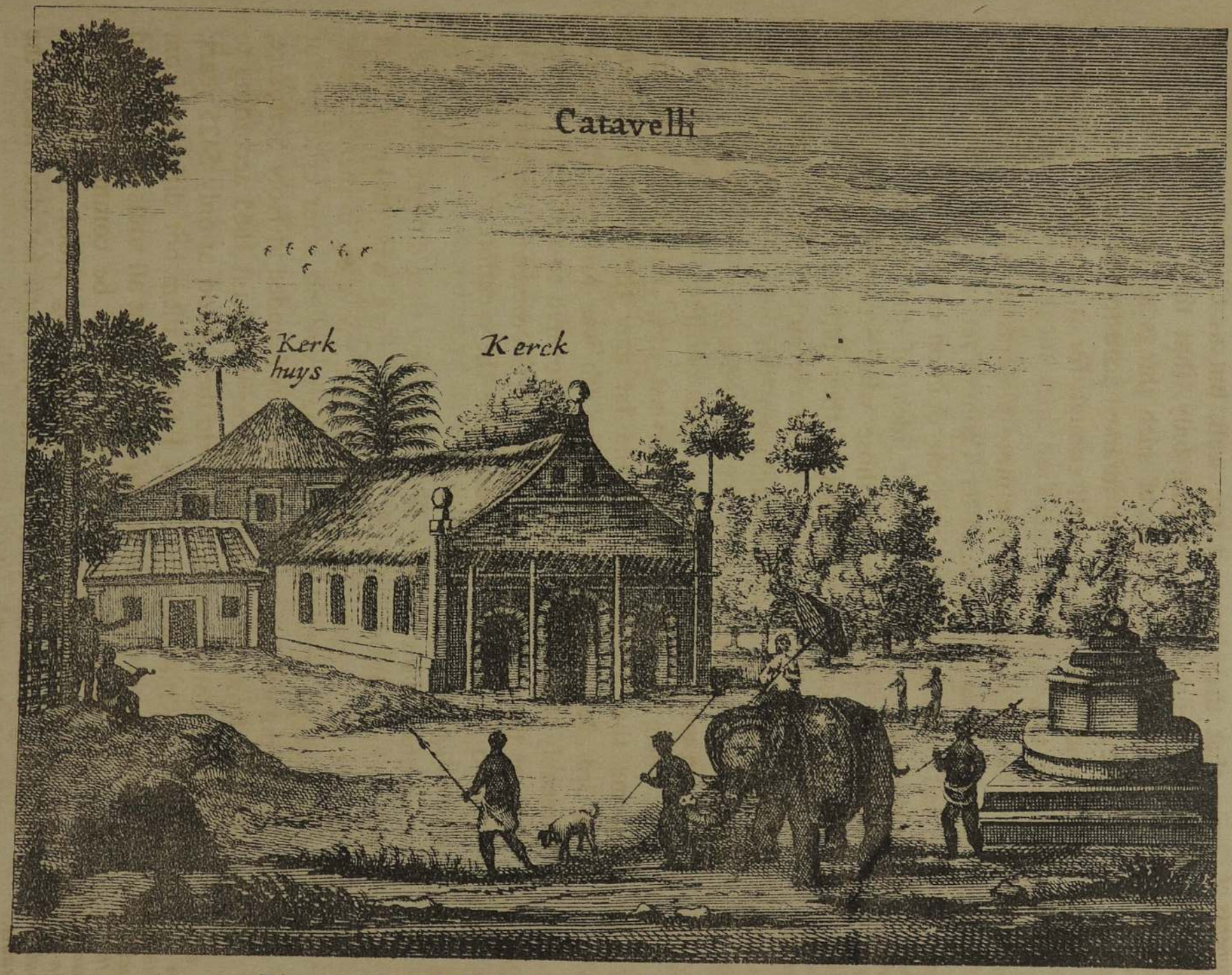

The Reformed Church and Church House at Catavelli.

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[p. 180] 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 delicto.* But the *Rabbijn* and all Christians ought to know why 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*."

Chief objection to transmigration set out.

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

These errors existed also in Judaism as Elias Levita showed to the Rabbis.

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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 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

Reasons for such errors in Judaism.

[p. 181]

Absurdities of this doctrine shown.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Paretiture.

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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."[1]

Even in Duytslandt.

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

And in Guinea, Virginia, China, Peru and Mexico. [p. 182]

1. As translated by J. D. Duff, Loeb Classical Series. Lucanes, *Pharsalia*, Book 1.

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Euphorbus the son of *Panthus* during the *Troyaansche* war, afterwards into *Pyrrhus* and next into *Eleus*, and lastly into *Pythagoras*.

All pagan teachings have this sour leaven.

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.

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 amongst Christians are found Epicureans, erring greatly.

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.

A second argument.

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

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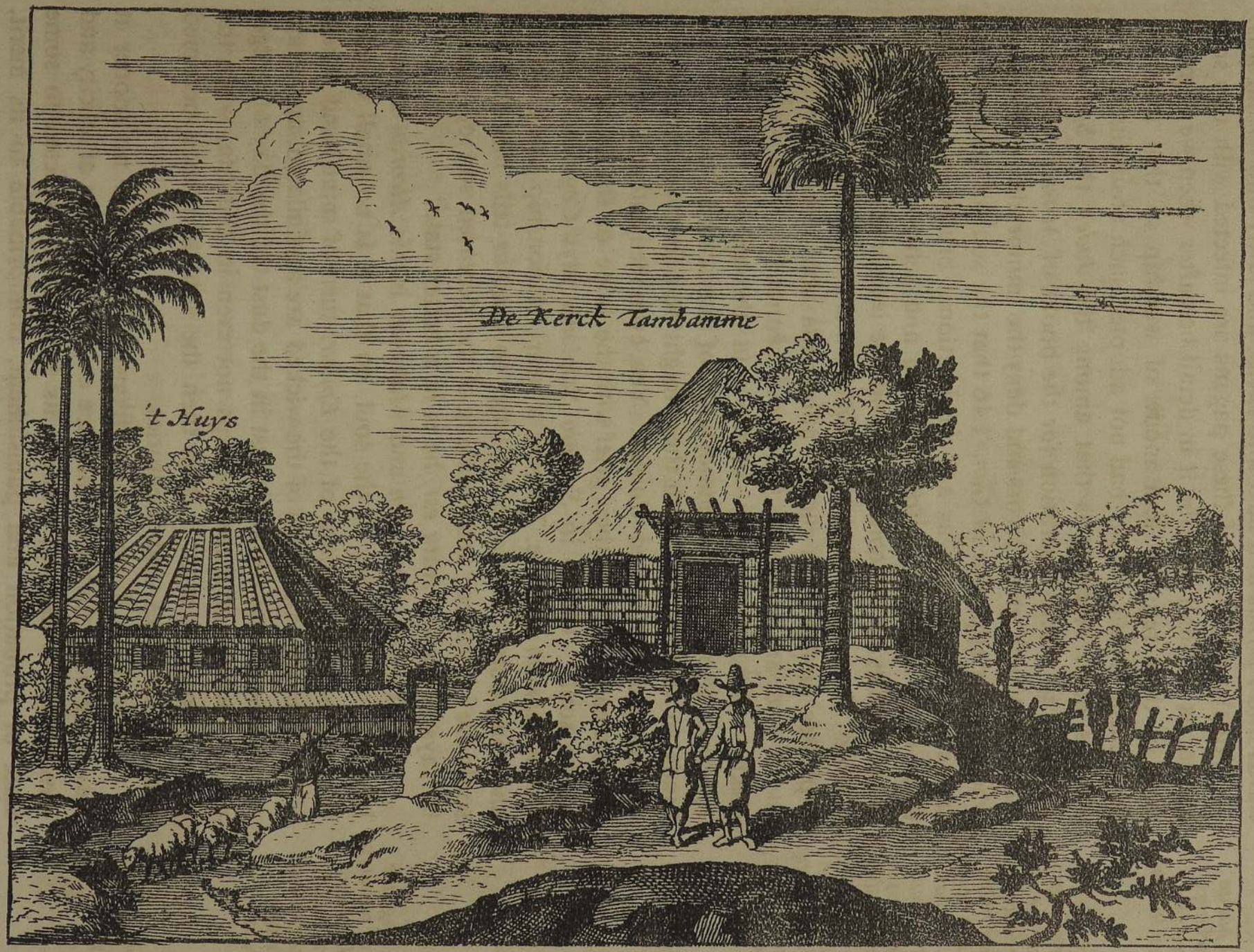

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souls which God himself had planted within us do not return to mortal bodies, which they have done with, but to God.

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.

IN 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 [p. 183] 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 betrothals.

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Mogommale.

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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.

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 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 *Athenen.*

Early betrothals of the inhabitants, no one remain unmarried. So also recommended Plato, making celibacy punishable. Furius Camillas and Posthumius thought the land should be populated in accordance with maritandis ordinibus maxim. Bad custom of children being betrothed before maturity of mind.

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 presence, and in that of their parents, pledge their troth to their intended future husbands. I have repeatedly declined this interference, 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 couple. We see that these people generally select wives younger than their sons. There is also the reluctance to marry such 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.

The very learned *Seldenus* shows us from *Rabbi Moses Maimonides* that the *Jews* did not permit their high priests to marry maids who were already twelve and half years of age, but to still younger ones. It is also no secret what Moses says of the token of virginity *Deut.* 22.17 which is still observed among the *Mahumetanen* community in *Fez* and *Maroco.* The ancient *Romeynen* too, married out their daughters whilst in their 10, 11 and 12 year of age, *Sic corpus et indoles pura viro praestantur.*

[p. 184]

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The Reformed Church and Church House at Mulipatto.

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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 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 dowry returns to the relations of the man or the wife.

It is a very commendable thing that in *Jafnapatan* neither a 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.

Children must not marry without the consent of elders.

If a son has then no just right to dispose of ought which 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.

Soundness and justice of this custom, confirmed by Holy Writings and otherwise.

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.

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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 yet 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.*

Different castes in Jafnapatan.

The Chivias are water carriers, wood cutters and pallinkijn-bearers.

In times past the *Chivias* have had to give their service to the then King of *Jafnapatan* but at present, they have to supply the principal *Nederlanders* with water which they fetch after a 2 or 3 hours walk. They also have to supply us with firewood, so that their labour is the labour of the *Gibeoniten.* Subsequently termed *Nethinim Jos.* 9.23 but their yoke is still much heavier. For they are now and then also obliged to carry a man or woman in a heavy *pallinkijn* 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 Parruas caste.

The caste of the *Parruas* is also located at *Jafnapatan*, but they are not so numerous here as at *Tutecorijn.* Their chief employment is sea-faring and diving for *chankos*[1] or *zeehoorns* and pearls, most of them speak good *Portugeesch* and are quite civilized. [p. 185]

The Chittys.

The *Chittijs* live by trade in piece goods, and other wares, they are an arch and cunning set of people and know too well how to earn a stuyver.

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.

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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.

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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 and exaltation of others. Here there is a wonderful contempt for the lower castes, and an extraordinary respect for the highest, on an inferior passing 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 Indian people refrain from killing or eating cattle.

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 character of the nation is their unchastity. There were many complaints heard of the profligacy of married men (who previous to marriage had so abandoned themselves to profligacy as to render themselves afterwards unequal to conjugal duties). 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.

The chief faults of the people of Jafnapatam are profligacy and idolatry. [p. 186]

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 observers of good and evil days; (more regarding the like superstitious notions might be known from the history of *Raja Singa* King of *Candy*.) It is notorious that the *Grieken* and *Romeynen* had also their good and evil days. It is a bad sign with them for one to sneeze when leaving the house, to hear the cry of some solitary nocturnal birds on the roof of their houses, or to see one at night, but especially to be touched by the shadow of a crow in its flight. Amongst the *Portugezen* themselves they have a homely saying of pagan origin, "I cannot conceive why I saw such an unlucky face (*rosto mofinho*) this morning."

Lucky days, referred to by Augustinus in Enchiridia ad Laurentium c. 79 and Epist. 119 c. 7. Various examples such as planting a vineyard in a leap year, mentioning devilish weather, divination by stars and so on. All which superstitions should be rejected by Christians.

Those on the *Choromandel* coast view it as a good sign when they chance to see a red spar-hawk with a white ring about its neck. *Joan Van Twist* in his account of *Guzuratte* informs us, 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 divination by birds, (in defiance of God's commandments), as also did the ancient *Romeynen* and which God would not tolerate 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

Many magicians amongst the inhabitants.

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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 [p. 187] 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-gazing called *Kalptromantia*, and all such delusions and deceits of the devils, as the movement of a key, the spring of a ring on a 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.

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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1. Untranslated Hebrew words.

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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.

Lawyers in Jafnapatan.

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*,[1] 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.

Medical men.

There is no lack of *artzen* or doctors, though ignorant of anatomy, in which operations would be also impracticable in

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 Pieris, *Ceylon and the Hollanders* p. 47.

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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.

Their knowledge all based on experience.

[p. 188]

Wound-healers.

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 hair 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 daily-paid 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.

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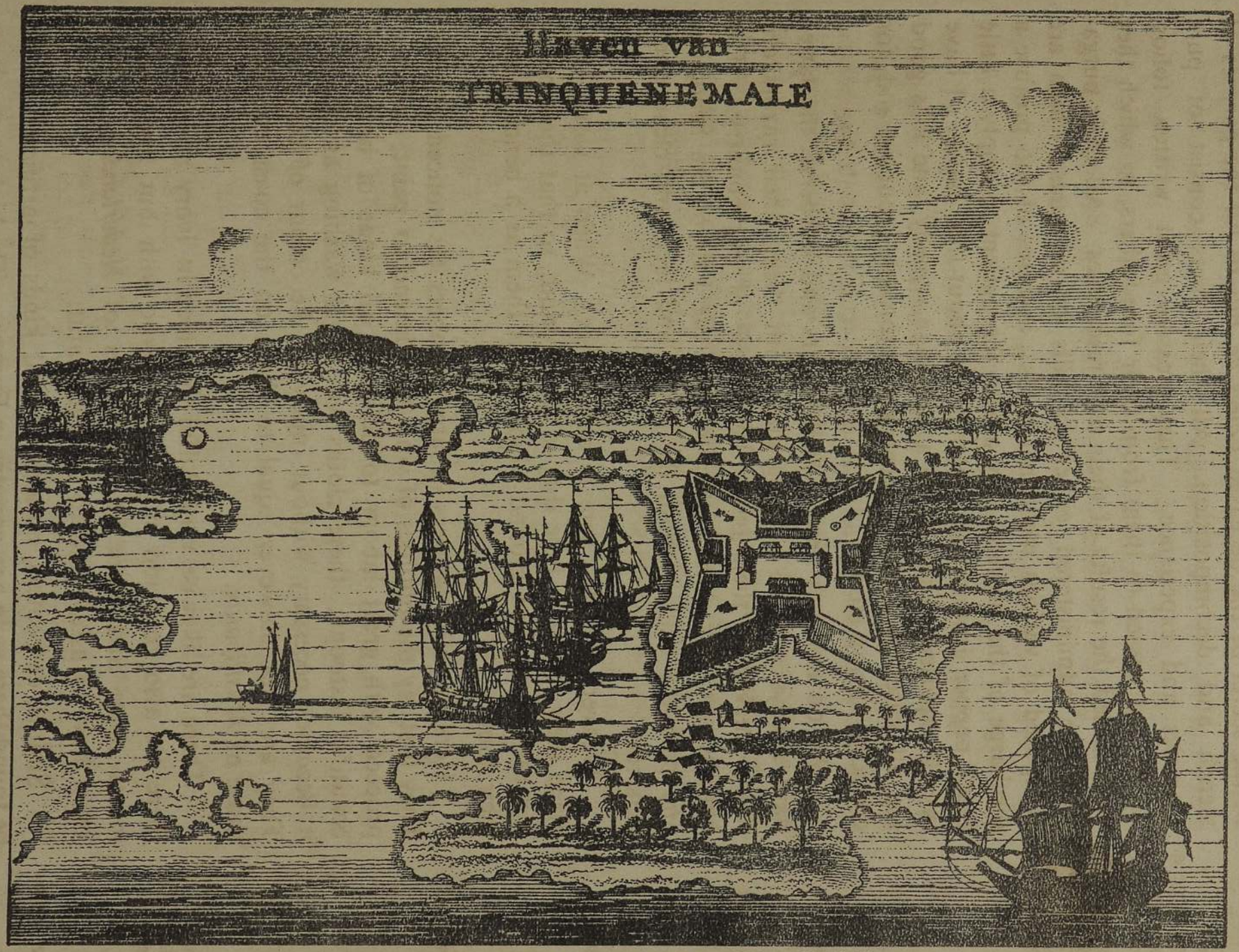

The Harbour of Trincomalee.

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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 Harbour

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*.

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, and the intense cold and dew of the nights.

Serious disease there.

[p. 189]

The Fort is rebuilt.

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

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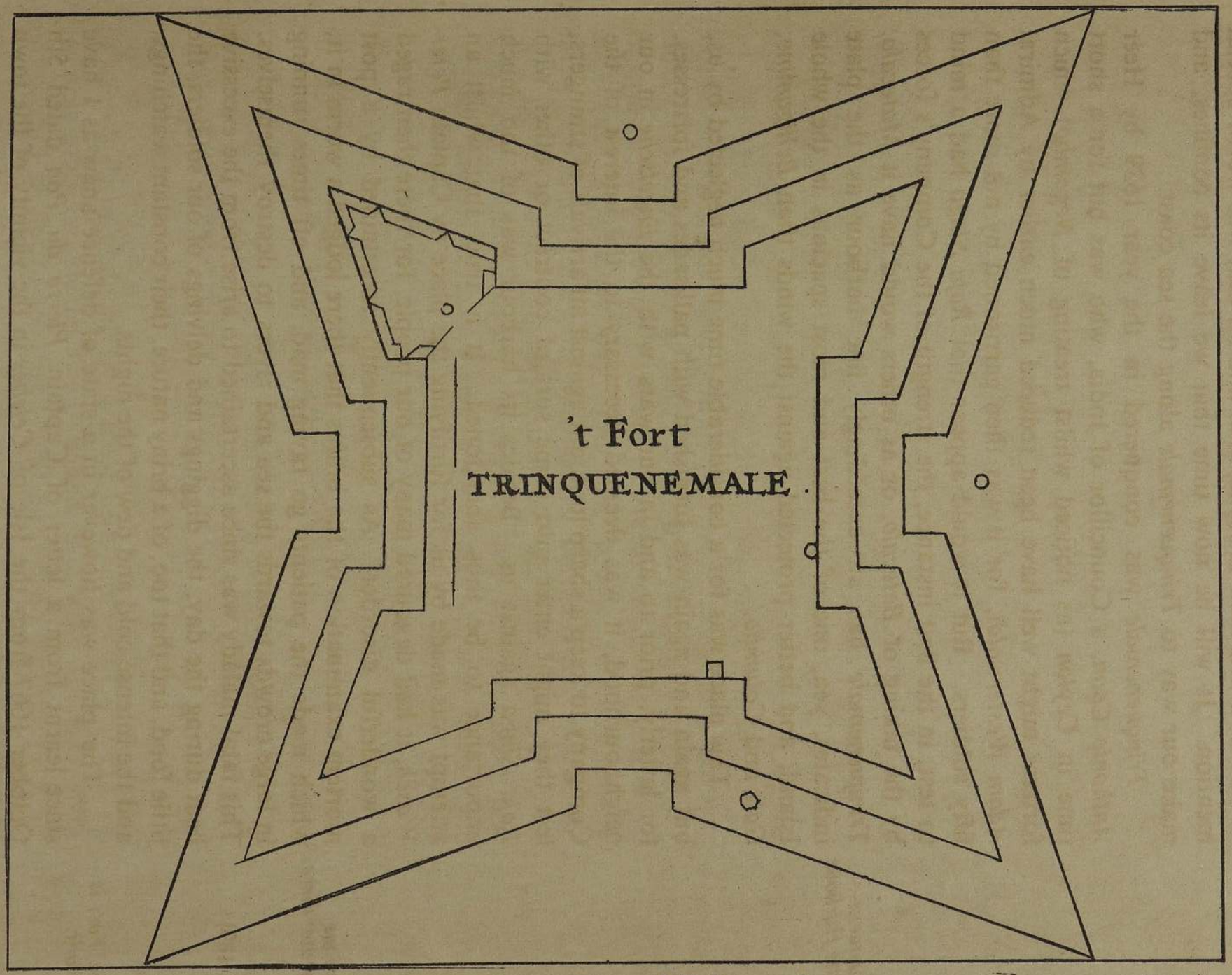

Sketch of the Fort of Trincomalee.

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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 come (under God) into a friendly understanding with the King 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 *Tutecorijn* 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 [p. 190] 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.

Latest disagreement between Raja Singa and the Hon. Company.

[p. 191]

Chapter Forty Eight[1]

Natural History of Ceylon. Its Pagoden, Convents and Friars. Disposition, dress and household habits of the Cingalezen.

HAVING 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

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.

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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 *Trinquenemale*, 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.

Ceylon has many Pagodas and Monasteries.

There are rich *pagoden* to be seen throughout the Island, as the one in *Vintane*, whose base is in circumference 130 paces, very lofty and wide, it is gilt at the top, in shape it resembles a 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 *Belligamme*[4] 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.

Pico de Adam.

There is a high mountain or peak which is considered the loftiest in *India* called *Pico de Adam*.[5] The inhabitants believe it

1. The references are to 'Dutch' miles, one of which is equal to three English miles.
2. Doubtless the Mahiyangana dagaba at Alutnuwara is referred to. In Kandyan times Alutnuwara was a place of considerable importance.
3. They reference is possibly to the temple at Dondra dedicated to Vishnu. The original temple was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1587.
4. The Khusta Raja at Weligama.
5. Portuguese for Adam's Peak.

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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.

[p. 192]

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

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A Religious Procession

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paying to their idols the daily adoration *sombaja*, 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 [p. 193] 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.

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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Dress of the Cingalezen.

The *Cingalezen* much resemble in their features and 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 11th year, as hundreds of their elders can testify to the marriage rites I have performed and there is no counselling them to the contrary, it being the only way they say, of testing the chastity of their brides.

They marry out their daughters early. [p. 194]

Their domestic habits.

They, like the pagans, burn their dead. They are very orderly in their household affairs, they make use of plantain 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.

Cingalezen coinage.

Their common coin consists of silver *larijns*, worth 10 stuyvers each, 5 stuyvers make a *fanom*, but there is a difference

1. 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."

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be'we:n 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 Ceylon. 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, *Quiavos* 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 *zuyri*,[1] 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 *pompelmoes*[2] 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 caneel and the 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 Island absolutely pure. It is called by the *Cingalezen*, *cureneopotto* and the tree *curindo-gas*, some of which are found to be

1. Sweet toddy as distinguished from the fermented. The word is derived from the Sanskrit 'sura' and is more common in the Tamil districts.
2. A species of citrus, the shaddock. Usually called 'pomelo' in Ceylon. Sinhalese 'jambola' and Tamil 'jamblica'.

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The collection of Cinnamon.

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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 yellow 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.

[p. 196] 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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Three kinds of caneel in India.

There are three sorts of cinnamon in *India*.

1st. The cinnamon *Fino* (or *Fijne* so called by the *Portugezen*) which are those cut of young and middling trees.

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 *bhaar*[1] of Ceylon 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.

Snakewood or Lignum Colybrinum,

How the Indianen use it.

The snakewood is to be found abundantly in *Ceylon*, it is of a dull white, somewhat inclining to yellow, very hard and bitter 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 very smoothly and anoint their entire body with it, as a remedy 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.

How snake-wood became known.

The *Cingalezen* in their books assert that the snake-root was discovered through a small animal called by the Portuguese *Quil* or *Quirpele*[2] 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 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 has already been made, and who was so highly honoured and

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Extraordinary incident.

1. A *bhaar* contained 480 lbs.
2. The mongoose of which there are four different species in Ceylon.

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esteemed in *Ceylon*, says, that he had frequently witnessed such combats, and that on the said *Quirpele* 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 *Wortelboom*[1] 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 *Ceylon*, 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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1. *Wortelboom*, literally the 'root tree'. The banyan tree or *fiscus indica* is meant.

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DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON

Chapter Fifty

The vast number of elephants in Ceylon. Their harmfulness and some instances thereof. The manner in which they are caught. Buffaloes, tigers, bears, birds, fishes, crocodiles, porpoises etc.

THE Island of *Ceylon* 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.

Excess of elephants in Ceylon.

The first and foremost in rank is the elephant of which there are vast numbers in this country, so that one cannot safely travel 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 Reformed Church, *Johannes Fereira d' Almeyda* who was travelling with his wife, between *Gale* and *Columbo*. The coolies at the sight 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.

Strange experience with an elephant.

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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 ensnared 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 Ceylon 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 Vaca*[1] and their number is now so increased that they are to be seen in troops of 60, 70, 80 and even 100.

Buffaloes.

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

1. de Vaca. A Portuguese name for the Island of Nindundiva which was renamed Delft by the Dutch.

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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.

Tigers. There are also beasts of the more ferocious kind. Some 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 badly wounded on the back by the claws of a tiger, which was not unlikely as he carried some very deep marks of injury.

And Bears. Bears I have seen both at *Jafnapatan* and *Manaar*. At the 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.

Jackals. The jackals are terribly fond of human flesh, which induces 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.

Their appearance. In shape the jackals are not unlike little foxes particularly 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.

Bird Life in Ceylon. There are a variety of birds to be found in Ceylon, both small and large for which the natives have their peculiar names which could be but ill expressed in our language. Crows there

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Crows crafty in Ceylon, as in Malabar and the coast.

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.

We have also in Ceylon many kites called by the *Portugezen minhotos* which but too frequently without any leave set off with

Night owls.

many a pullet; there are also owls who alight on the roofs of houses at night, and utter a mournful call.

Various small birds.

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

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Fishes.

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 *kaiman*[1] or *crocodile* ranks the 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. *Crocodiles.*

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 Blancq* 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.

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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.

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An Elephant Kraal near Matara.

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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 Capellos*[1] 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

1. A Portuguese name for the Cobra.

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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.

Extra-ordinary incident in Ceylon.

There is a species of little snake, which the *Portugezen* call *vipres*, they are speckled and their poison is of a very deadly character. There was in the garrison of *Jafnapatan* a *Hoogduytscher* who was commonly called the snake-catcher. This individual was once sent for by the then Commandant, at present Extra-ordinary 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 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.

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 unhurt the

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oath is then considered as solemn, but if hurt, the person has then forsworn himself.

Other remedies for snakebite.

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.

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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 lung-powder 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 *Ceylon* 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

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Capturing a Snake.

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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 Ceylon.

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 *Ceylon*, 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.

Origin of Amber uncertain.

It is difficult to say of what material the amber[2] 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

---

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.

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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.

Various Kinds of Amber.

There is black amber about the Isle of *Mauritius* which is reckoned to be the worst of its kind, and there is a sort which is white. There is finally the *amber grijs*[1] which is considered the best. In some parts of *America*, there is to be found the *gevosten-amber*, 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 ascertain its genuineness, which is done by pricking the drug 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 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.

Marks of good Amber.

[p. 204]

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. A fatty substance which is a morbid secretion from the intestines of the cachalot or sperm whale.

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