

HISTORICAL ESSAYS

Primary Printed and Manuscript Sources for
Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century available in
Sri Lanka

Papers prepared for a Seminar conducted

by

The United States Education Foundation in Sri Lanka

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LIBRARY

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INTRODUCTION

One of the happy results of cutting the political leading strings is the emphasis on modernisation which occurred immediately upon independence of each unit of the British Empire. The new administration, more-or-(mostly) less familiar with international and world competition, had a perfectly natural disregard for the former ways.

A legacy of research sources which had been accumulating in parts of Asia since the beginning of the sixteenth century remained untouched, their origins fitting into one of these three divisions,

1. Books imported from Europe,
2. Cumulations of the various colonial governments, and
3. Books and manuscripts locally written and sometimes printed.

In Ceylon most doctoral studies are still pursued abroad, even at the research stages, just as in the old days. Until a complete inventory of libraries, archives, and personal collections in each part of the island has been completed, this course may be essential. I'm not at all certain.

With these ideas in the background, Lincoln Auditorium of the United States Information Service, American Embassy-Colombo, was meeting place for scholars, authors, and bookmen on the 28 August 1971. Chairman for the day was Dr. Kingsley de Silva, Professor of Ceylon History at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya; and the sponsor was the United States Educational Foundation in Ceylon directed by Mr. Victor Stier, Public Affairs Officer of the American Embassy.

A variety of viewpoints and suggestions soon became evident: linguistic variations as studied through what most folks consider to be only laws and regulations; cultural conflicts evident in those same texts; traditional colophons in *olas* (palm-leaf writings) and in legal documents inscribed in copper, silver, or stone as sources for biography; journalists and their in-fighting as reflected in newspapers; institutional life and change as exemplified in foreign study; this same study of institutional life extensible to all educational, medical, charitable, and religious foundations, as well as to government; contrast between foreign and local law as discovered in many of the records which do remain from the seventeenth century onwards. An overtone from the speakers was the need for attention to language study: Dutch being especially mentioned but extending to other European and Asian tongues. Background, or inventory, of several types of resources which are available came from each speaker, yet these papers are not simply lists of authors and titles. They are substantial historical essays supported by available primary sources.

Take one-fourth of the people and one-fourth of the land area of the United Kingdom and you have an approximation of Ceylon, a tear-drop island off the southern tip of the Indian peninsula. The people speak (chiefly) two Asian languages, Sinhala and Tamil; and English as a European language. Traces of Portuguese and Dutch remain. The Ceylon Muslims — usually called Moors — are Tamil-speaking, though a small community of Malay Muslims, resident in Colombo for generations, continues to use Malay at home. Temples have their Sanskrit and Pali manuscripts and books; mosques have their Arabic. These then are the languages to be found in the island's book collections.

The result of this language diversity is felt at once when using libraries and archives. Mention has already been made of the inattention paid to Dutch by the present teaching faculties of the University of Ceylon which is, at the moment, an institution functioning separately at several campuses under their several local names. Approximately two centuries of history related to the Dutch East India Company is contained in the books and archives, but the scholars with language facility who are competent to read both the old-style manuscript and the old printed language form a very small group of men and women most of whom are approaching, or past, retirement age.

When comparing the catalogue entitled *REALIA: Register op de Generale Resolutien van het Kasteel Batavia, 1632—1805. Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* (Leiden, enz., 1882 — 1886. 3b.) with just the printed sources that I have already identified in Ceylon there is only the slightest duplication. Most disappointing is that no attempt seems to have ever been made to do for these Ceylon archives what was already in progress for those Batavia (Java) materials one hundred years ago. Until such an index be available, the vast and unique sources of seventeenth and eighteenth century international history will remain locked in their heterogeneous binders and books and boxes, and all the searching through such preliminary guides as Maria Wilhelmina Jurriaanse's *Catalogue* will not relieve the historian of wastefully handling dozens of pieces he never intends to use.

If universities in western countries can offer adequate instruction for elementary to advanced studies in languages as diverse as Pali, Sinhala, Tamil, Bangali, Urdu, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, and Sanskrit, it seems little to expect that eastern countries' universities would offer adequate instruction in relevant western languages having obvious local utility for post-graduate studies in their own lands. The same can be said for the maintenance of books and manuscripts. Just as these don't read by themselves, neither do they catalogue themselves. The great polyglot collections in libraries and archives around the world require hours and hours, day after day and year after year, of cataloguing time: the same would be true in Ceylon. Simply wishing will not complete the inventories of the many libraries in temples, mosques, and churches; nor those in the various tax-supported institutions. Least of all will simply wishing provide any sort of useful catalogue — yet such a catalogue is at the very heart of higher educational facilities.

Virtually no mention is made of the wealth of sources owned by well-informed and competent book-collectors in Ceylon. Several were among the guests and added to the occasional discussion periods. Might their personal libraries become part of a semi-official inventory not, of course, with the intention of opening the private homes to the reading public without let or hindrance, but with the clear intention that there be a national registration of rare books and that their export be prohibited except under those same conditions which would obtain for export of books, manuscripts, and rare documents already owned and administered directly by a government institution. Sale or exchange within the nation would not be prohibited: it would simply entail notification to the bureau maintaining the location file that the object or objects have changed hands.

One gentleman who is actively associated with the national library development programme voiced absolute astonishment at the size of a truly national programme. All we can hope is that his wide-eyed wonder, added to the bits of practical application which a few interested librarians and archivists are contributing, will reinforce the words of the seminar speakers. Perhaps in the not-too-distant future these research materials which at the present time are more desired by foreign than by local universities and teaching departments will have reached the stage of their highest priority in the very land where they exist. Let it be so. That was the wish of the day's guests, and speakers — and hosts.

This Ceylon Seminar had its origin in a series of three earlier programmes on the *Primary Printed and Manuscript Sources for Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century Studies available in Bengal* (1968 session), *Orissa* (1969 session), and *Bihar* (1970 session) *Libraries*, held under the auspices of the American Institute of Indian Studies—Calcutta Centre, and published by them in August 1971 with funds made available by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. The atmosphere generated was always that of the well-conducted university doctoral seminar, and the subject was constantly the locally available documents for studies related to those centuries.

Mrs. Margaret Gooneratne, Chief Librarian of the American Centre (*i.e.*, U.S.I.S. Library) was interested in the challenge of this subject from its first mention months earlier. She deserves special thanks for managing the publication details. Behind the scenes with encouragement stood H. A. J. Hulugalle, veteran Colombo editor, his country's Ambassador to Rome some years ago, and the first of a long line of Ceylonese whose visit to the U.S.A. was sponsored by my country. Yet without the speakers and their prepared papers and without the full support of the Public Affairs Officer of the American Embassy, Victor Stier, the day would have been an ordinary Saturday in August and this book would not have been compiled. We are grateful it could be extraordinary.

COLOMBO

October 10, 1971.

KATHARINE SMITH DIEHL

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Kandyan Land Grants as Sources of Eighteenth Century History

By Lorna Srimathie Dewaraja

The Dutch East India Company controlled the maritime provinces in Ceylon during the period 1658 — 1796, but a greater part of the island belonged to the indigenous kingdom whose ruler had his seat of government in the city of Kandy situated in the central highlands of the island. The King of Kandy was the cynosure of the loyalty and affection of the Sinhalese people wherever they lived whether in Dutch territory or in Kandyan. In spite of this the eighteenth century has been always viewed as the Dutch Period of Ceylon History and has been studied as a series of Dutch governorships. One of the reasons why even the Ceylonese historians have taken this purely colonial perspective is the paucity of sources pertaining to Kandyan history when compared to the plethora of valuable archival matter relating to the contemporary Dutch Administration. When dealing with the activities of the Hollanders in Ceylon, the historian's task is much simpler for their records are found neatly written out in volumes, well catalogued and readily available to the student either at the Department of National Archives in Colombo or in the Kolonial Archief at the Hague.

For the reconstruction of Kandyan history no such comparable body of material exists: the Kandyan palace archives had been destroyed when the British took over the capital in 1815. Whatever official documents have survived lie scattered all over the Kandyan districts, in temple libraries or in private hands, their custodians very often unaware of their historical importance. The student of Kandyan history has to search laboriously for his evidence among these mildewed collections, and this inaccessibility partly explains why the Kandyan kingdom lacks the enchantment that the maritime provinces have for the historian.

The value of land grants as sources of history can be seen only when we compare them with the other available historical sources pertaining to the period. The late eighteenth century witnessed a revival of religion and learning, and there was a sudden outburst of Sinhalese literary works in both verse and prose. Court patronage was generally extended to the writers, and the literature tended to be panegyric in nature and often eulogised the virtues of kings and noblemen in the hope of a reward. The verse, in particular, tended to be stereotyped and followed the conventional rules of rhetoric and prosody. Since learning was largely confined to the monasteries, literature served the needs of religion and the religious community, the historical information we can derive from it is scanty and one sided. The literature of the period is therefore inadequate as a source of political and secular history. The Dutch documents too have to be handled with caution when referring to Kandyan affairs because the Dutch were the political and commercial rivals of Kandy. Also, they were frequently ill-informed regarding the happenings in the Kandyan court:

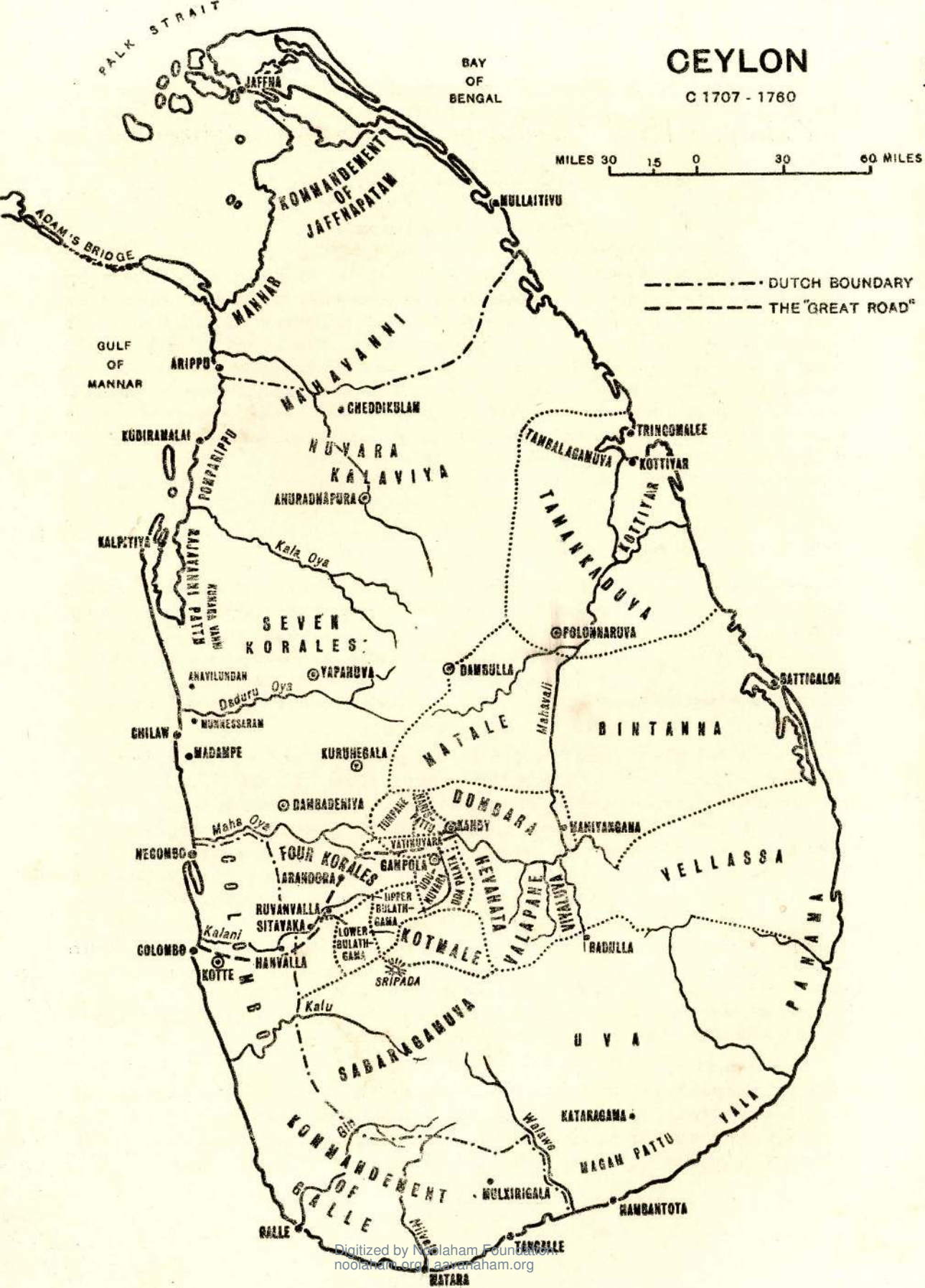
In this context the Sinhalese land grants prove very useful to the historian. In spite of their value and authenticity they have rarely been utilised by students of history, both by reason of their inaccessibility and because of the reluctance of their custodians to part with them. The most important and well-known among the land grants are the *sannas* (singular, *sannasa*), literally meaning a *sealed letter*; and in this instance the seal refers to the royal seal. The *sannas* which

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are royal grants of land, usually inscribed on copper plates and occasionally on silver or stone, became quite common in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These grants, some of them master-pieces in calligraphy and craftsmanship, written in ornate prose have a long history behind them; for they are the lineal descendants of the Brahmi inscriptions of the third century B.C., consisting of a few words crudely carved on stone recording the gift of a cave by the king to the *sangha* or fraternity of monks. The *sannas* were given by kings to monks in order to obtain merit, or to a high-ranking nobleman in recognition of particular services rendered to the king. The granting of a *sannasa* was considered a special reward for exceptional loyalty, since it conferred on the donee, and sometimes on his descendants, social and economic privileges of the highest nature. The *sannasa* always bore the royal sign *Sri*, and sometimes emblems like the sun and the moon signifying perpetuity. These were engraved at the king's command by the *abharana pattale* or guild of craftsmen who worked solely for the king. The grantees were usually summoned to court and the *sannas* delivered in person by the king if the donee happened to be a favourite of high rank. Otherwise they were delivered through the *adigars* (the two chief ministers of the Kandyan king). It is likely that a register of the grants was kept in the palace for if the original was defaced or lost it was possible to get from the court a duplicate copy of the original, certified by one of the *adigars*.

In utilising the *sannas* in order to derive historical information one has to guard against spurious documents which became quite common after European occupation, when it became easier to alter existing grants or forge new ones in order to prove ownership of land. In the time of the Kandyan kings forgeries were rare for offenders were severely punished. John D'Oyly British Resident of the Kandyan Provinces from 1815 — 1824 records that only three such cases had occurred within living memory.¹ In later times, in order to prevent fraud, *sannas* owners were required by the British authorities to register them under Ordinance No. 6 of 1866 and No. 7 of 1867. The date and place of registration and the signature of the Registrar were marked on the original copper, while the manuscript copy was preserved in the Land Registry of the particular district to which the *sannas* were brought. Since no attempt was made at the time of registration to verify the authenticity of the document, registration does not necessarily imply that a *sannasa* is genuine. Conversely, non-registration does not necessarily mean that the document is spurious: the research student has to rely on his own knowledge and judgment when dealing with these sources.

H. C. P. Bell (1851 — 1937), a former Commissioner of Archaeology in Ceylon, laid down a few points which would help the research student to test the validity of a *sannasa*. Bell, who had considerable experience in handling *sannas*, says that the date of the *sannasa*, form and shape of the material used, character and age of the script, style and phraseology of the language should all tally with one another and also with the historical contents embodied in the grant.² For instance almost all the *Sannas* of the eighteenth century are precisely dated in the *Saka* or the *Buddhist Era*³ and are written on copper, but sometimes on silver, plates. The script is quite modern except for minor variations. The language of the eighteenth century *Sannas* becomes more and more ornate and flowery as the century advances, reaching a climax in the reign of the last king of Kandy, Sri Vikrama Rajasinha (1798 — 1815).⁴

1. John D'Oyly. *A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom*. (Colombo, 1929) p. 33.
2. H. C. P. Bell. *Report on the Kuttapitiya Sannasa*. (Kandy, 1925) p. 1.
3. Add 78 to the Saka date for Christian Era; subtract 544 from Buddhist date for Christian Era.
4. See Appendix I.

Similar in nature to the *Sannas* are the *tudapat*, which are usually grants of land made by one of the *adigars* or chief ministers on the orders of the king. These do not bear the royal seal and are shorter and less ornate in style.

A study of the *sannas* and *tudapat* reveals considerable historical data on the political, social and economic conditions of the Kandyan kingdom, a subject on which very little information is available. We shall proceed to examine the *Ahalapola Sannasa of 1745*, a grant made by the king to a member of the well-known Ahalapola family, in order to get an idea of the type of data found in such documents.

The original copper plate had not been traced but a palm leaf copy is found in the British Museum.⁵ The *sannasa* is the only reliable source of information regarding the early history of the Ahalapola family which is obscured by legend. The name of Ahalapola, the traitor, is a household word among the Sinhalese as the name of the chief who in 1815 betrayed the last king of Kandy to the British. But the *sannasa* reveals the little-known information that the Ahalapolas were loyal supporters of Kandyan royalty for generations. The first person in the family line according to the grant was Varadamune Vjayasundara Mudiyanne who is said to have received a great many favours from the king, including a grant of land. The name of the royal donor is not given but from subsequent details it could be conjectured that the king was either Vimala Dharma Suriya I (1592 — 1605), or his successor Senerat (1604 — 1635). The next member of the family was Madabadde Ekanayake Mudiyanne, *Disava* (provincial governor) of the Seven Korales. He was engaged in several military exploits and was renowned for his bravery in war. Consequently he received from the king several gifts and in addition the governorship of the Four Korales. It is very likely that this king was Senerat and the victories were against the Portuguese. The third in the genealogy was also a soldier. He joined the service of Rajasinha II (1635 — 1687) and later accompanied the king to Batticaloa in his wars against the Portuguese. He received several appointments and gifts at the hands of the king. The fourth member of the line was Vijayasundara Mudiyanne who is said to have served three kings: Rajasinha II (1635 — 1687), Vimala Dharma Suriya II (1687 — 1707), and Narendrasinha (1707 — 1739). When Vijayasundara Mudiyanne died in 1717, he was First Adigar, *Disava* of Batticaloa, Udapalata, Four Korales, Uva and Matale, and he also held a few responsible ecclesiastical offices. The *sannasa* had been given to the son of this chief, fifth descendant of this noble line known as Ahalapola Vijayasundera Vikramasinha Chandrasekara Seneviratne Mudiyanne. Among the services rendered by this chief to the king Sri Vijaya Rajasinha (1739 — 1747), special mention is made in the grant of the fact that he went to Madura in South India and brought royal princesses as spouses for the king.

Apart from this wealth of historical information regarding the Ahalapola family the grant gives the location of the lands involved and their boundaries. It states that the gift was made in perpetuity and therefore the lands could be inherited by the descendants of the donee. Furthermore, the king had exempted these lands from all dues to the crown.

From the land grants we learn how the king remunerated his high officials for the services they rendered to the crown. Theoretically the king was the owner of all land, and land was the most desirable form of wealth in the Kandyan Kingdom. The king obtained the services and

5. British Museum, Or. MSS. 12138; A manuscript copy is found in the Land Settlement, Colombo, in volume entitled *Sannas of the Central Province*, Vol. I, p. 5; A photo copy is in the National Archives H. M. C. 5/63/115 (2); and a translation in A. C. Lawrie. *A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon*. 2 vols. (Colombo, 1826-1898). Vol. I, p. 200 is given herein as Appendix II.

ensured the loyalty of the higher officers by generous grants of his rights over land. He could dispose of his land in two ways. It could either be given outright, in which case the recipient became the sole owner; or it could be given as subsistence land to be enjoyed so long as the donee held a particular office. In the former instance, as in the case just discussed, the land is called *praveni* (hereditary land), and is given by a royal *sannasa* for some exceptional service, such as bravery in war or loyalty during a rebellion. A gift of *praveni* land by a royal *sannasa* conferred on the donee not only the highest rights in land, but considerable social prestige as well. In addition to the right to enjoy the land, he had the power to alienate that right by sale gift, or will; and his heirs could inherit it. In some cases the king exempted such lands from certain taxes to the crown which he specified in the grant.⁶ The subsistence lands which the chiefs enjoyed while they held office were not heritable, and when one officer died or retired from service they passed on to his successor in office.

The late eighteenth century witnessed a revival in Buddhism under the generous patronage of king Kirti Sri Rajasinha (1747 — 1781). He undertook the systematic restoration of ancient shrines and endowed them with gifts of land. Hence *sannas* given to religious institutions were plentiful at this time. These not only reveal religious history but very often give illuminating references to social and economic conditions as well. For instance, near Kandy is the *Gangarama rock inscription of 1752*⁷ with a detailed account of the construction of the shrine and the manner in which the craftsmen and artists were paid for their services by the king. A list of the lands given to the temple is attached. The king has specified the purpose for which the income from the lands should be utilised.

No comprehensive survey of the temple libraries and private collections has yet been undertaken and till this is done much of important source material will not be accessible to the research student. However, thanks to the efforts of a few scholars, some has been brought to light. The *Sannasa* and *tudapat* that were registered under the ordinances of 1867 and 1868 are available in the Land Registries of the respective districts. Some of these were copied under the direction of H. C. P. Bell and are now preserved in the Land Settlement Department, Secretariat Building, Colombo. These are, however, in a very bad state of preservation. Another compilation of indigenous documents in translation has already been mentioned, that made by A. C. Lawrie (1837 — 1914) who was appointed District Judge of Kandy in 1873. Many of these are land grants and legal decrees which came into his hands in his official capacity. Although his translations are not always perfect, Lawrie's voluminous compilations have helped to preserve several important documents which would otherwise have been lost.

The work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in this respect should be mentioned. A commission was originally appointed on 6 February, 1931 at the request of the governor, H. J. Stanley, to inquire into the existence of unpublished manuscripts in the possession of private persons and in institutions; to make recommendations regarding the preservation and housing of such records; and also regarding their translation and publication. Since then several manuscript collections have been examined by a panel of experts, and catalogued; and the more important documents have been photographed and are available in the Ceylon National Archives. They are calendered in three published reports of the Historical Manuscripts Com-

6. Grant of 1717 to Mampitiye Disava. *Sannas of the Central Province*, Vol. I, No. 191, in the Land Settlement Department, Colombo.

7. A translation of this is found in A. C. Lawrie. *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 817. See Appendix III.

mission. But the work is still unfinished; many such documents lie decaying in unknown repositories and unless a systematic survey is undertaken immediately this source material relating to a fascinating and momentous epoch in the island's history will be irretrievably lost to posterity.

APPENDIX

- I. *Niyangampaya Sannasa*, of 1804.
- II. *Ahalapola Sannasa*, of 1745.
- III. *Gangarama Rock Inscription* of 1752.

Appendix I

SRI. In the year of the Buddha 2341 and in the reign of our Sovereign Majesty Sri Vikrama Rajasinha, who wishes to further all good acts and deeds, being born of the solar dynasty illustrious and influential in every place, cheering the flower-like hearts of the upright, who is the ruler of the Trisinhala and who is great over hostile kings and enemies.

— *Niyangampaya Sannasa* of 1804; in A. C. Lawrie, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 645.

Appendix II

SRI. His Most Gracious Majesty our Supreme Lord and God, King of the illustrious Lanka, by the Light of his incomparable and most profound divine wisdom, made the following edict :—

Whereas Waradamune Wijayasundara Mudiyannehe served and continued to serve the Great Gate with affection and then obtained a great many favours, among which a Sannas to asweddumize any land he might wish in any place below Narangashinna and above the ferry Tim-billa-tota :

And whereas Medabedde Ekanayaka Mudiyannehe also having served the Great Gate with true loyalty and sincere affection obtained the office of Disava of Seven Korales; and in consideration of his military exploits and of victories he gained in battles, he obtained the present of an elephant and a chain of four strands, and continued to serve His Majesty :

And whereas the grandson of Srinuwasa Maha Terunwahanse, who is a hereditary descendant to Bhuwaneku Bahu Terunwahanse, whilst performing the service of bearing the royal betel box, before His Most Excellent Majesty the great king Raja Sinha, accompanied His Majesty to Mandakalapuva (Batticaloa) and performed military service with loyalty and sincere affection, obtained two Caffir women and appointments to the following offices, viz: Lekama of the Halu Mandappe and Radabadda, Gabada Nilame of the Palle Maha Wasala :

That afterwards Wijayasundara Mudiyannehe having served in the presence of their supreme Majesties, the three great Kings Raja Sinha, Wimala Dharma and Narendra Sinha, obtained the following appointments under the said three kings:—Gabada Nilame of the Palle Maha Wasala; Basnayaka Nilame of the Nata Devale and Maha Dewale; Disava of the districts of Mandakalapuva, Udapalata, Four Korales, Matale and Uva; and Adikaram Nilame; and continued to serve in the said offices :

That afterwards Ehelapola Wijayasundara Wikkramasinha Chandrasekera Seneviratna Mudiyannehe, who served in the presence of His Majesty the great and pre-eminent King, Narendra Sinha, obtained the appointments of Basnayake Nilame of the Maha Dewale, Disava of Udalapata, and Adikaram Nilame, and continued to serve in the said offices:

That after His Supreme Majesty the great King Sri Wijaya Raja Sinha, Protector of the whole world at the city of Senkhanda Sailabhidhanapura, otherwise called Sri-Wardanapura, which abounds with all the wealth and prosperity possessed by all other cities, was installed Emperor of the whole Island of the illustrious Lanka, being moved by his divine wisdom and mercy, made an order to perpetuate the existence of the Kshatriyawanse which has continued to exist without any break in the illustrious Island of Lanka: This order the Mudiyannehe having most respectfully borne on his head, brought princesses from Madura of the Solar dynasty with great effort, and after having undergone great troubles solemnized the marriage, for the prosperity and improvement of the world. And further, the Mudiyannehe caused a new city to be built at a place called Hapugastenna, situated in a delightful locality, and thus with great faith loyalty, sincerity, and affection served the Great Gate. In consideration of the said services His Majesty has been pleased of his own accord, pleasure, and wish to appoint the Mudiyannehe Disava of the Districts of Batticaloa, Tambalagamuwa, Panava, Nuwarakalawiya, and the Seven Korales; and His Majesty has likewise been pleased to grant, and does hereby grant unto him, the following villages and lands:—Wewala, Pokatiyamulla, Unumuwa, Yatiniyara, Kahakumarawela, Kada-dekawewa, Weltota, Bokalawewa, Mahawelakumbura. Karanda, Dimbulamure, Polwattaswedduma, Kobbewehere, Mahakumbara, Paldeniya, Medabedda, Beligomuwa, Galewela, Makulghadalupata, Navaka-aswedduma, Gampahe, Nugadeniya, and Iriyagolledalupata, all in Ehelapola, in the Udugoda korale of the District of Matale; from the District of the Seven Korales the village called Gurussa in the Hiriyale-Ototapattuwa, Waduwa—aswedduma in Tittawelligandahaya; from Harispattu the field Unumuwe in Gallella of Galasiyapattu; from Hewaheta, in Megodatihe, the field Dikkena.

That all these villages, including high and muddy lands, houses and gardens, trees and leaves forests, rills, and streams, appurtenant thereto, have been granted in paraveni unto Wijayasundara Wikkramasinha Chandrasekera Seneviratna Mudiyannehe and to his children, grandchildren, and descendants as their paraveni property for ever and ever, without any disturbance and free from Pali, Marala, Madi-Hungan.

Thus this copper Sannas was ordained and caused to be written and granted by His Majesty's order in the year of Saka 1667, called Krodhana on Monday, the twentieth day of the waning moon of the month of Nikini.

Ahalapola Sannasa, of 1745; in A. C. Lawrie *op cit.*, Vol. I. p. 200.

Appendix III

At the time of the glorious and supreme King Kirti Sri Raja Sinha, born of the excellent solar race, powerful and majestic like the sun, a lion to the powerful inimical kings, like elephants, like a kalpaddruma in liberality, sagacious, sincere, energetic and endowed with many eminent virtues, like Indra in stately grandeur.

When Kirti Sri Raja Sinha, having been inaugurated King of Lanka, was making great advancement in religious and worldly affairs, noticed a stone statue of ancient date, in a rock lying in the palmirah garden, in the vicinity of Mahaweli-ganga.

Then he caused a vihare to be made containing stone walls of 13 cubits in length, 7 in breadth and 11 in height, surrounded by stone pillars, and above a roof with rafters covered with tiles. Within the walls a stone image of 9 cubits in height was made, beautified its robes with vermilion painting, covered its different members with golden leaves painted around with paintings of five hues, and completed it after enshrining it with bodily relics. In the year of Saka 1674, on the eighth day of Poson, on Monday, the second day of the first quarter of the bright part of the moon, when all the works of the supremely magnificent image of Buddha, variegated with golden workmanship, were completed in the vihare, bearing the appellation of Gangarama, two eyes were affixed to the image. In the year of Saka 1674, of the month of Poson, and on Monday, the eighth day of the increase of the moon, under the constellation Hata, eyes were affixed to the image, accompanied with great solemnity, rejoicings, and excessive offerings, and then satisfied the workmen by giving them appropriate gifts, in acquiring the merits accruing therefrom for the continuance of worship inviolate, the king caused to be appointed men for different grades of service; and considering that fields and gardens are also necessary, he dedicated from the village Bibila 4 amunu Wewakumbura, Hemagahakumbura, Aswedduma, Galpottekumbura and Watte Arachchiyakumbura; from the village Aruppola 7 amunu Migaskumbura, Muttettuwa, Galahitiyawa, Pihili-anga, Pusse-anga, Getahadeniya, Aswedduma, Kalanchiyakumbura, Pindenya 12 amunu and 2 pelas, Asweddumawela, Tarale, Weralugahadeniya, Alupota, Hapugahadeniya, Walakumbura, Murutepalle Galahitiyawa, Uda Galahitiyawa, Palkade, Dodangahakumbura; from Wattarantenna 6 amunu and 1 pela of Gadadehimiddita and Hapugaswela; from Bogambara 6 amunu and 2 pelas, from Halmehikandureela 6 pelas; from Ampitiya, Alugolla of 5 pelas; from Dumbara 2 pelas of Hatamune Aswedduma; from the village Diyagama in the Deyaledahamunu pattuwa of Four Korales 30 amunu, Welideniya, Iriyakumbura, Mahakumbura, Pattamale, Kerembule, Nilaambe, Dangahadepela, Galahitiyawa, Dematamalpela, Palkumbura, Ambakumbura, Uggala, Ritikumbura, Minumkumbura. Munamale, Hawarikittawa, Bogahadepela, Kumbalkumbura, Butkumbura, Dorakumbura, Arabada, Alugolla, Kendope, Purana; from the attached village Amunugama 5 amunu 2 pelas of Handugamuwa, Muttettuwa, Kitululla, Dangahadeniya; from the village Dahrenpahuwedenapitiya, Amunekumbura, Siyambalakumbura, Mahakumbura, Wewakumbura, Liyanguliyadda, Dewatagahakumbura, Aswedduma; from Matgamuwa of Kandaupalata in Uduunuwara, Handurukumbura of 2 pelas extent, to be possessed by Suramba and his posterity for the purpose of beating tom-tom on the days of poya. All these lands, comprising 83 amunu and 3 pelas sowing extent, together with all the appurtenant high lands, low lands, houses, trees and plantations, inclusive, to be perpetuated for ever; were inscribed on the rock by the command of the king, who sat on the throne of Sriwardhanapura in Senkadagala, like Indra in stately grandeur.

A man who takes either grass or firewood, or a flower, or a fruit from what is dedicated to Buddha, shall become a pretaya in the world to come. Thus it is said by Buddha from his own mouth that whosoever taketh even grass or firewood with desire, he, after suffering heavily like crows and ghosts, shall ultimately be born to suffer in the eight hells.

—*Gangarama Rock Inscription of 1752; in A. C. Lawrie op. cit. Vol. II p. 817*

Ceylon Students Abroad

in the Eighteenth Century by Katharine Smith Diehl

In printed books relating to the Dutch in Asia, certain names appear again and again. It seemed good to trace these people to discover the background and education of men born in Ceylon and educated abroad under the Dutch East India Company. The sources group themselves into three categories:

- i. Contemporary histories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, written or compiled by persons in the Company. This includes Baldaeus and Valentyn.
- ii. Cumulated histories, genealogies, monument books and catalogues. All the additional items mentioned in the closing bibliography are included here.
- iii. Bits here and there, mostly in the nature of hints which it became wise to investigate.

All materials, except for one stray item, are in Ceylon. A few words about the sources and peculiar values.

1672: Baldaeus. The V O C (abbreviation of the Dutch name of the Company, Vereenigde Cost-Indische Compagnie) had not been in Ceylon very long before Predikant (Reverend) Baldaeus arrived in 1656. By the time he returned to Europe (1665) only twenty-five years of Dutch rule had passed and history as we know it was more a matter of discovery than of routine. Except for his personal experiences and problems, little of importance is found in Baldaeus' account for our particular purposes.

1724 — 1726: Valentyn had been in the V O C atmosphere for three decades as a high-ranking officer (predikants were rated with the upper superintendents, or senior grade staff outside of the administrative offices) both for responsibility and for salary purposes (1724 — 1726: IV (2): "Java", p. 142). He moved about Java, spent some time at the Cape of Good Hope; saw two decades of actual services in Asia (1685 — 94 and 1704 — 14) with the intervening decade in Netherlands. Thus he had both the inside and the outside views of the Company.

Valentyn's marriage (12 October 1692) to the widow of an important and wealthy officer, Henric Leydekker of the Court of Justice in Batavia, was fortunate. Cornelia Snaats (Leydekker) Valentyn's brother, Antony Snaats, was a **boekhouder** (clerk) at Amboina in 1690 (1724 — 1726) II (2): pp. 23—23) and Commander of Galle from 1715—19 (1893: pp. 435—444). The good connections continue: elder son Gerard Leydekker married the widow of Paulus Augustus Rumphius, son of Amboina Governor George Everhard Ruphius; and younger son Bartholomaeus Leydekker married the same widow's daughter (DBU: LII (1—2): pp. 28—34, for June 1962).

These marriages opened additional sources of information. The section on "Zee-Hoorekens, en Schelpen" or Shell Fish and Sea Shells, in Valentyn's third Volume is largely credited to the collection made by Governor Rumphius. Personal contacts were important because of the ephemeral nature of records, the uncertainty of their safety — especially from fire, and the uncertain life expectancy of the officers themselves. Valentyn died 6 August, 1726: he may not have seen all of his work in published form.

1865: Ondaatje's family, difficult to trace, was long interested in education and literature—and book collecting. Several books which I have handled bear the bibliographer Ondaatje's name, indicative of his personal interest in early Colombo-printed works. We may be very glad for his "Tabular list," but could only wish it were a bit more accurate. Being incomplete is of less consequence than its inaccuracies; nonetheless it is useful.

1870: Davies is based on autobiographical sources made by the subject of the *Memorials* and on archival materials in Holland. The actual MSS for the book was presented by its owner, the same M. P. J. Ondaatje as above, to the Historical Society of Utrecht for publication. Mrs. Davies died in 1863, but her history extends the family history — and Ceylon's.

1877: Ludovici and **1913:** Lewis together form a source for monuments of deceased persons. The pity is that, according to the customs and the purses of the times, it was only foreigners who were commemorated. Governor Falck and his father are rarities in the books! Copies of each of these volumes are scarce, and those one finds are disintegrating. Reprinting, especially the **1913:** Lewis, would be commendable.

Both the **1884:** Troostenburg and the **1893:** Troostenburg sources were, as Valentyn's, prepared by an individual who had lived in the East and who had access to the necessary records. The idea for the **1893** volume possibly grew with preparation of the earlier book. Its biographies have some nice individual bibliographies appended. The author had published a source book for Dutch Proponents in Company service: no copy has come to light in Ceylon. The two we have, when added to **1724—1726:** Valentyn, gave much information. The informed reader will recognise misprinted dates.

1887: Wijnmalen was discovered far too late to be used rather than **1865:** Ondaatje, to which it is far superior. "Not having found it in time," this is yet another example of the need for library catalogues which are available to readers using Ceylon's libraries.

DBU, *The Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon*, consistently provided family histories for the Burgher community of the Island until its publication ceased early in the 1960s. By piecing together information available in all the above sources, then adding to it the indexes which S. A. W. Mottau made for the Baptismal and Marriage Registers at Wolvendaal Church Archives, WCA, a wealth of human involvement is discovered.

Stray bits of information can be put in no category. Treated individually, checked individually, used or discarded as appropriate — yet now and again these hints are the key to a long and devious puzzle.

Concerning the catalogues of all the libraries mentioned: useful, but very inadequate. The quantity of hard-core cataloguing necessary for the wonderful collections found in Colombo alone is enormous. The attempt to provide analytical indexing to complex volumes, to serial publications, and to translated works is scarcely begun. Until the sources which are before our very eyes, within an arm's length of where we stand, have been identified and their presence recorded in a **public library catalogue** nobody has the faintest notion of what is available. Perhaps a second complete set of the **DBU Journal** would be located: or is there really but a single complete set in the country? And that in private hands?

N. B. Unless otherwise stated, individual works cited in the following pages were found at the Colombo Museum library.

The Students

First of all, two foreigners whose services to the V O C were confirmed in Batavia: Philip Baldaeus (1632 — 1671) and Joam Ferreira d'Almeida (1628 — 1691).

- (1) Philip Baldaeus has a few sentences about persons born in Ceylon or thereabouts who received certain academic honours elsewhere. Himself a European by birth and education, he was ordained into the Dutch Reformed Church predikanty at Batavia on 1 July 1655 [1724 — 1726: IV (B): p. 43]. He died in March 1671; his book appeared in 1672.
- (2) One of his contemporaries, Ferreira d'Almeida (perhaps a Jesuit by training) was born in Lisbon into a Roman Catholic family, and was thus Portuguese-speaking. Baldaeus used Dutch and Portuguese. Ferreira added French, and both men became quite competent in Tamil. Upon reaching the Dutch islands, he made enquiries about the Dutch Church and gradually made his decision to reject Catholicism in favour of Calvinism. Within a few years he was ordained in Java where his early work was done. Later he moved to other regions with large Portuguese-speaking communities—Tuticorin and the Coromandel Coast in general and Galle. His period was that of the Inquisition in Goa, and he was burned in effigy (1893. pp. 132 — 134). He married, there is no record of his family. Several of his works were printed during his lifetime, others awaited further editing before being printed. As his major contribution to the people of the V O C lands, his translations into Portuguese remained important for several generations. Both the 1884 and 1893: *Troostenburg* sources give details, but 1724 — 1726: *Valentyn* tells of Ferreira d'Almeida in a more leisurely manner. He is ranked with Melchior Leydekker as a critical translator (1724 — 1726: IV (B): pp. 45 — 73 *passim*). Works include:

- 1652 *Gospels and Acts of the Apostles*, tr. to Portuguese.
- 1663 *Psalms*, in Portuguese, used in Colombo hospital by Ferreira.
- 1675 *Psalms*, being revised.
- 1680 *New Testament*, in Portuguese, printed in Holland.
- 1684 *New Testament*, revised, to be printed in Batavia.
- 1819 *New Testament*, printed in London.
- 1753 *Triumph der Warrheid*, printed in Colombo, mentions Ferreira, and refers to his work. Here it is in Tamil: no copy found.
- 1668 *Differencia da Christandade*, printed in Batavia.
- 1673 *Onderscheydt der Christenheijdt*, Dutch tr. of above, printed in Amsterdam, at V O C cost.

We turn to the Dutch East India Company lands to find those who began their student-days in Colombo (usually), went to Europe for university education: to return as leaders in their home communities. These men will be mentioned as nearly as possible in the order in which they went abroad.

The de MEIJ (or de MEY) cousins, born of Dutch/Tamil marriages were near contemporaries and both predikants. One spent most of his life with the Coromandel Coast and Jaffna communities, the other was in Java. Their names: Louis de MEIJ (or Ludovicus de MEIJ, after his father's name) lived circa 1660 to 10 April, 1700 (1893:

pp. 287 — 88). After Latin School in Batavia, he went to Holland, completed his studies brilliantly — earning a prize — and served at Amboina and Oma from 1694 until his death as a predikant to the Dutch Church.

- (3) Adriaan de MEIJ (de MEY) was born perhaps in 1655 at Pulicat (the year Baldaeus arrived!), studied at the Batavia Latin School, and was at UTRECHT in 1676 or earlier: he was home in 1677/1678. Immediately he became interested in preparing school books in the local Tamil. Until his death on 28 February, 1699, he was the only ordained clergyman in the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon and in South India who could work in the local languages: a criticism which would be made again and again over the years. He was so competent in Tamil that his *Acta Apoatorum Malabarice* was completed and given to the Dutch predikant, Simon Kat, for editing and revision in 1692, Pr. Kat had completed it by 1697. The manuscript is apparently in Amsterdam, and its printing was to await the year 1759 when it appeared in Colombo (Amsterdam citation in 1893: p. 286).

Land for the Jaffna Seminary had been secured by Hendrik Adrian Rhee de van Drakestein (1724 — 1726: V (1): pp. 454 — 455). It was Predikant Adrian de MEIJ who was (perhaps) its first rector, and he served six or seven years until his death. The Jaffna Seminary seems to have opened a bit earlier than the Colombo Seminary; it continued for a rather brief period — information is very unclear on dates. The Colombo Seminary functioned almost continuously until the time of capitulation to the British.

- (4) Volckert van GOENS, the eighth child of the younger Governor Ryklof van Goens and Louise Brasser, was born in Colombo on 26 September, 1677. Nothing further is heard of him until we read the title of his LEIDEN thesis for the degree of Doctor of Laws, published by the University Press, then Elzevier, in 1699. Tracing this young man's identity was confused by the note that several of the van Goens children had died in infancy in Colombo. Query of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague, cleared the matter. They used as source: A. A. Vorsterman van Oyen, *Stam en Wapenboek*.¹ deel. (J. B. Wolters: Groningen, 1885). Following his law degree he married Anna Margaretha Lutha, and they had a family of six children: Ryklof, Louisa Maria, Melchior, Anna Margaretha, Volckert and Perpetua.

The Ceylon Government Archives has a complete copy of Volckert van GOENS' book, entirely in Latin;

Disputatio juridica / inauguralis / de / Juramento / Calumniae. / Quam / annuent^e
 deo ter opt. max / Ex Auctoritate Magnifici Rectoris, / D Jacobi Triglandii, I.F.I.N./
 S. S. Theol. Doct. et in in Acad. Lugd. / Bat. Professoris. Ecclesiae Ibidem Pastoris./
 Neo non / Amplissimi Senatus Academici Consensu, & Celeberimae Facultatis
 Juridicae Decreto, / pro gradu Doctoratus, / Summisque in Utroque Jure Honoribus,
 ac Privilegiis / rite atque legitime con sequendis, / Eruditorum Examini submittit, /
 Volckert van Goens, Colombo Indus. / Ad diem 5 Maji, loco horisque solitis. /
 (fleur) / Lugduni Batavorum, / Apud Abrahamum Elzerier, / Academiae Typograph-
 um. M DC XCIX.

* Numbers in margins refer to an accompanying chart.

The verso of the title-page reads:

DEO / PATRIAE. / FAUTORIBUS. / ATQUE. / AMICIS. / Hanc disputationem
sacram vult / Volckert vam Goens. / Auctor.

Notice the slight miss-pelling in the personal name just above, "vam" instead of "van". This thesis gives the young scholar's address, *Colombo Indus*: Colombo in India. It is the earliest printed book by a Ceylon-born author which I have found, a small quarto of only eight leaves, and perfect.

Three excellent future scholars born in 1723 and 1724 had their early education at Colombo Seminary; two were of Sinhalese and Dutch heritage, the third was Tamil; all were offered the privilege of foreign study — the Tamil rejected it, the others accepted. There seems to have been no real difference in the quality of work they accomplished in late years. It might even be said that the man who remained in Ceylon made the greatest impression as an adult leader and scholar; but we are really not making that sort of value judgement today!

(5) Sigisbert Abrahamsz BRONSVELD was possibly first-generation Ceylon-born (1723 — 1769). He studied at LEIDEN under the finest Arabic-Hebrew scholar of the time, Professor Schultens, from 1744 — 1747, and met the two required examinations:

(1) The open theological examination held 29 June, 1746, on his subject *De imputatione peccate adamitici immediata ex loca Paulino Rom. V: 12 demonstrata quam subpraes. Alb. Schultens publico examino submittit. (Lugd. Bat. 1746. 4to.)*

(2) Just one year later, on 7 July, 1747, from '9 — 10 a.m. and after 2 p.m. he made his second appearance with the thesis entitled:

Dissertatio Academica / de / Procuranda Indorum Salute. / Ex Vaticinio Jes LXVI:
18b — 21. Commendata, / quam, / Adjuvante summo numine, / Sub praesidio/
viro celeberrimi / Joannis van den Honert, T. H. F. L. / SS Theol. Doctoris, hujesque
facultatis, nec non / historiae ecclesiasticae, et oratoriae sacrae / in illustri Academia
Lugd. Bat. Professoris or- / dinarii. ut et ecclesiae ibidem pastoris, / Publico Examini
Submittit / Sigisbertus Abrahamzen Bronsveld, Colombo-Indus, / Auctor et De-
fendens, / Ad diem 7. July, hora 9 & 10 ante, & 2 post merid / (fleur) / Apud Samuelem
Luchtmans et filium / Academiae Typographos. MDCCXLVII.

This 32-page quarto found at the Ceylon Branch Royal Asiatic Society Library may well be the first printed account, or an East-West estimate, in which the social and cultural conditions of the East were exposed by an Asian to an audience in the West. Bronsveld was a devout Christian, so he hoped were his fellow clergymen in Ceylon; but as a young seminarian in Colombo he had noticed how the clergy had isolated themselves among the Dutch, they could not speak (certainly could not preach) in the vernacular, they never visited the suburban congregation, but were content to be comfortable in their little circle. Well!

When one has received a scholarship to study abroad, and responds by making public (and published) statements about the society which sent you abroad there will probably be some questions to answer. At the first Consistory (Church Council) meeting following receipt of this thesis in Colombo, Bronsveld heard some very harsh words: What did he mean? Was not everybody busy? Had not the predikants a large Dutch congregat-

ion? Had the language competency not improved? To make the story brief, the clergy explained what changes had been made; young Predikant Bronsveld acknowledged the improvements; the elders and the young man parted friends.

Dr. Bronsveld was a man on the move. After his return in December, 1747 until 1762 he was variously stationed at Malacca, Tranquebar, Galle, Colombo and vicinity, then back to the Coromandel Coast. In 1762, after Dr. J. J. MEIJER's departure for Batavia, Dr. BRONSVELD became rector of Colombo Seminary until his death in 1769. Fluent in Tamil, Sinhala, Portuguese, and Dutch — in addition to knowing the classical Greek, Latin and Hebrew required for scholars of both literature and theology — he was able to meet many different audiences, and was busy with publications of his own plus responsibility for the Church Board of publications which approved any teaching book before it was printed. These volumes bear his name as author or translator;

1754 *Kort begryp der Christelyke Religie* (from the Heidelberg Catechism) Tamil.

1768 *Psatler*, with notes (attributed to Bronsveld) Sinhala.

Among his works not yet located are:

1756 *Sermon*. Portuguese.

1766 *Catechism*. Tamil.

1769 *Catechism*. Tamil. 2d ed.

1768 *Ridimenta lingua latina* (an elementary Latin grammar, apparently revised by Bronsveld) Latin.

These had all been printed in Colombo, and they represent the last years of effective teaching at the Colombo Seminary whose hey-day was the thirty years from 1738 to 1768. During this time two European rectors (Wetzelius and Wermelskircher and two or possibly three) Asian rectors, (Meijer, Bronsveld and perhaps de Melho) were in office. The institution was to continue another quarter century.

- (6) Johan Joachim FYBRANDSZ, probably also a first-generation Ceylon-born student, lived 1724 — 1801. He was with BRONSVELD at LEIDEN from 1744 — 1747. Not the peppery and mobile individual, he returned to Colombo, married into the Dormieux family, had a houseful of seven youngsters. As did other qualified men, he taught in Colombo Seminary; served with Predikant Bronsveld on the Church Publications Board. In addition he did some editing of his own — his name apparently is found along with Bronsveld's in the

1768 *Psalter*, with notes. Sinhala.

For this book the word "apparently" must be used: the fragment found at CBRAS includes none of the preliminary matter, and only a portion of the text. In any event both men had been involved.

With Henricus PHILIPPSZ, Bronsveld was responsible for these revisions.

1771 *Acts of the Apostles*, Sinhala.

1780 *The Gospels*. Sinhala.

Predikant Fybrandsz' name, along with many others both European and national, is signed to various letters, reports, and statements from the headquarters at Wolvendaal Church. He preached in Dutch, Sinhala, and Malay — the latter a bit unusual among

the clergy born in Ceylon at the time. He seems to have been ill during the last two decades of his life: nothing is heard of him after 1780, the year his name last appeared on a printed book. The illness is unfortunate: he is the only foreign-educated and Ceylon born individual whose life spanned the years from the weak governors of the 1720s to Capitulation in 1796. Predikant MEIJER (1733 — 1806) had left Ceylon in 1762, and could not be considered informed about the Island during the last three decades of VOC rule.

Several useful sources have been found. (*DBU*; X (4): p. 127, for 1918; and 1893: pp. 140 — 141).

- (7) A study in contrast is the third young man, urged to go to Netherlands to study and refusing, who remained in Colombo: Philippus de MELHO, second son of the Chief Tamil Mudaliar of the Gate, Simon de Melho, born in Colombo, lived 1723 — 1790, and always active.

Rarely is a single name associated with first editions of translations published over a three-decade period. To understand some matters of de MELHO's life one must know that in 1744 he married Magdalena ONDAATJE, grand-daughter of the First Malabar Mudaliar of the Gate (that doctor from Tanjore?) and sister to his fellow-clergy-man, Willem Jurriaan ONDAATJE (of whom more later).

Young de Melho's studies and work continued after the usual Seminary studies: promoted to *proponent* (unordained assistant clergyman) just before his marriage, named as teacher to the newly formed Colombo Normal School in 1746; and ordained in 1750 with full approval of the Governor Mr. Van Gollennesse, and the Church Council. Meanwhile he had, by invitation and not by appointment, been preaching to Dutch congregations in the city: something previously unheard of. His ordination is also unique: the only instance of the Dutch Church in Ceylon granting ordination to an individual who had not studied in Europe. But his accomplishments were adequate in theology, language, and related subjects; his record of attention to his congregations, to teaching, to translating were perhaps greater than those of any man from Ceylon excepting only Bronsveld, whose life was to be twenty years shorter (1893: pp. 291 — 292). With few exceptions, de Melho's works are in Tamil.

1753 *Triumph der Waarheid* (mentioned earlier as referring to Ferreira d'Almeida Tamil.
1755 *Psalter*, with notes. Tamil.

These seem to have been intended for the Colombo Seminary where for a short time Predikant de Melho was either rector or assistant rector. When given charge of the Northern District of the Dutch Church, he took with him the beginnings of Tamil revision and translation of the New Testament books *Acts of the Apostles to Revelation*. This was completed and approved for publication; he returned to Colombo with the manuscript and remained to see publication completed in 1759. A long historical preface in both Dutch and Tamil is included in.

1759 *New Testament*. Tamil.

The next year's books included one in Portuguese.

1760 *Catechism*. Portuguese (not located).

1760 *Dutch Reformed Liturgy*. Tamil (not located).

These were ventures requiring several months only, and he knew that the *Old Testament* remained to be put into the Tamil vernacular of Ceylon. Here again the relationship with the ONDAATJE family enters his story.

Governor Iman Willem Falck, sometime after 1777, realised that the Tamil-speaking community of Ceylon did not have a complete *Bible* in their idiom. While the South Indians had their Tranquebar editions (since 1728 they had had the entire *Bible* and *apocrypha* in South Indian Tamil), the editors in Ceylon were working towards a complete text in Sinhala. The governor approached de Melho on the subject, suggesting that the recently-published 1777 *Tamil Pentateuch* from Tranquebar be the model, that it be adapted for Ceylon readers, and that de Melho do it: But by this time the predikant had nearly completed his own translation, and his response was anything but enthusiastic. Having been a V O C employee (as predikant) all of his professional life, now in his retirement he acceded. He set out methodically to revise and found that in the *Five Books of Moses* alone (the first five books of the *Old Testament*, often referred to by the Greek word, *Pentateuch*) 1990 corrections were made. When he was satisfied with his revision, he sent it and the related papers to his brother-in-law and fellow scholar, Predikant ONDAATJE. Predikant Ondaatje approved; the documents and revision were forwarded to Governor Falck who, through the proper channels, ordered printing. The correspondence bears 1784 date, just at the end of Governor's administration. Printing seems to have been completed in 1790, no copies have been found; though the correspondence mentioned is in the Colombo Museum Library.

Simon Casie Chitty, in his *Tamil Plutarch* (Colombo, 1859) was ecstatic over his countryman's accomplishment (pp. 69 — 76). He knew that other portions of the *Old Testament* had been translated, but that the international situation from 1790 was of such nature that publication could not be done, and possibly de Melho's death in 1790 also acted as deterrent.

- (8) Continuing the family interest, the de MELHO's had a son, Wilhelmus Philippus de MELHO who, while studying theology in Utrecht, died at the home of his guardian, Peter QUINT — either Mrs. W. J. Ondaatje's father or her brother (1893: pp. 291 — 92; and *DBU*: XL (3) pp. 105 — 106, for July 1950). After receiving word of Wilhelm's death, Predikant de Melho had a small obituary notice printed at Colombo which he sent to friends.
- (9) Benjamin CABRAALS, a UTRECHT student, died while abroad. Born about 1726, his death occurred possibly in 1749 or 1750 — after his first year of study. Little more is known about him.
- (10) Johannes Jacobus MEIJER (or MEYER), baptised in Colombo in 1733, was son of a man from Hesse — Cassel and a woman from Macaauw (*DBU*: X (1—2): p. 26, for 1917). Following Colombo Seminary studies he was granted European study at LEIDEN where, from 1750—1755, he earned his Th.D or Doctorate in Theology.

To understand MEIJER's special interests and preparation, recall that between BRONVELD's departure and MEIJER's return (1744 — 1755) a very very thorough language department was functioning at the Seminary. Teachers of Greek, Hebrew, Dutch and the dominant Latin were determined that the local boys should be well prepared as their European counterparts would be. Though many of the teachers stayed at the Seminary for only a short time, the work was intensive. As a result entrance to the European

universities was not so traumatic as one might expect it to have been: few of the deputed students disappointed their Colombo instructors by doing poor work abroad. J. J. MEIJER was one of the prize scholars — apparently far more interested in languages than in theological matters (1893: pp. 288 — 89).

Colombo Seminary was directed by Rector Wermelskircher in 1755: he died in 1757 and the young (possibly 24 or 25 years-old) Dr. MEIJER was appointed. Language studies continued to be emphasised. Whether the rector was ill-suited to the responsibility, or whether he really desired a change is never quite clear. By 1763 he had gone to Batavia where he remained until 1776 or 1777, to return to LEIDEN as an emeritus predikant and student for advanced language studies. He died in 1806, full thirty years after settling in Holland.

Whether Dr. Meijer had anything to do with the *Dictionary of the Sinhalese language* (Colombo, 1765) is not known: no copy has been found. He seems to have had no part in theological publications of his rectorship years. The single ascribed work is his:

1756 *Rudimenta lingua latina* (an elementary Latin grammar in Dutch) (not found)

- (11) Possibly Iman Willem Falck (1736-1785) had the largest number of publications of any man who studied abroad. His father had died when he was but a year old, and his early years and education were in Batavia. From 1752 until possibly 1756 he was studying LAW at UTRECHT (DBU: XLIV (3—4) pp. 57—59, for July-October, 1959). On return to the East he held several in training positions, and by 1763 was serving as chief secretary to the Governor General in Batavia. From 1766 to 1785 he was Governor of his native Ceylon, the only Island-born governor up to that time and for many years to come.

The Governor's publications are the plakkaten, the business forms, the certificates which were necessary for government administration. To these he gave his personal signature and the lac seal of office in *the first edition*; in later editions his signature and the seal were printed.

Several manuscripts are especially associated with him: the *Bible translation* correspondence with Predikant de MELHO (supra); and his *Diary of the Tour made in 1767*, recently published after translation and editing by Raven — Hart in his *Travels in Ceylon 1700 — 1800* (Colombo, 1963: pp. 55—72).

No copy of I. W. Falck's public examination has been found. This was a routine which universities at that time took upon themselves rather than requiring the student to submit the original and several fair copies.

The ONDAATJE family seems to have arrived from Tanjore during Governor van der Meyden's term of office. Described as a 'respected Arcot family', the elder gentleman was physician to the King of Tanjore, and on arrival in Colombo — having healed his patient, the Governor's wife — was made the First Malabar Mudaliar of the Gate: this was Michael Jurriaan Ondaatje, d. December, 1714 (DBU: XL (3): pp. 104 — 106 July 1950; quoting from Beeton's *Dictionary of Biography*).

From the beginning, several Ondaatjes were appointed to Government offices and to Church. Of importance here are

Willem Jurriaan ONDAATJE, ca. 1735 — 93.

Magdalena ONDAATJE, sister of the above, and wife of Ph. de Melho.

Peter Philip Jurriaan Quint ONDAATJE, 1758 — 1818.

Matthew P. J. ONDAATJE, d. 1802.

Notice immediately variant spelling of the personal name *Juriaan*, *Jurriaan*; also found as *Jurie*, and *Jurgen*. Above forms will be consistent for the individuals.

- (12) The first named, Willem Jurriaan ONDAATJE, was in UTRECHT at the same time as Iman Wm. Falck. 1752 — 1757, returning in 1758. Unlike the future governor, he married in Amsterdam into the QUINT family. Very active as clergyman and translator, and for some unidentifiable time as Seminary Rector, Predikant Ondaatje was the first Tamil to be paid for service at the Seminary in Colombo. This was possibly from 1769 — 77; between the BRONSVELD and MANGER periods. Predikant MANGER is believed to have been the last rector (1893: p. 275).

Indicative of the continued stress on languages in Colombo, and the editor's interest in school books. W. J. Ondaatje is credited with editing a Latin text. He also seems to have been involved in publication of a *Psalter*; and he was called into serious consultation by Predikant de MELHO when the Tamil biblical translation was being completed. His books then are.

1770 *Joachim langii Colloquiorum centura*. (not located).

1777. *Psalter*. (language not known; not located).

- (13) Peter Philip Juriaan Quint ONDAATJE, eldest son of Dr. W. J. Ondaatje, was born 18 June 1758 — just a few months after his parents reached Ceylon. Aged fifteen years he left Galle for his own studies in Holland. 16 November 1773; arrived at Grandfather Quint's home in Amsterdam on 10 June 1774, and from that time until 20 September 1778 was attending local Latin and Greek schools preparatory to university entrance. He earned the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculties of Theology, Philosophy, and Medicine from the University of UTRECHT on 15 November 1782, and that of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law from the LEIDEN University on 13 January 1787. Of the Ceylon-born students in the group here considered, only he had such diverse and intensive academic life.

Dr. Quint Ondaatje's university years were those of the French Revolution, a struggle which continued to the end of the century and later to become the Dutch Revolution. He was an outspoken and fearless leader. Except for the period August 1792 until September 1793, he had his own printing establishments. For some time in 1790 until 31 July 1792 he was printing in Dunkirk at the press he had purchased from van Schelle; then from 12 September 1793 until mid-1795 the firm of **Bellegarde and Ondaatje and Company**, was registered in Calais. On several of these later imprints both owner's names appear, on others neither name, and on a few there is simply *Quint Ondaatje and Company*; the first Ceylonese to utilise his own imprint.

Each press was intended for political pamphlets, clandestine publications some of them, also extracts from various public registers intended to distribute legal information—especially on tax matters which had political value. Between 20 June 1794 and 19 April 1795, he printed a daily newspaper which ran to 295 numbers, *Courier de Calais*. Dating was in the Revolution's own Calendar, from 4th *Frimaire*, An 3 until 30th *Germinal*, An 3. One poem is known to have been his: whether the music with which it appears was also composed by Quint Ondaatje is not known.

Until the death of Grandfather Quint, P. P. J. Q. Ondaatje had used another of his personal names. Though a recognised Burgher in Holland his use of *Quint* served as a link to his adopted country, *Ondaatje* being a South Indian name. Several racial incidents seem to have been met.

Events followed events: in 1794 he married the widow Christina Hoevenaar Hesse of Utrecht, daughter of his revolutionary friends (Hoevenaar). Her three children immediately became his own, several others followed in the next years. The family were devoted to each other. Only between July 1806 and 1814 was Dr. Ondaatje "steadily employed" — a member of the new Batavia (Holland) Government Council of Finance. By 1814 though 56 years of age but thoroughly discouraged with the turn of political events, he decided to return East.

Ceylon had been lost to the British; there were few high positions at Batavia in Java. So, assigned as a first class Civil Servant, on 31 March 1816 Dr. Quint Ondaatje and family sailed for Batavia. En route he had a stroke of apoplexy from which he never completely recovered; briefly working in his new-found home, his health failed and death occurred 30 April 1818—just before his 60th birthday. His wife died shortly thereafter, possibly of heartbreak.

Forty-two years between 16 November 1773 and 31 March 1816 Dr. P. P. J. Quint Ondaatje had been away from home: Ceylon. He had earned two academic doctorates and much political practice within the first fifteen years; the second fifteen years were to be devoted to publishing and politics; and the last twelve years to legal office practice within the Government. If Ceylon had been a Dutch colony in 1816, might he not have chosen to return to his real childhood home, rather than to a land that was totally foreign? Certainly he dare not be excluded from the list of Ceylon students abroad in the eighteenth century, (1870: *Davies* is the chief source).

- (14) The much-less colourful Matthew P. J. ONDAATJE, about whom little is found, is mentioned on a reprint originally prepared in Tamil by BRONSVELD: 1789. *Kork Uittreksel*. Tamil, 3d ed.

In 1696 a Dutch predikant named Hermannus SPECHT added three translators and writers to the V O C staff in Colombo: a learned Brahmin, an island schoolmaster, and a Dutchman who was very competent in both Dutch and vernacular Tamil (1893: 407—408)

The first and third have not been identified the second was probably a schoolmaster of Kotte named Philip PHIPIPSZ, known in Kotte as Don Philip Philipsz, and later as *Lienege Philip Philipsz Wijecoon Panditaratne Maha Mudaliyar* His birth date is not known, he died in 1748—his wife having predeceased him. As *Mudaliar* he was charged with the Head and Land *Thombo (registration)* of Kotte. Perera & Reimer's *Reports on the Records of the Dutch Reformed Church of Ceylon in the Wolvendaal Church, Colombo* dated 8 December, 1939 (fully typescript) mentions the identity on pp. 9-10.

- (15) Which position in the family son Henricus PHILIPSZ held is never stated, but his dates are 1733—1790. After Colombo Seminary Studies he went to UTRECHT along with Willem Jurriaan ONDAATJE and Iman Willem FALCK, returning in 1758. For a little while, perhaps between the rectorships of Drs. MEIJER and BRONSVELD, Predikant PHILIPSZ was Seminary Rector. He was chiefly, though not entirely, responsible for the texts of the Sinhala *New Testament* printed in Colombo between 1771 and 1780;

- and for several smaller publications. His unique contribution is the Pentateuch in Sinhala.
- 1771 *Acts of the Apostles*, tr. by S. Kat; rev. by Fybandsz and Philipsz.
- 1772 *Romans*
- 1663 *Corinthians to Galatians*.
- 1776 *Ephesians to Hebrews*.
- 1776 *James to Revelation of St. John*.
- 1780 *The Gospels*, tr. by Wetezelius, Konyn; rev. by Fybrandsz and Philipsz.
- 1780 *A Catechism*, tr. by Philipsz (not located).
- 1783 *A Grammar of the Sinhala Language* (not located).
- 1783 *Genesis*.
- 1786 *Exodus*.
- 1789 *Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy*, (not located)

- (16) Hendricus Christoffel PHILIPSZ, baptised 14 December 1760 and a UTRECHT graduate, is mentioned on the title page of *Kort Ontwerp* which his father had edited and which the son published posthumously. This is one of the few mentions of H. C. PHILIPSZ as predikant (1893: p. 335) The book is not included in Ondaatje's "Tabular list" (1865) though it does appear as the final item in Wijnmalen's catalogue (1887).
- 1790 *Kort Ontwerp*. Sinhala. (not located).
- (17) The second son, Gerardus PHILIPSZ (baptised 17 January, 1762) also studied at UTRECHT, and upon the accession of the British Government he remained active in the Church's service in Ceylon.
- (18) The second daughter, Cornelia Henrietta PHILIPSZ (baptised 9 December, 1764) married-Christoffel de SARAM, the Fourth Maha Mudaliar of the Governor's Gate most probably a direct descent second cousin. The tradition of *firsts* was to be continued: their son, John Henry de SARAM (using the English style of spelling) was one of two de SARAM boys who went to England to study, in company with Sir Thomas Maitland in 1811. J. H. de SARAM went to Exeter College, OXFORD, was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1819, received his M.A. in 1820, married in England, returned to the Island as the *first* Sinhalese Colonial Chaplain to be appointed (various sources used).

The other, Balthazar de SARAM, studied at CAMBRIDGE. He seems to have descended from another line of the same family.

Summary and Conclusion

Recipients of study—abroad privileges included.

- 2 GOVERNOR'S families.
- 3 LAW students.
- 2 THESESES published abroad and located in Colombo.
- 2 closely inter-related Tamil families:
 - de MELHO & ONDAATJE
- 2 even more closely inter-related Sinhalese families:
 - PHILIPSZ & de SARAM

12 EDUCATORS & RECTORS, virtually all of whom published either original works, translations or newly-revised and edited versions of earlier printed or manuscript books.

It is suggested that copies of these presented to the universities in Netherlands be secured for all graduates enrolled during the V O C regime in both Java and Ceylon: Printed editions if available in the rare book market, otherwise microfilm editions.

The mere fact of there having been a thesis is but one aspect: the other view is the social colouring which these young authors gave in their arguments related to the cultural and economic conditions which they knew had existed in their home land. There is no better commentary on pre-1744 Colombo than S. A. Bronsveld's 1747 Leiden book.

It is also suggested that a concerted effort be made to secure copies of all books printed under Dutch authority either in Ceylon or Batavia which are not yet available either in the Colombo Museum Library or the Ceylon government Archives. Only about half of those mentioned by Ondaatje (1865) have been found and that list is not complete nor is Wijnmalen (1887) complete:

Considering that almost one hundred fifty years are involved, not a large number of individual leaders are mentioned. Results must always be seen in perspective;

- (1) An entirely new method of education had begun.
- (2) Teachers and books were hard to find in Colombo—especially teachers: Books always seem to have been more available at Batavia during those V O C years than at Colombo;
- (3) Sifting from the possible candidates for elementary education in Colombo Seminary (more briefly at Jaffna Seminary)—and remember that it was a very elementary course of studies with which they began their teaching—a limited number could be enrolled; by virtue of economics, these had to be the best candidates for future leadership;
- (4) That there is no record of disloyalty, as at Batavia where one young man had never been an honest Christian, and was eventually executed as a traitor (1893: p. 235), is a matter of great credit to the examiners;
- (5) That so few died abroad is surprising; W. P. de MELHO, in 1780 and B. CABRAALS, in 1747; and that no deaths on shipboard are reported on either direction is equally surprising;
- (6) The loyalty upon return is broken only by the peculiar departure of J. J. MEIJER, who seems to not have fitted in very well. No summary of his later accomplishments, is found.
- (7) V O C finances as government funds everywhere, were for business and government purposes; social—cultural projects were of secondary importance. Yet the V O C was serious about education, they needed young men to fill available jobs, and they had to be trustworthy to the regime and linguistically competent. Again, this is true in all periods of history: not a sudden peculiarity of the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries—nor of the English in the 19th and 20th. Education is always a slow process.

What the Dutch did accomplish is striking; school books important for cultural orientation that is books on Christianity as defined by the Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands—were translated, printed, and learned. Local languages were always involved for elementary studies; classical language of Europe were introduced for advanced studies. This was exactly the pattern in Europe at the time, and dare not be held peculiar to policies in the Company's territories. One teaches, as one administers, in the way one understands to do just those things.

Equally interesting when the work of the Batavian and the Ceylon Predikants is placed side-by-side is the little interest shown towards the *vernaculars as languages* in Ceylon. From the earliest predikant in Java, Caspar WILTENS (158?—162?), there had been intense interest in MALAY, Asian PORTUGUESE, and gradually in JAVANESE and CHINESE. There was never that sort of interest in SINHALA. This is something which deserves consideration by historians of the colonial era; the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French attitudes towards languages of the particular realm over which they ruled. Philip BALDAEUS did show interest in TAMIL—which may be called a regional language, rather than a localised dialect. He was competent in the PORTUGUESE of these lands. Whatever vocabularies had been prepared both before and after J. Ruell's *Grammatica* (Amsterdam, 1708) were not published in their original form, and whether ever published at all it is difficult to say. Predikant Kat had had a pair of vocabularies, Dutch into Sinhala and the reverse Sinhala into Dutch, in manuscript. One must conclude that the RxD value of the language was not very great else these would have been published in Latin letters either at Batavia or Amsterdam. In spite of the religious antagonism of the Calvinistic Dutch towards the Roman Catholics, Portuguese was never abandoned: its economic value was too high to reject it just because of sectarian associations.

Chronology of Ceylon's Seminaries

TAMIL SEMINARY at JAFFNA (Nallur)

The property procured by H. A. Rheede van Drakestein

1690	Adrian de Meij, actual founder.
1694	Philip Vriest, perhaps in residence.
1693—1699	Adrian de Meij, rector.
1699—1701	Gerhardus d'Oude, perhaps rector.
1702—1712	Philip Vriest, rector.
1712—1725	(properly qualified rector not available).
1722 3, July	Closure approved, pupils sent to Colombo Seminary.

SINHALESE SEMINARY at COLOMBO

169?	Simon Kat appointed rector, Ceylon Government rejects the nomination because of the man's age and feebleness.
169?—1701	Joan Ruell, rector.
1701—1704	Argument over need for the two institutions.
1705—1726	Petrus Synjeu, rector.
1726—1737	Petrus Kalden, rector.
1738—1751	Johan Philip Wetzelius, rector.
1750—1753	Philip de Melho, possibly acting-rector.
175?—1757	Matthaeus Wermelskircher, rector.
1757—1762	Johan Jacobus Meijer, rector.
1762—1769	Sigisbert Abrahamsz Bronsveld, rector.
1769—177?	Willem Juriaan Ondaatje, perhaps rector.
1777?—1783	Johan Godfried Manger rector.
1783—	no information.

Chronology	Name Birth Date	Education	Languages	Profession after University	Seminary	Publications Date Title Place Language
1.	Baldaeus, Philippus of Delft. 1632—1671. Dutch	Amsterdam 165?—1654 Batavia Ordained 1655	TPDL	Predikant Galle Coromandel Jaffna	—	1672 <i>Naaywkeurige Beschryvinge in 3</i> vols W. (Amsterdam)
5.	Bronsveld, Sigisbert Abrahamsz. of Colombo, 1723—1769 1st generation Ceylon-born	Colombo Leiden 1744—47	STPD LGH	Roving Predikant Teacher	Rector 1763—69	1747 <i>Dissertatio academica</i> (L) (Leiden) 1754 <i>Kort begrypt</i> , (T) 1768 <i>Psalter</i> , with notes (S) (Colombo)
9.	Cabraals, Benjamin of Ceylon, 1726—1749 <i>Sinhalese</i>	Colombo Utrecht 1748—49	SPD LG	Deceased in Utrecht	—	—
11.	Falck, Iman Willem of Ceylon, 1736—1785 2nd generation Ceylon-born	Batavia Utrecht 1752—56 J.U.D. (?)	STPD M? L	Governor of Ceylon 1765—1785 Interested in translations	—	— <i>Plekkaten</i> , etc. (Colombo)
2.	Ferreira d'Almeida, Joam of Lisbon, 1668—1689 <i>Portuguese</i>	Lisbon Goa? Batavia	TPD? M? LGH	Predikant & Portuguese Translator	—	1668 <i>Differencia da Christandade</i> 1684 <i>New Testament</i> rev. ed. (P) (Batavia—not found)
6.	Fybrandz, Johan Joachim of Colombo, 1724—1801 1st generation Ceylon-born	Colombo Leiden 1744—49	SDM LGH	Predikant Seminary teacher Translator	Teacher	1768 <i>Psalter</i> , with notes (with Bronsveld) 1771 <i>Acts of the Apostles</i> (with Philipz) (S) 1780 <i>Gospels</i> (with Philipz) (Colombo)
4.	Van Goens, Volckert, of Colombo 1679—17— son of Gov. Van Goens, II (the 8th Child)	Batavia Leiden 1669—99 J.U.D.	P? DM L	(Nothing known)	—	1699 <i>Disputatio juridica</i> (L) (Leiden)
7.	de Melho, Philippus, of Colombo 1723—1790 <i>Tamil</i> , of Ceylon	Colombo only including Ordination	S?TPD LGH	Predikant—Jaffna Translator Church Administrator	Rector 1752? Briefly	1755 <i>Psalter with notes</i> 1759 <i>New Testament</i> 1790 <i>Pentateuch</i> (not found) (Colombo)
8.	de Melho, Wilhelmus Philippus, of Jaffna, 1761—1780 <i>Tamil</i> S/OP, de Melho	Colombo Utrecht d. 1780	TD LGH	deceased Amsterdam in home of Peter Quint	—	—
3.	de Meji Adriaan, of Coromandel Coast, 1655—1699 1st generation <i>India-born</i>	Batavia Utrecht 1674—76	TPD M? LGH	Predikant to Tamils and Portuguese at Jaffna 1678—99 (but Pulkat 1688-90) very highly respected	Founder of Jaffna Seminary 1690	Mss. <i>Acts of the Apostles</i> 1692 (T) 1759 Published by de Melho (Colombo)
10.	Meijer, Jovanne Jacobus,	Colombo	S?D	Colombo Seminary	Rector	1756 <i>Rudimenta lineana</i>

10. Meijer, Joyanne Jacobus, of Colombo, 1763—1806 probably 2nd generation <i>Asia-born</i>	Colombo Leiden 1750—55 and 1776—1806	S?D LGH	Colombo Seminary Linguist Batavia Predikant 1763—75 Retired to Leiden 1776—1806	Rector 1757—63	1756 <i>Rudimenta lingua latina</i> (D) (Colombo) (not found)
12. Ondaatje, Willem Jurriaan, of Colombo, circa 1735—1793 <i>Tamil</i> , of an Arcot Family	Colombo Utrecht 1752—57	STPD LGH	Predikant Jaffna Colombo Tamil translator	Rector 1769—77	1770 <i>Joachim Langi</i> (L) <i>Colloquiorum Centura</i> (not found) 1790 <i>Pentateuch</i> , assisted by P. de Melho (T) (Colombo) (not found)
14. Ondaatje, Mat. P. J. of Jaffna, d. 1802 <i>Tamil</i> , family not known	Colombo	TD LGH	Predikant	—	1789 <i>Kort Uittreksel 3d ed</i> (T) (Colombo)
13. Ondaatje, Peter Philip Juriaan Quint of Colombo, 1758—1818 S/O W. J. Ondaatje, and a Dutch mother, Hermina Quint 1st generation <i>Ceylon-born</i>	Colombo Utrecht Ph.D: 1778—82 *Lieken J.U.D. 1786—87	TPD LGH E?Fr. 1782	Holland citizen Political activist Finance Ministry Died in Java	—	1790—92: Press in Dunkirk 1793—95: Press in Calais <i>Courier de Calais</i> (daily) and Revolutionary Pamphlets (Europe) (D Fr.) (none found)
15. Philipsz, Henricus, of Colombo 1733—1790 <i>Sinhalese</i>	Colombo *Utrecht 1752—57	SD LGH	Predikant Seminary teacher Extensive translator	Rector Briefly 1762?	1771 <i>Acts</i> 1772 <i>Romans</i> 1773 <i>Corinthians to Galatians</i> 1776 <i>Epistles to Hebrews</i> 1780 <i>Gospels</i> 1783 <i>Genesis</i> 1786 <i>Exodus</i> 1789 <i>Leviticus to Deuteronomy</i> (not found) (Colombo) (S)
16. Philipsz, Hendricus Christoffel, of Colombo, 1760— S/O H. Philipsz	Colombo Utrecht	SD LGH	Predikant	—	1790 <i>Kort Ontwerp</i> (S) ed. by his father and posthumously printed (Colombo) (not found)
17. Philipsz, Gerardus, of Colombo, 1762—18? S.O.H. Philipsz	Colombo Utrecht	SD LGH	Predikant later served the English Govt.	—	
18. de Saram, John Henry of Colombo, 1795—1858 Grandson of Pr. H. Philipsz and S/O 4th Mahamudliar Christoffel de Saram Born in Asia— Studied Abroad Worked <i>chiefly</i> in Ceylon except (Baldaeus (Ferreira d'Almeida))	Colombo OXFORD Exeter College 1811—19	SD LHG English	Sinhalese Colonial Chaplain Biblical translator	—	Publications during British rule

SOURCES

- Citation code
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- 1724—1726 Valentyn, Francois, *Oud en Nieuw Oost—Indien*. Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724—1726. 5 v. in 8.
- 1865** Ondaatje, M. P. J. "A Tabular list of original works and translations published by the late Dutch Government of Ceylon at their printing Press at Colombo in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, n. s. 1:141—144 (1865) See **1887** *infra*.
- 1870** Davies, C. M. *Memorials and Times of Peter Philip Juriaan Quint Ondaatje*. Utrecht, 1870.
- 1877** Ludovice, Leopold *Lapidaridum Zeylanicum*, Colombo, 1877
- 1884** van Troostenburg de Bruyn, C. A. L. *De Hervormde Kerk in Nederland Oost—Indie onder de Oost—Indische Compagnie (1602—1795)*. Arnheim, 1884.
- 1887** Wijnmalen, T. C. L. "The Printing Press, at Colombo; a tentative Ceylon Dutch bibliography," tr. by (D. W. Ferguson), in *Ceylon Literary Register* weekly ser. II (13—14): 100—104; 108—111 (Oct. 28 and Nov. 4, 1887), includes a reprint of **1865** *supra*.
- 1893** van Troostenburg de Bruyn, C. A. L. *Biographisch woorden boek van Oost. Indische Predikanten* Nijmegen, 1893.
- 1913** Lewis, J. P. *List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon*. Colombo, 1913.
- DBU** *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon*, various issues.
- CBRAS** Ceylon Branch Royal Asiatic Society Library.
- CGA** Ceylon Government Archives.
- CML** Colombo Museum Library.
- WCA** Wolvendaal Church Archives, especially the Baptismal and Marriage Registers, and the Mottau *Indexes* to the same, mss. and typescript.

Some Linguistic Features of the Eighteenth Century Sinhala *Placaaten* of the Dutch

A Preliminary Survey

By S. L. Kekulawala

The Dutch were the second European power to have arrived on the shores of Ceylon in quest of trade and adventure. After a brief period of struggle they captured the maritime provinces of Ceylon in 1658 from the Portuguese who held sway over these areas for a period of one hundred and fifty years. From then on, until they in their turn were ousted from Ceylon by the British in 1796, the Dutch were more or less unchallenged masters of the maritime provinces. Being meticulous administrators, they did everything in their power to consolidate their position politically, without undue conflict with the Sinhala rulers of Kandy; simultaneously they strove to further their commercial gains without leaving anything to the vagaries of fortune, or to the unenthusiastic outlook of their subjects and the subordinate officers of the Company. Their efforts in this regard were made public by a continuous stream of *placaaten*, advertisements etc., which held the status of legally sanctioned proclamations, circulars or documents of a like nature.

For convenience, these records will be referred to simply as *placaaten*.

A large number of *placaaten* were undoubtedly issued by the Dutch during the one hundred and thirty-eight years of their rule in Ceylon. They were, it appears, originally drafted in Dutch and then translated into Sinhala. It is unfortunate that, of these, only about two hundred have survived, and as it is to be expected, most of these belong to the eighteenth century. Linguistic scholars may be happy that the Dutch originals of some of these Sinhala *placaaten* are also preserved. The originals, as well as the Sinhala translations are available to research scholars at the Ceylon National Archives, Colombo.

Linguistic significance of the *Placaaten*

Apart from their obvious importance for the reconstruction of the history of Ceylon, already recognized by some of our historians, these *placaaten* are of value to the student of Sinhala language and literature as well, particularly in the fields of lexical and semantic studies. Furthermore the *placaaten* have a much wider significance: they are perhaps the only repository of a hitherto unrecognized functional aspect of Sinhala usage current during one of the so-called "dark periods" in the history of our island, our language, and our literature.

The student is fortunate. There is an almost unbroken record of the language, starting as early as the third century B.C.—i.e. only two centuries after the arrival of the earliest historical settlers of Ceylon. The earliest are lithic (stone) records available for each century up to the eighteenth, after which no lithic record of importance seems to have been made. The earliest extant literary work belongs to the ninth century, even though there is evidence of abundant literary activity having taken place for centuries earlier.

These records, lithic and literary, being so extensive and covering a period of two millennia are veritable mines of information for the student of the Sinhala language; and as such they have been studied fairly extensively by scholars such as P. B. F. Wijeratne,¹ C. E. Godakumbura,² W. D. J. Wijayaratne,³ D. E. Hettiaratchi,⁴ S. Paranavitana⁵ etc. Theirs are historical investigations of the Sinhala language and of interest mainly to the historian and comparatist. Munidāsa Kumaranatunga's two grammatical works, the *Vyākaraṇa Vivaraṇaya*⁶ and the *Kriyā Vivaraṇaya*⁷ dealing with the written Sinhala language, have been based upon the classical literary language, ignoring the language of the lithic records. Kumaranatunga's works, though descriptive in a sense, may be considered as compendia for teaching the Sinhala language. Abraham Mendis Gunasekera's *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*⁸ and Wilhelm Geiger's *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*⁹ are both neither purely historical nor purely descriptive, being semi-historical and semi-descriptive in character. A host of other modern grammars also exists, but almost as a whole they may be considered expositions, restatements or criticisms of the thirteenth century classical authority on Sinhala grammar, the *Sidatsaṅgarāva* which deals with the language of poetry.¹⁰

These grammatical writings have one thing in common: they pay little or no attention to Sinhala usage current outside of the lithic records and classical literature. The only one that pays some degree of *direct attention* to non-lithic and non-classical literary usage is A. Mendis Gunasekera's grammar which shows a commendable awareness of colloquial and other usage.¹¹

The Dutch plaacaaten which are the basis of the present paper are thus completely innocent of having been handled by any investigator of the Sinhala language. Comparatists and authors of traditional grammars have either not known of their existence or, if they did, they did not consider them of sufficient importance to merit examination for linguistic purposes. The handful of modern structural linguists among us, as far as I know, have not considered these at all.

1. P. B. F. Wijeratne, *Phonology of Sinhalese Inscriptions up to the end of the Tenth Century A.D.*, Ph.D. Thesis University of London, 1944. Published in instalments in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, starting from Vol. XII.
2. C. E. Godakumbura, *An Historical Examination of Sinhalese Case Syntax from the beginning of the Tenth Century to the end of the Thirteenth Century A.D.* (unpublished) Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1945
3. W. D. J. Wijayaratne, *Morphology of the Noun in Sinhalese Inscriptions up to the Tenth Century A.D.*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1951. Published in 1956 by the University of Ceylon Press Board, entitled *History of the Sinhalese Noun*.
4. D. E. Hettiaratchi, Introduction to his critical edition of the *Vesaturu-Dā-Sanne*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1948. Published (in an adapted form) as *Vesaturu-Dā-Sanne*. (Colombo, M. D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd., 1950)
5. S. Paranavitana, *Sigiri Graffiti*. Vol. I (Oxford University Press, London, 1956). His contributions to the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and numerous other journals may be mentioned. For a detailed bibliography of his writings up to 1963, see *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, ed. by Professor N. A. Jayawickrama, (Colombo, M. D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd., 1965).
6. M. Kumaranatunga, *Vyākaraṇa Vivaraṇaya*, First ed. published in 2481 Buddhist Era (1937 A.D.); Second ed. (Colombo, M.D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd., 2491 B. E. (1947 A.D.); and Second edition, second printing (1958)
7. M. Kumaranatunga, *Kriyā Vivaraṇaya*. First ed. published 2479 B.E. (1935 A.D.); Second edition (Colombo) K. D. Ariyadasa & Co., 2500 B. E., (1956 A.D.)
8. A. M. Gunasekera, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*. First ed. (Colombo, Ceylon Govt: Pr., 1891); Photo offset reprint (Colombo, Sri Lanka Sahitya Mandalaya, 1962).
9. Wilhelm Geiger, *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*. (Colombo, Royal Asiatic Society: Ceylon Br., 1938)
10. As a rare exception however, one may cite Raepiel Tennakone's *Hoṇḍa Sinhala* series, designed as a school teaching book. (Colombo, Sri Lanka Prakasana Samagama)
11. Geiger, *op. cit.* has a very brief statement on the *Colloquial verb* and a short account of the so-called *Secret or Conventional Languages in Ceylon*.

Some of the grammars mentioned above contain lists, occasionally long, more often negligible, of words of Dutch and other foreign origin.¹² This is a superficial feature, its purpose being to illustrate by way of vocabulary items the sources such as Dutch, Portuguese, English, Dravidian, Sanskrit, etc., from which the Sinhala language has drawn in the course of its development from earliest times. The presence of Dutch words in these grammars, however, does not mean that their authors have examined the Dutch *placaaten*, their sources having been colloquial Sinhala usage which includes a significant number of Dutch words.

The undoubted awareness of the authors of these grammatical works on the history of Sinhala and of its consequent complex nature has not been put to any practical use in dealing with the functional aspects of the language. These authors have always considered language as a totality, e.g., *The Sinhala Language*, *The English Language*, and so on. The concept of language as a totality means that one has recognised only the broad general features which characterise a language and has ignored the many particularities, those special features that characterise actual language usage in particular contexts of situation.¹³ From a functional point of view these special features are more significant and perhaps even more dominant than those general features that characterise a language totality. As I hope to show, it is from this functional point of view that the Dutch *placaaten* are important as primary sources for understanding an aspect of Sinhala language current during the eighteenth century.

Analytical Procedure

The present assertion is based upon a theory of general linguistics propounded by Professor J. R. Firth, as being of value in a much more comprehensive and systematic analysis of language than would be possible if language were taken as a totality for purposes of analysis. The results would contribute to greater facility in a applied work also, such as language teaching, translation, descriptive lexicography, stylistics,¹⁴ and "coining" of technical terms—tasks which are in need of urgent action in Ceylon today.

I am drawing attention to the *Theory of Restricted Language* rather than a *Theory of Language as a Totality*. I must hasten to add, however, that in pointing out the advantages—and perhaps even the necessity—of utilising this theory in language analysis, I do not intend that it should either supplant those analytical procedures based upon the concept of language as a totality or decry the usefulness of results of such work. On the other hand, the *Theory of Restricted Language* should be looked upon as complementary to such analytical procedures.

Every language can be analysed into a number of sub-divisions or smaller language units each of which is characterised by its own peculiar vocabulary and also by the habitual company its vocabulary keeps. The peculiar vocabulary of such a language unit is called its *pivotal* or *key words*; and the habitual company kept by its vocabulary items is called *collocation*.¹⁵ A unit of language characterised by its own set of pivotal or key words and its

12. See, for instance, M. Kumaranatunga's *Vyākaraṇa Vivaraṇaya*, *supra*, 2nd ed. 2nd printing, pp. 82-89; Rev. A. M. Theodore G. Perera, *Sinhala Bhāṣāva*, (Colombo, M. D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1937) pp. 35-42; and Gunasekera, *op. cit* pp. 341-89.

13. For this term see J. R. Firth, *Studies in Linguistic Analysis* (Special Volume of the Philological Society of Great Britain, 1957) pp. 7-11 entitled, "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1935."

14. *ibid.* pp. 25-29.

15. *ibid.* pp. 11-13, esp. "Collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word in collocational order and emphatically not in any grammatical order. The collocation of a word or a 'piece' is not to be regarded as mere juxtaposition, it is an order of *mutual expectancy*. The words are mutually expectant and mutually prehended. . . . The statement of collocations and extended collocations deals with mutually expectant orders of words and pieces as such, attention being focussed on one word or one piece at a time." Also see J. R. Firth, *Papers in Linguistics*, 1934-1951, (London, 1957) pp. 190-203.

own collocations is called a *Restricted Language*. The collocations and the restricted language in which they occur would thus be so connected that each characterises and identifies the other.

Language from this point of view consists of a large number of restricted languages. We may speak of the language of the individual sciences and arts, the languages of religion and culture, the language of buying and selling, the language of politics and public guidance. The language of public administration and government, planning and regulation, which characterise the placaaen under consideration, may be said to be the *Restricted Language of Public Guidance*.

Firth stated the theory of restricted language mainly as an essential procedure in the statement of meaning. He said,

... the study of the usual collocations of a particular literary form or genre or of a particular author makes possible a clearly defined and precisely stated contribution to what I have termed the spectrum of descriptive linguistics which handles and states meaning by dispersing it in a range of techniques working at a series of levels.¹⁶

Mere word collocation which enables the study of meaning with reference to restricted languages at the collocational level does not exhaust the field of study available within each restricted language. A deeper study would show that each restricted language has its peculiar phonetic and phonological features, and grammatical features as well.¹⁷ This leads to the inevitable contradiction of the generally accepted view that a language has *a* system and *a* structure with a one-to-one correlation as if it were *one* language *one* system and *one* structure. The theory of restricted language permits the view of language not as monosystemic and unistructural, but polysystemic and multistructural—a view that has been repeatedly upheld by the disciples of the London School of Linguistics.¹⁸

The Placaaten and the Theory of Restricted Language

A word of explanation is necessary in justification of the relatively long (albeit sketchy) excursion into linguistic theory before the actual presentation of the linguistic features of the placaaen.

The study of the Sinhala language has been one-sided to a fault up to the beginning of the last decade. Under the conditions of linguistic scholarship prevailing it was inevitable that language should be viewed from a monosystemic and unistructural angle. The language studied and presented in the works mentioned at the beginning of this paper—the only linguistic studies then available—was that of lithic records, and literary works of classical stature, that is, literary works compiled prior to the advent of European powers to Ceylon. The subsequent era was considered to be a Dark Period in Sinhala language and literature. Consequently, in studying Sinhala little or no notice was taken even of the available literary works of the period covering the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries even though the number of such works is not too insignificant. The new features of language noticeable in these works have been disregarded even in grammars with a pronounced historical bias. Should those works be some day studied in detail, it is not very likely that our placaaen would be considered useful! Useful they would indeed be, it needs to be emphatically stated. From the point of view of lexical studies alone,

16. Firth. *Papers*. p. 195.

17. The reader is referred to Appendix I for a rather lengthy enlargement of this aspect of language studies.

18. See, for instance; Miss E. J. A. Henderson, "The Phonology of Loanwords in some South-East Asian Languages", *Transactions of the Philological Society (of Great Britain)* 1951. pp. 131—158; M. W. Sugathapala de Silva, "Linguistic Science and the Study of Sinhala", *Transactions of the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society*, 1964. pp. 1—14.

many a literary work of this period would show the unmistakable influence of Portuguese and Dutch. A careful study of our *placaaten* would give a wider perspective to such lexical studies by contributing to a more comprehensive semantic statement which is vital in the evaluation of our literary heritage.

Lexical studies alone would attach only second-rate importance to these unique records. They are unique because they are the earliest records of public administration in Sinhala available to us after the arrival of European powers in Ceylon. The arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch gave us new sets of rules and regulations for the conduct of the affairs of government, new legal values and standards, new concepts of subject and ruler relationship. These had to be brought to the notice and understanding of the local populace in their own language—a language which had had little or no previous experience of handling such alien demands of verbal communication. It was a challenge to the language itself, as well as to those inexperienced translators of an alien tongue. These *placaaten* show how the challenge was met; and now, when we are faced with a parallel situation, their study would furnish us with not only a precedent, but a leavening influence as well, on certain attitudes of some of us who are engaged in similar tasks of translation.

The need for a suitable vocabulary in meeting a challenge of this nature, though formidable is not the only problem to be tackled. A grammatical framework capable of handling the particular phraseology and sentence patterns characteristic of the task must be evolved. These *placaaten* show how both the vocabulary and the grammatical framework were formed as an integral, yet distinctive, part of what is called the Sinhala language in such a manner as to be within the linguistic abilities of the masses for whom they were intended.

No monosystemic study of Sinhala can do justice to the evaluation of this singular linguistic achievement. It can only be done by focussing attention upon the distinctive features of these texts, placed in the background of what is called the Sinhala language. The renewal of connection between the linguistic features of these *Primary Sources* for the study of an aspect of eighteenth century Sinhala and the Sinhala language itself, I believe, can also best be done by applying the techniques of the theory of restricted language; hence the foregoing digression where application itself would perhaps have been more welcome!

Within the time available for presentation, it is not possible to deal at great length with the linguistic features of the *placaaten*; I propose, therefore, to draw attention to some of the more important features under the following divisions:

1. Lexical and collocational features;
2. Grammatical features; and
3. Phonetic features.

The Phonological features of the *placaaten* need more detailed examination than is possible within the delimited purview of this paper. Orthographical peculiarities are omitted for the same reason.

The records selected and examined for purposes of the present study range from the year 1700 to the year 1791. A detailed list of their dates—the method of citation—is furnished at the end of the paper.

1. Lexical and collocational features of the *Placaaten*

Language is a medium of communication; as such, the nature of the language employed at any given moment is largely characterised by the nature of what is to be communicated at

that moment. What is communicated in these placaten is matters of public administration and government relevant to the context of eighteenth century Dutch rule in Ceylon. In respect of lexical items and collocations, therefore, the language of these placaten is characterised by the use of words and phrases communicative of Dutch planning and regulation. In short, the technical terms, the pivotal or key words and the collocations of such words enable us to consider the language of these placaten as the *Restricted Language of Public Guidance*. The pivotal lexical items to be isolated in these placaten deal with the various aspects of *trade and commerce* such as valuation, measuring and weighing, buying and selling; various aspects of *cultivation and land development* such as crops and harvesting, incentives to the cultivation of state-favoured commercial crops, cutting and planting of trees, regulations governing the clearing of land—especially jungle land for *chena* (slash and burn) cultivation; various aspects of the *administrative machinery* including a view of the bureaucratic organisation of the day; various aspects of *crime and punishment, social welfare* and so forth.

Examination of this rich, though restricted, vocabulary shows the presence of a considerable number of words of widely differing phonetic and phonological structure, and one begins to suspect the presence of a large number of loan-words. Knowledge of the history of the Sinhala language becomes handy at this stage in isolating vocabulary items which are foreign in origin though not necessarily to be classed as loan-words. This latter group comprises those words which have assimilated themselves to the basic phonological patterns of indigenous words, even though historically they are alien to Sinhala. Without going into details, I wish to state here that usually the loan-words as well as the words of foreign origin found in these records go back to Sanskrit, Dravidian, Portuguese and Dutch origins; a few words of Malay, Persian and Arabic origins too may be found.

Time does not permit a detailed analysis even of the lexical items which would be classified under each of the sources; but a word must be said about the Sanskrit loan-words in these records, since these are characteristic of what may be called the *texture of the restricted language* of these placaten in all its levels, phonetic, phonological, grammatical—i.e., the *Super-Colloquial Texture*.

Absence of both the literary and the strictly colloquial aspects of Sinhala can be recognised broadly as the peculiar feature of the Super-Colloquial Texture that is one of the characteristics of this restricted language. Table I will amply support this. In the table, each *Super-Colloquial* form is contrasted with its comparable *Colloquial Sinhala* form in present day use, as well as the *Literary Sinhala* and the related *Sanskrit* forms, presented in linear order. The transcription is that in popular use today in the transcription of Sinhala. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is avoided for typographical reasons.

<i>Super-Colloquial</i>	<i>Colloquial, and</i>	<i>Literary Sinhala</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>
ādrisayak	adurusayak	ādarśayak	ādarśa
āśrivādaya	āśīrvāde	āśīrvādaya	āśīrvāda
nēstra	nēttarā	nētra	nētra
prakāsa	parakāsa	prakāśa	prakāśa
prōjanaya	porōjanē	prayōjanaya	prayōjana
sassrīka	sassīrīka	saśrīka	saśrīka
stāna	istāna	sthāna	sthāna
hrida	harde	hrdaya	hrdaya

Table I

A study of these examples shows how the Super-Colloquial form has been made to sound closer to the Literary and Sanskrit forms than to the actual Colloquial Sinhala itself. One might question the validity of comparing in this connection the colloquial form in *present-day* use and nurse a doubt as to whether the super-colloquial form would have been the normal colloquial *at that time*. Even though one might be inclined to grant this on the evidence of lexical items alone, an examination of this restricted language in its totality would, I believe, preclude such a conclusion.

The *first characteristic feature* noticed at the collocational level is the use of introductory and concluding phrases whose structure is almost identical in almost every placat; the vocabulary is also more or less identical, a change being usually made to accommodate the name and title of the authority responsible for its issue, and also for the date on which it was issued. Thus the introductory phrase in almost every placat, except for the name and title of the issuing authority is¹⁹

Īndiyāve usāviyaṭa rāt ækṣraorrdi—nārisda mē lamkāddvīpayaṭat iṭaaḍuttuvū stān-
avalaṭat goværṇṇadōruda direktorudavū yūlivus vālæntæyin stæyin van gollenæssa
yanagarutarautumananvahansēsaha memautumānanvahansēge usaviyēmahattānda
visin mēpatraya dakina nohotkiyava navāhanasiyallandamasubasiddhavanapinisā
danvanavaganam.

The above occurs in a placat issued April 10, 1745. It can be compared with the following introductory phrase in a placat issued May 31, 1757:

Īndiyāvaṭa rātæḥṣraorrdinārisda melankāddvīpayaṭatīṭaaḍuttuvūtænvalaṭatgovæ
rṇṇadoruda direktorudavū yanskrodara yanagarutara utumānanvahansēsaha memau-
tumānanvahansēge usāviy. mahattānda ætuluva mēpatraya kiyavananohot
kiyavanavāhana siyallandama subasiddhavanapinisādanvanavaganam.²⁰

The differences are more than insignificant.

The *second characteristic feature* noticed at the collocational level is the recurrence of “set” phrases and pivotal words in “set” company. Such phrases as these are in frequent use:²¹

melesa soḍdeyi kiyā penī tibuneya; itā vērāsærāsæṭiyē anājñā deññamuva; ē
maknisāda kivot.

These are illustrative of some of the pivotal words in collocation:

Īndiyāve usāviya; soḍda usāviya, soḍda rājjaya; soḍda vāsiyan; mahat vū kompaññē;
pādupravēsamkara; anājñāpanivuḍa

2. Grammatical features of the Placaaten

Unusually interesting as they are, I will point out one or two of the more important grammatical features that characterise these texts.

Considered in the background of the wealth of finite verbal forms occurring in classical Sinhala literature, the most striking grammatical feature in these placaaten, to my mind is the almost complete absence of such verbal forms, as well as the unusual syntactic structures that have resulted.

19. The ligature æ, as used throughout this paper in transliterations denotes the half-open front vowel in Sinhala; this sound is often symbolised as *ä*.

20. The word-division follows that of the placaaten.

21. The word-division hereafter is mine.

The only finite verb forms I noticed in the records examined are *æta* (with its negative form *næta*) and those of a type exemplified by *deññamuva*. A particle *yæ* and a peculiar formation illustrated by *læbena pinisa yæ* and *kāranāvaka* almost complete the picture of the use of a finite verb. In this restricted language, the above forms are used with certain morphological forms arranged in peculiar syntactic patterns which removes the need for using finite verbs. The tables below are meant only as preliminary outline illustrations of this linguistic feature; there is no claim to a final or complete statement!

Table II illustrates the most frequently occurring pattern in which the verbal phrase, or verbal *piece*, is characterised by an *infinitive + verbal noun*²² (*yedenavā yedunā*) + *æta*

Infinitive	yedenavā / yedunā	æta
karanda	yedenavā	æta
denda	yedenavā	æta
dakinḍa	yedunā	æta
evanḍa	yedunā	æta

Table II

Note A: A variant of this pattern is noticed in such examples as *karanda yutuva æta* where *yutuva* has taken the place of *yedenavā*; *yutuva*, however, belongs to a grammatical category different from that of *yedenavā*.

Note B: Occasionally a—*navā* final from other than *yedenavā* (as *evanavā*, *læbenavā*) occurs with *æta*; in such instances the infinitive does not usually occur, e. g. *patāka tunak læbenavā æta*

Table III illustrates the verbal piece characterised by an *infinitive + verbal noun* (*yedunu*)/*verbal form* (*yedē*) + *yæ*

Infinitive	yedenu / yedē	yæ
denda	yedenu	yæ
karanda	yedenu	yæ
venda	yedenu	yæ
dakinḍa	yedē	yæ

Table III

Note A: A variant of this pattern is noticed in such examples as *tibanḍa onæ yæ* where *onæ* has taken the place of *yedenu* and *yedē*; *onæ*, however, belongs to a grammatical category different from that of *yedenu*, etc.

Note B: Occasionally a—*nu* final form other than *yedenu* (for example *tibenu*, *kerenu*) occurs with *yæ*; in such instances the infinitive does not usually occur, as *tahanam kerenu yæ*.

22. Grammatical categories such as these are considered as already established at the grammatical level of analysis.

The use of *næta* appears uncomplicated. Often it simply follows a noun form, as in *baddak næta*. Sometimes a noun form is followed by a participial form (as *ættē, dennē*, etc., which in turn is followed by *næta*. Examples are *kisi projanayak ættē næta*; (*baddak*) *dennē næta*

A verbal form ending in—*ññamuvā* also occurs rather frequently, but is restricted to one or two lexical items only. Of those verbal forms ending in this affix, *deññamuvā* usually occurs in collocation with *anājñāpanivūḍā*, as *anājñāpanivūḍā deññamuvā*. Another form is *karaññamuvā* which is usually collocated with *tahanam*, as *tahanam karaññamuvā*.

Two more types of verbal piece must be illustrated. One is restricted to sentences starting with the collocation *ē maknisāda kīvot* or *ē mokada kīvot*. The following are examples:

ē maknisāda kīvot.....niyama vu dē læbena pinisa yæ

ē maknisāda kīvot.....rævatēḍā noyedenā lesaṭa yæ

Whenever a sentence begins with one or other of the above collocations it ends with a verbal noun of the type exemplified by *læbena, tibena, yedenā*, etc., followed by *pinisa yæ* / *lesaṭa yæ* in free variation. Exceptions occur and one such is

ē maknisāda kīvot.....oppuva tibena bævina

The other type of verbal piece can be illustrated by the examples: *ē binvalin læbennē itā suvalpa prōjanayaka*; *bohosē ḍnæ va tibannāvu kāranāvaka*. Since this would need to be discussed at length, I do not propose to deal with it.

Other grammatical features cannot be discussed here. In conclusion, those grammatical features which have been discussed seem to have resulted from an attempt, frail as it is, at coming close to the literary form of Sinhala and getting away from the strictly colloquial style. In this respect the syntactic features show a stage a bit more advanced than do the morphological features.

3. Phonetic features of the Placaaten

The phonetic features of the Sinhala language of the *placaaten* will necessitate presentation in bare outline of the vowel and consonant phonemes abstracted from this language in contrast to those abstracted for Normal Colloquial and Literary Sinhala. This will be done through tables showing vowel and consonant occurrence in Super Colloquial, Normal Colloquial and Literary Sinhala. The contrasts observed will enable the reader to distinguish readily those features which set apart Super Colloquial from the other two classes.²³

a. Phonetic features of Super Colloquial Sinhala

As represented by the orthography, it is necessary to distinguish twelve pure vowels and two diphthongs for Super Colloquial Sinhala. Of the twelve vowels, six are front vowels, two are unrounded open vowels and four are back vowels. *Table IV* shows them,²⁴

23. For definitions and descriptions of technical terms used in the sections dealing with Phonetic Features, see any standard work on *General Phonetics*.

24. A single instance of a Retroflex vowel, *ɣ*, was noticed in the records examined: in line six of *Placaat* dated 30 May 1744. This has not been included since it may well be a chance feature. For term "retroflex vowel" see Note 31 below. For [ə] See Note 28 below. For term "pure vowel" See Note 26 below.

Front vowels		Unrounded open vowels		Back vowels	
Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
i	ī	a	ā	u	ū
e	ē			o	ō
æ	æ				

TABLE IV

The two diphthongs may be represented by [ai] and [au]

The classes of consonants for Super Colloquial Sinhala—based mainly on that traditionally recognised for Literary Sinhala—are arranged in Table V.

		Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Retroflex	Dental	Labial
PLOSIVES	Unaspirated	—	k	c	ʈ	t	p
	Aspirated	—	—	—	—	th	—
	Unaspirated	—	g	j	ɖ	d	b
	Aspirated	—	gh	—	—	dh	—
NASALS		—	ṅ	ñ	ṇ	n	m
SEMIVOWELS		—	—	y	rɻ	l	v
FRICATIVES		—	—	ś	ʃ	s	—
Voiced		h	—	—	—	—	—

Table V

Consonant groups, including half-nasal-plosive complexes,²⁵ will be omitted here.

25. A consonant group of this kind has been described in Sinhalese Grammatical treatises as “ardhanāsikya”, i.e. “half-nasal” or as “saññaka”. i.e. “combined”. In a transcription half-nasal-plosive complexes may be symbolised as ṅb, ṅd, ṅɖ, ṅj, ṅg.

The articulation of these sounds includes a very short period of voiced nasal articulation followed by a corresponding plosive articulation. One of the important features of this group is that the voicing is always maintained throughout. As with the plosives there are five different points of articulation of these half-nasal plosives, namely: bi-labial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar. The half-nasal palatal plosive, however is very rare. Half-nasal-plosive complexes are probably best described as prenasalised plosive articulations. Prof. Daniel Jones describes them as “plosive consonants preceded by a very short nasal element.” See Daniel Jones, *The Phoneme: Its Nature and Use*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1962) Section 260.

b. Phonetic features of Normal Colloquial Sinhala

At the phonetic level it is necessary to distinguish fourteen pure vowel²⁶ articulations and at least twenty diphthongal articulations for Normal Colloquial Sinhala.²⁷ Of the fourteen—six are front vowels, two are unrounded open vowels, four are back vowels, and two are central vowels. These are given in *Table VI*.

Front Vowels		Unrounded open vowels		Back vowels		Central vowels ²⁸	
Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
i	ī	a	ā	u	ū	ə	ē
e	ē			o	ō		
æ	æ						

Table VI

The twenty diphthongal articulations may be symbolised as [iu], [eu], [ou], [ui], [ei], [oi] æi], [æu], [ai], [au], [iu], [eu], [ou], [ui], [ei], [oi], [æ i], [æ u], [ai], [au].²⁹

The classes of consonant articulations for Normal Colloquial Sinhala based upon my own speech are found in *Table VII*.

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retro-flex	Alveolo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		ʈ ɖ	c j		k g	
Nasal	m			n	ɳ		ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral Non-fricative				l					
Flapped				r					
Fricative		f*		s					h
Semivowel		v					y		

Table VII

* *In loans only*

26. For the term "pure vowel", see Daniel Jones. *An Outline of English Phonetics*, 9th ed. (Cambridge, 1960) Section 240.

27. These observations are based upon my own speech.

28. The orthography does not recognise a distinctive symbol (letter) for representing the short central vowel articulation that occurs in reading aloud a written record; the long central vowel occurs (so far as I am aware; mainly in English loan—words only, and various symbols have been used to represent this when so desired; hence, in this paper no attempt is made to represent them in either *Table IV* or *VIII* which deal with vowel phonemes in Super Colloquial and Literary Sinhala, respectively.

29. This rather extended note is placed as Appendix II.

Consonant groups, including half-nasal-plosive complexes will not be dealt with here.³⁰

c. **Phonetic features of Literary Sinhala**

As represented by the orthography it is necessary to distinguish sixteen vowels and two diphthongs for Literary Sinhala. Of the sixteen vowels, six are front vowels, two are unrounded open vowels, four are back vowels. Of the remaining four, two are the so-called retroflex vowels, while the other two are the so-called dental vowels.³¹ They are arranged in *Table VIII*.

Front Vowels		Unrounded open Vowels		Back Vowels		Retroflex Vowels		Dental Vowels	
Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
i	ī							ɻ	ṛ
e	ē	a	ā	u	ū	r	ṛ	ɻ	ṛ
æ	ǣ			o	ō				

Table VIII

The two diphthongs may be represented by [ai] and [au].

The classes of consonants for Literary Sinhala are given in *Table IX*. The classification is mainly based upon that traditionally recognised for Literary Sinhala.

		Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Retroflex	Dental	Labial
P	Unaspirated	—	k	c	ʈ	t	p
L	Aspirated	—	kh	ch	ʈʰ	th	ph
O	Unaspirated	—	g	j	ɖ	d	b
S	Aspirated	—	gh	jh	ɖʰ	dh	bh
NASALS ¹		—	ṅ	ñ	ṇ	n	m
SEMIVOWELS		—	—	y	ɻ	l	v
Voiceless FRICATIVES		h	—	ś	ʂ	s	—
Voiced		h	—	—	—	—	—

Table IX

1. Also *anusvāra* ṁ.³²

30. For a more detailed description of the vowel and consonant articulations in Colloquial Sinhala, see my *Phonology of the Noun in Colloquial Sinhalese*. (unpublished) M. A. Thesis, University of London, 1964. pp. 12—50.

31. W. S. Allen. *Phonetics in Ancient India*. (London, 1961). Especially pp. 20, 61—62; also pp. 52—56.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 39—46, for a detailed discussion of *anusvāra*.

Consonant groups, including half-nasal-plosive complexes will not be considered.

A comparison of the vowel and consonant phonemes to be abstracted for Super Colloquial, Normal Colloquial, and Literary Sinhala as presented in the tables given above shows that

- (1) the number of pure vowel phonemes in Super Colloquial, Normal Colloquial, and Literary Sinhala is identical, except for [ə], [ɔ], [r], [r̄], [l] and [l̄].

(Note that the short central vowel [ə] need not be represented in orthography, its occurrence being determined by its phonological environment; the long central vowel [ɔ̄] occurs in the learned pronunciation of loan-words, mainly from English. It will be of interest that of the four vowels restricted to Literary Sinhala [r] and [r̄] are of very rare occurrence; [l] occurs in one or two Sanskrit loan-words, while [l̄] is not attested in usage except in the traditional enumeration of the Sinhala alphabet in older grammatical works).

- (2) diphthongal phonemes, as represented by the orthography, are identical in Super Colloquial and Literary Sinhala; and
- (3) even though each of the above types of language has its own distinctive number of consonantal phonemes, the consonantal phonemes in Super Colloquial Sinhala are closer in identity to those in Literary Sinhala than to those in Normal Colloquial Sinhala. Thus also at the phonetic level Super Colloquial Sinhala is seen to be closer to Literary Sinhala than to Normal Colloquial Sinhala.

— Conclusion —

In this paper I have tried to analyse the language of the *placaaten*, basing my analytical procedure upon the theory of restricted language. The results have showed that the character of this *placaaten* language is such that it is possible to identify it as what I have preferred to call the *Restricted Language of Public Guidance*. I have also shown that one of the characteristic features of this restricted language is its Super Colloquial Texture. This Super Colloquial Texture is also to be seen in one or two unpublished literary works of this period, such as the *Syāma Dūta Varṇanā*. It will be of interest to the linguist to examine this Texture in greater detail, specially in the present day context of experimenting in the use of Colloquial Sinhala for various types of linguistic communication, as evidenced by some of the recent writings of scholars such as Venerable Yakkaduve Prajnarama Nayaka Thera, Martin Wickramasinghe, and S. Paranavitana.³³

— APPENDIX 1 —

(The Reader is referred from Note 17 to this presentation by R. H. Roberts on Firth's theory of language which is relevant here.)

Like Malinowski, Firth always saw language as embedded in the life and culture of the speakers and part of the process of human beings living together in society, the joint product of nature and nurture, involving and revealing both the individual's personality and his role

33. I am deeply indebted to my friend and colleague, Dr. D. A. Kotelawe of the Department of History, Vidyalankara Campus, University of Sri Lanka, Kelaniya, for allowing me to use his copies of the *placaaten*. But for this kind gesture and his unfailing interest in the progress of my studies in the *placaaten*, this paper would never have been written. The originals of Dr. Kotelawe's copies of the *placaaten* are located at the Ceylon National Archives.

and status in the community.⁹ As everyone must, Firth realized the non-homogeneity of any supposedly unitary language; but he carried his insistence on this further than some have done; languages are not only split up dialectally; within the speech of any single member of a linguistic community different social situations demand different roles and different types of language. These different styles, or as Firth called them 'restricted languages', have indeterminate borders and shade into one another, but are each proper objects of study and analysis, with their own lexical systems and in some cases grammatical and phonological systems as well. One may instance the 'languages' of buying and selling, whether of produce in a local market, or of shares on a stock exchange, of legal draughtsmanship, of public administration, of the armed services of a country, of parliamentary debate, of religious and lay ritual, of informal and intimate conversation, together with the multitudinous jargons of different trades, social groups, cliques and the like.¹⁰

Language, in Firth's theory, is all meaningful activity; all language study is the study of meaning, and linguistic analysis consists of the analysis of different types of linguistic meaning. This leads to one of the key components of Firth's theory, levels of analysis. Language, though a circumscribable activity as part of social co-operation, is clearly too complex a phenomenon to be handled all at once. To be analysed it must be split up into a number of levels, in which attention is concentrated on different aspects of its working and use is made of different criteria. The notion of level is a general one in linguistics, but the use Firth made of it was very much his own. The basic position that he took up on linguistic analysis was set out in a relatively early publication, *The Technique of Semantics*,¹¹ and not substantially changed thereafter, though in lectures and in numerous articles he developed and expanded his scheme of linguistic statement. For the purposes of analysis a number of different levels are set up;¹² Firth never fixed a precise number, but essentially they involved the phonetic and phonological levels, the grammatical level, and the situational or semantic level, these all being variously sub-divisible according to the nature of the material and the purposes of the analysis. Thus within the grammatical level one can separate the morphological and syntactic levels. The specifically Firthian point of view appears in his insistence that linguistic analysis at all levels is the analysis of meaning: 'I propose to split up meaning or function into a series of component functions. Each function will be defined as the use of some language form or element in relation to some context. Meaning, that is to say, is to be regarded as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography, and semantics each handles its own components of the complex in its appropriate context'.¹³

This involved him not only in semantic or situational meaning, but in grammatical meaning, and, still more strikingly, phonological meaning, or meaning at the grammatical level and at the phonological level. He insisted that this was not equivocation or merely playing with the word 'meaning'. A unity runs through the whole scheme in that meaning at each level is interpreted as function in context. Meaning is the whole functioning of utterance and its components: 'It [the analysis of meaning] can be described as a serial contextualization of our facts, context within context, each one being a function, an organ of a bigger context and all contexts finding a place in what may be called the context of culture.'

Meaning, then, we use for the whole complex of functions that a linguistic form may have.¹⁴ The unity of this approach to language analysis Firth contrasted both with the older dualist theories of meaning as equivalent to reference or denotation, and with the rigidly dualist form—meaning division he saw in many of his contemporaries.

—R. H. Robins, "General Linguistics in Great Britain 1930—1960", *Trends in Modern Linguistics*, ed. on the occasion of The Ninth International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge Massachusetts, 27 August—1 September, 1962, for the Permanent International Committee of Linguists, by Christine Mohrmann, F. Norman, and Alf Sommerfelt. pp. 17—18 quoted.

APPENDIX II

(The Reader is referred from Note 29 to this extensive discussion)

The Sinhala orthography recognises only two diphthongs, in that it provides only two symbols for representing diphthongal articulations in the written forms of Sinhala. These are ai [ai] and au [au], and are used mostly in writing Sanskrit *tatsama* (loan) words with these diphthongal articulations occurring in word initial position. The Sinhala script being a syllabary these symbols are not used at other places in the word, and different conventions are employed in such instances. In almost all other words, even in word initial position, these symbols are not used. Preference is given to the use of the palatal semi-vowel [y] and the labio-dental semi-vowel [v] with or without a following [i] and [u] respectively. Thus the diphthong [ai] is written as *ayi* or *ay*, අයි or අය; [au] is written as *avu* or *av* අචු or අඬ. Other diphthongal articulations too are written by using these two semi-vowels, as

[ei] is written as එයි or එය :*eyi* or *ey*

[æi] is written අඬයි or අඬය :*æyi* or *æy*

[iu] is written as ඉචු or ඉඬ :*ivu* or *iv*

[ou] is written as ඔචු or ඔඬ :*ovu* or *ov*

Only the diphthongal articulations [ai] and [au] are recognised in traditional grammars. Regarding colloquial Sinhala, there is no unanimity as to the number of diphthongal articulations; the number given by different scholars varies considerably. For instance, H. S. Perera and Daniel Jones recognise sixteen diphthongs: *A Colloquial Sinhalese Reader*, (Manchester, 1919) Section 42. H. A. Passé has given only fourteen in his *The English Language in Ceylon* (Ph. D. Thesis. University of London, 1948) pp. 141—42. According to my own observations at least twenty diphthongs occur in Sinhala. For a detailed treatment of diphthongal articulations in Sinhala, see my article, "Vyavahāra Sinhala-yē Samyukta Svāra" in *Prajñāsāra Praśasti*, (Kelaniya, 1966) pp. 105-118.

9. "Personality and language in society", *Sociological review*, 42 (1950), 47.
10. *cp.* "A Synopsis of linguistic theory", *Studies in linguistic analysis*. (special volume of the Philological Society, 1957, 10—12.
11. TPS (*Transactions of the Philological Society of Great Britain*) 1935, 36—72.
12. *op. cit.*; Modes of meaning', *Essays and studies*, 1951, 121, 125; 'Synopsis', 5—7.
13. 'Technique', 54.
14. *op. cit.* 72.

PLACAATEN EXAMINED FOR THIS STUDY

1. 1700, May 14
2. 1737, April 5
3. 1740, February 3
4. 1743, September 14
5. 1743 (no further date)
6. 1744, May 30
7. 1744, December 1
8. 1745, January 27
9. 1745, April 10
10. 1745, September 30
11. 1745, October (13. ?)
12. 1749, August 2
13. 1751, June 26
14. 1753, April 12
15. 1757, May 31
16. 1758, June 15
17. 1776, March 22
18. 1791, June 22

Value of the Proclamations (Placaaten) issued by the Dutch Government of Ceylon History of the 17th and 18th Centuries: some preliminary observations

by DON ARIYAPALA KOTELAWELE

The object of this paper, as stated in the title, is to indicate the importance of the proclamations (Dutch term: singular, *placaat*; plural, *placaaten*) issued by the Dutch administration in Ceylon as source material for the study of various aspects of the history of Ceylon in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is not possible to deal exhaustively with the subject in a short paper of this nature. I propose to restrict myself to broadly placing the *placaaten* among other source materials available for the study of the period, and then to examine a few *placaaten* in order to illustrate their use for historical sources.

The Dutch succeeded the Portuguese as masters of the maritime provinces¹ of Ceylon. By 1658 they had cleared the last of the Portuguese strongholds. Thereafter they methodically set about organising an administrative system that would serve their predominantly commercial aims in the island. The supreme headquarters of the Dutch administration was in Amsterdam and consisted of the Directorate of the Dutch East India Company (V O C), usually referred to as the Directors or *Heeren Seeventhienen* (the Seventeen Lords). They were in charge of the broad objectives of the V O C and sent directives to the East concerning them. In the East the headquarters was situated in Batavia, present Jakarta. Here was the Governor-General who had a Council to assist him. The Governor-General and his Council were in charge of the entire far-flung possessions of the V O C and were the effective supervisory authority over all Dutch possessions in the East. The Governor of Ceylon worked under the direct guidance of the authorities in Batavia; and was assisted by a council of the senior civil and military officials of the V O C in Ceylon. This brief outline of history and administration is necessary for understanding some remarks on the sources.

To begin the discussion, I would briefly outline the sources available for the study of this period in both Dutch and Sinhalese languages. (The reader is also referred to the paper by S. A. W. Mottau, elsewhere in this volume.)

A. *Minutes of the Governor and his Council* are perhaps the most important body of sources. This Council was the supreme governing body for all Dutch possessions in the island, and for its subsidiary stations in India. The minutes of the proceedings of Council of all its sittings, normal as well as secret,² have been carefully maintained and are available at the Ceylon National

1. The Maritime Provinces eventually included at least a four-miles-wide strip around the island, but had been (for more than a century) (a) the ports useful to the Kandyan Kingdom and (b) the cinnamon lands on the west and southwest, plus the large area closest to India—at Jaffna and Mannar. ksd
2. The Governor's Council met in secret session in times of war or emergency. One volume of the secret minutes of the Council during the Dutch wars with Kandy (1760—66) has been edited and published. *Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council, 1762*, ed. and tr. by J. H. A. Paulusz. (Colombo, 1954).

Archives.³ The multiplicity of matters dealt with in the Governor's Council makes the minutes of its proceedings the most authentic and varied single source for the study of the Dutch activities in Ceylon. The Council dealt with important matters of policy on land, policy to be followed towards the neighbouring Kingdom of Kandy; also with administrative minutes such as the home leave of a minor official or the emoluments of a Reformed Church *predikant* (minister). Not only matters pertaining to central government, but concerns of such distant areas as Jaffna or Matara are dealt with at length. Not only for the Dutch areas is there information. Relations with the kingdom of Kandy were a perennial problem, and a great deal of discussion took place in the Governor's Council on all aspects of policy. The result is a lot of information, on such matters as the Court of Kandy and its various functions, the family relations of the Kings of Kandy residing in Kandy, and the influence which they had on Kandyan policy.

B. *Reports from the Governor and Council of Colombo to the Governor-General and Council of Batavia*, chiefly annual reports, summaries of all aspects of Company administration in Ceylon: relations with Kandy; matters pertaining to land, service tenures, collection of trade goods (like cinnamon, arecanuts, cardamon, etc.), missionary and educational activities; institutions of the Government such as the *landraaden* (land courts), land registration (*thombo*) commission, etc. The value of these reports is that they summarise the economic activities of the V O C in Ceylon, and current statistics (as cinnamon, pepper, or cardamon collections) within a year appear. This data is of special value since most of the account books of the Company pertaining to Ceylon appear to have been lost.

C. *Instructions to Ceylon from Batavia* were sometimes accompanied by the relevant resolutions of the Governor-General's Council of Batavia. These instructions are important to the understanding of decisions by the Dutch authorities in Ceylon.

There are also *Instructions to Ceylon from the Directors of the V O C in Amsterdam*. They refer to matters of economic and political policy and especially for the study of the early period of Dutch rule in Ceylon they are indispensable. For the later period, especially the eighteenth century they are not of the same importance since major strands of policy had already been decided and it was only a matter of carrying them out that was left to the authorities of these years.

D. *Memoirs of Dutch Governors* provide important information, some of which is printed in English translation — beautifully outlined by another of the speakers, S. A. W. Mottau. The following comment of Governor Schreuder (1757—1762) provides perhaps the best comment of their nature:

* All these documents are regulated according to the tastes and predilections of these Governors. . . . One has taken a particular subject as his chief aim and another has also included it but modified it according to the prevailing circumstances, from some we can acquire historical or geographical particulars, and from others gain a political, mercantile and economical (sic) knowledge of Ceylon; one Governor relates in what state he found the Government when he took over the reins of office and how he had handed it over to his successor and another (only) gives an account of what he had done and accomplished during his government.⁴

3. The most "recent" catalogue of the Dutch manuscripts of the Ceylon National Archives is M. W. Jurriaanse's *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon, 1640—1796*. (Colombo, 1943).

4. Jan Schreuder, *Memoir, 1762*. tr. & ed. by E. Reimers. (Colombo, 1946)

Though the information is selective, it is valuable. Notice, for example, Governor Schreuder himself on *native headmen* and on *land tenure* in his *Memoir*.⁵

A host of other papers might be mentioned: correspondence with Dutch factories in India, correspondence with stations in Ceylon itself, and various miscellaneous reports of officials. Miss M. W. Jurriaanse's *Catalogue* provides a guide.

E. *Sinhalese sources of the time* are essential. The most important of these is perhaps the *Culavamsa*⁶, or continuation of the *Mahavamsa*, the ancient historical chronicle of the island. However not much material of a political, social, or economic nature is found in this work. Its main concern is the *Sasana*, or the Buddhist order, and everything that does not pertain to the subject is ignored. A long section is devoted to the reign of King Kirthi Sri Rajasinha (1747-82), his good works in the religious sphere—making short work of the other matters. Only a few stanzas are devoted to the major Kandyan-Dutch War of 1760-66. Other works are the *Mandarampura Puvata*.⁷ *Sasanavathirana Varnanava*⁸. *Sangharajavata*,⁹ and the *Sangharajasadhucariyava*.¹⁰ All deal with the Buddhist order and especially the revival of Buddhism in the Kandyan Kingdom in mid-eighteenth century. The one exception is the *Mandarampura Puvata* which is more general. The Dutch records provide very little on this aspect of Ceylon history, where as here we are provided with a good idea of the world view of the Sinhalese literati of the time. For the author of the *Culavamsa*, the Dutch are nothing more than the "Power Olandas, sea merchants who have been entrusted with the protection of Lanka at the time of king Rajasinha and who fulfilled the task of envoys to the King who rules Lanka,"¹¹ The non-Dutch sources, of which the above are significant, offer certain aspects of history usually neglected, and are important for the light they throw on the thinking of the island's 17th and 18th century literati and the history of Buddhism in this period.

The following comment of George Wille helps to explain the origins of the term *placaat* as it came to be used by the Dutch in Ceylon:

A large number of new laws were enacted in the Netherlands, in the 15th and the following three centuries, by the Governments of the day; firstly by the rulers, and after 1580 by the States of Holland, or the States of Holland and West Friesland together. These enactments were sometimes termed *placaats*, sometimes edicts, or ordinances; they are all recorded in the *Groot Placaat Boek*, of which there are ten volumes.¹²

These were the media through which the Dutch rulers reached and addressed the inhabitants. Headings of the placards or *placaaten* declared they were addressed to those who heard them as well as those who saw and read them. These were displayed in prominent places, in the villages and townships, as well as proclaimed throughout the Dutch territories by criers who went about beating a drum and reading out the text. A typical heading of a *placaat* runs thus:

5. *ibid.* on "native headmen", pp. 48—52; and on "land tenure", pp. 64—66

6. *Culavamsa*, pt. 11. Tr. & ed. by W. Geiger. (Colombo, 1931)

7. *Mandarampura Puvata*. Ed. by L. Lankananda. (Colombo, 1958)

8. *Sasanavathirnavaranava*. Ed. by C. E. Godakumbura. (Colombo)

9. *Sangharajavata*. (Colombo, 1955)

10. *Sangharajasadhucariyava*. Ed. by H. Piyananda. (Colombo, 1964)

11. *Culavamsa*, pt. 11, XCIX, 109. *op. cit.*

12. George Willie. *Principles of South African Law: Being a textbook of the Civil Law of the Republic* 5th ed. (Capetown, Wynberg and Johannesburg, 1968) pp. 31—37.

To the Mudaliyars, Muhandirams, Korales, Arachchis, Kangaans and others living in the Siyane, Hewagam, Raygam, Pasdun, Salpity, Aultkuru and Wallallavity korales and the ports of Negombo and the Galu korale who are subject to the Mighty Company and hear or see this, it is made known by Julius Stein van Gollennesse, Councillor extraordinary of India and Governor of Ceylon and her dependencies.¹³

Usually when a decision of the Governor's Council on an important matter of policy, or execution of policy, was to be conveyed to the inhabitants a placaat was issued. For example, it was discovered by the Dutch authorities in 1757 that the secret transfer of movable and immovable properties by underhand documents was widely prevalent. The Dutch found the practice inimical to the interests of the Company as well as to the inhabitants. The taxes and fees that the government derived by transfer of properties were not paid when such was done by underhand documents. As a result of this practice government was not aware of all transfers of properties, and it became difficult to determine the actual ownership at any given time. This led to a great deal of confusion and local litigation — hence the Government decided to issue the order prohibiting such transactions on the 4th of May, 1757.¹⁴ The actual placaat was issued on the 31st of May, 1757.¹⁵ Thus the two steps of how a placaat came into being, the subject matter being usually found in the relevant resolution of the Governor's Council.

On the premise that no one should claim not to have understood the language, a placaat was invariably issued in Dutch, Sinhalese and Tamil. Presumably the original was Dutch, the Sinhalese and Tamil texts being translations. The placaaften available at the Ceylon National Archives are as wide in subject matter as the scope of all matters dealt with by the Dutch administration. They range from economic policy (land tenure, promotion and regulation of cultivation of cash crops such as pepper and cardamon, measures taken to prevent destruction of cinnamon trees) to such things as bans against entry of unauthorised foreigners to the island, the ban on practice of religious faiths other than the Dutch Reformed Church Christianity.

Limiting myself to two subjects only—the history of the administration of justice, and some strands of economic policy—I will try to illustrate the importance of the Dutch placaaften for historical studies.

Since the departure of the Dutch from the island, there has been unending controversy as to the nature of the laws administered in the Sinhalese areas ruled by the Dutch. Early British Chief Justices, Sir Alexander Johnstone, Sir Hardinge Giffard, and Sir Richard Ottley, were of the view that Sinhalese customary law was completely swept by Roman Dutch¹⁶ law introduced by the Dutch.¹⁷ Subsequent authorities were not so sure. The fact that the Dutch complied the customary law of the inhabitants of Jaffna, the *Thesavalamai*, and administered it for the Tamil community, makes it possible for one to argue that the Dutch may have administered Sinhalese customary law too. Sinhalese chiefs were members of the *landraaden* (land courts),

13. Placaat of van Gollennesse, dated 31 January, 1744 in Ceylon National Archives, Dutch Sources; here cited as CNA 1/2441.

14. Unpaginated Resolutions of the Governor's Council, dated May 4, 1757, in Kolonial Archief (The Hague) 2795.

15. Placaat of Jan Schreuder, dated 31 May, 1757 in CNA 1/2444.

16. Roman Dutch Law is an amalgam of the unwritten customs (mainly Germanic) of the people living in the Netherlands for many centuries prior to the thirteenth and of Roman law. The first to use the term was the Dutch Jurist, Simon van Leeuwen (1625—1682). Cf. R. W. Lee, *Historical Conspectus of Roman Law*. (London, 1956) pp. 36—45; and his *An Introduction to Roman Dutch Law*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1946) pp. 2—25; also Wille. *op. cit* pp. 31—37.

17. C. G. Weeramantry. *The Law of Contracts*. (Colombo, 1967) pp. 26—27.

and their presence was compulsory when land disputes were discussed. However the exact position of Sinhalese customary law under Dutch administration is still only hazily conjectured and recent writer summed the matter thus:

Research has yet to be done on the question of the extent to which the low country Sinhalese customs prevailed and were recognised and administered during the period of Dutch rule, and conflicting views have been expressed on this question.¹⁸

I have come across three *placaaten* which I believe throw some light on the problem. Two were issued by van Gollennesse, Governor from 1743—1751; the other by Jan Schreuder, Governor from 1757—1762. The first one, dated 13 January, 1745, would translate thus:

Whereas we have found more and more that many inhabitants in this Disavany (Colombo), Galle and Matara are resorting to the practice of mortgaging, selling, and alienating their hereditary *paravanys* contrary to the *placaaten* issued in earlier times and against the statutory orders, and ignoring the services attached to those *paravanys*; having taken to account the great confusion that such gives rise to, and to the great loss and injustice thus done to the Honourable Company with regard to land services, it was decided on the 10th of December last in our Council to strictly forbid the mortgaging, sale, and alienation of inherited *paravanys* in this Disavany (Colombo), Galle, and Matara on pain that those who contravene this order would be banished in chains for some years for the fear and fright of others.¹⁹

The traditional system of relations between landholder and ruler, as it had evolved at the time of Dutch rule in Ceylon, was one whereby the inhabitants did not pay land taxes for the right to hold land. Instead, they performed services to the ruler. This system was utilised by the Dutch for their purposes. Van Gollennesse's *placaat* shows how concerned the Dutch rulers were in preserving this system, the main import being that the traditional service tenure lands may not be sold or mortgaged by the inhabitants. It clearly proves that the traditional laws governing relations between service tenures and the rulers were strictly adhered to by the Dutch at least they made strenuous attempts to preserve the system, no doubt for their own ends. It is not possible to say that the Dutch ignored, abandoned, or replaced Sinhalese customary law. On the contrary they further utilised it by the frequent issue of *placaaten* for its maintenance, and against its breaches, on the part of the inhabitants.

Another of van Gollennesse's *placaaten*, that dated 31 January, 1744,²⁰ bears on administration of Sinhalese customary law. The Governor had discovered that the people tried to bring their complaints directly to him without seeking redress at the lower judicial levels. It has to be remembered here that the Sinhalese headmen, especially the higher ranking ones such as *Madaliyars*, *Muhandirams*, and *Korales*, exercised minor judicial authority. In this context, the Governor decided to issue a *placaat* ordering that when the inhabitants had complaints regarding service tenure lands or other matters, they were to go to their immediate chiefs with their complaints. These chiefs were either headmen of the provincial administration, mentioned above, or caste headmen—such as the headmen of the cinnamon peelers mentioned specifically in the *placaat*. If the matters brought by the individuals were of such nature that the headmen could decide, they were to adjudicate and settle the matter. On the other hand, if the matter were of greater importance the headmen were to immediately direct the individuals to higher authorities,

18. *Ibid.* p. 26.

19. *Placaat* of van Gollennesse, dated 13 January, 1745 in CNA 1/2442.

20. *Placaat* of van Gollennesse, dated 31 January, 1744, in CNA 12441

to courts like the Landraaden or to chiefs such as Disawes or Opperhoofden. This placaat was a reissue of an earlier one bearing date 20 February, 1706. This too throws an interesting light on the machinery of judicial administration under the Dutch. A large area of adjudication had been left for native headmen who could not have been expected to know the principles and vagaries of Roman-Dutch law. It is not a rash assumption to make that when they arbitrated in local disputes, they based their judgements on Sinhalese customary law.

This conclusion is further strengthened by another rule made by van Gollennesse regarding judicial procedures. He ordered the leading Sinhalese headmen of the Colombo Disawany, Galu Korale, and the Matara Disawany to make a compilation of the judicial procedures of the Sinhalese. This order was carried out, and the headmen compiled the methods of adjudication by ordeal as well as by oath that were prevalent among the low country Sinhalese.²¹ It is of interest that they were very similar to the methods prevailing in the Kingdom of Kandy as recorded by such later writers as Davy and D'Oyly. These procedures were usually conducted in the presence of headmen, and there is no doubt that the very headmen noted in the placaat of 31 January, 1744 were the ones who administered them. Van Gollennesse laid down as a permanent statute that the procedures as compiled by the low country Sinhalese should be followed in the future.

The preceding discussion tends to strengthen the view that much Sinhalese customary law was indeed enforced during the Dutch regime. There is another placaat which points in the opposite direction. It shows that commercial practices were becoming widespread in Dutch ruled areas and the rights of property were evolving in a significant manner. Cited earlier, this 31 May, 1757 placaat concerns transfer of property by underhand documents. Having banned the transfers with underhand documents, the placaat continues by specifying the manner in which such transfers were to be conducted in the future, namely with the authority of the officials concerned with *scheepen kennis* documents provided at the secretariat.²² The significance of this placaat is the statement of formalised procedure for property transfer, and this procedure was not that of Sinhalese custom: Sinhalese customary law did not envisage widespread prevalence of rights of private property.²³ The form prescribed was derived from Roman-Dutch law, hence it is reasonable to assume that in matters arising out of property transfers, the Dutch applied rules and principles derived from the Roman-Dutch law when judging disputes arising among the low country Sinhalese inhabitants.

From the foregoing discussion it can be asserted that the Dutch widely used Sinhalese customary law and judicial procedures; but in certain areas of adjudication their own Roman-Dutch law may well have been applied. The task for further research is to delimit and separate those areas where one—or the other—law and procedure were used in the administration of justice under the Dutch.

Now let me use other placaaten to show how they provide information on a few strands of economic policy. The Dutch East India Company was a commercial body whose main interest was the collection of (and sometimes the production) of crops—mainly spices—and textiles in the East, and selling them chiefly in Europe. Its policies were monopolistic. The chief

21. Unpaginated Resolutions of the Governor's Council, 11 February, 1745 in CNA 1/94

22. For the legal connotations of the *Scheenen Kennis* (mortgage) documents see Hugo Grotius, *The Jurisprudence of Holland* tr. with brief notes and commentary by R. W. Lee. (Oxford, 1926) pp. 330, 384, 519.

23. For the nature and degree of evolution of rights of private property in the contemporary Kingdom of Kandy, see Ralph Pieris. *Title to land in Kandyan Law*. (Colombo, 1955). pp. 9—12.

aim of the V O C in Ceylon was cinnamon collection for the European market. The Dutch authorities spared no pains, and one of their chief concerns was the preservation and propagation of the cinnamon shrub. In order to preserve cinnamon they even restricted the agricultural expansion necessary for sustenance of the inhabitants. This aspect of Company policy can be well illustrated with the placat of 31st May, 1757, issued by Governor Schreuder.²⁴

The placat takes the inhabitants to task for ignoring previous placaten and other orders against destruction of cinnamon trees while clearing the jungles for *chena* cultivation (slash and burn agriculture); therefore it was decided to reissue the earlier document verbatim. The reissue placat prohibits destruction of cinnamon and the making of chenas without prior permission of government. Those who disregard the placat were liable to severe punishment: If guilty of destruction of one to fifty cinnamon trees, the fine was at the rate of 10 *pagodas* per tree destroyed. If guilty of destruction of fifty to one hundred trees, the fine was at the rate of 20 *pagodas* per tree destroyed. If unable to pay the fines, the individual was to be put in chains to work for the Company for periods ranging from five to ten years, depending on the number of cinnamon trees destroyed. Persons who made chenas without government permission, even without destroying cinnamon, were to be put in chains for two years for the first conviction, five years on subsequent convictions. Headmen who failed to report destruction of cinnamon or the making of chenas without government permission were liable to heavy fines and banishment. This placat vividly illustrates Dutch measures to promote the cinnamon monopoly in the island.

The Company from time to time encouraged the inhabitants to grow certain crops which had a good market in Europe. In Ceylon pepper and cardamon cultivation was encouraged depending upon the European demand. Whenever the Company wanted the inhabitants to take to the culture of a crop in this manner, it was usually conveyed in a placat. An example, that of April 5th, 1737, is an instance where the authorities urged pepper culture and promised good prices. At the same time it was clearly stated that the pepper produced might be legitimately sold only to the Company.²⁵ A further placat of February 3rd, 1740, bemoaned the fact that there was an illicit trade in pepper; inhabitants had been selling to traders (presumably because they received better prices and were paid promptly) and South Indian traders were thus beneficiaries of pepper grown in Ceylon. Once again, private trading in pepper was strictly prohibited. Pepper was not to be sold anywhere; the requirements of the inhabitants were to be purchased from Company warehouses; the maximum quota for an inhabitant was five pounds; any need above this (for special occasions) could be obtained only after special permission from the Governor. Those who contravened those arrangements were to be put in chains for three years for the first conviction, thereafter in chains for life.²⁶

24. Placat of Jan Schreuder, dated, 31 June, 1757, in CNA 1/2444

25. Placat of van Imhoff, dated 5 April, 1737, in CNA 1/2440

26. Placat of van Imhoff, dated 3 February, 1740, in CNA 1/2440

These two pepper placaaften illustrate promotion and regulation of crops in which the Dutch were interested. This policy was the same as the V O C policy in Java.²⁷

with these placaaften, I have tried to show how they illustrate aspects of history of Ceylon under Dutch rule. In these texts we catch the Dutch rulers at the very moment when they addressed their policies and intentions to the people they ruled. If the placaaften be examined one can be certain that the matter considered was actually policy as executed. Unlike the correspondence and even the resolutions—which were essentially reports of what is purported to have happened or statements of intention—the placaaften were enforced policies. I have tried to give some examples.

27. J. S. Furnivall. *Netherlands India*. (New York) pp. 39—41.

Archival Collections for Studies of the Dutch in Ceylon

by Samuel A. W. Motteu

In the eighth annual report of the Archivist of the United States of America for the year 1941 — 1942, he says:

Nations, like the people of whom they are composed, make their plans and decisions and base their actions, if they are wise, on their own experiences or on that of others. They know of this experience either through memory or through a written record, which serves as an extension of memory. Since individual nations live longer as a rule than individual men, they must depend increasingly on the written record rather than on the memory of man for their knowledge of experience. It follows, therefore, that a nation has a greater fund of experience on which to draw and presumably can take more intelligent action if it records its experiences, and if it finds and makes use of that record whenever it is needed. It must have been with these thoughts in mind that Congress established the National Archives in 1934, and gave to it the task, though it was not stated in so many words, of making the experience of the Government and the people of the United States as it is embodied in non-current records of the Federal Government and related materials available, to guide and assist the Government and the people in planning and conducting their activities.

The National Archives of Ceylon is the main repository of the primary sources of information for studies of the Dutch in Ceylon from the 17th to the early 19th century. It had its beginnings with the appointment of Sir Hugh Cleghorn, who was the first Chief Secretary to the Government in early British times, as the first *Keeper of the Records* of this Island in the year 1798, nearly a century and a half earlier than the National Archives of the United States of America.

A contribution of the Dutch to the history and culture of Ceylon is the unique complete record of transactions connected with the administration of their territories in this Island from 1640 A.D. to the end of the 18th century, consisting of over 7000 manuscript volumes and files. This is a priceless legacy bequeathed by them to their successors and the peoples of Ceylon.

The subsidiary repositories for primary sources of the period are the archives of the Consistories of the three Dutch Reformed Churches — Colombo, Galle and Matara — which contain the records of the history and progress of the ecclesiastical and educational establishments.

The plans and maps in the repositories of the National Archives, the Colombo Museum, and the Surveyor-General's Office in Colombo afford a useful source for geographical and topographical studies of the country during this period.

Taken together, these collections form a complete series of the recorded transactions dating from 1640 A.D., except for a few gaps caused by the ravages of time and wear, damage through improper storage and care by the custodians, by vermin and other insect pests, and occasionally through the special emergencies of war. They are a veritable gold-mine on the historical

cultural, and economic development of this Island during the Dutch administration; and furnish original documentary evidence not available in the repositories either in Holland or in the East (Indonesia, etc.) for studies such as;

1. General colonial history, with special reference to the Dutch;
2. The political, social and economic conditions of this Island;
3. The history of the Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors, Malays and other communities in the Island, their laws, customs and institutions;
4. The progress and development of religion and education;
5. The system of land tenures and registration of property;
6. Naval and military adventure;
7. Geographical and ethnological studies;
8. Diplomatic relations with the various Sinhalese monarchs of the Kandyan Provinces the native princes of India and other foreign powers.

The records have been generally most carefully arranged and methodically preserved and marshalled by their contemporary custodians in the various series under which they are now listed and catalogued. Time will not permit reference in detail to the several subsidiary sources, for studies in particular subjects such as are listed in Miss M. W. Jurriaanse's *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon, 1640—1796*, and in my own *Catalogue of the Dutch records of the Galle, Matara, Jaffna and the Wanny districts*. Both are available at the National Archives in Colombo, the latter in typescript. I shall endeavour to comment briefly on the main sources for general study and research which are available in the following series of the records in the National Archives and in other repositories in Ceylon.

First: The minutes or proceedings in the Dutch *Politieke Raden*, or Councils of Policy of the General administration in Colombo and the two *Commandements* of Jaffna and Galle and other towns and outposts such as Mannar, Tuticorin, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and the Malabar Coast. They form the backbone of the original sources for studies of all aspects of Dutch administration in Ceylon; and consist of over 1,000 manuscript volumes and files, along with the annexes or additional papers and documents tabled (submitted) at the Sessions of the various Councils and the contemporary indexes to the same which are available in the National Archives.

Written in the Dutch language, in varying styles of script of the period, this source has been almost untapped for purposes of historical research and study, except by former Archivists of the Government and by a few keen and enterprising scholars from abroad, and by a few from Ceylon who in recent years have acquired a knowledge of the language for their contributions towards the history of Ceylon. Besides the voluminous contemporary works of Dutchmen such as the Revs. Philippus Baldaeus, Francois Valentyn and Pieter van Dam, modern contributions by Drs. Karl Gunawardena and S. Arasaratnam (both of Ceylon), Dr. F. W. Stapel (of Holland) and the Rev. Fr. R. Boudens (of Belgium) are results of such recent endeavours.

These minutes are maintained and filed under the various branches of activity set up by the Central Government from time to time as occasion demanded:

- A. The General or Ordinary Council minutes (from 1640—1796 A.D.);
- B. The Secret Council minutes (1665—1796), which contain separately the Confidential and Secret discussions and decisions of the Council;

- C. The minutes of the *Binnenlandsche Departement*, or Department of the Interior (1786—1794), which dealt specifically with matters connected with internal administration of the country, and the native or Ceylonese establishments;
- D. The minutes of the *Militaire* or Military Department (1790—1794), which dealt specifically with all military affairs and operations in the country and against foreign powers and the military and naval establishments of the Dutch East India Company;
- E. The minutes of the Secret Committee (1762—1766), which dealt specifically with the confidential and secret discussions and decisions of the Council connected with the war against Kandy and the treaty of 1766 A.D.

These minutes record the individual opinions of the members on the various topics and problems that came up for discussion and action in matters of internal and external policy, trade and commerce, local administration, local usages and customs, diplomatic relations, education, religious and charitable establishments, agriculture and irrigation, etc.

Unfortunately only a very small section of these series has been translated into English. The one substantial effort is the English rendering of the minutes of the Secret Committee on the Kandyan war and the treaty of 1766, English translations, along with the Dutch text, of the full series of these interesting minutes are now available. The first part, for the year 1762, has been translated by J. H. O. Paulusz, former Government Archivist—and published by the Government in 1954. English translations (with the Dutch text) of the subsequent years to 1766, made by Edmund Reimers, former Government Archivist, are available in typescript at the National Archives. Summaries of the same which I prepared are being published serially in the *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon*.

Apart from the contemporary series of indexes to these minutes which are available in the Dutch language, there is also a manuscript general index in English of the more important subjects and topics, prepared by another former Government Archivist, R. G. Anthonisz. This covers the period 1656—1796 and, though not fully comprehensive nor systematic by modern standards—nor uniform in alphabetical arrangement, serves as a most useful aid for study and research.

Second: There is the series of memoirs and circuit diaries left by various Dutch Governors and other Chief Officials of Ceylon for their successors. This series is by far the most useful source for purposes of general study.

According to the orders issued by the Government at Batavia, every Governor or *Commandeur*, in fact any high official of the Company, was expressly required to leave a memoir for the guidance of his successor in office, outlining the principal points regarding administration of his particular office. The memoir left by the Governor, as a rule, furnished a description of the country, its resources, its peoples, their customs, industries etc.; with special hints of a personal nature for the incoming man. In many cases the personality of the author was fully reflected in the memoir and consequently it would contain much authentic and factual matter. The subjects dealt with were treated more or less in this order:

- A. The general revenue derived from commodities over which the Dutch had either monopoly or partial monopoly; and the various taxes levied on gardens and fields, as cinnamon, arecanut, paddy, salt, chank and pearl fisheries; the trade in cotton goods, tobacco, elephants, timber etc.

Among the taxes, several items dealt with furnish an interesting source for study of the social conditions at that period; for example, taxes for licences issued for travelling in a palanquin, the use of the *sombreel* or sunshade, wearing of gold medals, exemption from *uliyam* or cooly service—or other obligatory services by the several castes or grades of local inhabitants, and even for formalities to be observed at funerals, weddings, etc.

B. Administrative supervision of the fortifications and defences, including much useful information of topographical and local interest;

C. The Civil, Naval and Ministry establishments.

Under this heading some of the memoirs contain a frank and free expression of opinion on the merits and demerits of the Company's officials. A good example of this appears in Governor Jan Schreuder's *Memoir* written in the year 1762, during the disquieting period of the Kandyan war, where he makes the following interesting remarks on the efficiency of officials of that period.

As to what now relates to the efficiency of the servants of the Company at this place, there is not much to enthuse thereover seeing that the efficient and zealous officers are only a few in number, and the rest are in such a case as Mr. Imhoff testifies: for he who loves the truth cannot deny that I have to rouse and keep awake the majority of them from a sleep of indolence and indifference which had totally crept over them, by continual urging, earnest admonition, threats, and even the imposition of fines (which were however usually remitted) in order to make them diligent and attentive to their duties, the which had such results that I have reformed many of them. I must also confess to my regret that the expectations that I had formed of some of them have been abused, and that I have seen illustrated the truth of the proverb that "They are not all cooks who carry long knives", and that those upon whom one thought he could rely most committed the gravest errors in a moment of emergency.

D. Description of the various religious establishments of the Dutch and the administration of their schools;

E. Ceremonies and events connected with the reception of the Ambassadors from the Kandyan Court: and the relations (political and economic) between the Dutch and the Kandyan Kingdom;

F. Description of the various communities and castes and their grades and peculiar obligatory services;

G. The memoir usually closed with matters concerning coinage mint and exchange of the country during various periods; and topics of secondary importance.

The later memoirs furnish useful information on the system of land registration and service tenure in vogue at the time, and the merits and demerits of the headman system.

Apart from acting appointees during periods of interregnum, thirty Governors were in office during the period of the Dutch Government in Ceylon. Seven of these died in office in the Island:

Gerrit de Heere, died in November 1702

Isaac Augustyn Rumpf, in June 1723

Johannes Hertenberg, in October 1725

Diederik van Domburg, in June 1736

Geraard Joan Vreeland, in February 1752
Lubbert Jan, Baron van Eck, in May 1765
Iman Willem Falck, in February 1785

One man, Petrus Vuyst, was apprehended and removed from office in 1726 after a short but tyrannical rule of three years. He was tried and executed in Batavia for treason, rebellion and murder.

Another man, Stephanus Versluys, was recalled in disgrace in 1729.

Eight other governors do not appear to have complied with the order of the Supreme Authority in Batavia in this respect and left no memoirs. These are:

Jan Thysz Payaart, in office 1640—1646
Jacob van Kittensteyn, 1650—1653
Adrian van der Meyden, 1656—1662
Jacob Hustaart, 1663—1664
Adrian Roothaas, 1664—1665
Willem Maurits Bruynink, 1740—1742
Daniel Overbeek, 1742—1743
Joan Gerard van Angelbeek, 1794—1796, when Colombo surrendered to the British.

Fortunately for students of history, thirteen men left most interesting memoirs. All have been translated, except that of Laurens Pijl (4 below). Two translations are in manuscript only, and their authors are not known (10 and 13 below). The other ten are translations made by former Archivists — Miss Sophia Pieters, later Mrs. R. G. Anthonisz and Edmund Reimers. These ten works were published by the Ceylon Government. Chronologically these thirteen memoirs are:

1. Jan Maetsuyker to Jacob van Kittensteyn, in 1650; tr. by E. Reimers (Colombo, 1927)
2. Rijklof van Goens Sr. to Jacob Hustaart, in 1663; and later to Rijklof van Goens, Jr., in 1675; tr. by E. Reimers. (Colombo, 1932)
3. Rijklof van Goens, Jr. to Laurens Pijl, in 1679, tr. by Miss S. Pieters, (Colombo 1910)
4. Laurens Pijl to Thomas van Rhee, in 1692 (Manuscript copy of text in the Colombo Museum Library)
5. Thomas van Rhee to Gerrit de Heere, in 1697; tr. by Mrs. S. Anthonisz, (Colombo 1915)
6. Cornelis Joan Simons to Hendrick Becker, in 1707; tr. by Mrs. S. Anthonisz, (Colombo, 1914)
7. Hendrick Becker to Isaac Augustyn Rumpf, in 1716; tr. by Mrs. S. Anthonisz, (Colombo, 1914)
8. Jacob Christiaan Pielat to Diederik van Domburf, in 1734; tr. by Miss S. Pieters, (Colombo, 1905)
9. Gustaaf Willem, Baron van Imhoff to Willem Maurits Bruynink, in 1740; tr. by Miss S. Pieters. (Colombo, 1911)
10. Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollenesse to Geraard Joan Vreeland, in 1751. (Photostat copy of Dutch text and a manuscript translation into English—author not known: both at National Archives)

11. Joan Gideon Loten to Jan Schreuder, in 1757; tr. by E. Reimers. (Colombo, 1935)
12. Jan Schreuder to Lubbert Jan, Baron van Eck, in 1762; tr. by E. Reimers. (Colombo, 1946)
13. Willem Jacob van de Graaff to Joan Gerard van Angelbeek, in 1794. (Typescript of translation into English—author not known at the National Archives)

Mention must be made here of a valuable set of Instructions left by one of the earliest and ablest Dutch Governors, Rycklof van Goens, Sr., who later held the office of Governor-General at Batavia. These Instructions contain a full and complete record of the orders issued from time to time during the early period of the Dutch administration (1656—1665) for the principal officials of the Company, and they form the basis on which this country was governed throughout the period of Dutch rule. An English translation by Mrs. Sophia Anthonisz, Dutch Translator to the Government of Ceylon and to become wife of the Government Archivist at the time, was published by the Government in 1908.

Governors and other officials made regional and general circuits. The circuit diaries and reports on various districts are of special use for geographical studies of the country and its resources, for customs and usages prevailing at the time, and occasionally for ethnological and philological studies. For example, one diary describes a commodity as *Singhaleesche ooren* which literally rendered into English means *Sinhalese ears*. A subsequent diary revealed that the term referred to *goraka*, an acid fruit used in curries. The shape of the article and the absence of a proper Dutch equivalent, plus the fact that it was a product of the interior villages, presumably prompted the scribe to term it as *Sinhalese ears*. There are several instances of this kind:

Third: There is a series of correspondence and the annual general reports and returns of trade and commerce called *Compendia*, plus their annexes (supplementary matter) which were sent to Holland and to Batavia. More than 1,500 manuscript files of such correspondence ranging from 1721 to 1756 are available. Of these, the most important are the annual general reports of the Dutch Governors which contain a summary of the transactions and events of the previous fiscal year systematically arranged under the various aspects of administration. Unlike the corresponding series of the British records, no contemporary general indexes of this series are extant as aids to research. The order of arrangement is quite uniform, and reference to any particular topic of interest is not too difficult with sufficient experience in their use.

Fourth: The series of Head and Land *Tombo*s. This monumental work of registration has been referred to as the *Doomsday Book* of Ceylon. It was a survival of the Portuguese *tombo* or *register of holdings*, and their *forals* or *register of quit rents*, both of which in turn had been modelled on the *Lekam-mitti* or *feudal registers* of Sinhalese times. Governor Jan Schreuder, referring to them in his *Memoir*, says:

A fully completed tombo is important not only in respect of the least detail which concerns the country, but also of the good inhabitants thereof; and indeed in all civilised countries, nothing is so proper and natural than that the particulars regarding one's own territory and subjects should be recorded in writing in such a manner that it would not be possible for a child to be born, or a graybeard, however old he may be, to die, without some mention being made thereof.

There are three sets of such tombo's compiled in respect of the Colombo and Galle districts, revised from time to time between 1742 and 1784, consisting of more than 400 manuscript volumes. Some volumes of an earlier registration in the Galle district where the tombo

originated, and dating from about 1683, are also available. These are not arranged in any substantial form, and are fragmentary. There is also a set of 38 volumes of such tombos respecting the several villages and islands of the Jaffna *Commandement*, dating from 1772—1779, which throw much light on the land tenures and customs of that district.

The tombos were to serve a dual purpose. They were to be a statistical record of population and properties in the districts and villages. They were also an economic survey of revenues and other resources of the Company based on land taxes and feudal services of its subjects. Today they serve a still further purpose: they provide authentic certification of title to ownership, and certificates are admissible as legal evidence in the absence of proper notarial deeds in cases of land disputes. More informally, they are also very much in use now in genealogical studies of the various Sinhalese and Tamil residents of the country.

Fifth: I now refer briefly to other subsidiary series of primary sources in the more important branches of research.

A. *Education and Religion.* The Dutch school tombos or parish registers and the proceedings of the *Scholarchale Vergaderingen*, or School Boards, in the National Archives date from the latter part of the 17th century, and are the earliest records of village population in territories administered by the Dutch.

These records and the minutes of the three school boards in Colombo, Jaffna and Galle districts in the National Archives, are supplemented by the minutes of the three Church Consistories, the reports of the annual visits of the *Scholarchen* or *School Inspectors*, and the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials which are available in the archives of the respective Churches. Alphabetical indexes of entries in the registers of the Dutch Reformed Churches in the Colombo District for the period 1709—1952 A. D. are available in the Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church at Wolvendaal in Colombo. All of these furnish a useful primary source for study of both educational policy and genealogy during a period covering more than 125 years of Dutch and early British rule in Ceylon.

Following are three useful guides for background to the two systems of registration, the head and land tomo and the school tomo or parish registers:

Mottau, S. A. W. "Documents relating to the tomo registration of the Dutch and the instructions issued in this connection." *Ceylon Historical Journal*. III (Pt. 2), 1953.

Mottau, S. A. W. *A Summary of the contents of the Dutch Head and Land Tombos*, MSS. II volumes, compiled 1956.

Reimers, Edmund. *The Dutch Parish Registers (School Tombos) of Ceylon*. Printed as a draft bulletin of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Ceylon in 1949; not published.

An account of the Dutch educational establishment in Ceylon by the Rev. J. D. Palm, apparently based on sources at Wolvendaal Church which he served was published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1846, and reproduced in the *Journal of the Dutch Union of Ceylon* in Vol. 28. of 1939. A general survey of progress and development of education in Ceylon during the Portuguese, Dutch and British periods appeared in articles included in *Centenary Volume of Education in Ceylon*, published by Government, 1969.

B. Geographical and Topographical studies.

The series of maps and plans in the National Archives, the Colombo Museum and the Surveyor-General's Office in Colombo, with their relevant lists and indexes, are the main sources for these studies.

The comprehensive work is Dr. R. L. Brohier's *Land, Maps and Surveys* (Colombo, 1952). Subsidiary material is also among the manuscript files in the National Archives where are reports of the various Dutch officials on matters of defence, agriculture, irrigation, survey and land settlement.

- C. *Diplomatic relations of the Dutch with the Kandyan Court, Indian princes and other foreign powers.* About 100 manuscript files dealing with *external affairs* of the Dutch and their diplomatic relations with both eastern and western powers; treaties concluded; naval and military expeditions against the Portuguese, French British; and their wars with Kandy are available.

These files are apart from the reports of the Dutch Governor's memoirs and their annual reports to Holland and Batavia, both of which were mentioned earlier. The series contains reports of the various Dutch embassies to Kandy and to Siam (Thailand), and the original letters of King Rajasinha II to the various Dutch officials, written in Portuguese. Translations of these by Donald Ferguson appeared in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 55, 1904. Texts of the various treaties concluded by the Dutch in the East are published in *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandò—Indicum*, by J. E. Heeres and Dr. F. W. Stapel available, as are other books cited in this paper, at the National Archives. Its full title reads:

CORPUS DIPLOMATICUM NEERLANDO—INDICUM: Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten, van privilege—brieven aan hen verleend, enz. Uit heg. en toegelicht door Mr. J. E. Heeres. I (1596—1650). II (1650—1675). Verzameld en toegelicht door Dr. F. W. Stapel: III (1676—1691). IV (1691—1725). V (1726—1752). Reprinted from Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land—en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch—Indie. ('s—Gravenhage; 1907—1938).

D. **Legislation and Judicial procedure.**

Justice was administered in Ceylon to the Dutch and to other Europeans according to the laws in force in Holland and the Statutes of Batavia, originally compiled by J. Maetsuyker, President of the Court of Justice at Batavia in 1641, and later revised. The Native Asian inhabitants were governed according to the custom of the country, if clear and reasonable, otherwise according to the law of the Dutch.

The 1766 revision of Dutch law was called the New Statutes of Batavia. Five MSS volumes of these Statutes are extant at the National Archives.

To these two codes must be added the enactments of the Governor and Council which were binding *prima facie* on the European, the Eurasian and the Asian inhabitants alike. The Tamils in the northern provinces had a special code, the *Thesavalamai*, which law and custom had been collected by Claasz Isaacs, Dessave of Jaffna, on order of Governor Joan Simonsz. There were corresponding codes for other communities like the Muslims and the Mukuwars. These codes and their amplifications introduced by Government at various times were circulated to the chief officials in the various districts in the form of permanent, positive, and circular orders. They, with the relevant *Placaaten* or *proclamations* issued from time to time, are contained in 63 MSS volumes. The *Placaats* (English form of the plural, and sometimes spelled *plakaats*) in Dutch and the vernaculars, at first manuscripts and later printed, are useful for Sinhalese and Tamil calligraphic studies, and language comparisons. This applies also to the series of MSS volumes of *ola* (palm leaf) translations, dated 1700 to 1796, filed among the National Archives' Dutch records.

Dutch Judicial administration in Ceylon has been dealt with in a recent contribution by Dr. T. Nadaraja to the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Asiatic Society*, n. s. Vol. 12 for 1970.

In conclusion it may be appropriate to mention that nearly all the collections of primary sources of the 17th and 18th centuries are written in the Dutch language. Comparatively, very little use has been made of them by scholars of period studies in Ceylon owing to the lack of adequate knowledge of the language in which they are written. Unless steps are taken to encourage students of history in a study of the Dutch language, these valuable primary sources will continue to remain unexploited and forgotten, wasting their utility and sweetness in the "desert air" of our inadequately conditioned repositories in Ceylon.

General Reference Sources in the National Archives

Anthonisz, R. G., **Report on the Dutch records in the Government Archives at Colombo** (Colombo Government Press, 1907).

Gives a general all-round idea of scope and range of various series of records related to the Dutch Government in Ceylon.

Jurriaanse, Miss M. W., **Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon, 1640—1796**. (Colombo, Government Press, 1943).

Mottau, S. A. W., **A Catalogue of the Dutch records of the Galle, Matara, Jaffna and Wannai Districts**. (Typescript).

Mottau, S. A. W., **A Summary of the despatches and correspondence between the Government of Ceylon and the Directors of the British East India Company and the Secretary of State for the Colonies and other officials of the Colonial Office in London, from 1796 to 1835 A.D., with an alphabetical index**. (Typescript, 2 vols.)

These summaries contain detailed information on the administrative and judicial history of the Dutch Government as reviewed by their successors in Ceylon during the early years of the 19th century.

The Study of Nineteenth Century Ceylon

Primary (Official) Sources

At the Ceylon Government Archives, Colombo¹

by Kingsley de Silva

The student of 19th century history, whether that of Britain or of Ceylon, would do well to ponder over Lytton Strachey's comment that:

The history of the Victorian Age will never be written: we know too much about it. For ignorance is the first requisite of the historian — ignorance which simplifies and clarifies, which selects and omits. . . . Concerning the age which has just passed, our fathers and our grandfathers have poured forth and accumulated so vast a quantity of information that the industry of a Ranke would be submerged by it, and the perspicacity of a Gibbon would quail before it.

The first problem then is the formidable quantity and the remarkable variety² of source materials available.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Despatches and demi-officials correspondence

The student of British rule in Ceylon will almost certainly start with *the official despatches* to and from Ceylon, between the Governor of the Colony and the Secretary of State. These despatches filed at the Public Record office, in London, and the Ceylon Government Archives are perhaps the most valuable and by far the most comprehensive official sources of information available; they appear in the Colonial Office series C.O. 54 (the despatches from Ceylon) and C.O. 55 (copies of the despatches from the Secretary of State). The material available runs into several volumes per year.

These despatches, however, are merely the records the two Secretariats kept of their dealings with each other. Policy making has two stages, one of preliminary discussion and the other of execution; the despatches generally deal more with the first stage and even with regard to this the minutes and memoranda prepared by Colonial Office clerks (or their counterparts in Ceylon) and the various preliminary drafts of the final despatch are often more revealing than the final despatch itself. Thus the C.O. 54 series has one important advantage over the C.O. 55 series containing the despatches sent to Ceylon. This latter series contains only the final drafts of the Secretary of State's despatch, while the C.O. 54 series contains not only the Governor's

1. For a comprehensive list of this material see Low, Iltis, and Wainwright, (eds.) *Government Archives in South Asia*. (Cambridge, 1969) especially pp. 3—27; and *The Government Archives Department and its contents in brief*. (Ceylon, 1962), issued by the Government Archivist especially pp. 21—28.
2. This present essay does not pretend to be an exhaustive survey of all the various categories of primary official sources at the Ceylon Government Archives. It merely refers to the more significant categories.

despatches (and their original enclosures) but also the Colonial Office minutes and memoranda on it, as well as several preliminary drafts of the reply which ultimately formed the Secretary of State's despatch. These minutes and memoranda as well as the drafts are of considerable value in that they enable the student to determine the role played by individuals other than the Secretary of State, and institutions other than the Colonial Office (such as the Imperial Treasury on all financial problems, and while it existed the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners on such issues as land tenure and settlement) on the actual evolution of colonial policy.

At the Ceylon end, the volumes of official correspondence between the Colonial Secretary's office in Colombo and the Government Agents and their assistants in the provinces are especially important.³ The letters to Colombo provide invaluable information on problems of provincial administration, while the letters from Colombo reveal the Government's official "line" on important matters. The correspondence between the Colonial Secretary's office and the Queen's Advocate Department delineate the evolution of legislation as well as lines of argument in policy making.

Correspondence between the Secretariat in Colombo and the provincial administration, as well as that between the Secretariat and other departments in Colombo, along with the minutes and memoranda that went into the preparation of the Governor's despatches are vitally important for a study of the development of policy at Colombo. These minutes and memoranda were not all enclosed in the despatches; the enclosures were often carefully selected and generally only those which strengthened an argument or illustrated a point were included. But unless one reads these minutes it is difficult to determine the responsibility of officials other than the governor in the affairs of the colony. For when a governor was less than masterful, despatches were often the work of the Colonial Secretary of the Ceylon Government, or they were a compromise between various conflicting views, and indeed a despatch might even outline a policy, or advocate a course of action about which the Governor may have been more or less lukewarm.

The material in the despatches was often devised for the purpose of advocacy. It could be advocacy before the event, in which case the information would be slanted to impress the Colonial Office and the material arranged to put across a line of policy or justify a course of action. On the other hand, if it were a description of an episode discreditable to the colonial administration, a despatch or memorandum will give more emphasis to the official version.

The degree to which the Colonial Office detected the slant in a despatch varied with the subject discussed, and the degree of discrimination available among its officials. In the 1830s and the 1840s, despite the presence of the formidable James Stephen as Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, that institution was seldom in a position to initiate significant changes of policy except on matters in which the secretary of State or the Permanent Under-Secretary had a personal interest, or on issues in which public opinion or pressure groups in the metropolitan country were deeply interested. In the 1850s and 1860s, particularly under Stephen's successor Herman Merivale, Colonial Office control on policy was much stronger and the background knowledge (of Ceylon) among the officials and clerks was considerably superior to that of their predecessors. The real change, however, came with the development of communications—the connection by overland cable in 1868, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the completion of a British submarine cable in 1870—which gave Whitehall a formidable

3. Ceylon Government Archives, series, Lot 6/-.

influence on the development and even on the execution of policy. Where previously information had seeped through after several weeks, it was now possible to have it in a matter of hours. It is not without significance that the number of despatches per annum showed a remarkable increase after the 1870s.

The value of the despatches as historical source material is also affected by the fact that officials tended to be rather guarded in their statements, very formal and correct. There was the fear that despatches could be published, as the despatches and their enclosures from Ceylon for the years 1847 and 1850 were published when a Parliamentary Committee investigated the affairs of Ceylon after the "rebellion" of 1848. Even secret despatches were not entirely free from this danger, and besides it was impolitic to rely too often on the device of a secret despatch.⁴ One way out of their difficulty was to supplement the official despatches with a private correspondence of a demi-official nature between the Secretary of State and the Governor, but this depended too much on the personalities involved to ever become a standard practice. When a correspondence of this demi-official nature existed, the tendency was always to be rather less formal and even less discreet, the correspondents allowed themselves to relax their official stiffness considerably and to express their opinions with a degree of freedom impossible in official despatches.⁵

Few nineteenth century Governors of Ceylon have left any substantial collections of private letters, and with one exception these private letters are not available at the Government Archives in Colombo. The Mackenzie MSS., the private papers of the Right Honourable J. M. S. Mackenzie, Governor of Ceylon 1837—41, form the exception but, even with regard to this, the collection at the Government Archives in Colombo consists of copies of the originals.

The Mackenzie MSS consist of drafts of despatches and copies of despatches, reports, private letters and diaries of Mackenzie's tours in various parts of the island. This collection of documents, though some of it does supplement the official despatches, is less informative and useful than one would have expected from its variety and quantity.⁶

A unique source of official MSS. material available at the Government Archives, Colombo, is the correspondence of the Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, covering the years 1815 to 1833. These include the correspondence of the Board of Kandyan Commissioners (1816—33) the Resident and First Commissioner (1815—24), Judicial Commissioners (1816—33), the Revenue Commissioner (1815—33), and the Agents for Revenue in the interior. These latter included the Agents of Uva (1817—32), Sabaragamuwa (1817—32), and the Three and Four Korales (1817—32).

This material is vital for the study of the old Kandyan Kingdom in the first phase of British Control and administration, from the cession of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815 to 1833.

The Archives in Colombo have microfilm of some of the documents in the Colonial Office series C. O. 416 consisting of material relating to Ceylon collected by the Colebrooke—Cameron

4. Perhaps as way out of this difficulty, Governor Stewart Mackenzie resorted to the habit of writing long private letters to the Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg, in which he touched on all the problems of his administration in a most haphazard manner. Senior Colonial Office officials took exception to this, and Mackenzie was instructed to write carefully drafted despatches instead. In spite of this admonition, he persisted in this practice, though these letters became less frequent thereafter. The Colonial Office staff suspected that this unorthodox correspondence was designed to reach Glenelg directly without the intervention of the permanent officials.
5. A good example of such a correspondence is that between the Third Earl Grey, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1846—52, and Viscount Torrington, Governor of Ceylon, 1847—50; and C. J. MacCarthy, Auditor General of Ceylon in Torrington's administration.
6. Private letters of Governors of Ceylon not available at the Ceylon Government Archives include those of Viscount Torrington (1847—50), Sir Henry Ward (1850—55), Sir William Gregory (1870—77), and Sir Arthur Gordon (1883—90). All these are of greater interest and value to the historian than the Mackenzie MSS.

Commission (1829—31). The C.O. 416/—series consists of thirty-two volumes, a forbidding mass of documents in a crude, undigested form—memoranda, petitions, notes of evidence given before the Commissioners, reports and other manuscript material indispensable for the study of the first four decades of British rule.

Diaries

The recent publication of Leonard Woolf's Diaries in Ceylon, 1908—1911⁷—the official diaries maintained by him when he held the post of Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota drew attention to an official source of manuscript material of unique significance, the "vast corpus of diaries which the British colonial government in Ceylon required its officials to maintain". The practice of maintaining official diaries began in 1808 with Governor Sir Thomas Maitland's instructions to every Collector (subsequently termed Government Agent) of a district to maintain a record of his work; this requirement was later extended to other heads of departments as well. From 1808 to 1931 when this practice came to an end, officials in charge of provinces and districts—Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents—and all heads of departments maintained a daily record of work done by them.

To understand the value of these diaries as historical source material one needs to remember that, for all practical purposes, the bureaucracy was the effective government of Ceylon till the introduction of the Donoughmore Reforms in 1931. The civil servants were not only executors of Government policy, they were also the chief legislators and in many areas and for a long period they had judicial responsibilities as well.

The diaries maintained by the provincial officials were meant to contain a full record of work done and a full description of events and conditions in their districts, though often they make very dull reading even if one can manage to decipher the script. They were transmitted periodically to Colombo and were read through by the Colonial secretary of the Ceylon Government and sometimes by the Governor himself.

There is a tendency, however, to make exaggerated claims about the value of these diaries as source material for social scientists. While these diaries undoubtedly afford a view of what was happening in the districts, the entries very often are rather disjointed and sketchy, and not always connected. Besides while they are no doubt useful in the study of the ideas of the more imaginative administrators, they seldom provide material of any real value of how the laws and other decisions made in Colombo affected the people. For this we need to read between the lines in the diaries, wherever that is possible.

PRINTED OFFICIAL SOURCES

Among the printed official sources the first item that requires mention is the *Ceylon Government Gazette*, the principal information organ of the government, containing material of a wide variety of subjects. It records all civil service appointments, announced drafts of legislative enactments and rules made under the terms laid down in legislation (particular mention might

7. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IX (1—4) (Colombo, 1962) is devoted to the *Diary*. The only other diary that has been published is that of Sir John D'Oyly, edited by H. W. Codrington, in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*, Vol. XXV (Colombo 1917). D'Oyly was the Resident at Kandy from 1815 to 1824 and this diary deals with his activities when he held the post of Chief Translator to Government in the years before 1815.

be made of applications for crown lands, declarations and reservations under land enactments, and sales of crown lands), and it provides a great deal of official (though not always reliable) statistical information.

The Addresses Delivered in the Legislative Council of Ceylon by Governors of the colony together with Replies of Council, contained in four volumes and printed in 1876, 1877, 1900 and 1915, range from statements of policy and declarations of intention, to occasional (and far from dispassionate) surveys of achievements. By itself this material is of relatively little value, providing only the barest outlines of historical development and even that only as the various governors would have liked contemporaries (and posterity) to see it. But purely from the point of official policy it is of some use, particularly for the years up to 1870—largely because there was no local *Hansard* up to 1870—as a supplementary source of information. Adopted with a little caution and with some skilful reading between the lines, the perceptive reader will gain some valuable insight into the working of the official mind. In this connection it might be pertinent to mention that the British Governors of Ceylon of the nineteenth century left behind for their successors nothing like the official *Memoirs* of their Dutch predecessors.⁸

Apart from these four volumes of addresses to the Legislative Council, there are the *Speeches and Minutes* of Governor Sir Henry Ward (1855–60)⁹ the speeches printed here include a number made outside the precincts of the Legislature. The material includes a selection of Ward's more important minutes as well, particularly the supremely important ones relating to his irrigation policy.

*Administration Reports*¹⁰ of heads of departments and provincial administrators tend to create a rather exaggerated impression of solidity and comprehensiveness. It is an impression created by the sheer number of volumes available, and the regularity with which they have appeared. Generally they appeared annually, and were meant to provide a brief review of the year's work in a particular district or province, or in a department. Officials tended to survey the events of the year as they affected their province or department, but these reviews and surveys seldom displayed a sympathetic understanding of the issues of the day, much less a lively and imaginative appraisal of these problems. The style was cold, wooden, "bureaucratise", with a partiality for rows of statistics. These statistics were, at best, misleading at worst, pure invention; and throughout the nineteenth century they were the subject of criticism if not ridicule but this seldom led to any positive (and consistent) efforts at improvement.

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8. Three governors, Sir West Ridgeway, Sir Henry Blake and Sir Henry MacCallum left *Reviews* of their Administrations as printed documents for posterity. These reviews included important speeches. These documents may be compared to the *Memoirs* of Dutch governors. Of these, Ridgeway's volume covers the years 1896–1903, while the others belong to the 20th century.
 9. Sir H. G. Ward *Speeches and Minutes*. . . 1855–1860. (Colombo, 1864). The volume also contains a great deal of information obtained during Ward's peregrinations round the island. Among the documents included in the volume is Bailey's celebrated report on Irrigation.
 10. *Administration Reports* were first published in 1867, but in the early 1860s—certainly by 1863—these reports were sent annually to the Colonial Office and some of them filed in the C. O. 54/—series, while printed versions appeared in the C. O. 57/—series.

The very fact that they were produced annually, and that they were meant for publication served as a check on disinterestedness, impartiality or sometimes even accuracy. It was discretion at the expense of everything else."¹¹

A more valuable source of information, the *Sessional Papers*,¹² deals with specific problems and within limits imposed by the terms of reference issued to those who investigated these problems, they were treated on an altogether more comprehensive scale than they were ever likely to be in the *Administrative Reports*. Objective analysis and detached and frank appraisal were the rule than the exception, even if occasionally the views expressed have been coloured by the bias of the man who wrote them, and even if there was a tendency to emphasise precisely those aspects which would strengthen the line of policy advocated in the report.

The *Sessional Papers*¹³ have an additional advantage: very often the minutes of evidence given before a Committee or Commission of Inquiry are attached to the report and these minutes could be even more valuable than the report itself;¹⁴ and memoranda prepared by officials or private persons were also included in the appendices or elsewhere¹⁵

Hansard (Ceylon) Few sources of information have been more assiduously combed by scholars than the officials record of the debates in various Legislatures of Ceylon. This official record was referred to as *Hansard* after its more illustrious British counterpart, the *Hansard* of the British Parliament has been much less useful, mainly because Ceylon save for a brief period in 1849—51, seldom became a topic of controversy in the Parliamentary life of Britain, though of course there were occasional reference to Ceylon at Question time.

It was not until 1870, however, that the Ceylon *Hansard* appeared with any regularity, and between 1833 and 1870 printed official versions of the debates in the Legislative Council appeared only for the years 1842—1844 when an official stenographer was employed for the purpose of recording the debates.¹⁶ For the rest of the period one has to rely on the extracts, selections and summaries of speeches published in the newspapers, written often in an arresting and entertaining style¹⁷ and though more prone to bias were not much less accurate than the official version. Still the lack of an official record of speeches for the bulk of this period is a clear loss to the historian, and the sense of loss is intensified when one reads the material available for the

11. *The Administration Reports* of the nineteenth century are rather more valuable as historical source material than those of the twentieth century. The officials who wrote them has less need to be discreet and cautious in their remarks, were less inclined to justify themselves to their superiors if not to posterity, and on the whole made a conscientious effort to make a dispassionate survey of the problems they faced. Quite often important measures such as the Service Tenure Ordinance of 1870 emerged as a result of comments and remarks in *Administration Reports*. Again, these reports throw a great deal of light on the working of Ordinances such as the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance of 1850, and on the major social problems of the day such as *chena* land and grain taxes. (See the article by D. A. Kotelawe, elsewhere in this volume on *chena cultivation*. ksd).
12. For a full list of these *Sessional Papers* see *Index to Papers laid before the Legislative Council, 1855—1931, and the State Council 1931—1933* compiled by S. Gunawardane. (Colombo, 1935). Indexes covering the years 1934—1951, and 1951—1959 were issued subsequently.
13. *The Sessional Papers* referred to in this essay are those published in Ceylon on behalf of the Ceylon Government.
14. See, for example, S. P. 17 of 1890, *Report of a Select Committee of the Legislative Council (on) the Grain Tax Ordinance* 11 of 1878.
15. A good example is *The Report on the Committee of the Executive on the Fixed Establishment of Ceylon* (H.M.S.O. 1852.)
16. James Swan official stenographer, was apparently the first man in Ceylon to use shorthand. See elsewhere in the series the Wijeyesinghe paper. ksd.
17. It might be pointed out that in the 1870s A. M. Ferguson, Editor of *The Ceylon Observer* was responsible for the preparation of the local *Hansard*.

years 1842 to 1844, particularly the absorbingly interesting debate on the reform of the Jury system in 1843.

The hiatus might have been less significant had the official minutes and summaries of speeches in the Legislative and Executive Councils (produced for transmission to the Colonial Office)¹⁸ been more adequate, but a glance at the material in the C.O. 57 —series at the Public Record Office, London, will reveal their shortcomings. Only the barest outline of a speech is provided; indeed very often one can get merely the figures on the voting on motions and amendments. But when the Executive Council discussed an important or controversial issue, it was customary to call for comprehensive minutes from individual members, setting out their arguments in some detail. A reading of these minutes is often useful in determining the responsibility of the Executive Councillors in the development of a line of policy, or in analysing divisions of opinion.

For the greater part of the 19th century the Ceylon *Hansard* at best supplements other sources of information. It is in the 20th century, particularly with the approach of self-government, that the Ceylon *Hansard* comes into its own as by far the most adequate source of information on the great issues of the day; though other sources, particularly the newspapers, may provide a more detailed record of day to day events, or play a more significant role in the moulding of public opinion. And the greater the influence of local politicians in the affairs of the country the more valuable the Ceylon *Hansard* becomes as historical source material.

18. This material is available in MSS form at the Government Archives Colombo.

English Periodicals of Nineteenth Century Ceylon

A brief survey

by Vijita Bianca de Silva

The Dutch introduced printing to Ceylon but the products of their presses did not include serial literature, the output being confined to official documents and religious works. It was left to the British, the pioneers of newspaper publishing in both Europe and India, to establish a regular periodical press in the island. When the British took over government from the Dutch, the Dutch printing offices passed over to them and the government printing office was founded. It shared printing honours with the mission presses in the first half of the nineteenth century but was, till the establishment of the Wesleyan Mission Press in 1815, the only printing establishment in the Colony.

The first serial publication, *The Ceylon Government Gazette*, was a product of the Government Press. The Colony's first newspaper, first issued on 15th March 1802, *The Gazette* was primarily a means of disseminating government information. Orders and notifications, judicial and commercial intelligence of interest to its reading public of government servants filled its columns—interspersed with news items both foreign and local, the former generally culled from Indian and European newspapers, the latter gleaned from local intelligence reports. Within two years of its first printing a *Supplement* was issued, and by the 1820s the *Supplement* began to carry news items exclusively. Three decades later, in 1833, *The Colombo Journal*, another product of the Government Press, replaced the *Supplement to The Government Gazette* which was suppressed during the brief two-year run of *The Colombo Journal*. *The Journal* carried leading articles which ranged over a wide field of subjects—politics, history, literature, and antiquarian studies as well as news and Letters to the Editor in which particular column both social and political war was waged. *The Journal*, issued largely as a result of Governor Horton's endeavours, had its opponents² and the editor—no doubt preoccupied with what he termed "envenomed criticism"—suddenly announced that *The Journal* would no longer entertain queries of a literary and scientific nature as it had been wont to do.

1. "His Excellency the Governor", runs the official announcement "being of opinion that great convenience would arise to the Publick if all Government Orders & Notifications were known and Circulated through the Medium of a Newspaper, has been pleased to direct that a Prospectus of such a Paper should be prepared & Published. . . ." The issue of 13 October 1802 carried the Governor's directive that notifications published were to be considered "valid and authentic."
2. *The Colombo Journal* maintained that no articles would be rejected even if the views expressed were at variance with those of the existing government provided they were "temperately and moderately written." He warned, however, "no improper or unwarranted attacks on the Government or individuals would be tolerated." The governmental connection was too evident: its claim to be a "semi-official paper" were not accepted by its opponents who declared that Horton had remodelled the tyranny of the Ceylon press. Horton was directed by the Home authorities to terminate its publication; the issue of 31 December 1833 was the last. Horton used the *Gazette Supplement, 1834—37* (discontinued in 1837), and the *Ceylon Chronicle, 1837—38*, to repudiate criticism of his regime. The cessation of *Ceylon Chronicle* marked the demise of official journalism in Ceylon.

This editorial announcement possibly hastened the publication of what appears³ to have been Ceylon's first periodical, *Tyro's Repertory of Useful Knowledge*.⁴ The editor in his Introductory Address wrote that they had "long intended" to issue a periodical and that *The Journal* announcement gave effect to this intent.

A monthly, first published in January 1833, three decades after the first printing of the first newspaper, *Tyro's Repertory of Useful Knowledge* was edited by the Rev. Samuel Lambrick and issued under the auspices of the Cotta Church Missionaries. This "excellent little juvenile periodical, published monthly at Cotta" seems to have continued for about three years⁵ Just as the government press dominated the newspaper scene in the first three decades of the 19th century till the establishment of a "free" press in the Colony in 1834—in the guise of *The Observer and Commercial Advertiser* (fore-runner of the present *Ceylon Observer*)—the mission presses dominated the periodical scene in the 1830s and 1840s.

Tyro's Repertory of Useful Knowledge was the first in the series of expressions in periodical form of militant missionary zeal. These serial products of the mission presses, edited by senior members of the clergy, were used effectively as proselytising media. Their intentions were explicitly and openly stated in prefaces and introductory addresses; *Tyro's* editor for one, while acknowledging concern for those seeking after instruction, sought to "warn the eager aspirant after science against undue attachment to it; he further warned that "unsanctified knowledge is pernicious" and wrote that their aim "as missionaries is infinitely higher than the promotion of intellectual attainments." Essays on Goodness, Adversity and the like vied for attention in its pages with questions on practical arithmetic algebra, geometrical problems and inquiries as to the classics.

The evangelical aims held by *Tyro's* editor were shared by the conductor of *The Colombo Religious and Theological Magazine*, also a Cotta Mission publication, issued from April 1833 to November 1834, and "conducted by the Senior Colonial Chaplain"—The Rev. B. Bailey Sr. though not named. The editor's preface expressed the hope that the periodical "might tend to the diffusion of the Knowledge of Christianity and the enforcement of the practical duties of Religion—both among the Natives that understood the English language and the native European population, and the English themselves" as the "Visible Union of all Sects of Christianity in the sight of the heathen seemed desirable."

Similar sentiments were held by the editors of *The Colombo Religious Tract Society Magazine* issued by the Wesleyan Mission Press, who hoped to publish "articles of intelligence connected with the moral improvement of mankind". Both of these periodicals were filled with religious essays sacred biographies and miscellaneous Protestant matter; and both had a short span of life—two years. The editor of *The Colombo Religious and Theological Magazine* became the central figure in a religious controversy, the result of a learned—but injudicious—criticism of a Cotta Mission work which was heatedly repudiated by a younger colleague. In November

3. As this was being edited, the *First Report of the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society* was found: 1813. Published approximately annually, the *Reports* constituted a summary statement of proceedings for members of the Society. At first a Government Press publication, it continues today from the Ceylon Bible Society. Another serial titled *Extracts from Quarterly Letters of Missionaries*, published by the Wesleyan Mission Press, fairly complete from no. 5 of October 1818, has been reported by Miss Katharine S. Diehl as found in the Methodist Headquarters Library, Colombo. These *Quarterly Letters* were addressed to the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society by the Missionaries and Ministers of the South Ceylon District and were intended for private circulation.
4. No copy has yet been traced. An account of *Tyro's Repertory* appears in *Ceylon Miscellany*, I (1) : 3 (1853); also in the contemporary *Colombo Journal*.
5. *Colombo Academy Miscellany* I (1) : 1 January 1837)

1834, wearied of the battle, he announced that he would no longer “keep the Public mind in a state of fermentation by the Publication”, nor would he subject himself to “anonymous personal attacks in a public Newspaper”; thus ceased publication of *The Colombo Religious and Theological Magazine* in November 1834. The Wesleyan Mission periodical edited by the Rev. E. Daniel, *The Colombo Religious Tract Society Magazine*, ceased publication in June 1837—possibly in consequence of the publication by the same press of *The Friend*.

The first number of *The Friend* was published in July 1837. Of the missionary journals of the 1830s it is the one that most merits study. It was issued in four runs:—the first series covered the period July 1837 to December 1845 when it ceased publication “for want of pecuniary support, the not unusual fate of early 19th century periodicals. “Its endeavour”, wrote its first editor, the Rev. Robert Spence Hardy, was “so far as our very limited influence extends to restore the world to its original purity . . . Whenever we find the Good and the Beautiful it will be our highest happiness to bring them forth for admiration, ascribing the origin to the right source, the inspiration of heaven . . .” It hoped to carry monthly “a short article on some elementary truth of science and another on some subject more immediately connected with the social, moral or religious interest of Ceylon”, while “requesting the patronage of the wise” he reminded the reader that “it is for the unlearned that we principally write”. “What must I do to be saved?” is the question posed by one article; others deal with such edifying themes as “The Folly of carelessness”, another comments on “The Moral destitution of the Sinhalese.” Notes on “Native superstition,” “Native amusements” and the like—tinged with censure, direct and implied, on native morals and culture. “On Buddhism” translations of Buddhist scriptures by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, appear in this series. What is often referred to as the Battle of the Tooth, wage in its columns, levelled charges against the Government for patronage of Buddhism; for, claimed *The Friend* in its pages, “so vast an empire had been given to Britain that its heathen population may be the more speedily converted to the faith of Christ” and the government was charged with acting in opposition to the declared will of God.⁶

The second run of *The Friend* commenced after a lapse of twenty years; eleven volumes were issued during the period 1870—1881. Its title was changed to *The Ceylon Friend* in 1873 (fourth volume of the second series), and added a sub-title: *The Ceylon Friend, A monthly magazine of literature and religion in Ceylon*. The sub-title reflects an increasing concern with literature and science though the missionary zeal never flags. It aspired to be ‘the magazine of the English Schools in Ceylon’. It is in this series that Rev. Pereira’s series of articles on the natural history of Ceylon appears; also the J. S. article on Sinhalese proverbs and Skeen’s account of Adam’s Peak. Religious articles and religious intelligence, however, predominates along with expressions of the *characteristic missionary interpretations of Buddhism of this period*⁷ which range from such features as “Buddha’s false tooth” to Hardy’s polemical work on “Christianity and Buddhism compared” (a serialised reprint) and, as in the first series relations of Church and State continue to be analysed. The third and fourth series cover the period 1885—

6. The Kandy Convention of 1815 contained the declaration that Buddhism was to be maintained and protected. Government measures to do so were interpreted by the missions as official support of an idolatrous religious system. Christian missions used their presses as active tools in their proselytizing campaigns tracts and periodicals urged the acceptance of Christian doctrines and attacked with vigour the tenets of Buddhism. One form of Buddhist retaliation was the issue, in turn, of tracts from their presses established in the 1860s at Kotahena and Galle. An article on “The Buddhist Controversy” in *The Literary Association Magazine*, I (3) for 1863 carried the comment, “They maintain 2 presses, one at Colombo and the other at Galle and having established a “Society for the propagation of Buddhism” they have recourse to subscriptions and contributions, as well from among the opulent members of their creed, as from the poorer masses.”

7. Italics mine: let it be realised that virtually a century later the mutual theological knowledge is still rather fuzzy. ksd.

1892⁸ There is a change in format and numbering sequence, but as far as the contents are concerned we have the mixture as before.

To go back to the 1830s, the press responsible for *The Friend*—the Wesleyan Mission Press issued yet another missionary journal, *The Protestant Vindicator*. It has been described as a “magazine defending Protestant beliefs against Roman Catholic ones.”⁹

The Colombo Academy Miscellany and Juvenile Repository, Volume One for 1837, consists of twelve numbers; and it appears to have been the only one published. Printed at the Colombo Academy Press it was edited by the Principal. Information about school administration can be gleaned from its pages which also carry a fair number of articles characteristically concerned with moral improvement. “Commonsense”, “On fixing attention” and “Affection and respect due from pupils to their tutors”, also “The danger of bad books”¹⁰ are some features. Extracts from English Literature make up the balance, together with a lively Letter box.

The 1830s was the decade of the missionary periodical, and the 1840s the era of the literary periodical. The Herald Press in September 1840 published the first number of John Capper’s *Ceylon Magazine*. He wrote that though the state of society in a remote Colony such as the Island of Ceylon affords small scope for literature he would attempt to provide “salutary and harmless entertainment for the Public of Ceylon.”¹¹ Also he would endeavour “to give a higher tone to our Colonial literature.”

Ceylon Magazine was to provide monthly notices of literary novelties at home, reviews, literary extracts as well as monthly reports of the progress of coffee planting to those engaged in agriculture and commerce. Articles were invited on “Religion and Morals, Science and Polite Literature . . . in the shape of Essays, Memoirs, Poetry, etc.” and also papers connected with “History, Statistics, Antiquities, Scenery, Literature, Capabilities, etc. of Ceylon.” Bailey, Turnour, and James de Alwis were among the contributors and the content of the Magazine as promised ranged from De Alwis on the “Marriage customs of the Sinhalese” and “Philip; a tragedy, a play by Norah of Glynn” to “Remarks on the cultivation of sugar cane.” A plaintive epilogue in the issue of January 1842 (the final number or II (17) laments the loss of subscribers—some of them being content to read it in the library—and refers to our new friend *The Miscellany*.

The Ceylon Miscellany, edited by Edward Rawdon Power of the Ceylon Civil Service and published by the Cotta Church Mission Press, shared the same fate as the *Ceylon Magazine* for it survived but two years. The first number was issued in 1842; and No. 2 of Vol. III, April 1844, was the last: Power’s final notice echoes Capper’s last complaints. The publication was issued with the intention of some service to the interests of the Colony but the subscription was in arrears. He concluded, “To continue this work without resorting to measures to recover the arrears, utterly repugnant to the feelings of the Editor, would be to entail a pecuniary loss which he is not prepared to undergo.”

Primarily a literary venture like Capper’s, Power’s *The Ceylon Miscellany* articles ranged from the serialised “Grammar of (Kandy) Law”, by Armour, Burnand’s “Memoir to Johnstone, 1909,” Horton’s “Colonial Policy” to notes on the Coconut tree and the Cashmere Goat. Poems and reviews rounded off this monthly offering.

8. *The Ceylon Methodist Church Record* replaced *The Ceylon Friend* as the organ of the Methodist Church.

9. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon, 1814—1964*. (Colombo, Wesley Press, 1971) p. 86.

10. Included in the category of “bad books” are those “contrary to religion and good morals, to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, to loyalty, to liberty, to public tranquility, to peace among individuals, to personal security and . . . to personal enjoyment.”

11. The “Public” referred to the European community of Ceylon. However, appended to its first number was a list of 196 subscribers in which Ceylonese names too appear.

The Investigator, May 1841 to May 1842, edited by the Rev. Joseph Harris of the Baptist Mission, Kandy, was the first missionary magazine to intervene with constant intent in matters political. The editor's literary activities provoked criticism and the Baptist Society in England deemed that a magazine avowedly devoted to literature, politics, science and religion could not be carried on at the Society's expense and so the editor reluctantly announced the death of *The Investigator* in 1842.

The Commentator, with text in both English and Sinhala, issued by the Kandy Baptist Mission in 1844, was monthly, edited by C. C. Dawson. The design of the magazine was to "promote the spread of expositions of the New Testament and provide hints to native preachers on the performance of their duties, together with miscellaneous intelligence."

In May 1845 *The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* appeared. After some years the title page stated that it was edited by the Honorary Secretary. The design of the Society was to "institute and promote enquiries into the history, religion, literature, arts and sciences of the present and former inhabitants of this Island, with its geology and mineralogy, its climate and meteorology, its botany and zoology."¹² Papers read at the general meeting, if approved for printing by members of the Society, were published in *The Journal*. It is an invaluable research journal and has the distinction of being the only general periodical surviving till the present day,¹³ Reprints—occasionally with some distinct editing—have appeared.

In the fifties the first native periodical appeared: *Young Ceylon A monthly periodical, and magazine of Ceylonese and general information*. Dedicated "To the Spirit of Enquiry, which is the distinguishing feature of the present age" it was edited by Frederick Nell. Louis Nell and Charles Lorenz were associates in this literary venture undertaken by three young men all in their twenties. *Young Ceylon* though "an infant Periodical written in an acquired language designed "to serve the country of our birth and its people." The editor had declined to hope that it would amuse its subscribers "for even six months continuously, much less that it will reach the enormous age (for a periodical in Ceylon) of a twelve-month." After eleven months of continuous issue, he however, announced with pride that it had increased its circulation "from merely One Hundred copies to four hundred and fifty." *Young Ceylon's* coverage ranged from reprints of J. D. Palm's "Account of the Dutch Church in Ceylon" to "Social improvements of the Ceylonese"; "Female domestic training in Ceylon", to features on "Demonology and superstitions" and the like; notes on favourite authors, snatches of poetry, and material of scientific interest, as Dr. Kelaart's "List of Mammalia."

Young Ceylon divides the concern of contemporary newspapers with political issues "if we could but succeed in directing our countrymen" runs the comment "from dwelling more than necessary or rather exclusively on the so called political matters which occupy the chief portion of our newspapers, we shall feel contented with our humble labours." Patriotic zeal is evident in Lorenz's tirade against the Ceylonese who "have never done well and may not for years to come again do justice to their country." He concludes that they "are yet to be forced to do what is for the good of their country, and oftentimes to do it unwillingly."¹⁴

12. Opening address by the Hon. Mr. Justice Stark at the first general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon held on 1 May 1845, *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. (Colombo, Government Press, (May 1845). No. 1, p. 1.

13. *The Annual Report of the Colombo (later Ceylon) Bible Society*, equally important for historical and linguistic research continues—but is of more limited scope. The earliest issue was 1813. ksd.

14. "The Ceylonese" *Young Ceylon* I (6): 133—137 (July 1850).

In 1853 *The Ceylon Miscellany*, a quarterly from the Observer Press, was first issued. It possibly ceased publication in 1854. The editor wryly comments on the fate of its numerous predecessors and hopes for a modest success. It was issued in three parts: Literary, Legal, and Medical—each paged separately, so as to be “capable of being bound up and preserved separately... (by) professional supporters.” All three sections contain useful material. In the Literary section, for example, featured among others are Simon Casie Chetty’s (Chitty), alternate spelling article on the Rodiyas, Boake on National education, and an account of the Periodicals and Newspapers of Ceylon.

In May 1854, *The Ceylon Church Journal*, a quarterly, was issued by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The firm of A. M. & J. Ferguson first published their *Directory & Handbook*, compiled by A. M. Ferguson, in 1859.¹⁵ It was (and still is) a ready reference guide to information in Ceylon. The first issue of this invaluable annual was titled *Ceylon Summary of Useful Information and Plantation Gazetteer for 1859*. There were successive changes of both title and content; the deletion or insertion of sections reflected the changing pattern of contemporary needs.

For the first half of the 19th century it is not very likely that future search will reveal further titles. So far, seventeen titles have been traced for the first three decades of periodical history—the Thirties through the Fifties. Of these, fifteen were discontinued; the majority of the discontinued serials had a two to three-year span of life. The comment carried in the pages of *The Friend* of February 1841 (Vol. I, No. 8) is pertinent: on the difficulties attending publication it remarks

...One great difficulty which we have to contend arises from the want of means of regular distribution. The rates of postage, or the carriage of small packages, are so high as almost to preclude the possibility of the general circulation in the island of a periodical published at low price.

The Literary Association Magazine in its first issue of January 1863 declared that periodical literature has hitherto been a failure in the island” and attributed the failure to the want of cordial and hearty response.” *The Friend* two decades earlier, makes this very point—the apathy of its public. A comment applicable to the local scene runs, “It was recently said of an *Anna* magazine¹⁶ that it had 600 subscribers ‘half of whom never pay and the other half with extreme reluctance.’”

The output of the periodical press, however, steadily increased in the second half of the 19th century and more and more titles were issued till by the last quarter of the century, as many as 140 titles were current. They ranged from literary, legal and student magazines to serial literature in the form of annual reports, commercial circulars, market reports, and government serials.

Periodicals of particular interest issued in the 1860s include *The Student’s Magazine*, *The Literary Association Magazine* and *Muniandi*. *The Student’s Magazine* was a bimonthly conducted by Nicholas Gautier Gould and edited by the proprietors: Gould, Christopher Britto., Albert Louis de Alwis, William Henry de Alwis, and Thomas James de Alwis, was “established by the Senior Students of the Colombo Academy and Queen’s College” and claimed that it filled

15. Fore-runner of the present *Ferguson’s Directory*, published by Lake House, Colombo.

16. *Anna*, smallest coin in circulation, ksd.

the vacuum left by *Young Ceylon*. References appear to "unexpected patronage" in Kandy and Jaffna. The contents are similar to that earlier student offering, *The Colombo Academy Miscellany* of 1837.¹⁷

The Literary Association Magazine, a monthly general periodical published in Kandy, was issued in January 1863. By June of the same year it had become a quarterly publication. It was edited by A. C. Ambrose who promised that "the contents of the magazine will include articles on literary, scientific, political, legal and other subjects (and assured subscribers that) the services of able oriental scholars" had been secured. Favourable newspaper reviews from the *Colombo Observer*, *Jaffna Freeman* and *Ceylon Patriot* are quoted in later issues of the magazine: and announcements listing agents in Colombo and Badulla, Ratnapura and Galle indicate that the circulation was not restricted to Kandy.

Muniandi, the Ceylon Punch, is the first illustrated satirical journal in Ceylon, issued from 1869 to 1871, (published by *The Times*, it was edited by Lieut. Edgcomb, a mutual friend of John Capper (then owner of *The Times*) and his assistant and nephew by marriage Keppel Jones, "*Muniandi's* clever cartoons were the work of Van Dort. Its satire was directed at colonial society and had hard-hitting editorial quips.

You have come here with a single eye to making money. Your Religion is the pursuit of self your GOD "the almighty rupee", your LAW to do others oftener than they do you, your Profits cent, percent, your principle self-interest, and your belief is humbug generally; your Literature confined to your ledgers, your Politics to your pockets your Arts to the carving of a fortune, (too often with a *chisel*), your Science to the cure of tightness in the chest, your "*Pleasure*" to a long-armed chair and a "Trichy" cheroot: Of a truth it is essentially every man for himself, and now, happily, MUNI ANDI, for you all.

Other serials of the Sixties¹⁸ include *Medico Chirurgical Journal*, *Legal Miscellany*, *Planter's Association Report*, and from the mission presses *Missionary Gleanings*, *Church Mission Record* and the *Churchman* together with *Reports from the Wesleyan* and *Baptist Missions* and the *Christian Vernacular Education Society*. Among the commercial serials issued in this decade are a range of Price Currents, Market Reports, Chamber of Commerce Reports, and Commercial Circulars.

In the 1870s the *Ceylon Blue Books*¹⁹ list, among others, *Once a Month* issued by Van Geyzel & Co., *Ceylon Quarterly Magazine*, the *Planting Register* (supplement to the *Observer*), the *Planting Directory* and a variety of commercial serial publications and almanacs, in addition to missionary periodicals such as the diocesan *Gazette*, and the *Ceylon Church Extension Society* and *Colombo Bible Society Reports*. *The Ceylon Hansard* published by the Ceylon Observer

17. "On pride," "On death", and "On the folly of striving to please everyone" are suggested as possible subjects for essays. A very interesting feature is entitled "The degraded state of the native females of Ceylon" signed "A Young Hindoo" and dated August 1860. It appeared in Vol. I, pp. 109—11 (September 1860).
18. Particulars were obtained from the *Ceylon Blue Books*. It is possible that some of these titles were first issued earlier.
19. The *Ceylon Blue Books* were annuals issued by the Government Press 1821 to 1938. They carry a section called "Return of Publications during the Preceeding Year including Newspapers & Reviews and (if known) the Circulation of such Newspapers & Reviews." Regrettably, returns were not always furnished by presses, so the lists for some years are therefore incomplete. (Government serials are outside the purview of this paper, hence relegation to footnotes was necessary for several items, ksd.

Press, appeared in this decade. At first the title read *Debates of the Ceylon Legislative Council*. In 1873 the title was changed to *The Ceylon Hansard: the Debates of the Ceylon Legislative Council*²⁰

In the Eighties and Nineties among others were first published *Tropical Agriculturist* (1881)²¹ *The Ceylon Literary Register*, issued weekly as a supplement to the *Observer* (1886-1892), *The Ceylon Medical Journal* (1887)²² *The Ceylon Forester* (1895) and *The Monthly Literary Register* (1893—1896). All were published by the firm of A. M. & J. Ferguson.

The *Tropical Agriculturist* was a record of information for planters. Originated by John Ferguson, it soon carried a supplement. *The Magazine of the School of Agriculture, Colombo*. *The Ceylon Literary Register* sought "to bring together papers bearing on the past history and development of Ceylon, (but essays on) topics bearing on modern local progress" were not however to be excluded. The emphasis in Ceylon studies is evident in the range of articles carried. Serialised stories also appear. The *Register* announced with pride its rights to a "high-class story" (never before published) by Miss Z. T. Meade: this the first of several novelettes to be serialised. *The Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon* was a magazine for "all interested in the history, literature, ethnology antiquities, natural history, etc. of Ceylon" and was similar in both intention and content to its predecessor, *The Ceylon Literary Register*.

Other periodicals of interest issued in the last decade of the 19th century are *The Ceylon Review*, a monthly magazine of literary and general interest which carried verse. "Humour", fiction; as well as topical notes, reviews and reports of the activities of literary societies. *The Ceylon Law Journal* (1892), *The Ceylon Templar*, organ of the Temperance Society and the *Temperance Chronicle* were also of this period, *La Chevalier*, an original periodical magazine of artistic purpose, began in 1894; and *The Period*, an illustrated monthly review and index, in 1896—two other titles of the final decade.

In 1885 the Printers and Publishers Ordinance²³ was promulgated; it required that all publications of the presses of the island be registered. The *Archives Periodical Register* based on entries in its master register of the publications is a useful guide to titles registered within the last fifteen years of the 19th century.²⁴ The total number entered is 140; of these *forty-two* are Christian periodicals, ten literary, twelve student and twenty-five government periodicals. Directories number *nine*, legal journals *six*, medical journals *five*, journals on sports and entertainments *seven*, on agriculture *seven*, the balance deal with more restricted fields of interest. By the turn of the century periodical literature in English was thus well-established and very much part of the Ceylon literary scene.

20. *The Ceylon Hansard* was continued as a Government Press publication in the 20th century with changes as follows: *Debates of the Legislative Council of Ceylon* (1908—1931). *Debates of the State Council of Ceylon* (1931—1947), and *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)* from 1947 onwards. (Further discussion will be found in Kingsley de Silva's article, just preceding, *ksd*.)
21. 21 & 22, Both are still issued, though under different auspices.
23. No. 1 of 1885: An Ordinance to provide for the preservation of copies of Books printed in Ceylon, and for the registration of such Books. The "Statement of Books printed in Ceylon" registered under the Ordinance was issued as a *Supplement to The Ceylon Government Gazette*.
24. The Ceylon National Archives no longer retains any copies of the 19th century periodicals: these are now in the National Museum Library.

Growth of Ceylon Journals in the Nineteenth Century

by

Edward C. B. Wijeyesinghe

When Sir Robert Wilmot Horton arrived in Ceylon in October 1831, as Governor of the new British colony, there were no publications which could be called newspapers. *The Government Gazette*, established in 1802, confined itself to chronicling dull official notifications and announcements of the marriages and deaths of well-known people. Occasionally it tried to break the monotony by issuing what it described as a "political and Literary Supplement". This addendum to the *Gazette* carried a few articles on local topics, but for the most part contained extracts from English and Indian journals that were of interest to British residents in the island, and that catered to their thirst for information of the outside world.

Governor Horton, having been a politician, had literary leanings and a penchant for controversy. Within three months of his arrival, he saw the birth of a newspaper which was started with his blessings and published under Government authority.

It was called *The Colombo Journal*, and the first issue was dated January 1, 1832. Though printed at the Government Press and edited by George Lee, the Superintendent of the Printing Office, it denied that it was the organ of the Government, or that the Governor directed its editorial policy. But Sir Robert, whose cacoethes scribendi was well-known, was a frequent contributor to the *Journal* under a variety of noms de plume, such as Trimen, Pro Bono Publico, and Liber. His son-in-law, Henry Tuffnell, who was also his Private Secretary, assisted George Lee in editing the paper. Another contributor was Captain Anderson, perhaps the first Englishman who wrote poetry on the subject of Ceylon.

The Colombo Journal's life came to an untimely end when it ventured to criticise the British Government too severely. On orders from London it ceased publication on December 31 1833.

Governor Horton, who played such an important part in the start of what may be described as modern journalism in Ceylon, soon discovered that his popularity was waning. Without an organ to act as his mouthpiece he was exposed to mounting criticism by a small but vociferous section of the British population. They were the Colombo merchants who were rapidly becoming a powerful community and who felt the need for a free newspaper to express their views on public questions, to safeguard their interests, and to fight for their rights. They had reasons for disliking Sir Robert Horton who had, they alleged, treated them with "distrust and marked discourtesy." The Governor had delayed the appointment of unofficial members to the Legislative Council which came into existence under his regime.

With the demise of *The Colombo Journal*, the field was open for laying the foundations of a free press in Ceylon which could criticise Government policies when they failed to promote the country's welfare or impede its development. The merchants then decided to launch Ceylon's first free newspaper—but you must pardon me if I go back for a moment to Governor Horton whose name has gone down to the Island's history in many ways.

Horton was born Robert Wilmot, a second cousin of Lord Byron. After marrying one of the most beautiful women in Europe, also a cousin of Byron, he paid an unusual tribute to his wife's charms by adding her surname (Horton) to his own. It was about Lady Horton that Byron wrote the lines:

*She walks in beauty, like the night
Of cloudless climes and starry skies
And all that's best of dark and bright
Meet in her aspect and her eyes,
Thus mellow'd to that tender light
Which heaven to gaudy day denies.*

With Governor Horton's journal decently buried, the Colombo merchants inaugurated the first free newspaper in Ceylon. It was called *The Observer and Commercial Advertiser*. Later it became the *Colombo Observer* and now survives as the *Ceylon Observer* which can claim to be with probably one exception in Malaysia, the oldest newspaper in Asia.

On a memorable night in February 1834, Colonel Henry C. Byrde, who graphically described the event five decades later in the *Observer* itself, was sitting after dinner with his British brother officers in the old Mess Room of the Ceylon Rifles Regiment which was then situated in that part of Colombo known as Slave Island. In came Miskin, their Malay mess man, in a state of great excitement, holding a paper in his hand. Making straight for the Commanding Officer, Col. Fletcher, Miskin exclaimed, "New paper, Sir."

"Give it here," said the Colonel, no less thrilled. "Now let's hear what they say, and who will read me the articles?"

One Capt. Montessor volunteered to do so, and what he read out was punctuated by rappings on the mess table and exclamations of general approval.

The first issue of the *Observer*, thus greeted, was a four-page sheet "furnished gratis" and inviting those who were inclined to favour a free press to become subscribers at 12 shillings a quarter. Here is an extract from the first editorial:

...No pains will be spared in laying before the public from time to time...accounts of events in every quarter of the globe. With regard to politics, not being 'professed hands', our views on this head must develop themselves and may expand as we proceed: this being our first effort with editorial pen... 'Measures, not men' is our maxim.

The first editor of the *Observer* was George Winter, a name later associated with a successful sugar plantation. The next editor was E. J. Darley whose name, like Horton's, is commemorated by one of Colombo's main thoroughfares. They were succeeded by Dr. Christopher Elliott, one of the greatest of Ceylon's editors. He soon showed that a free press could be a potent factor in public affairs.

Under Dr. Elliott's editorship which began in 1835, the *Observer* became so vehement an opponent and so fearless a critic of Governor Horton's administration that the authorities thought it necessary to defend themselves against its attacks.

Another officially sponsored newspaper was therefore launched: privately aided by Governor Horton and professedly conducted by "a committee of gentlemen," mainly civil servants. The paper was called *Ceylon Chronicle* and made its appearance on May 3, 1837. It was first edited by a clergyman named Samuel Owen Glennie, who later became Archdeacon of Colombo;

and then by George Lee, who had his second innings as an editor—having edited Horton's mouthpiece, the ill-fated *Colombo Journal* earlier. Lee was now Postmaster-General having rapidly scaled the bureaucratic ladder owing to his loyalty to his gubernatorial chief.

The object of the *Chronicle* was to oppose the *Observer*, but officialdom was disunited and there were several civil servants (even judges) who favoured Elliott's journal and probably enjoyed, in secret the diatribes on Governor Horton and his administration. Thus the officials were divided into those who openly supported the *Chronicle* and those who privately sympathised with the *Observer*. Governor Horton himself wrote frequently in the *Chronicle*, but this hardly helped to keep it alive for long. The paper ceased publication on September 5, 1838, just eighteen months after it was started.

The Rt. Hon. Steuart Mackenzie succeeded Sir Robert Horton as governor. His arrival on November 7, 1837 appears to have changed the policy of the *Observer*. Among the members of the new Governor's Staff was a young Scotsman called A. M. Ferguson who was destined to play a dynamic role in making Ceylon's first independent newspaper a power in the land. He began writing for the *Observer*, which now became a supporter of the Government in spite of Editor Elliott's bitter hatred of officialdom and all its works. There was no public movement in which Elliott of the *Observer* did not take an active interest when he felt the rights of the people were threatened or their needs ignored.

The journalistic field in Ceylon was invaded shortly afterwards by a newcomer. On September 7, 1838 a paper called the *Ceylon Herald* made its appearance. It was started by Mackenzie Ross, to whom the machinery and printing presses of the defunct *Chronicle* had been sold. The new paper started vigorously and was as violent an opponent of the new Governor as the *Observer* had been of Horton. It changed hands several times, passing from one official to another, until it exhausted itself in 1845 and was offered for sale to the public. It had to be auctioned twice before it became the property of some British merchants who wished to start a rival to the *Observer* which was daily growing in power and popularity. Thus arose the *Ceylon Times* which is *The Times of Ceylon* of today.

The first issue of *Ceylon Times* appeared on July 11, 1846. About six months earlier another paper had been established, the *Ceylon Examiner*. Both these journals were more or less representative of the interests of planters and voiced their opinions. The business of the *Times* was conducted by Hew Stewart, a member of the Legislative Council, who had been a merchant and coffee planter and had acquired a wide knowledge and experience of Ceylon affairs.

The foundations of a free press in Ceylon were now firmly laid, and three independent newspapers began to compete keenly for the support of an increasing readership. For twelve years (until 1846) the *Observer* was the only independent newspaper in Ceylon—not counting *The Jaffna Morning Star*, a small news sheet conducted by missionaries and which lived to celebrate its centenary.

In April 1847 the Governor of Ceylon, Sir Colin Campbell, considered it necessary to send a private and confidential report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on "the general character of the newspapers published in the island, their circulation figures and the classes who read them." In his report, Governor Campbell stated that the Ceylon press at that time had no circulation outside the European and Burgher communities, and daily sales did not much exceed three hundred copies. Efforts had been made to stimulate circulation, he said "by resort to personalities, but these, piquant and acceptable to a class, were found to be inconsistent with the uses of a Colonial press."

The Governor's despatch added that the newspapers were in no degree influenced by Government advertisements. When publicity was required, "advertisements were given out indifferently" to each of the three papers, *Ceylon Observer*, *The Times of Ceylon*, and *Ceylon Examiner*. Only on one occasion was an overture made to the Governor to avail himself of the advocacy of a newspaper (the *Observer*) but this he felt it his "duty to decline."

The middle of the nineteenth century saw the trio of newspapers mentioned earlier indulging in healthy competition. *Ceylon Examiner* was owned by Ackland Boyd & Co., a prosperous mercantile house. One of their writers, John Capper—later to be prominently associated with *The Times of Ceylon* was the main writer for the *Examiner*. John Capper was a versatile man. Besides being a prolific writer, he was the first to erect jute-weaving machinery in India. Capper took a proprietary interest in *The Times* in 1858 and wielded his influence in public affairs in such an extent that he was made a member of the Legislative Council in 1864. But, Capper was not a good businessman. *The Times* underwent a number of vicissitudes and Capper had to call upon his two capable sons, Frank and Herbert, to rescue it from the doldrums. The firm of Capper and Sons took over the paper in 1881 and it began to thrive once more.

The Capper connection with *The Times* lasted till 1937, when Frank died in London. The Cappers were to the *Times of Ceylon* what the Scotts were to the *Manchester Guardian* and the Fergusons to the *Ceylon Observer*. The Fergusons were also pioneers of the tea industry in Ceylon and published *The Tropical Agriculturist*, a monthly, and the annual *Ceylon Directory* which has outlived many competing publications and is the only Year Book of its kind in Ceylon.

One of the fiercest controversies in the press arose in 1848. *The Observer* was then fourteen years old, whereas *The Times* and *The Examiner* were vigorous two-year-olds. It all arose over a Rebellion in the Kandyan Provinces. The supporters of Lord Torrington, then Governor of Ceylon, formed a faction strongly opposed to the *Observer's* liberal policy. In the words of an eminent Sinhalese scholar, the Governor's party even "resorted to the miserable subterfuge of silencing the outspoken newspapers."

Governor Torrington, who had the strong backing of *The Times* and the *Examiner*, insinuated that the *Observer's* editor, Dr. Elliott, was disloyal to the Queen and that he had endeavoured "to pervert the native mind." In short, Elliott and Ferguson—the stalwarts of the *Observer*, and all those who agreed with them, were regarded by their opponents as rebels. The rebellion, which was centred at Matale, a town about twelve miles north of Kandy, was even traced to a letter in the *Observer* signed "An Englishman". A few Kandy residents got together and resolved that they would discontinue their subscriptions to the paper and induce others to do the same. A notice to this effect was posted at the Kandy Library and sympathisers were invited to sign a document which ran as follows:

Considering that many of the articles which have lately appeared in the *Observer* tend to promote rebellion in this island we shall take in no further numbers after this date². In the words of a writer of the history of these times:

1. Colonel Byrde "Reminiscences of the early days of the *Ceylon Observer*" dated Nov. 1, 1889, may be found in *Ceylon Literary Register*, weekly ser. Vol. IV, No. 20, pp. 19—20 for Dec. 17, 1889.
2. This series of incidents is referred to in William Digby, *Forty years of official and unofficial life in an oriental Crown Colony: being the Life of Sir Richard F. Morgan Kt.* (Madras, London, 1847.) 2 v. Especially see Vol. I, pp. 150—151.

As in France, the warmest aspirations for liberty, justice and fair play, conveyed through the medium of the press, were regarded as demonstrations of sedition. The intelligent and educated Burghers and Sinhalese of Colombo resisted the ill-conceived and unwise attempt of a few Europeans at gagging the press.³

It is worth recording that it was a newspaper owned and edited by Britons that fought strenuously in this instance for the right of the Ceylonese people to be protected against misgovernment and oppression.

The controversy continued with unabated fury and reached its climax at a big public meeting in Colombo presided over by the eminent lawyer, Richard Morgan, a Dutch Burgher. The meeting passed several resolutions, one of which bore testimony to "the incalculable good done by the *Observer* without reference to class distinctions and expressing confidence in the strict impartiality and outspoken independence, and pure and generous motives unawed and uninfluenced by authority, which have ever actuated the conductors of that excellent journal."

Subscriptions were raised for presenting Editor Elliott with a piece of silver plate in recognition of his services to the country, and for the purpose of taking two copies of the *Observer* for every copy that had been, or might be, given in consequence of the Kandy meeting.

Thus for the first time in Ceylon, public opinion asserted itself strongly against an attempt at interference with the freedom of the press. The result was that the *Observer*, which had a circulation of 504 at that time, gained thirty-nine new subscriptions and lost only eleven. Its courageous and vigorous criticism of Government policy eventually contributed, in no small measure, to the recall of Governor Torrington to England.

In 1890, Galle—the capital of the Southern Province was still Ceylon's chief port of call. (Incidentally, Galle has been identified by scholars as the Biblical port of Tarshish, whither King Solomon sent his ships to collect ivory, apes, and peacocks.) Colombo was undeveloped during that period and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. ships bringing the mails from England arrived once a fortnight. There was no telegraph system and the *Observer* established a unique Pigeon Express Service to bring two columns of news from England, received at Galle, to its office in Baillie Street, Colombo, sometimes in less than an hour. One result of this enterprise was that the news of the eagerly-awaited Fall of Sebastopol in the Crimean War came to the *Observer* long before it reached the Government.

It was claimed by the *Observer* that the idea of employing pigeons to expedite a news service was unknown in any other part of the world. With the opening of the telegraph line between Colombo and Galle, there was no further need for the Pigeon Express Service, but its discontinuance was regretted whenever there were telegraphic interruptions or delays.

This second half of the nineteenth century saw newspapers taking a much larger share in public life. In the sixties three newspapers were published twice a week: the *Observer*, on Monday and Thursday; *The Times*; on Tuesday and Friday; and the *Examiner*, on Wednesday and Saturday. Every day of the week except Sunday the reader was able to buy an English newspaper. The circulation of the newspapers began to increase in the meantime. It was not until 1872, however, that *The Times* became a daily. The *Observer* followed suit a year later.

3. The author regrets this citation has long since perished! ksd.

4. Note 1 above.

5. *Ceylonese* and *Sinhalese*: each is used within the paragraph. *Ceylonese* refers to national matters or affairs; *Sinhalese* refers to either the language (modern form, *Sinhala*), or to culture and inheritance. The latter use is frequently in contrast to the *Tamil* language and people ksd.

A. M. Ferguson was now the editor of the *Observer*, having succeeded Dr. Christopher Elliott in 1858, when he gave up journalism to become the Government's Principal Civil Medical Officer. Ten years later H. T. Gardiner came from England to join the *Observer* staff. He was one of Ceylon's early shorthand reporters, taking the speeches in the Legislative Council verbatim for his paper.

At about this time, August 1867 to be exact, the first railway in Ceylon was opened for traffic between Colombo and Kandy, the hill Capital. There was a clamour by planters for extensions other up-country districts. One section of the Press supported them while another opposed them, and a lively discussion ensued in the papers. The idea was gaining ground among the Ceylonese that British planting interests were being promoted at the expense of the development of other parts of the island. Good use, was made of the newspapers for the purpose of expressing divergent views and ventilating grievances.

Ceylonese opinion and aspirations and needs of the masses could not be ignored. Strong nationalistic and religious sentiments were beginning to be aroused and a number of weeklies were started by denominational organisations during the sixties. The Roman Catholic Church in Colombo created a Sinhalese weekly, the *Gnanartha Pradipa* in 1867, and an English weekly, *The Catholic Messenger*, in 1869. Both these weeklies have been published continuously since that time. The Protestant missions published *The Jaffna Morning Star*, in that important town in the North.

The movement for political reform had begun. Though a Sinhalese newspaper, *Lakmini-pahana*—the first to be published, was started in 1862, there was need for an English paper to serve the interests of the people of the country as a whole, rather than the sectional interests of planters or the mercantile community. This need was met when there was a reorientation of the policy of the *Examiner* when it changed hands in 1859 and the new proprietors included some of the most brilliant Ceylonese of the nineteenth century. They included Charles Ambrose Lorenz, eminent lawyer and legislator, and Harry Dias Bandaranaike (who was later knighted), James Dunuwille, C. L. Ferdinands and James D'Alwis. These men who subsequently became famous in many other walks of life were determined to make it an organ of enlightened Ceylonese opinion and not a mere business venture.

Led by the gifted and industrious Lorenz who edited the paper, this group achieved their objective. The *Examiner's* influence increased and for nearly twenty years it was the mirror of Ceylonese opinion and did much to educate people politically and socially, making them conscious of their rights and privileges. The *Examiner* received a big blow in 1871 when Lorenz died at the age of 42, but the good work that he started was carried on by his colleagues and the paper continued to flourish until a new journal with similar objectives was started in 1888.

This was the *Ceylon Independent*, a morning paper, sold at half the price of its three evening contemporaries. It was edited for six years by George Wall, one of the greatest Englishmen who came to Ceylon. He had been Chairman of the Planters Association of Ceylon and the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the Legislative Council. A man of liberal views, George Wall fought to promote the welfare of the people of Ceylon and was the moving spirit of the Ceylon League whose activities and agitation led to the first step towards constitutional reform. For many years the *Independent* was controlled by Hector Van Cuylenberg later elected Burgher member of the Legislative Council and knighted.

The *Independent* claimed to be a newspaper for the people without communal distinctions and it began to prosper. But as the *Independent* grew in popularity, the *Examiner's* readership waned and the paper ceased in 1900.

The *Independent* moved into the twentieth century full of vigour, along with the *Observer* and *The Times*, and a newcomer called *The Ceylon Standard* which was started in 1898. It was the first attempt of Ceylonese businessmen to start an English newspaper. *The Standard* was short-lived owing to what was described as "a multiplicity of proprietors." It gave way to *The Morning Leader*—but that happened in the next century, a period which is outside my assignment, but a period which produced journalistic giants such as Armand de Souza, D. R. Wijewardene, S. J. K. Crowther, H. A. J. Hulugalle, H. D. Jansz, Teri de Sousz, Orion de Zylva D. B. Dhanapala, and Tarzi Vittachi.

But that is another story which is even more dramatic and colourful than the period which I have attempted to cover. It has in some measure been dealt with by H. A. J. Hulugalle in his scholarly book entitled *The Life and Times of D. R. Wijewardene*, Colombo, 1960.

Before I conclude, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the help I have received from my friend and old editor, H. D. Jansz, with whom I had the privilege of working on the *Observer* for twenty-five years. Jansz wrote a comprehensive history of the Ceylon press, but it is not yet published. I have been permitted by him to quote freely from it.

All the journals mentioned in this essay are in the Ceylon Government Archives. Many are also in the library at Lake House, Colombo, and at the Colombo Museum Library. Thus I have been able to confirm dates and facts from the papers themselves.

Finally, let me add that but for the encouragement and persistence of my friend, H. A. J. Hulugalle, this paper would not have been written.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

- DEWARAJA (Mrs.) Lorna Srimathie, M.A., in History, University of Ceylon; and Ph.D. from S O A S, London.* Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon at Colombo. Dissertation completed 1970 indicates subject speciality, *The Internal Politics of the Kandyan Kingdom, 1707—1760* published in 1972.
- DIEHL, (Miss) Katharine Smith, M.A., (Advanced), University of Michigan, Fulbright Professor, University of Dacca; Research Fellow, University of Chicago, Fellow, American Institute of Indian Studies, Philadelphia and Calcutta. In South Asia 1959—62, and again since 1967 engaged in full-time research related to Early Printed Literature from the region. Publications include *Religion, Mythology, Folklore* (New York, 1956; 2d.ed., 1962); *Early Indian Imprints* (New York, 1964); *Hymns and Tunes* (New York, 1966); *Tale of the Four Durwesh*, ed. (Calcutta, 1970); *The Serampore Pamphlets: Secular series* (Calcutta, 1969); *Primary Printed and Manuscript Sources... in Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar Libraries* (Calcutta, 1971); also numerous articles published in the U.S.A., Pakistan, India, and Ceylon.
- KEKULAWALA, Sumanapala Lalchandra, M.A., in General Linguistics and Phonetics, S O A S London. His thesis, *Phonology of the Noun in Colloquial Sinhalese* though not published is especially reflected in the 1970 article below. Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, Vidyalandara University of Ceylon; publishing regularly 1959—68 in Sanskrit and Sinhala, since that time in English. "Ransaeli Mangula" and "Pattini Puvata" both in *Sahityaya* (Colombo), July 1959

and January 1960 respectively; *Kathopanisadaya*, Sanskrit text, Sinhala translation, with introduction and notes (Colombo, M. D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd. 1961); in *Sadhana* (Kelaniya) these articles: "Sadhana" in 1961-62, (the next two are Sanskrit texts with Sinhala translations), "Ghatakarpara Kavyaya" and "Prasnopanisadaya" in 1963-64 and 1964-65 respectively; "Some Phonological Features of the Noun in Colloquial Sinhalese—a Prosodic Statement" in *Anjali*, the O. H. de A. Wijesekera Felicitation Volume, (Peradeniya, 1970) pp. 158-62; "The Future Tense in Sinhalese—an 'Unorthodox' Point of View", *Journal of the Vidyalandara University of Ceylon* Vol. I, No. 1 (1972) pp. 125-59.

KOTELAWELE,

Don Ariyapala, Ph.D. from S O A S, London, 1968. Lecturer in Department of History, Vidyalandara University of Ceylon, Dissertation (unpublished) is based chiefly on sources at the Rijksarchief, The Hague; *The Dutch in Ceylon, 1743-1766*. This is reflected in his "Agrarian Policies of the Dutch in South-West Ceylon, 1743-1767", *A. A. G. Bijdragen*, 14 (Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis, 14) (Wageningen, 1967), pp 3-33; in press, "New Light on the Life of Sangharaja Welivita Saranankara", *Journal of the Vidyalandara University of Ceylon* (1972); and a review of R. L. Brohier's *Dutch Furniture in Ceylon* (Colombo, National Museum of Ceylon, 1968) in the same issue.

MOTTAU,

Samuel Andrew William, with a Senior Cambridge Examination successfully passed in 1918 as his only bit of academic paraphernalia, he served for many years as Senior Assistant Government Archivist, has made numerous translations from Dutch into English; and even more-complicated indexes are to his credit. *The Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* published his "The Memoirs of the Dutch Governors of Ceylon" in Vol. 52, No. 1; "Instructions for the Dutch Landraads in Ceylon (1789)" in Vol 55, No. 1; "Summaries of the Proceedings of the Secret War Committee of the Dutch Political Council in Ceylon (1762-1766)" was serialised from Vol. 56; "Education under the Dutch" in *Education in Ceylon: a Centenary Volume*. (Ceylon, Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, (1969) Vol. I, Part 3. Chapter 28 Unpublished but available at the respective archives are his *Indexes* to the Baptismal and the Marriage Registers in the Wolvendaal Church Archives, Colombo; and his *Index* to the Diocesan Records of the Church of Lanka (Anglican), Rare today is "Documents Relating to the Tombo Registration of the Dutch Administration in Ceylon", *Ceylon Historical Journal* (Colombo) Vol. III, No. 2 (1953-54).

DE SILVA,

Kingsley, Ph.D., from S O A S, London, 1961, Professor of Ceylon History University of Ceylon at Peradeniya. Dissertation under Dr. Kenneth Ballhatchet entitled *Some Aspects of the Development of Social Policy in Ceylon 1840-1855, with Special Reference to the Influence of Missionary Organizations* has been published for the Royal Commonwealth Society as *Social Policy and Missionary Organizations in Ceylon, 1840-1855* (Longmans, 1965). He has also edited *Letters on Ceylon 1845-50, the Administration of Viscount Torrington and the "Rebellion" of 1848*. (Kandy & Colombo, K. V. G. de Silva & Sons, 1965).

DE SILVA, (Miss) Vijita Bianca, B.A., University of Ceylon at Peradeniya in 1957; Post-graduate Diploma in Librarianship in 1962, followed by the Professional Examination (as Overseas candidate) set by the Library Association in 1968 Librarian, National Museum Library, Colombo, Several bibliographies have been compiled and published: *Cumulative Index to Ceylon Labour Gazette*, Vols. 1-18, Jan. 1950 through December 1967 (Dept. of Labour, Ceylon, 1969); *A Select Bibliography of Periodical Articles and Report Literature on Manpower, Educational Planning, Employment, and Industrialisation*. (Dept of Labour, Ceylon, 1966); "Bibliography on Education in Ceylon", *Education in Ceylon; a Centenary Volume*. (Ceylon Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, 1969) Vol. III, pp. 1271-1316; *Ceylon Periodicals Directory 1971: Comprehensive Guide to Current Periodicals in Sinhala, Tamil and English* in 3 parts. (Colombo, National Museum Library, 1971); and is currently editing the *National Museum Library Bibliographical Series*, all periodicals.

WIJEYESINGHE, Edward Charles Bernard. After two years at the University of Ceylon beginning medical studies, he left and took to journalism where he remained until recent retirement. Sent daily despatches for Reuters, London, from Colombo, 1952-61; Editor of *Financial Times* (Ceylon) 1962-65; and Co-editor of *Sun*, 1966-69. Now active in amateur theatricals—sometimes in Sinhala—thus continuing his interest in one of the living arts, as character actor.

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