

The Dutch Power in Ceylon.
(1602-1670.)

Phanica Vasquez

For the great sympathy and kindness which I received at the hands of everyone at the India Office, whom I found occasion to approach—and not least from Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Superintendent of Records—I can never be too grateful.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS.

1. Seebalt de Weert to his Admiral, Achin, 1st April, 1603.
2. Cornelis Jolyt and three others, Achin, 18th November, 1602.
3. Log of Jacob Ryks.
4. Abraham Fonteyn to Jacques l'Hermite, Velour, 31st May, 1610.
5. Senevirat to Abraham Fonteyn, March 1610.
6. Abraham Fonteyn to Senevirat, 30th March 1610.
7. Letter of P. Gtse Borgonje, Tierapopeliere, May 1610.
8. Adrien Mercelis (?) to Senevirat, Velour, 26th May 1610.
9. Marchelis Michielssen Boschouwer to the Seventeen, Meda Maha Nour, 28th March, 1612.
10. The States-General to Senevirat, The Hague, 15th September, 1609.
11. Prince Mauritz to Senevirat, The Hague, 5th October 1609.
12. Boschouwer to Dom Jeronymo de Azavedo, 9th March, 1612.
13. Treaty between Senevirat and the Hollanders, "at Cariliado" 11th March, 1612.
14. Dom Francisco de Meneses to Boschouwer, "Army of Ceylon," 1st April, 1612.
15. Wemmer van Berchem to Mattheus Couteels, Masulipatam, August, 1613.
16. Proclamation. Welmantota, 20th April, 1613.

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18. Do 23rd May, 1613.
19. Dom Jeronymo de Azavedo to Senevirat, Goa, 22nd February, 1614.
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27. P. van den Broecke to the XVII, Bantam, 15th December, 1616.
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95. Maetsuycker's Report to Governor-General, 11th April, 1645.
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136. Jan Croon to Governor-General, Galle, 20th October, 1652.
137. Kittensteyn to Reiners, Crux de Galle, 6th November, 1652.
138. Francisco Freire de Figueiredo to Viceroy, (no date).
139. Reiners to the XVII, 31st January, 1653.
140. Maetsuycker to the XVII, 11th January, 1654.
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145. Van der Meyden to Governor-General, Galle, 14th May, 1655.
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152. Do 24th November, 1655.
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154. A Private Person to Leendert Jansz.
155. Hulft to Director Hendrik van Gent, 5th February, 1656.
156. Orders for the Assault on Columbo.
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158. Van der Meyden to Maetsuycker, Columbo 31st May, 1656.
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160. Jan Croon to the Directors, Galle, 22nd May, 1656.
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162. Terms agreed upon, 12th May, 1656.
163. Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha, Camp before Columbo, 12th May, 1656.
164. Do " In your Majesty's town of Columbo, 14th May, 1656.
165. Do 20th May, 1656.

166. Interpreter Blume to van der Meyden, 22nd May, 1656.
167. Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha, Columbo, 24th May, 1656.
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169. Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha, Columbo, 30th May, 1656.
170. Do 30th May, 1656.
171. Do 10th June, 1656.
172. Do 15th June, 1656.
173. Van der Meyden to Governor-General, 20th June, 1656.
174. Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha, 5th July, 1656.
175. George Blume to van der Meyden, 1st July, 1656.
178. Van der Meyden to Governor-General, Columbo, 5th August, 1656.
179. Raja Sinha to van der Meyden, Reygamwatta, 9th September, 1656.
180. Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha, Columbo, 10th October, 1656.
181. Laurens Pitt to Governor-General, 30th September, 1656.
182. Antonio do Amaral de Meneses to Raja Sinha, Manar, 18th September, 1656.
183. Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha, Columbo, 27th October, 1656.
184. Van der Meyden to Governor-General, Columbo, 19th November, 1656.
185. Maetsuycker to the XVII, Batavia, 4th December, 1656.
186. Do 31st January, 1657.
187. Do 17th December, 1657.

188. Queen of Portugal to Viceroy, Lisbon, 24th April 1658.
189. Ryckloff van Goens to Governor-General, off Cape Comorin, 26th December, 1657.
190. Do Camp before Jafanapatam, 17th March March, 1658.
191. Capitulation of Manar, 24th February, 1658.
192. Joao de Mello to the Portuguese Fleet, Jafanapatam, 12th May, 1658.
193. Van Goens to Maetsuycker, Jafanapatam, 24th July, 1658.
194. Capitulation of Jafanapatam, 23rd June, 1658.
195. Van Goens to Governor-General, 2nd September, 1658, off Tegenapatam.
196. Governors of India to King of Portugal, Goa, 25th January, 1658.
197. Van Goens to Governor-General, Columbo, 4th February, 1659.
198. Dom Manuel de Andrada to Van Goens, Jafanapatam, 6th February, 1659.
199. Maetsuycker to XVII, 16th December, 1659.
200. Van der Meyden to Governor-General, 20th September, 1660.
201. Governor-General to XVII, 16th December, 1660.
202. Treaty with the Tever, Ramanada Puram, 24th April, 1660.
203. XVII to Governor-General, 7th May, 1661.
204. Van Goens to the XVII, Camp before Cochin, 14th February, 1662.
205. Do 23rd January, 1662.
206. Do 28th August, 1663, Columbo.
207. XVII to Governor-General, 24th June, 1666.

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| 209. | Do | 18th October, 1668. |
| 210. | Do | 19th December, 1668. |
| 211. | Do | 17th November, 1669. |
| 212. | Report of Three Lascarins, | 30th September, 1670. |
| 213. | Van Goens to Raja Sinha, Columbo, | 24th November, 1670. |
| 214. | Affidavit of Jacob Scheepmeister, | Trinquene Male, 6th September, 1670. |

Many happy returns of
the Day.

B.T. ~~Machadon~~

INTRODUCTION.

The lure of the Eastern trade brought the Hollanders to Ceylon, and to secure that trade it was imperative first to drive the Portuguese, who held the monopoly, out of the field. With this object in view they proposed to join hands with the Asiatic Rulers who were struggling desperately to maintain their independence, and military assistance was the price they offered Wimala Dharma Suriya in exchange for the privilege of unrestricted trade with his country. The offer was eagerly accepted; the Hollanders had the means to close the sea-route, and it was the inability to effect this which had rendered the amazing efforts of the deified Raja Sinha to capture the Fort of Colombo, abortive. They did not contemplate territorial occupation: one fort on the Southern coast, from which to command the sea-borne trade, was all they desired, though the King volunteered to give them the charge of all they captured, as his own subjects could not look after them. In this sense Sebalt de Weert reported to his Admiral on the 1st of April 1603. "No place" he added, "would be better for attacking the Portuguese, if we only keep the King and the people of the country our friends." (Document 1).

Therefore when the Raja of Velour permitted them to build a Factory at Pallicatte, they wrote on the 26th of May 1610 to the new Sinhalese King, Senevirat, that "this King has made an eternal Treaty with our Prince Mauritius de Nassau, whereby the King allowed and granted us free trade in all his territories, and to live in them." They urged Senevirat to do the same if he desired to be rid of the Portuguese. (D.8). The same policy inspired the letters in which the Estates General and the Prince Mauritz announced the Treaty by which Spain and Portugal recognized the independence of the Netherlands. They hoped to create in the King's mind the impression that if he entered into

trade relations with them, he could get the benefit of the cessation of hostilities which was stipulated for by that agreement. "We would not persist in this, that his subjects should not trade in Ceylon, but leave that to your discretion," hinted the Prince. (D.11).

Their messenger, however,—Marchelis Michielssen Boschouwer—had larger views. Under the terms of the Treaty into which he entered with Senevirat, the Hollanders received great powers. Two of their nation were to have seats on the King's Council of War, and hostilities could not be begun without consulting them. Kottiarama and its valuable harbour were promised to them with the right to enter any part of the Sinhalese dominions, as well as to mint money in alternate periods with the King. All this was in addition to very favourable trade concessions which they secured. Moreover, to enable them effectually to assist the King by sea and land in case of foreign war, he promised them substantial help in kind towards ship-building and the raising of a fort. (D.13). Had circumstances permitted the Hollanders to exploit these privileges, in a few years Ceylon must inevitably have sunk to the condition of a Protected State, but they were not ready. No doubt Boschouwer acted beyond the scope of his authority in entering into this Treaty (D.15). It may be that he did not shrink from infringing the criminal law in the pursuit of his object. His vanity was probably offensive, but his self-confidence compelled a great European Court to receive him as a Prince. He had the imagination which makes builders of Empire: when with forged credentials he on the 30th of March 1618 signed a Treaty at Copenhagen, he could contemplate a permanent Sinhalese Representative at that Capital, and a Sinhalese Company carrying on trade with Europe.¹ Even in more recent times Imperialists have not been found over-scrupulous about points of conscience. He agreed with de Weert that Ceylon would decide the fate of the Portuguese in India :

¹ See "The Danes in Ceylon," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon)*, vol. xxx, pp. 169-180.

"When they are once turned out of Ceylon, they are out of India, as the Island is the centre of India and of their power," he urged on the Directors of the Netherlands East India Company (D.9), but for several years to come they took no action : and it was not till 1634 that Philip Lucasz insisted that had Senevirat been assisted after the overthrow of Constantino de Saa four years before, the Portuguese would have been expelled and the cinnamon trade secured for the Company. Now, he declared, was the time to undertake serious action against them. (D.37).

Raja Sinha, who succeeded his father Senevirat, followed two years later with a request for help to capture Tricona Malai or Batticalo, and an invitation to the Hollanders to come and build a fort for themselves on his Eastern Coast. He would not only support them with his army and pay the cost of the expedition but he offered to supply the materials needed for the fort, while they could retain all captured guns and booty. Indeed he would even give them the port of Batticalo, if they so desired. In reply he was informed that vessels would be sent to capture the fort at Batticalo and to erect a fresh one either there or at Kottiarاما. The young King—he was only twenty-six years of age—was overjoyed. "Our next attempt will be the taking of Columbo, and I pledge my Kingly word that we should divide between us whatever is found in that City. I shall sell to you all the cinnamon, wax, and pepper the Island produces" he wrote to the Admiral, Adam Westerworld. (D.38). Batticalo was soon taken by the Allies, and occupied at the King's request by a hundred Hollanders on his account. A Treaty which was to regulate the future relations between the two parties, was signed on the 23rd of May 1638. Under its terms liberal trade privileges were conceded to the Company. The King accepted the Hollanders as the Protectors of his country against the Portuguese. The booty found at all places captured by the Allies was to be shared equally between them.

The Third Article provided that wherever the King so desired, Dutch garrisons should be placed in charge at his expense : and in all captured forts he promised the Company suitable accommodation for storing merchandise. Military operations were only to be undertaken in consultation with the Hollanders, and the King was not only to aid them by counsel and deed, but also provide the necessary vessels for coastal use. All the expenses incurred on the King's account were to be repaid in kind.

It is highly significant that in the Dutch copy of the Treaty, the proviso in the Third Article regarding the King's option, which appeared in the Portuguese copy which he retained and which he could understand, was omitted.

The King was definitely asked if he would like to make an attempt on Colombo the next year ² ; this he was most anxious to do³ and he began to collect a large force in the neighbourhood. " It looks here in Ceylon as if God the Lord had prepared everything to drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon..... A better opportunity than the present will in my opinion never arise to attack Ceylon " wrote Coster.⁴

But the Governor-General and Council had other views, and they gave instructions that matters should be so arranged that the next attack should be on Galle, which would provide good anchorage for their ships (D.44).

Accordingly on the 9th of March, 1639, Antonio Caen with his fleet appeared at a point twelve Dutch miles from Colombo, from where he despatched a letter (D.47) to inform the King that he was sailing to Colombo the next day and hoped to find him ready to attack that fort : he added that he could not delay, as the Monsoon storms which would render it impossible to ride at anchor before the city, were expected shortly. On the 19th messengers arrived with the King's reply ; they were sent back the next day with a request that the King's chief General, Dom Balthazar, should hasten.

² Coster to Governor-General, 4th June 1638, trans. in ii *Ceylon Literary Register*, p. 45.

³ ditto, 14th June 1638, o.c., p. 52.

⁴ ditto, 31st December 1638 o.c. p. 53

On the 23rd a communication was received from the latter who was hurrying up. This however did not suit Caen's plans: he declared that the message was a trick of the Portuguese, and immediately sailed away.

Caen had clearly ridden for a fall. Indeed the break in the weather was so imminent that on the 27th the King had written a letter, pointing out that Colombo was unsafe for the ships and advising him to go on to Galle (D.49). It seems idle to suggest that Caen hoped to capture this strong fort within a fortnight, especially in view of the secret instructions Coster had received. As the result of what occurred he was now able to write and cast all the blame for the failure on the King (D.48) who would in due course be called upon to foot the bill.

Raja Sinha was bitterly disappointed and placed Dom Balthazar under arrest. He was in the neighbourhood of Kandy and hurried back and had to remain in camp in order to maintain his hold over the Low lands, but he sent men to assist in capturing Trikona Malai, which surrendered after three hours' bombardment, the bulk of his army arriving two hours later. His representatives demanded that the fort should be handed over to the King: Caen gave an evasive reply: the question should be referred to Batavia for decision, and in the meantime a Dutch garrison would remain in occupation. An attack on Jafanapatam was next discussed, but Caen pleaded the inadequacy of his forces and declared that his presence was needed elsewhere. (D.45).

The King's Ambassadors therefore sailed with the fleet to Batavia.

On arrival there they expressed the King's dissatisfaction over Caen's behaviour at Colombo and Trikona Malai as well as over his failure to take action against Jafanapatam, and they pressed for an early attack on the first of these. The Governor-General and Council promised to send the armament which was asked for, but they also resolved themselves to occupy all captured forts ⁵ The XVII agreed that the time

5. Governor-General to Directors, 18th Dec. 1639. Trans. ii. C. L. R. p. 116.

was come to drive out the Portuguese and take their place (D.51). The King was told to expect the fleet at Colombo by the end of October, and 200 soldiers were sent to accompany his army.⁶ (D.52). Lucasz accordingly started for Ceylon. He found the Trikona Malai garrison in distress as the King refused to provision it, because it had been left there against his wish. (D.53). When in December he reached Colombo, there was no sign of the King, for he was being hemmed in by the Portuguese, who only drew back when the fleet threatened Negumbo, which soon fell. Lucasz in defiance of the terms of the recent Treaty hurriedly repaired the fortifications and refused to hand over the stronghold to the King who demanded its surrender. Instead he sent proposals⁷ for a new agreement, at the same time assuring the King "We do not aim at any assumption of power over Your Majesty's dominions." The King was so incensed at his conduct that he withdrew from the neighbourhood without a word, and refused to hold any further communication with him.

Coster, who replaced Lucasz, pacified the King by promising to restore the two eastern forts on certain payments. The King undertook, when the Portuguese were driven out of the Island, to give the Hollanders one fort, and van Diemen, the Governor-General, reported they could keep garrisons at the others till their claims were settled. When Colombo was taken all the fortifications were to be razed to the ground unless the King elected to preserve one of its forts, when it should be manned exclusively by Dutch soldiers. All Sinhalese prisoners were to be handed over to the King. (D.55) The fort which the King promised was over and above the stipulated charges, and the King's generosity was fully

6. "In order to prevent any opportunity of escape to the Emperor from marching with his forces to Colombo in time." *idem*.

7. As ordered at Batavia. "In order that the Company should acquire the fruit of the expenses undergone, to stipulate for further and more binding terms with His Majesty before anything further is done, or to have nothing to do with it." *idem*.

acknowledged by van Diemen. Santa Cruz de Galle was captured on the 13th of March 1640,⁸ and he thought there was no fort which could suit them better. "We are now safely established in the Island" he declared (D.55). If the King was unwilling to give them Galle, he intended to stir up the people of the Disavani to seek the Company's protection, besides influencing them by Christian propaganda, and delaying the expulsion of the Portuguese. (D.57). The King declared that he did not want further help till outstanding accounts were settled, but Thyssen anticipated that Colombo would be attacked the next year ; meanwhile Coster was to do what he could to impress on him that the Company was sacrificing its own interests by keeping garrisons in Ceylon. "This will serve to allay his suspicions of our ultimate designs on the Island."

The Company had now definitely launched on a policy of territorial aggrandisement, which was destined to lead it into many devious paths.

It was in the spirit of these letters that van Diemen wrote to the King on the 26th of September, 1640. He agreed to the proposed destruction of Colombo when captured, but artfully suggested the desirability of maintaining four forts for the protection of the country even after the Portuguese were expelled. There was a dispute as to the amount of the claim against the King, who very naturally refused to be responsible for the expenses of the garrisons of Trikona Malai and Negumbo.⁹ (D.58). In the accounts he was debited

8. Raja Sinha complained to the Governor-General that after Coster had agreed in writing at what hour the Sinhalese army should join the Hollanders, he commenced the attack earlier. See his letter : Tr. by F. H. de Vos, ii *C. L. R.* p 383.

9. "As regards the aforesaid garrisons, it appeared according to the contents of the Third Article of the Treaty in Portuguese, signed by the Heer Westerwold, that he was partly right ; for it stood expressly stated that the forts and fortresses to be conquered from the Portuguese should be garrisoned with Dutchmen if His Majesty were so pleased and thought fit, which last Clause was left out in the Dutch Articles maliciously and designedly."

Dag Register of Batavia, 1640-1614, tr. by F. H. de Vos, *C. L. R.* p 375 where also appears the seriatim reply of the King to D 58.

with the value of a ship which had been wrecked, but he pointed out that by the 18th Article of the Treaty it was specially enacted that such losses must be borne by the Company. The rest he said he was prepared to pay.¹⁰

His detailed reply, in its straightforwardness and candour, is a pleasant contrast to the despatches of van Diemen. One thing Raja Sinha made unmistakeably clear to the Batavian authorities : the Treaty of 1638 gave them no lien on every captured fort for the payment of their expenses, and it was only the forts garrisoned by Hollanders at the King's request which could be regarded as security. The action of the Company in respect of Trikona Malai and Negumbo was without justification.

The Ten Years' Peace in Europe which followed the accession of Dom João IV. to the Portuguese Throne, came as a disagreeable surprise to the Company, which prepared to circumvent it by tactics worthy of a village Attorney. They are set out with unblushing candour in the available letters. "Not only do we intend to maintain our present rights in Ceylon, but we hope to secure the entire possession of the Island," wrote van Diemen (D 76). Their tactics were so far successful that the question of the Proclamation of the Peace was referred back to Europe—all in the zealous defence of the King's interests, protested van Diemen (D.78). Another force was sent to Ceylon, and among the instructions carried by the commander, François Caron, was the following : "On the conquest of Columbo and Negumbo—which God grant—Your Honour will not demolish the same as will apparently be insisted on by King Raja Sinha, but occupy them with a garrison till our losses are compensated for."¹¹

With singular cynicism this was dated on the same day as the letter to the King. Negumbo, which the Portuguese had recaptured, was again taken in January 1644, and rapidly

10. Raja Sinha to Governor-General, 27th March 1641. Tr. by F. H. de Vos, ii C. L. R. p. 382.

11. Tr. in ii C. L. R. p. 85.

re-fortified and garrisoned, in spite of Raja Sinha's protests. "If the Council thinks the time has come for asserting our rights, the King's hand might be easily forced" reported Caron, who had presumed to write to the King as "your affectionate friend" and been promptly snubbed for the impertinence. (D.79).

The Company viewed the negotiations which were proceeding in Europe with apprehension and on the 10th of November its representative, Jan Maetsuycker, signed at Goa the terms on which the Treaty was to be proclaimed. He then proceeded to Colombo and arranged with Mascarenhas for the division of the Littoral between the two European nations, practically ignoring the King. "It was at the request of the Portuguese" Maetsuycker speciously explained to Raja Sinha "that in the Contract for the division our name has been inserted instead of that of Your Majesty, to whom the lands in fact belong. At a future occasion and in our agreements with other Potentates we shall take care that Your Majesty's name is stated, as is but strictly just" (D.94.) He also forwarded a letter from van Diemen (D.92) in which the writer declared that if terms could not be arranged, Colombo would be captured and with Negumbo be handed over to the King. As a matter of fact he had instructed Maetsuycker to sound the Viceroy about an offensive treaty against the King; otherwise, he was not to break with the King, as the Hollanders by themselves were not strong enough to cope with him. Such a secret agreement was now entered into with Mascarenhas. (D.87, 90).

The King had grown suspicious, and had ordered the removal of the cinnamon peelers from the Galle district to the mountains. "The future will show" declared van Diemen, "that he is reckoning without his host, and that we are only helping Raja to help ourselves." (D.87). Therefore on the plea that the King's men who were removing the villagers were brigands, Maetsuycker on van Diemen's instructions took military action against them in the King's name, so that he would be saddled with the costs

and there would be an excuse for strengthening the garrisons at Galle and Negumbo. "The order from Batavia to make war against the King in the King's own name, will be a great comfort to us" remarked Thyssen sententially (D.91). "It was not (the Governor General's) desire to keep the fortresses in the Island, as it seems that Your Majesty fears.... It was not in the expectation of gaining much profit that we first brought our forces to this Island, but only with the desire to do Your Majesty service" protested Maetsuycker. (D.93).

Another ingenious plan had occurred to van Diemen, which was to make peace in the name of the Company, and then to lay siege to Colombo in the King's name. Thyssen thought that the plan had much to commend it (D.92).

The result of all this was that instead of a bare fort the Company now secured for itself the possession of the two best cinnamon districts in the Island, protected by two powerful strongholds.

Acting on the secret agreement Thyssen on the 25th of May 1645 declared war on the King, to the dismay of the authorities at Batavia, where Cornelis van der Lyn had succeeded van Diemen. They were not sure that the States General would not order the restoration of Negumbo to the Portuguese: should such an order come, it was their intention to evade it by pleading that they held it for the King, which could hardly be done if they were at war with him. They decided to disown Thyssen's act and to recall him (D.100), and Maetsuycker was sent out in his place. Meanwhile the Dutch seized four of the King's decoy elephants, and this was soon followed by Adriaan van der Stel and his force being cut to pieces, and over five hundred Hollanders taken prisoner, with serious results to the Company's prestige. "If the Dutch nation desire to hold to the Peace which I made with Adam Vestrevolt at Baticalou, delivering up to me the fortress of Negumbo which on several occasions they have fortified against my order and command.....I shall esteem

it highly ; and if not, do not place the blame on me and let them not say that the peace was broken on my side " wrote the King.¹²

Maetsuycker tried bluster and entreaties in turn, but it was not till the 12th of July 1647 that the King replied " let bygones be bygones " (D.109) Even then the Envoy who was sent to sign the proposed new Treaty, which was merely a ratification of that of 1638 with some small alterations, did not return with the released prisoners till the 13th of December, 1649.

But though the signing of the new agreement was celebrated with the discharge of rockets and the ringing of joy-bells, the Company's views were unmistakeable. " We shall resign to him no part of the country until the Portuguese have been completely driven away and the debt to the Company settled in full. Until we are sole masters of Ceylon the Island will never give us those profits which we ought reasonably to expect " (D.113).

The Treaty of 1638 had not long been signed when the Hollanders persuaded themselves that the only way properly to recoup their expenses—there were conflicting views as to the reimbursement they were entitled to claim—was to get possession of the cinnamon-yielding districts. In accordance with the policy enunciated in 1640, at every critical moment the King was pressed to settle his indebtedness. As to the rates charged being high, van Diemen had declared " We shall in this matter deal with Your Majesty so reasonably that we shall gain Your Majesty's satisfaction."¹³

The correspondence makes it abundantly clear that the King had no intention whatever of avoiding payment, but as this had to be done in kind, punctual settlement with the country devastated by war, was out of the question. For instance 800 bahars of cinnamon which were ready for

12. Maningala, 21st May 1646. Tr. by D. W. Ferguson, 18. R. A. S. p. 192.

13. 11th August 1638. ii C. L. R. p. 60.

delivery were on one occasion seized by a raiding party of Portuguese.¹⁴ Thyssen frankly expressed the opinion that it was not possible for the King to meet the claims so long as the Portuguese were masters of the field.¹⁵

One threat was known to be effective, and that was to withdraw the Company's soldiers. Raja Sinha in his simplicity had admitted "If you went away I should not enjoy the honour which I have long endeavoured to have, of driving the Portuguese away from this Island."¹⁶ The demand for settlement was therefore always accompanied by a hint that further assistance was available.

Following on the capture of Galle, the Matara Disavani had been placed under the control of the King's Disava. The Hollanders exercised no jurisdiction outside the fort, and even the extent covered by their guns was not conceded to them, in spite of a special request by Coster to that effect.¹⁷ A further application by van Diemen for the 1,500 bahars of cinnamon and thirty-four elephants which the Portuguese drew from the Disavani, was similarly refused,¹⁸ though van Diemen was prepared even to instigate the Sinhalese to revolt in order to get the District into the Company's power (D.57). All that the King granted was some villages for the support of the garrison, for whose provisioning his Disava was responsible; while the cinnamon collected there was taken charge of by his officers and handed by them to the Dutch in settlement of the King's indebtedness.¹⁹

Thyssen had reported on the value of the Disavani for the maintenance of the fort in case of a breach with the King, but he had added that "so long as the Portuguese rule at Colombo it would be better to be still patient with the aforesaid Raja and wait for payment or a better opportunity."²⁰

14. ii. *C. L. R.* p. 367.

15. ii. *C. L. R.* p. 376.

16. ii. *C. L. R.* p. 400.

17. ii. *C. L. R.* p. 336.

18. ii. *C. L. R.* p. 400.

19. *R. S.* to Thyssen, 4th April, 1644. Tr. by D. W. Ferguson,

18 *R. A. S.* p. 184.

20. ii. *C. L. R.* p. 367.

The policy which was followed had been initiated by van Diemen and is clearly expounded in the *Memorie*²¹ left by Maetsuycker for the guidance of his successor. The plan was quietly to remove the districts out of the control of the King's officers, for it was realised that if this was suspected Raja Sinha would not hesitate to resort to his last desperate remedy of depopulating the country and rendering it useless. The King's watchfulness thwarted the execution of these plans till the blockade of Galle by the Portuguese placed that District once again in the latter's hands. With the settlement of 1645 came the Hollanders' opportunity, and they took military possession of the districts of Matara and Negumbo on the plea of driving out brigands. This might have continued indefinitely but for Thyssen's folly; the disasters which followed precipitated a crisis and Negumbo was stripped bare by the King. Matara remained, and Maetsuycker has stated his views with cynical frankness.

"We should permit ourselves for no reason whatever, persuasions, lofty promises, or even threats, to allow the King to resume possession of them, still less grant them any authority or jurisdiction whatever, unless he be pleased to appoint someone of our nation thereto.....for without them the Company will never be in a position to recover the large sum in which the King is indebted to us, notwithstanding that, according to the terms of the Treaty referred to above, we should otherwise not be entitled to them."

The time was come for action, and the Hollanders demanded that one of their race should be appointed Disava at Matara. The King agreed, on the usual condition that he should reside at Court. But this was unwelcome, and the Ambassador sent to ratify the new Treaty agreed to take back the King's own nominee and hand over the Disavani to him (D. 126).²²

21. Tr. by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1927.

22. Also King to Kaetsuycker, 27th June, 1649. Tr. 18 R. A. S pp. 200-202.

The documents bearing on the point form an illuminating study. Rampot Disava, the King's First Adigar, came as arranged, and was received with great ceremony. "As soon as he was safe there (within the fort) we raised difficulties. The Disava in spite of our civility, knew we were trying to frustrate his wishes and so went back to the King. We can easily find excuses for our proceedings and lay the blame on the Disava" wrote Maetsuycker candidly. (D.118). This he proceeded to do (D.122). It is not surprising that the King gave expression to his indignation in plain language, which elicited from Maetsuycker the hypocritical protest "We are not in the habit of acting with duplicity." (D.124). The King was not going to be taken in so easily and appointed a Commission of Inquiry. "If my Disava has offended, I shall at once remove him. But if he is found innocent, I shall uphold and defend him.... If the Dutch do this (abide by the Treaty of 1638) I on my side will also keep the Covenant. But if the Dutch desire war, I only beg to be informed of this desire without delay." (D.126). "You say that in order to preserve peace and tranquility you have been obliged to resist the Disava with an armed force..... To march against one of my representatives with an armed force is a transgression of authority and duty." (D.127). He now irritably declared "in every letter sent to me you harp upon the expenses incurred in my service and demand payment." He pointed out that his numerous requests for a statement of accounts had been evaded. He again called for such a statement, but it must show his counter-claim for material and moral damages. (D.126).

Rapid steps were taken to consolidate the hold of the Company on what had been seized. The principal Chiefs of the Matara Disavani, whose influence was so great that without their support the Company's plans had little chance of success, were placated by favours and emoluments so substantial that they were considered unlikely to desire a continuance of the more exacting service of their own King. Not all Hollanders regarded this attitude with sympathy, for even at this time

some considered that "these black dogs" were treated with too much favour. Further to keep a hold on them, they were directed to take up their abode within the fortifications which had been recently erected at Matara, or at least within its Kadawatu.²³

A propaganda which combined Christian conversion with education from the point of view of the Company, was organised, and by 1650 sixteen schools had been started for the purpose of weaning the rising generation from its natural beliefs and traditions, and its loyalty to the King.²⁴

Maetsuycker was the first to contemplate the possibility of establishing a colony of Hollanders in Ceylon, by encouraging the settlement of men outside the Company's service under the designation of Burghers; when he left they were sufficiently numerous to supply a fair company of fighting men in case of need and they received assistance in their professions as tailors and hawkers.²⁵

He impressed on his successor that he should "for no cause or earthly reason whatever concede the government of these lands to the King, but excuse the same on the pretext and evasions expressed in our letters."²⁶ As for Colombo, in spite of the solemn agreement which "by the Grace of God" Maetsuycker had signed on the 6th of August, 1649, he could on the 27th of February, 1650 contemplate the early possibility that it might "please Almighty God that the Company should become master" of it. But then he said that he regarded the King as a "cunning fox".²⁷ Probably he never knew that in the opinion of Francisco Freire²⁸ he himself was a "scoundrel" and a "treacherous man" (D.138). With

23. *Memorie* p. 8.

24. ditto pp. 8, 19.

25. ditto p. 18.

26. *Memorie*, p. 21.

27. ditto, p. 17.

28. "Francisco Viero, one of the richest merchants in the Indies." Baldaeus, p. 786. "*Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and the Empire of Ceylon*." Tr. London 1703.

these instructions in his hand Kittensteyn wrote to assure the King that all the Company desired was the furtherance of the Royal interests and the strict fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty (D.128).

The announcement that a further armament was coming to his assistance mollified the King. "The news has caused much pleasure. Please inform me if you are in need of anything which I might send you from here" (D.129.) he wrote. Kittensteyn in reply expressed the hope that now "We shall be able to avenge all the insults and injuries which the Portuguese have heaped upon Your Majesty" (D.130).

An Eastern Prince should not be approached empty-handed, and presents, which were found to have a soothing influence on Raja Sinha, were lavished on him without stint; but when he expressed a desire to meet Kittensteyn so as to settle outstanding differences, "this must be prevented by fair means or foul" insisted van der Lyn (D.134). His successor, Carel Reiners, was equally emphatic: "on no pretext should the Company's forces combine with the King's, and if his army come down to the Low-country, we must surround it and keep it shut in, to prevent his doing mischief." (D.135). This was his attitude three months after the renewal of hostilities in September 1652. The Sinhalese forces were soon mobilised, as the King was anxious effectively to support the Hollanders, "which we do not wish and will be difficult to prevent;" therefore Reiners ordered the Company's troops to be detained on the coast under the plea of defending the harbours, till such time as the Company could get hold of Colombo, (D.135) while the King was urged to send his army to Manar and Jafanapatam, amidst Kittensteyn's protestations of the Company's unswerving adherence to the Treaty.²⁹

Reiners was confident that Colombo would fall in a few weeks, and he feared that Raja Sinha would claim half the spoil; for it was not his intention to keep the agreement. "If we refuse he will become our enemy. We cannot allow

29. Valentyn, quoted by D. W. F. 18 R. A. S. pp. 211-213.

his forces to join ours." Once the Portuguese were driven out, he proposed to keep the King "in awe" (D.139). "The conquest of Ceylon will be one of the most important events in the history of our Company. We are doing our utmost to secure it for you." (D.139). The King in full reliance on the honour of the Company was shewing himself most friendly, and every day messengers kept coming from him, while Kittensteyn begged him not to approach Colombo, for, he said, that place was not to be taken without bloodshed.³⁰

The capture of the Dutch garrison at Anguruwa Tota by the Portuguese in January 1653 was a serious set-back. "Their courage failed them and they surrendered shamefully" admitted Maetsuycker (D.140). To the King however it was pretended that the men had been deceived by being called upon to surrender in his Royal name: he appreciated this mark of respectful obedience, but threatened summary punishment on those who had dared to use his name without authority.³¹

The inadequacy of the Company's forces delayed the expected termination of hostilities, in spite of the sore straits to which it was known the Portuguese were reduced. The King was again nervous about Negumbo and Colombo. Kittensteyn solemnly assured him that the undertakings regarding them would be observed: it was not the Company's intention to appropriate a foot of land, and Colombo would be added to His Majesty's Crown. He begged the King to abandon his project of building a fortified camp at Reigam Watta, with a view to the siege of Colombo, and to turn his attention towards Jafanapatam.³²

As to the decision to raze Colombo to the ground, "We certainly do not mean to comply with his demands, so long as he fails in repaying the advances we have made to him" confided Maetsuycker (D.140). At the end of the year Raja

30. Valentyn, op., cit

31. R. S. to the Dutch, 15th January 1653. Tr. 18 R. A. S. p. 214.

32. Valentyn, op. cit 216, 217.

Sinha recalled his army which had been kept in the field for many months in vain : provisions were beginning to run short, and the Hollanders were not yet ready. "We are thus relieved of the necessity of refusing his assistance, which no doubt would embitter him against us," wrote Maetsuycker (D.140). Shortly after, the flight of the Company's garrison from Kalutara at the appearance of some Portuguese vessels, and the resultant loss of prestige, were followed by the desertion of many Sinhalese, who complained that after all they had done, they found themselves being treated "like dogs." "We fear they have some cause of complaint," the Governor-General was fain to admit (D.141).

With the arrival of fresh troops at the end of 1654 active operations were resumed in conjunction with the King, whose movements forced the Portuguese to despatch their most efficient commander, the Mestico Gaspar de Figueira, to keep him in check. The Hollanders displayed less loyalty towards the King's plans than he was entitled to expect, and the severe defeat which he suffered at Gaspar's hands was regarded with satisfaction. "We are not sorry that the Portuguese prevented his joining us, and we hope that this state of affairs may continue for some considerable time," wrote van der Meyden, (D.145), while assuring the King that he hoped shortly with the Royal help to clear the Island of the Portuguese and place all the captured towns in his hands.³³

Geraard Hulft followed with a great armament and ostensible instructions from Maetsuycker that Colombo, if captured, was "to be demolished and burnt to the ground" (D.148). In reality his efforts were to be directed towards securing the control of the districts around Colombo, for that would mean the monopoly of the cinnamon trade, with a substantial revenue from the villages (D.185).

The King was very ill of fever but wrote to Hulft, expressing his confidence that in accordance with the Company's repeated undertakings, Colombo when captured would be

33. Valentyn, *ut ante* p. 220.

handed over to him: all he craved for was the honour of the capture. Hulft assured the King's Disava that this would be done,³⁴ but he was only playing the same game as Maetsuycker and Kittensteyn: "Our long-cherished plans for the sole possession of the whole Island are too near realisation now to be abandoned," he wrote to the former (D.150). At last Colombo was besieged and on the 5th of November the King informed Hulft that he was marching to join him; the latter replied dissuading him from doing so, and attempted to forestall him by assaulting the Fort on the 13th, with disastrous results. The same day a letter was received from the King, renewing an expression of his confidence that Colombo would be handed over to him, together with his rebellious subjects, in terms of the Treaty: he had further ordered his Disavas to lay waste the surrounding country.³⁵ "We told him repeatedly that we mean to keep strictly to the Contract made at the time with Adam Westerwold, which seems to allay His Majesty's fears," reported van der Meyden (D.152). But Maetsuycker admitted "We cannot deny that he has some cause for this suspicion." "I have tried to allay his fears by general assurances..... Although we do not exactly want his assistance, we do not know how to refuse it whenever he arrives" wrote Hulft. There was friction with the King's Disavas, who demanded control of the Districts which the Portuguese abandoned, and complained that the Hollanders were appointing Vidanes over them (D.153). In order to avoid trouble these districts were accordingly surrendered to the King (D.158).

On the 17th of March the King arrived at Reigam Watta, where on the 8th of April he gave an audience to Hulft, for whom he had taken a great fancy, as he thought he recognised in him "the great fidelity, love, good-will and perfect truth with which you are serving me³⁶": Hulft renewed the assurance that the Treaty of 1638 would be faithfully

34. *Baldaeus*, pp. 721, 722.

35. *Baldaeus*, p. 725.

36. R. S. to Hulft, 20th January, 1656. Tr. 18 R. A. S. 225-226.

observed³⁷ and his death by a Portuguese bullet two days later was a great grief to Raja Sinha, who described him as "my much-loved and cherished Director-General."³⁸ This was a rank to which he had appointed Hulft, "the most trustworthy servant he ever had in his life," as his services could not be sufficiently rewarded by the customary gifts.³⁹

On the 19th of April the King wrote to van der Meyden who succeeded Hulft that in spite of his continuing illness he hoped soon to visit the Camp: further, if an assault was intended, he desired to be informed two or three days beforehand.⁴⁰ He was fully convinced of the loyalty of the Hollanders: "Some foolish people are much deceived if they judge that there can be the least separation of interest betwixt Our Majesty and the Company, the wiser sort being convinced that our interest is the same:" Van der Meyden in communicating his plans suggested that it would be more convenient if the King delayed coming till the city was taken. "What business have I in the Camp then, unless it be to see the conditions performed? Whereas the late Director-General had given me his word that the city should be delivered into my hands," retorted Raja Sinha.⁴¹

His health, however, did not improve and the monsoon rains were approaching; he therefore consented to an assault being made in his absence, and on the 7th of May a portion of the walls was occupied after a severe fight. At 8 a.m. on the 11th the Portuguese submitted their terms of Capitulation, and on the same day the counter-proposals of the Hollanders were handed to them. At 7 p.m. the King received from his Disavas an *ola* with information of what was in progress, and he wrote asking for an explanation. "From the draft of the said *ola*, it appears

37. Baldaeus, p. 745.

38. R. S. to van der Meyden, 21st May, 1656. Tr. 18 R. A. S. 238-240.

39. Baldaeus, p. 738.

40. Baldaeus, p. 750.

41. R. S. to van der Meyden 22nd April, 1656, Baldaeus, pp. 751-752.

in my Imperial heart to be different and not in accord with the Imperial letters."⁴² At 9 a.m. on the 12th the Portuguese Deputies returned with the Terms which had been accepted ; as soon as these were duly signed van der Meyden forwarded a copy to the King ; this was his first intimation to the latter of what was afoot (D.163). At the same time the Dutch army went into occupation of the Fort. The letter reached the King at 7 p.m., and his reply was despatched within three hours.

He demanded to know why he had not been consulted before terms were settled. He pointed out that they were totally at variance with the conditions of the Treaty of Batticalo, and the repeated promises of Hulft and of van der Meyden himself. He bitterly protested against the arrangement by which the Mudaliyars and Lascarins were placed under the authority of the Company, instead of being handed over to him as promised. "I did not bring the Dutch nation to this my Empire nor laboured up till now for them to act thus towards me."⁴³

Van der Meyden's attempts at explanation and the presents which accompanied them (D.164) only intensified the dishonesty of his conduct. While urging that he was mainly influenced by anxiety to avoid further loss and bloodshed, he mysteriously hinted that the forces still available for the defence were found to be much more than he had believed : as a matter of fact they consisted of about a hundred fighting men (D.185). Of a piece with this was the orgie of six days' ruthless plundering to which the citizens were exposed, in spite of the protection which had been pledged to them (D.158 and 185).

The King who had been keeping the army in provisions, now cut off supplies, and within a week van der Meyden had adopted a suppliant tone (D.165). But Raja Sinha insisted that Hulft's promise to surrender Negumbo and Colombo must be fulfilled : the honour of the Prince of Orange and the

42. 18 R. A. S. p. 236; see also *Baldaeus*, p. 780.

43. 18 R. A. S. pp. 237-238.

Company in whose name that promise had been made, was concerned, and he would wait till they decided. "Let your Honours write these rigmaroles to whomsoever it may seem well to you, and not to my Imperial person"⁴⁴ he scornfully replied. Van der Meyden professed to have received different instructions from Hulft about the King's wishes regarding Colombo (D.167). "The fact I only remember is that on three consecutive occasions I have made with the Dutch nation a Treaty of peace in which these points had been settled: of other conditions I have no knowledge," retorted Raja Sinha.

However, as the Dutch had offered to surrender Negumbo, (D.165) he was sending his Disava to take it over (D.168). Van der Meyden agreed (D.170). "Great and Mighty Monarch, we do not demand any more territory than that which Your Majesty has accorded to us till now as a lien on account of the considerable outlay" (D.169). He pretended to understand that the King agreed to a portion of Colombo being fortified (D.170). He also dangled as a bait a further expedition against the Portuguese in India,⁴⁵ from which the King might expect much glory if he would assist. (D.169). "Our sole intention is to remain here until the Portuguese have been conveyed to their several destinations and all danger as to the safety of the town be past, and then to protect Your Majesty's territory from their further incursions," (D.172).

Soft words did not placate the King: "You have behaved as barbarians and people who are unacquainted with the honour due to Kings, who have no God and no law and no faith" (D.179), was his reply. Nevertheless, when a Dutch ship was wrecked, he ordered the cargo to be salvaged and sent to van der Meyden. His pressure however did not relax: van der Meyden wrote to say that the Governor-General was grieved at the strained relations. (D.180.) "If the said Governor-General and the Company are persons

44. 18 R. A. S. p. 239.

45. Raja Sinha had discussed such a scheme with Coster, see R. S. to Kittensteyn, 5th September, 1652. Tr. 21 R. A. S. pp. 260-266

who keep their word, they have reason to be sorry : and if this shall go on after this manner, there will follow more and more sorrows. In times past the Dutch nation has declared to me many things, and in all that I have found no truth," replied Raja Sinha.⁴⁶ The Portuguese on their part were making further advances to him (D.182). The crisis could no longer be delayed, and on the 27th of October van der Meyden sent him an ultimatum (D.183), which was followed by open warfare (D.184).

Maetsuycker, in reporting on events in Ceylon, acknowledged that but for the efficient manner in which Raja Sinha had kept the army provisioned, the long siege could not have been maintained. He stated however that during its continuance the King was holding communication with the Portuguese, thereby suggesting that he was playing a double game. He omitted to mention that the King's replies to the letters of the enemy were entrusted to the Hollanders for delivery, and was in one instance not only drafted but signed by Hulft on his behalf.⁴⁷ He expressed surprise at the attitude taken up by Raja Sinha, and was inclined to adopt van der Meyden's proposal that the town should be retained : the question however had been left to the latter's discretion (D.185). The following month, as he found that the King was powerless to resist and was not likely to be helped by the Portuguese, he was more decided : " We are of opinion we must retain possession of Colombo " (D.186). Plans were accordingly made to reduce it in size and to strengthen the fortifications, while the fact that one hundred and fifty Dutchmen had already married native women was regarded as a helpful factor (D.187). The capture of Manar and Jafanapatam by Ryckloff van Goens, who had large views about the consolidation of the Company's power in South India followed (D.190). " By God's grace the Company is now Mistress of Jafanapatam and Ruler of the Island of Ceylon," he reported (D.193).

46. 18 R. A. S. p. 243.

47. *Baldaeus*, p. 739.

Under the seventh clause of the Terms of Capitulation, the married soldiers in Jafanapatam, along with their families, were to be sent to Goa (D.194): but as a matter of fact they were taken to Batavia (D.197). "From the permission freely to leave the Castle at the Capitulation of Jafanapatam, we have excluded the best-looking widows and daughters and orphans to give in marriage to our soldiers" he admitted (D.193). There was no special proviso regarding their liberty, and when complaints were made at Batavia about their forcible detention, van Goens proceeded elaborately to prove that the accusation was false (D.197). He further suggested an arrangement by which the Company should receive from Raja Sinha a lease of the entire Littoral from Kalpitiya to Matara, till the King's debts were wiped out, with an yearly statement of accounts: that the ancient kingdom of Jafanapatam, including Manar and the Wann, be handed over to the Company absolutely, with the control of the Gulf from Tutucorin to Colombo: while Trikona Malai, Batticalo, and if necessary, Kalpitiya, should be left to the King: (D.193).

This latter had not attempted to interfere with the Dutch during their campaign and had received the ambassador van Goens sent to him, with much consideration (D.193). The reply received from him however, showed that Raja Sinha was not prepared to abate one jot of his claims: he must be the Master in his own country and sole arbiter over his own subjects, and everything from Jafanapatam to Colombo must be surrendered to him. Thereupon van Goens decided: "We are justified in blockading at once all the ports in the Island. If Raja Sinha had kept quiet it might have been difficult to find an excuse for doing so: now his show of temper has come opportune," and in February 1659 he sent an ultimatum to the King (D.197). Chilaw and Kalpitiya were seized and plans laid to destroy his salt works and blockade Trikona Malai and Batticalo. There was little opposition. The King was busy with

his domestic troubles, for a plot had been discovered against him and the conspirators were punished with terrible severity. (D.196).⁴⁸

To organise the administration of the territory the Company had seized proved a difficult task. Few of its officers, van Goens complained, were competent men : their honesty was often openly questioned. " They rob the poor soldiers to such a degree that they look like beggars and vagabonds " (D.193). As for the fleet, " the Captains and sailors were quite ignorant of their calling. They were with few exceptions drunkards and scoundrels. Governor van der Meyden is far too weak and incompetent to continue at his post, " he thought (D.204.) " Our citizens' only talent seems to be to establish taverns, but they have no inclination for honourable work. " The industrious Moorman was already taking the petty trade of the country from their hands into his own. Agriculture, he insisted, was the first consideration (D.206), and van der Meyden recommended that Dutch farmers should be got out to cultivate the abandoned fields (D.200). In spite of these drawbacks, " None of our Colonies promise so fair, " thought the Seventeen (D 203). Van der Meyden anticipated internal discord on the King's death : " Then will be the time for us to extend our conquests. " How that line of policy was carried out has been narrated elsewhere.⁴⁹

And Raja Sinha ?

The machinations of the Company blasted the promise of his early years. The high-souled patriot, whose steadfast passion had been to release his country from foreign aggression, changed swiftly into a soured and ferocious tyrant, ever watchful to avenge himself on the Merchants who had overreached him. The terrible picture of him drawn by Jacob Scheepmeister in 1670, (D.214) was not wholly a caricature.

48. Also see King to van Goens, 14th Nov. 1658. Tr. 18 R. A. S. pp. 244-245. ditto, 20th Dec. 1658. Tr. 21 R. A. S. pp. 266-267.

49. See " *Ceylon and the Hollanders*, " 2nd Ed., Tellipalai, 1924.

CHAPTER I.

1602 On the 31st of May 1602 Joris van Spilbergen reached the East coast of Ceylon with two vessels¹ and waited on the Sinhalese King, Wimala Dharma Suriya, at his Capital of Senkadagala, known among Europeans as Kandy. He was received with an extravagant degree of warmth and after four months sailed away for Achin, leaving with the King a portrait of Prince Mauritz and two musicians who had accompanied him from Europe. He was followed on the 28th of November by Sebalt de Weert, Vice-Admiral, and the latter's own account² of his experiences has fortunately been preserved.

When he arrived at Mada Kalapuwa, a name which he transformed into Mate Calou,³ an invitation to visit the Capital reached him from the King with the intimation that a supply of pepper and cinnamon, which de Weert could purchase cheap, as well as a large stock of precious stones, were available. He accordingly started for the land, but the heavy surf upset his boat and damaged the presents he was taking for the King, though no lives were lost. The Chief of the District, whom he described as a King and secretly a friend of the Portuguese, though kept in check by fear of his Overlord, received him hospitably. Six elephants conveyed the visitors to the town, a distance of a Dutch mile,

¹ See 't *Historiael Journael van de Voyagie Gedaen in de Javen* 1601-1604. Translated into English by D. W. Ferguson, in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. vi. Also *Indiæ Orientalis pars Septima, Navigationes duas, primam a Georgio Spilbergio. Anno, 1601, etc.* Frankfurt, 1606.

² These details are from the letter of Sebalt de Weert, Vice-Admiral, to his Admiral at Bantam, dated Before Achin, 1st April, 1603, and forwarded through Spilbergen.

On this letter is based part of the narrative translated as "An historical account of the Voyage to the East Indies with 15 ships under Wybrandt van Waerwijck, Admiral, and Sebaald de Weert, Vice-Admiral" by F. H. de Vos, in *The Orientalist*, vol. iii, Kandy, 1887.

3. And to-day, Batticalo.

and after a day's rest de Weert with six of his party again 1602 took the road on elephant-back. Torrential rains delayed his progress, for the streams which he had to ford were swollen. The King's messengers now arrived with a letter from one of the Hollanders at Court, requesting him to state in writing for the King's information the nation to which he belonged, while some of the men went on to inspect the ships.

The answer which de Weert sent back proved so satisfactory that in accordance with the etiquette of the Sinhalese Court in the case of distinguished visitors, relays of men met him at every stage with refreshments and inquiries after his health, while the King's brother-in-law came to escort him with a guard of a hundred men and music ; as a peculiar distinction he was carried for the last two days in a palanquin. His reception overwhelmed de Weert :

" We were received in such a magnificent and triumphant way that I really do not know if in our country His Excellency the Prince could receive more honour," he reported. Soldiers lined the road for the distance of half a Dutch mile. All the cannon were fired in salute, while the drums, trumpets, fifes and other similar instruments created so great a din, that, as de Weert declared " one could neither hear nor see." The house which had been prepared for his occupation was hung with white cloth, and there he was invited to rest : but so impatient was the King to see him that he summoned him to appear even before he could change his clothes or arrange the presents. The same noisy demonstrations, and a crowd so dense that he could hardly make his way, accompanied him to the Palace, preceded, according to custom, by the presents. These consisted of scarlet cloth, two large mirrors, a gilt rudder, a fine gilt sword, and some beautiful glass, of which the bulk had got broken on the way.

De Weert was conducted into a hall where as he noted there was nothing in the Portuguese or Dutch fashion. It had little magnificence, though he was much struck by its beauty. The King's officials were ranged along the walls facing each other, and in the middle was hung the life-size

portrait of Prince Mauritz. In front of this was spread a handsome carpet, on which the presents were laid. The King himself stood apart in a recess leaning against the wall, with his two little children in front of him. 1602

De Weert sank on one knee before him, and in reply to the King's inquiries, which were conveyed to him by an interpreter, explained that he came from a country which the Portuguese called Frandes, and which consisted of a group of Confederated Provinces governed by a body of Notables and the Prince whose likeness was before him. His recognition of the likeness was hailed with evident satisfaction as establishing the veracity of Spilbergen. He proceeded to explain that his people were merchants, and that they had come to India to obtain spice and precious stones in exchange for the goods which they themselves brought, and that in order to carry on their trade they made alliances with the Rulers of all the countries which they visited. Further, he added, they had orders from their Prince to assist all who were enemies of the Portuguese, their own bitter foes with whom they had been fighting for thirty years.

On hearing this the King, who understood Portuguese well and only employed an interpreter as a matter of dignity, impetuously exclaimed that God must certainly have sent him, and just in time, for no King had suffered at the hands of the Portuguese more than he had done : they were trying to deprive him of his country, and he begged de Weert to execute his commission as speedily as he could.

De Weert pointed out that the assistance the King wanted must be paid for : if he would order pepper to be grown in his country, every year their vessels would come for it and he would never lack that assistance. In the meantime he suggested that the King should supply him with a cargo and he would go away to fetch help. The King readily agreed to this and undertook to obtain a ship-load of pepper for him from the Coast, even if he had to sell all his elephants to purchase it, as he had little of his own available : but this he said could not be done in less than four months.

Before parting from the King, De Weert further explained that what had emboldened him to come to an unknown land without any previous communication or demand for hostages, was not only the news of the welcome accorded to Spilbergen and his desire to outdo what the latter had accomplished, but also the assurance that enemies of the Portuguese, such as they were, need have no hesitation in entrusting themselves to the King—an artful answer which greatly delighted his hearers.

De Weert was then allowed to return to his lodgings, where the King sent him a great quantity of sweetmeats and fruits, four men slaves and three women slaves, with fifty *larins*⁴ in cash for his expenses, as well as a Major domo, and he was also visited by the courtiers.

In the evening he was summoned to a second interview. This was of a much more intimate nature than the first and only three or four of the highest Ministers were in attendance on the King, who instead of permitting his visitor to kiss his hand, embraced him so warmly, that as de Weert has recorded, “my ribs creaked.” His credentials were examined and the seal compared with that on Spilbergen’s, which was identical. He explained to the King that Achin was the Dutch Headquarters and suggested that it would be better for him to sail away at once and return with help instead of waiting four months, especially as the Eastern coast of Ceylon was dangerous at the season. The King advised him to secure his vessel with anchors and cables, and was astonished when de Weert pointed out to him that it was so large that it carried 36 guns and needed a cargo of 2,500 bahars of pepper. He declared frankly that he would never be able to load such a vessel, the like of which he had not seen, for the Portuguese had seized on the most fertile portions of his territory. He was, he said, a soldier, and not a merchant or farmer or mason : pepper, however, would grow in his country, and when he was Master, he would have it grown. As for the cinnamon, he had only to order

4. De Weert valued these at ten Pieces of Eight.

each village to collect a certain quantity, as it was found 1602 growing wild. He did not want money for it, but would present a thousand quintals a year if the Hollanders would assist him; double that quantity if they captured Galle;⁵ and all the cinnamon in the country if they captured Colombo. Moreover he would give them the exclusive right to trade in that spice. What he urgently needed was that the Hollanders should close the sea route and prevent Colombo being provisioned from Goa, for he knew how to conquer the Portuguese by land. As for the forts which should be captured, he was willing to hand them over to the custody of the Hollanders, because his own people did not understand to look after them. He urged the advantages which the Hollanders would obtain by an alliance with him, whereas if they did not come to his assistance now his case would be worse than before, as fear of a possible combination would induce the Portuguese to greater exertions against him.

De Weert fully appreciated the advantageous terms which were offered, but declared that he must return and collect more ships; the King insisted on his doing so with the least possible delay, and dismissed de Weert after presenting him with a golden jewelled dagger.

On the third day the King invited him to dinner. On his arrival the King conversed with him, walking up and down, for it appears not to have been the etiquette to sit down. At de Weert's request he summoned his daughter, a child of six years, who offered the guest a cup of locally made wine, but ran away frightened and crying, when de Weert offered to kiss her hand. The King then brought

5. The Portuguese had an efficient espionage system, and the proposal to attack Galle was soon known to them. See *Documentos Remetidos da India*, Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, King to Viceroy, 26th Feb., 1605, Livro, i. f. 25, do 12th Jan., 1607, f. 115. Two Novos Christaos at Columbo were reported to be in communication with the Hollanders: do, 18th Jan., 1607, f. 175.

Capitan Antonio Martens, a Portuguese prisoner and later the trusted personal servant of Senevirat, was present during the negotiations with the Hollanders. See his Memorial of which a copy was sent to the Viceroy with King Philip's letter of 4th March, 1614. *Doc Rem.* Livro 7. f. 152.

his son of three years on his arm and commended him to 1602 de Weert's protection. The latter kissed the child's hand and promised to recommend him to his Prince, whereupon the child drew from his side his small sword in its silver sheath and presented it to him.

De Weert was so pleased at the child's action that he took off his own costly sword,⁶ " which I would not have given to the father even if he had asked it from me " and offered it with its sash and all in return. The King accepted it after some hesitation, and assured de Weert that that would be the first sword the Prince would use when he grew up.

The King then told him the romantic story of his own life, how he had won the child's mother with the sword, when the Portuguese had brought her as a girl of twelve to be married to one of their Fidalgos and set up as Queen, after slaying 800 Portuguese with their General and Captains, the likeness of whose heads formed the locks of his anklets. He himself had married her against her will, for she was fair, no doubt with that wonderful golden colour which is found among the Sinhalese, and objected to him because he had the swarthy skin of the hardened warrior. Besides, according to royal custom, he had other wives, whereas the Portuguese among whom she had been brought up, recognised only one legal wife.

Dinner was then served to the Hollanders, and while they ate the King joined the Queen, who with natural curiosity was watching from behind a door.

The following day was spent in visiting the temples,⁷ as the rain prevented his starting, and in the evening he took formal leave of the King, who presented him with a

6. De Weert valued the dagger given to him at six pounds and his own sword with its fittings at twenty.

7. De Weert measured the footsteps of the Buddha, which he considered those of Adam, and found them $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ spans " whereof Jan Huigen writes ":-

The reference is to van Linschoten's Voyage to the East Indies: see Tr. by Burnell and Tiele, (Hakluyt Society, 1885, p. 79:) Van L. however is speaking of the impression on Samanala Kanda (Adam's Peak) and not of the copies at Kandy which de Weert saw.

quantity of cinnamon and pepper. He was escorted by 1602 the Chief Mudaliyar, a Portuguese, with fifty men, and reached his ship after a journey rendered extremely toilsome by the heavy rain.

De Weert was very enthusiastic about the results of his expedition. A gallant King with powerful subjects, he reported, was throwing himself into the arms of his countrymen: indeed the King was prepared to send his own son, when of suitable age, to Europe, to be trained under Prince Mauritz. He would give them the coveted monopoly of the cinnamon trade so that neither Turk nor Portuguese could obtain a pound of the stuff. The country was well adapted as a rendezvous for their own vessels from where the Eastern trade could be controlled, for Galle was the natural point at which all vessels eastward-bound had to touch. That town, he said, must be conquered, or the Hollanders must have a fort built near it. He accordingly urged that two hundred men should be sent to the King's assistance as soon as possible. "No place would be better for attacking the Portuguese, if we only keep the King and the people of the country our friends."

The scramble for the Trade of the East had begun.

"The English General Lancaster has been lying here (Achin) a long time to buy pepper. He arrived on the 13th of May, many of his crew having died of scurvy on the way and here of the bloody flux.....The French arrived here on July 24th under the General M. de la Bordeliere, also called Michiel Frotet, having left their Vice-Admiral in the Maldives. Joris Spilbergen arrived here on Sept. 17th ".....The stones he brought with him from Ceylon were estimated high.⁸

In a few months de Weert returned with the help he had promised to bring, and found that in his absence the 1603 King had repulsed an invasion of the Portuguese with brilliant success, and that most of their fortified positions

8. Letter of Cornelis Jolyt and three others, dated Achin, 18th Nov., 1602.

had fallen : it was a great opportunity to drive them out of the 1603 country once and for all. Letters were received from the King, urging de Weert to blockade Galle by sea, as he would hasten there with his army ; but de Weert occupied himself in cruising about the coast and captured several vessels when news arrived that the King was on his way to meet him.

De Weert landed on the first of June with 200 soldiers, two flags, two drums and twelve trumpets, and marched some distance beyond the town till he met the King, whom he greeted on bended knee. The King's men were drawn up in a circle within which the Hollanders marched round three times firing their guns; then they all escorted him to the house of the Chief of Mada Kalapuwa. The Hollanders were taken within an enclosed garden, where they were served with a meal of rice and fish, after which they received orders to return on board. This they did, leaving de Weert behind with about twenty-five of his men.

The overbearing and insolent attitude of de Weert at the interview which followed led to a scuffle in the course of which he was killed,⁹ and the hopes which the King had so ardently cherished, were dashed to the ground. The next day he sent a letter to the Fleet, in which he remarked that " He who drinks wine is vile." Negotiations were re-opened, but after some correspondence, as the King was back in camp, arrangements could not be made for the proposed siege and the fleet sailed away with the cinnamon and pepper which the King presented. Humanly speaking, the folly of de Weert delayed the expulsion of the Portuguese by more than fifty years.¹⁰

9. Capitan Antonio Martens was present on the occasion. See his Memorial.

10. For details, see de Vos' translation op. cit. Also Log of Jacob Ryks, who speaks of the King's disappointment that the Portuguese prisoners, whom he intended to exchange for his son who was in their power, should have been released by de Weert. (Hague Archives). This son was being educated at the College dos Reis at Goa, see *Doc Rem.* Livro I, f. 25.

Wimala Dharma Suriya did not long survive this dis-
 1604 appointment ; he died in 1604 and his cousin Senevirat, a
 gentle and cultured man who had been in priestly robes and
 had a strong antipathy to war, took charge of the Govern-
 1609 ment. In 1609 (in which year the independence of the
 United Provinces was recognised by Spain,) he married the
 widowed Queen and established himself as King. He had
 previously attempted to re-open negotiations with the Holl-
 anders, but his efforts had failed owing to the loss of the
 vessels which he sent in search of them.¹¹

On the 10th of February of the following year Abraham
 Fonteyn ¹² arrived off the coast of Ceylon and after capturing
 1610 a Portuguese vessel with a cargo of sugar, rice and cloth in
 the neighbourhood of Galle, sailed to Calar, a mile to the
 north of Mada Kalapuwa. Here on the 20th of March he
 received a letter from the King worded as follows :—

Laus Deo Semper,

This letter is for the good fleet of Holland or Zeeland. The
 King of Candi has heard that Your Honour has arrived here,
 at the Island of Ceylon, with some ships, which makes him
 very glad and gives him much pleasure. The King of Candi
 gave orders to write to you as soon as possible that you should
 send some letters or some men to Candi that they might speak
 with the King. He wants assistance from His Excellency
 and from you, as far as it is the will of God, to drive the
 Portuguese out of the country. They are 50,000 men strong,
 and if you intend to make an expedition, as far as this is
 possible, you have to give assistance as soon as may be.
 He promises to give you all you want,—pepper, cinnamon,
 all sorts of goods, precious stones and all good refreshment.
 Here in this country many things can be obtained profitable
 to you and His Excellency, as much as you like.

11. See Memorial of Antonio Martens.

12. Ab. Fonteyn to Jacques l'Hermite at Bantam, dated Velour,
 31st May, 1610.

No more at this time, and may God be with you and 1610
us all.

By me, Isaac Plouviere of Vlissingen, from the ship
of which Lauverius Franssen was Captain.

By me Lambert Cornelissen from the ship Alchmaer.

By me SRI
King of this Island of Ceylon.

The Hollanders however were not in a position to give
any help at the moment and sent the following reply :—

Serene, Illustrious Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candi,
etc.

I received Your Majesty's letter on the 28th of March
and I understand from it that Your Majesty wants some
assistance, which it is impossible to give at present as we
have only one ship and a yacht here. Still I could not omit
to send the person of Carolus van Lanoy as quickly as possible
in the name of our Prince Mauritius, Prince of Orange, in
order that he may inform Your Majesty of all things and
make a Treaty, whereto I, being Captain, empower the said
person in the name of His Excellency the Prince, fully and
as if I were in the presence of Your Majesty myself.

Wherewith Your Serene, Illustrious Emperor, be com-
mended to God's mercy; may He favour Your Majesty
and give Your Majesty prosperity against your enemies.

In the ship the "Eendracht," 30th March, 1610.

Fonteyn sailed away, leaving behind Carolus van Lanoy
to make arrangements with the King; this van Lanoy did,
and a Treaty was entered into of which the details cannot
be traced.¹³

13. This treaty is referred to by Philip Lucasz, in proposing new
arrangements with Raja Sinha. Doc. 56.

Since this note was written, the Treaty has been traced by
Mr. E. Reimers, at Batavia. It is dated 13th April 1610.

The King further sent his Ambassadors¹⁴ to the Dutch 1610 in India to press his request. There the Raja of Velour had given them Palicat, in spite of the violent opposition of the Portuguese, and a reply was sent to the King dated from Velour on the 26th of May 1610:—

“Most Serene, Noble Emperor of the Island of Ceylon, King of Candi.

“ Seeing the inclination of these persons who addressed me here at Velour, where I have to negotiate with the King, the object of this will be to greet Your Majesty and to inform you that this King has made an eternal Treaty with our Prince Mauritius de Nassau, that the King allowed and granted us free trade in all his territories, and to live in them. So we have erected a new Factory at Pallicatte.”

The writer¹⁵ went on to inquire whether the King of Ceylon on his part would like to enter into a similar Treaty, in order to be rid of the Portuguese, and he further requested him to send an elephant to Palicat to be paid for as he wished.

1611 Probably as the result of this correspondence, a further Treaty was entered into in 1611 between the King and Philipsz Carbett, of which also details are unknown¹⁶.

But the weary war continued and Dom Jeronymo de Azavedo, perhaps the ablest and certainly not the least bloodthirsty Portuguese administrator in the East, invaded the King's dominions for the last time before his own departure to assume the office of Viceroy, and sacked and burnt the Capital. Van Lanoy had returned to India, and 1612 on the 12th of February 1612 there landed at Kottiarاما a new Envoy from Holland, in the person of Marchelis Michielssen Boschouwer, who had already met van Lanoy and an Ambassador whom Senevirat had sent apparently with the latter. He was well received by Idele, Wanniya of the District, and started to meet the King, leaving behind the presents and merchandise he had brought with him.

14. Letter of P. Gtse Borgonje, dated Tierapopelier, May 1610.

15. The writer was apparently Adrien Mercelis.

16. Also referred to by Lucasz.

The Portuguese however who had news of his arrival, 1612 attacked and killed the Hollanders he left in charge and seized the goods.¹⁷ On the 8th of March Senevirat received the Envoy, who presented the letters¹⁸ which he had brought. The first of these was from the States General and was dated from The Hague, on the 15th of September 1609. It announced the recognition of the independence of the United Provinces by the King of Spain and Portugal after forty-two years' continuous fighting, and the conclusion of a Treaty of peace for twelve years. Under this Treaty freedom of navigation and trade was guaranteed to the citizens of the Provinces in every part of the world, and under that guarantee all countries trading with them could obtain protection against any hostile act on the part of the Portuguese resulting from such intercourse. The Provinces, the letter declared, had the material strength to enforce the guarantee, and the King was accordingly invited to enter into trade relations with them ¹⁹.

The second letter began as follows :—

“Mauritz, Prince of Nassau, Orange, Count de Nassau, Catsenelleubogen, Diest, Vianden, etc., Marques of Vere and of Vlissingen, Governor, Captain and Admiral General of Gelderlandt, Holland, Seelandt, West Vrieslandt, Zutphen, Utrecht and Over Yssel, etc.

Great and Mighty King,

“We have had war with the King of the Portuguese for a long time and opposed his intentions, as you have done

17. Boschouwer to the Seventeen, dated “in a great hurry at the Fortress of Meda Maha Nour, 28th March 1612;” also Martin Vinck to Governor-General Antonio van Diemen, Gale, 25th June, 1643.

18. These two letters are reproduced in the English translation of *Baldaeus*; “*Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and of the Empire of Ceylon*,” in Churchill's *Voyages*, London, 1703.

19. King Philip, when informing the Viceroy about the Treaty, sent him special instructions in cypher to exert himself to prevent the Hollanders being received in the ports of Eastern rulers. *Doc. Rem.* 21st Feb., 1610, Livro 3, f. 105. Galle, he pointed out, would require stronger defences than were considered sufficient to resist the Sinhalese. *do* 19th March, 1610, L.3.f.39.

yourself since he intended to conquer your kingdom, so 1612 that our arms have been turned against him at the same time."

This letter was similar in tone to the previous one and continued as follows :—

"The Spanish King tried to make an armistice with us alone. We thought this was the better to attack you, when deprived of our assistance. We refused and it was made a term that he will not have an opportunity to damage our friends but we will be free to navigate in all places. So that if he does any harm to you we consider it to be done to ourselves, while we will be always ready to help you to avenge yourself. Therefore we have ordered our Governor to negotiate with Your Majesty in what manner to provide against their practices and cunning."

"We would not persist in this, that his subjects should not trade in Ceylon, but leave that to your discretion" the Prince suggested.

These letters were intended to create in the King's mind the impression that the Hollanders, when they insisted on freedom of navigation for themselves, had really been fighting the King's battle, and that if he was ranked among their Allies, on the ground of trading with them, he could claim the same cessation of hostilities as they had obtained. Boschouwer laid much emphasis on this :

"The King was very content, spoke much with me and asked me if he could rely upon the letters. I answered 'Yes, Your Majesty, be sure, for everything will be truly done and fulfilled.' *King* : "The Portuguese will not keep the Armistice nor observe it, as they are traitors. Will I receive assistance if that is the case"? *Answer* : "Your Majesty, be sure this will be so."

To add weight to his assurances, he addressed to Dom Jeronymo de Azavedo on the following day a letter in which he informed him that he had been sent to announce the Armistice ; he found, however, such violence that he did not

know where to begin. The Portuguese, he remarked, did not 1612 seem to value the Armistice or their King's oath, but were pillaging, burning, murdering, shooting the King's vassals, and taking their goods. He demanded compensation for all this, and on failure he warned them that it would be war. He concluded his letter thus: "I commend you, Senhor, to the protection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. May he give you a very pure heart, and brains to understand the Treaty which has been made and confirmed."

The King was impressed by the persuasive eloquence of the Hollander, and on the 11th of March a Treaty was signed at Karalliyadda. This was an elaborate document in forty-six Clauses and was translated into Sinhalese from the Dutch by Isaack Pluviers. The King was described as "Seneradt Adacyn, Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candi" and Boschouwer as "Commissary from the President Jan van Wesick, in the name of Prince Mauritz and the Estates General." The first six Clauses provided for the establishment of a perpetual peace and alliance, with cessation of all enmity. In accordance with the Treaty of 1609 the King undertook not to carry on hostilities against the Portuguese for a term of twelve years: should he do so he would receive no help from the Hollanders. On the other hand should the Portuguese commence the offensive, then they bound themselves to help him with ships, soldiers and ammunition. In case of both King and Hollanders being involved, they had to assist each other and share all the spoil.

By the seventh Clause, which was substituted on the 5th of April at Mandawache in place of the original, the King transferred the port and district of Kottiarama to the Prince and Estates General, reserving however the rights of the Wannia, Idele Komari, who was to continue under the new administration, and subject to the condition that the King was to be exempt from the liability to tolls and duties.

Several of the Clauses dealt with the military situation. The King's Council of War was to consist of himself, two

Mudaliyars and two Hollanders, and he was not to declare ¹⁶¹² war without first consulting the Dutch adviser at Court. It was recited that a fort was needed for storing ammunition and for the defence of the Kingdom, and the King promised to collect the necessary stone and lime and to have workmen ready and generally to assist in the construction thereof. The Hollanders undertook to support the King in war against all foreign nations, while he was to keep a special watch to prevent treachery by the Portuguese against the Hollanders during the continuance of the armistice, and to come to their help if they were attacked. All enemy property was to be seized and divided between the Contracting Parties, but individuals were not to be harmed and could ransom themselves.

The King promised the Hollanders a site for a stone building for the safe custody of their merchandise and to have the Prince's goods and such articles as the Hollanders purchased, transported between Batticalo and his Capital by 120 coolies and ten elephants. The Hollanders secured the right of access to all parts of the King's dominions and exemption from export and import duties. Such articles as the King required from Holland would be supplied for cash or the equivalent in goods. The Hollanders were given the right of pre-emption over the subject matter of all contracts. Dealing on credit was deprecated, and where the credit exceeded 300 *larin* the defaulter would be boycotted. The King was to see to the collection of all the cinnamon and send it to the Hollanders, and this was to be paid for at a rate to be fixed later. The King would sell his gems, pearls, cinnamon and other articles of value to the Prince alone, and similarly the Hollanders would sell their jewellery only to the King. In such transactions parties were to be guided not by the desire for gain but by the fair value. A dispute about prices was not to be a ground for enmity, and there must be frank correspondence on both sides, while all past ill-will was declared wiped away. Trade with any other European nation was prohibited.

The King agreed to supply timber for shipbuilding 1612 where the Hollanders resided, as well as carpenters, who would be remunerated. To assist in keeping the sea clear of pirates the King would contribute the timber needed for one ship every year. Dutch wrecks would receive help without any claim to salvage. In the case of wrecks of other friendly nations, the cargo was to be collected and restored with a salvage charge of an eighth of its value for the benefit of the Contracting Parties. There were provisions for the issue of ships' passports, and in order to attract trade all the ports were declared free for all ships during the space of three years. After that term the two parties would fix the rates chargeable and appoint their own receivers, dividing the proceeds in equal shares. There were further provisions regarding the coinage, and forgery of coins was declared punishable with death and confiscation of property. The question of the denominations to be issued was reserved for future discussion. Each side obtained the privilege of minting alternately for periods of three years at a time, with the right to vary the amount of metal each for its coinage. The profits thus obtained were to be reserved for war expenses.

A certain degree of extra-territoriality was allowed to the Hollanders. Prisoners on both sides were to be restored to their own people and there was provision for the punishment of parties infringing the terms of the Treaty, which was declared inviolable and would override all else.

Senevirat swore to observe its terms by what the Treaty declared was his most solemn oath, namely, on the *Dalada-wahanse*, or Tooth Relic, and signed it with his Royal Sign Manual of *Sri*, the signature being countersigned by two of his Ministers. Boschouwer signed on behalf of the other side.

CHAPTER II.

In the meantime the Portuguese were drawing nearer 1612 on one of their numerous raiding expeditions, and on the 21st, just after the King and Boschouwer had prepared letters for Holland, the Portuguese attacked them, but they escaped into the forest. Medamaha Nuwara was captured, and as all writing paper was hidden in the forest, Boschouwer could not write in detail to his Superiors. What he did write on the 28th was while under concealment, in fear of further attack at any moment. His report establishes the correctness of the Sinhalese account, as contained in the *Parangi Hatane*,¹ of the methods of warfare followed by the Portuguese. "They committed many more cruel and tyrannical deeds by murdering, burning and ruining the country than ever before they had received my letter. Indeed it is a grief and a misery to see and hear it. His Majesty says "Is this the peace in which I am comprised according to the letter of His Excellency the Prince and the Estates General? Then I prefer a good war to such a bad and false peace." Boschouwer therefore urged the Directors to send help as soon as possible. "If no assistance is sent" he declared "the King will soon be a King without a Kingdom and we Dutch, men without honour and faith." He pointed out, as de Weert also had done, how valuable the country was for destroying the Portuguese power in India. "When they are once turned out of Ceylon they are out of India, as the Island is the centre of India and of their power." He calculated the Portuguese forces at 900 Europeans and 20,000 Sinhalese, divided into two armies. He recommended that

1. "And many a sacred shrine and palace proud and the very temple of the Sacred Tooth were consumed in the devouring flame. While many a fertile land of fruit and flower, mango and plantain, jak and arecanut, betel and coconut, were ravaged by this destroying host.

Our gentle herds of kine were slain to fill the maw of these devouring ogres, and many a wanton deed they wrought, and the heart of man melted as wax before the flame of the fierce Parangi fire."

any army which was sent should proceed straight to Colombo, 1612 while a portion should disembark at Kottiarama and march with the Sinhalese overland.

The King's letters to the Hollanders were entrusted to Pluviers who gave them to a Portuguese slave to carry, but the latter deserted to his countrymen who thus secured a copy of the Treaty and full knowledge of everything which was being planned.

A letter dated " From the Army of Ceylon on the first of April" was now received in reply to Boschouwer's communication. It was signed by Dom Francisco de Meneses, as de Azavedo had no authority to deal with State negotiations. In this the writer, with undisguised contempt for a nation whom he regarded merely as tradesmen,² remarked that he was under the impression that the letter was from merchants who had goods to sell. He pointed out that the Armistice had nothing to do with Senevirat. " It would be better if they took their merchandise and looked for another market, and occupied themselves with their own affairs, and not with matters of State. We both are from Europe and are at peace : if you have no good wine and would like some, say so, for we have very good wine here. But we advise you to leave Kandy as soon as you can, for this is no country for trade ventures."

Boschouwer was taken into the King's service; the town of Migamuwa, a name which Europeans have changed into Negombo, was allotted to him, and according to Sinhalese custom he was called after it Migamuwe Maha Rala, a title which in the interpretation of the recipient, was the equivalent of Prince. That town itself was in the hands of the

2. " A Republic whose origin was a rebellion, whose growth is robbery, and whose existence is maintained with the profits of trade."

Sousa Coutinho to Pedro Viera da Silva, 13th June, 1645. *Correspondencia Diplomatica de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho*, Edgar Prestage and Pedro de Azavedo, Vol. 1. p. 286.

1613 Portuguese, " which shows how far his princeliness is reaching " as the Director of the Hollanders at Masulipatam caustically remarked ³.

He was determined to employ the position which he had secured in order to strengthen the new Alliance, and all kinds of offences were treated as attempts to destroy it and constructive treason. The translation of an interesting Sinhalese Proclamation dated "from the Imperial Court of Ceylon at the town of Welmantotta, 20th April 1613 " has been preserved. It is drawn up in bombastic phraseology interlarded with scraps of Roman Law and signed with the Royal Sign Manual and " by order of the King, Marcelis de Boschouwer." Apparently with the grant of Migamuwa, Boschouwer had assumed the *de* of nobility. It stated that the Treaty " must be strenuously maintained though revolutionary traitors and conspirators are trying to destroy it and our Empire." One such, whose name appears as Cirrucharye, had been arrested. " After much deliberation he is found guilty of *Crimen Majestatis* and sentenced to death by the sword. His body as of a traitor is not worthy of earth and shall be dragged to the wood by the dogs without any mercy."

The King now sent an Ambassador to Palicat to press for the assistance which he had been led to expect. As a matter of fact Boschouwer had no authority to make any such promise, but it suited the Hollanders none the less, for news had been received that the Viceroy had been instructed by his King to abandon all India if need arose and to confine himself to Ceylon. ⁴

Cornelis de Heda, who was spying on the Portuguese in the interest of the Hollanders, had reported that the new Viceroy was taking most energetic action. He had summoned a great meeting of Fidalgos and citizens and upbraided

3. Wemmer van Berchem to Mattheus Couteels, Masulipatam, August 1613.

4. W. van Berchem. *ibid*.

1613 them for the indifference which they were displaying. He declared that the Portuguese were losing India through their avarice, that they had bartered away their honour and knighthood, and had ruined their King's country for the sake of their pockets. He was determined to change all that. No one in future was to travel in a palanquin: he himself did so but rarely and most of the day he was at the dockyard, supervising the naval preparations. He was going to conquer Ceylon at all costs, as then alone would India be safe. ⁵ De Heda further urged the need for building a fort in the Island in order to intercept the Chinese fleet of the Portuguese, which was the chief source of their revenue. ⁶

1614 De Azavedo however had received instructions to make peace with Senevirat, to whom on the 22nd of February 1614 he wrote from Goa as follows:—

“Whereas the Catholic King of Portugal our Master has decided to make peace and a Treaty with Your Majesty, as he is moved by the wish of all his lords not to shed so much blood in the future as continually has been done, he has given me commission, power and authority to negotiate with Your Majesty to make a Treaty and Contract. We therefore send our General Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereyra to negotiate with Your Majesty, to make, conclude and swear to a Peace, Treaty, and other things. Wherefore we give him full power, commission, and authority as was given to us for the purpose by His Catholic Majesty of Portugal, and whatever conclusion he may come to with Your Majesty, it will be sure, certain and irrevocable, and will be fulfilled.

We pray Your Majesty to listen to the Ambassador in all things and to favour him, that the outcome may be all right according to the good intentions of the Catholic King our Master, which may God grant through Jesus Christ; may He keep Your Majesty in health.”

5. De Heda to van Berchem, dated Naraspore, 18th April, 1613.

6. *ibid* 23rd May, 1613.

1614 Dom Nuno arrived in Colombo in the middle of May and sent Dom Francisco de Meneses with the necessary authority to conclude peace "that we might accomplish so desirable a means for saving so many innocent persons, our lives being secure and Your Majesty's reign a calm one." ⁷

Dom Francisco accordingly made his way to the King's Court and on the 18th of June submitted the Portuguese proposals under nine heads. They demanded the establishment of peace with the continuance of the existing status, and that the King should break off his Treaty with the Hollanders and have no dealings with any other European Power. They asked for the establishment of free trade between the two parties, that the King should allow a monastery to be built at his Capital, and permit 200 or 300 clergy and merchants to reside there. They finally suggested that the Crown Prince should hold Court at Colombo, and that the King should restore all captured guns and men. ⁸

Proposals so outrageous as these did not need much time for consideration and in two days the King gave his reply: The Portuguese must surrender all the country they had occupied and confine themselves to Colombo, Galle and Mannar. The Treaty with the Hollanders would be maintained in its integrity: All prisoners should be returned, and all trade be subject to the established regulations.

On the 28th Dom Francisco left with a letter from the King which was dated from Diyatilaka on the previous day.

"I have answered your Ambassador. If you can be satisfied by that answer, we will make peace and a Treaty. Otherwise we will remain as before, as I cannot forswear the Treaty and peace made with the Dutch. I cannot break or forswear it, and even if they broke it and would not assist me as they promised, you are not to be trusted, for you are always treacherous, which was seen often enough here. Never any Sinhalese Emperor or King reigned before me who was

7. Dated in Colombo, 17th May, 1614.

8. Also see Baldaeus, p. 697.

1614 willing to make peace or contract a Treaty with you except the King of Cota. The others have been continuously at war with you, long, murderous wars up to this moment in my reign. And I shall continue them and meet you with arms in hand, for you are not to be trusted: you may be assured of this, and do your utmost as you did before, for we do not want anything here.

SRI

Countersigned : Marcellis de Boschouwer.

1615 No help however came from the Hollanders, who had referred the King's letters to Bantam for instructions, and his Ambassadors remained in India waiting for a reply. But early the following year a communication was received from Hans de Haas who had been commissioned to report on the state of things in India. In place of the usual simple superscription of the King it was addressed to "Seneradt Adasyn by God's Grace Emperor of Selon, King of Candi, Settevacke, Triconauemele, Jafanapatam, Sette Corles, Manaer, Chilau, Batacalao, Palagam and Yala; Prince of Wadanarach, Pasadom Korle; Duke of Biligama and Gale, Count of Quatre Korle, Korewity, and Batagedere, etc." This astonishing rigmarole was probably in imitation of the manner in which the Prince of Orange described himself in his letters. The document ran as follows:—

Mighty King, as we are ordered by the Governor-General to visit all castles, fortresses and factories we possess in India, and to hear what succour and assistance the Indian Kings and Potentates, our allies and friends, might want to damage the Portuguese: and having heard their wants, determine in which way and with what succour we would be able to assist them: for this purpose we have arrived here on the Coast of Coromandel. And as we have heard that Your Majesty has made known to the Director Wemmer van Berchem the great annoyance Your Majesty and Your Majesty's country

1615 suffer daily from the Portuguese and that Your Majesty therefore asked from us to receive some assistance against our said sworn enemies: however this cannot be done at present very conveniently, since the Director has written to Bantam, which letter was accompanied by Your Majesty's letters thereon, and we have not yet received any answer, so Your Majesty will have to be patient. I have no doubt that very soon an answer will be received, when we will not neglect to obey the order which will then be given us. Meanwhile I am convinced Your Majesty will damage the Portuguese as much as possible, that they might not settle themselves in other parts.

We wrote to our friend Mr. Marcellis to come hither immediately, that we might hear from him the condition of all Your Majesty's dominions, also what power we should need to turn Your Majesty's and our enemies out of the country; for we never received an exact answer. Your Majesty will be so kind as to send him here as speedily as possible, that we might have a clear knowledge of everything. Therefore we send an able person named Gysbrecht van Zeulen to take his place during the time he is staying with us. That person we recommend to Your Majesty that neither he nor what concerns him might be prejudiced, like as we will do to those subjects of Your Majesty who are here or whom you might despatch. The Ambassadors sent to us will remain with us until we can give assistance to Your Majesty, when they will return with us. I am sure they will write to Your Majesty the reason why we do this, namely, not to alarm Your Majesty's subjects if they returned without any assistance. No doubt Your Majesty will approve of this. [*précis*: he asks for the plans of the Portuguese fortresses to be sent with Marcellis: he has no valuable presents with him, so is sending some fruits from the Moluccas; as regards the condition of the Dutch castles, fortresses, and power in the Moluccas and the conquest of Solor, he refers to the messenger who brings this letter].

1615 So, Mighty King of Kandy, we commend you to the Almighty; may He protect you and enlarge your Dominions and Crown, as well as destroy our sworn enemies, the Portuguese.

Written at the Fortress Tierepopeliere, 16th Jan. 1615⁹

Hans de Haas.

In accordance with the request contained in this, Boschouwer was sent to India with the following letter from the King, his place at Court being taken by Gysbrecht van Zeulen.

Seneradt Adasyn, by God's Grace, Emperor of Selon, King of Candy, Settevacke, Triconamele, Jafanapatam, Sette Corles, Manaer, Chilau, Batacalo, Palagam, and Yala; Prince of Wadenarach, Pasadom Korle; Duke of Biligama and Gale, Count of Quatre Korle, Korewity and Batugedere, etc.

I received your letter on the 13th of March and understood the contents very well, being very glad you have arrived, hoping the affairs—the promise, treaty and peace, made before—will now be really fulfilled, although for three years I have heard nothing of what I have to presume of it. However I have great confidence that the letters of His Excellency the Prince, as well as those of the Mighty Gentlemen, the States General will be true; and that those letters which I received from the hands of Mygome Maha Rale, will according to their tenor be observed and fulfilled as speedily as possible. If they are to be relied on, I will resist the enemy most diligently till the promised assistance arrive.

You have written to send Mygomme Maha Rala thither to give information about me and the condition of my country, and that you are sending hither in his stead till he returns, the person of Ghysbrecht van Zuylen. You should understand that this person is agreeable to me, but that I am very sorry and grieved at the departure and recall of the

9. On the 14th of February, 1615 King Philip instructed his Viceroy to fortify Triconamalai, so as to prevent the harbour being occupied by the Hollanders. *Doc. Rem.* Livro 8, f. 77. Similarly with Mada Kalapuwa, letter of 20th February, 1616, L. 9, f. 74. See also L. 10, f. 470 of 21st March 1617. For subsequent letters, see "Prince Vijaya Pala of Ceylon," Note 2.

1615 said Mygomme Maha Rala. I do not know what I have to presume, as I would not grant any leave in three years like at present. However because he is thoroughly decided to go thither, I have to comply with it, as I understand from your letter that he certainly will return to my country with assistance against the Portuguese ; wherein I am fully convinced that you will neither cheat nor deceive me. Send the said Mygomme Maha Rala hither for the service of His Excellency the Prince, the knightly Gentlemen the States, and the observance of our eternal infrangible Peace made and accomplished by him in the name and by virtue of the authority of the said Gentlemen. This Peace will be kept by both parties, who will act in harmony with it without any deceit or treachery.

You mention other questions as to the Portuguese in Ceylon : you will understand that the said person has as much knowledge of this as I myself, since he has examined everything what it might be ; from him you can hear all you want about the how and what ; as I trust him because I have taken his oath of fidelity and I am sure that he will settle the affairs on both sides and put them in order without any treachery. There is no time to write more, since the Portuguese and we are in the field. We beg you to believe yourself recommended and all the said Gentlemen, as well as Mygomme Maha Rala.

[*Précis* : mentions the death of Rouhyty ; and consents to Cande Mudeliyar remaining with the Dutch till assistance is forthcoming]. I send you two elephants and I hope that they will arrive safely and you will be pleased with them. If it be possible, bring a fleet with 2,000 persons or thereabouts to expel the Portuguese from the Island. Honourable, very discreet Gentlemen, having sent my greetings to you and all my good friends, I recommend you all to the Almighty, that he may protect you and give you long life. In a hurry at Venoeur, 14th March 1615.

This is the true sign of His Majesty : SRI

For His Majesty : Ghysbrecht van Zuylen.

To Hans de Haes, Masulipatam.

1615 A further period of weary waiting followed. Boschouwer was unable to secure any help in India and sailed away to Bantam, leaving the King's Ambassadors behind at Tierepopeliere to press matters there. They were also concerned to get back some jewels which he had handed over to van Berchem as received by him from some Sinhalese noblemen, for it appeared that they were not exactly a present. In fact the Hollanders seem to have regarded him as "a troublesome person."¹⁰ The result of the long delay was that negotiations were recommenced between Senevirat and the Portuguese, and Samuel Kindt, the Commander of the Hollanders at Palicat, wrote to the former on the 21st of December 1615 to express his surprise at the news. He denounced them as a "*falsa nação* : everybody has heard of their treachery and savagery in trying to rob you of your country. God grant you will continue to defend your country and honour with the same *valeroso espirito*."

1617 The King wrote on January 1617 to the Governor of Malacca, to whom he had previously sent an elephant, to express his satisfaction that the Maha Rala, whose endeavours were still fruitless, and who had written to him on the 19th of the previous October, had sailed for Holland. He expressed the hope that the information Boschouwer could supply would result in a powerful armada being sent to his assistance from there. He further communicated the news that two districts had revolted from the Portuguese.¹¹

10. Samuel Kindt to the XVII, dated Masulipatam, 15th April, 1616

11. Written in Portuguese from Candea.

Antonio Schorer, writing at this period, states that from Masulipatam rough cotton cloth was exported to Ceylon and the Maldives. The imports from Ceylon were cinnamon, fine mats, coconuts and gems, and from the Maldives coir and coconuts, "which are a remedy against poison : I saw one sold at 200 larin" 1 larin=9 stivers.

The trade at Masulipatam was carried out in pagodas, a pagoda = 15 fanams.

P. van den Broecke, writing to the Seventeen Directors at Amsterdam from Bantam, 15th Dec. 1616, reported that on 10th Oct. 1615 he set sail for Ceylon and off Comorin captured a Portuguese cinnamon ship.

1617 It was however impossible for him to continue the struggle much longer and in July 1617 he entered into a Treaty¹² with the Portuguese, though this was against the wish of Anthony Baretto, Prince of Uva, *alias* Kuruwita Rala, his foremost General. By the terms of this Mada Kalapuwa, Palugama, Kottiarama and Trikona Malai, which the Portuguese held, were restored to the Sinhalese. Kuruwita Rala thereupon rose in rebellion, and after driving the King out of his Capital, sent for the Prince Mayadunna, who was with the Nayaker of Tanjore, and attacked the Portuguese. These were in turn helped by the King and after some months of confused fighting, at last drove the two out of the field.¹³

1618 In the meanwhile Boschouwer, who had failed in his endeavours to secure help in Holland, had made his way to Copenhagen, and in December 1618 the Seventeen Directors of the Company wrote to their Governor-General to warn him that in September a Danish vessel had set sail for India and that four more were ready to start for Ceylon: they suspected, and rightly, that this was due to the action taken by Marcellis Michiels, and they instructed that a watch should be kept on the Danes, so that their own rights might not be infringed.¹⁴

As a matter of fact King Christiaan had written to the States-General about the proposed expedition and asked for friendly treatment¹⁵ and a reply had been sent that the States-General was quite friendly disposed so long as its own Company's privileges were not infringed, but that it could not agree to any of its subjects who had served the Company, transferring his services in order to help the Danes.¹⁶ Their expedition reached Ceylon in May 1620,

12. For details, see *Doc. Rem.* Livro 51, ff. 364-369.

13. Martin Vinck to Antonio van Diemen, dated Galle, 25th June, 1643.

14. The XVII to Governor-General, 13th Dec., 1618.

15. Letter of 24th Nov., 1618.

16. Letter of 4th Jan., 1619.

1620 bringing with it the body of Boschouwer who had died on the voyage; but as Senevirat was not prepared to hire their services, their arrival made no difference in the political situation.¹⁷

1621 By the middle of 1621 the Hollanders had practically stopped all Portuguese trade, so much so that till the end of May not one vessel had reached San Thomé from Malacca, Pegu or Bengal, while the Hollanders were contemplating
1622 an expedition to Galle.¹⁸ In July of the next year they captured off Galle a Portuguese frigate which yielded a profit of 80,000 florins.¹⁹ From November 1622 till the
1623 following March a combined "Fleet of Defence" of Hollanders and English was engaged in sweeping the Portuguese vessels off the seas, after which it made its way to Goa and stopped the yearly fleet from sailing for Europe. Quarrels however arose among them and in July the Hollanders returned to Batavia.

1625 In January 1625 the Hollanders again appeared off Galle and captured five Portuguese champanas.²⁰ The following December they visited Mada Kalapuwa. Contrary to their usual experience no boats with provisions came out to them along the coast and they were informed that the Portuguese were masters of the South. From the 9th to the 12th of the month the fleet cruised opposite Colombo.²¹

17. A translation of the Diary of Ove Giedde, who commanded the expedition, will be shortly published in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. See also letter of Andries Soury, Masulipatam, 3rd Aug., 1621. "Such is the history and end of the miserable Danish voyage, full of discords, quarrels, fights and murders." Also Fernao d'Albuquerque to the King, Goa, 14th Dec., 1620, *Doc. Rem. L.* 15, f 44, v; Count Admiral to King, January 1624, *L.* 19, f. 11.

18. Andries Soury to the XVII, Masulipatam, 22nd May, 1621.

19. A. Soury to XVII, 7th July, 1622.

20. Jan Libener to Governor-General at Batavia, Masulipatam, 26th June, 1625.

21. H. van Speult, to Governor-General at Batavia, dated Surat, 5-15th April, 1626. On the 17th March 1626 King Philip wrote to the Viceroy that he had secret information that in case the Hollanders were driven out of Pulicat they intended to occupy Batticalo and then to seize Galle. *Doc. Rem. L.* 23 f. 1.

- 1630 War now broke out between Senevirat and the Portuguese,²² till in 1630 the overwhelming defeat of the latter with the death of their Captain-General Constantino de Sa, nearly destroyed their power in Ceylon. Their desperate straits were well known to the Hollanders. By December an armada under Dom Braz de Castro was also reported to be destroyed. Another fleet which started for Ceylon in 1631 February 1631 was attacked by Malabars and forced to return to Goa, only a few vessels reaching the Island; while Colombo and Galle were said to be under siege by the Sinhalese.²³ After lengthy negotiations peace was again made 1634 in 1634, but the Portuguese had no intention of maintaining it.

Philip Lucasz wrote to the Directors that had the Hollanders gone to the assistance of the King after de Sa's overthrow, the Portuguese could have been driven out of the Island and they themselves secured the cinnamon trade. At present he said the Viceroy was straining every nerve to keep the Malabar coast clear and had built several vessels with money levied from the burghers, but he could not find crews to man them. Lucasz insisted that now was the time to undertake serious action against them.²⁴ About this time Senevirat died, and his place was taken by the youngest and most energetic of his three sons, Maha Astana, now known by his kingly name of Raja Sinha.

22. For Portuguese letters on the subject see "Prince Vijaya Pala" Note 3; also *Jornada do Reino de Huva* Codice 51, iv. 32, Bib da Ajuda.

23. Letters from Martin Ysbrandt, dated Paliacata 4th and 5th Dec., 1630. M. Ysbrandt to Jacques Sprex at Batavia, dated Paliacate, 10th July, 1631.

24. Report on the trade of Surat by Philip Lucasz to the XVII, 20th June, 1634.

CHAPTER III.

1636 On the 9th of September 1636 the new King addressed a letter ¹ to the Hollanders, inviting them to come and build a Fort for themselves at one of the two Eastern ports. He promised to help them with his army to drive out the Portuguese and to pay the cost of the expedition, as well as to supply all the material needed, while the Hollanders could retain the cannon and booty they captured. He was even prepared to give them the port of Batticalo. A reply ¹ 1637 was received on the 19th of November of the following year, containing an offer to supply arms and ammunition in exchange for cinnamon, and requesting that the King's Envoys might be sent to make arrangements with the Admiral who was blockading Goa. Raja Sinha was also verbally informed that three of the vessels from there would be sent to capture the Fort of Batticalo, and to build a fresh one either there or at Kottiararama. The King was overjoyed and hastened to send his Ambassadors with the following letter :—

In September of the year 1636 I had written to the Governor of the Fort Gelria and received an answer on the 19th of November 1637. The Captain of the yacht who brought the letter, on my inquiring if he had come to propose peace or war, replied that he had come to treat for peace and to be an ally. In return a couple of shiploads of cinnamon were desired of me. You are at liberty to send five vessels for the purpose; and in case the fort of Batticalo is captured with your assistance, all the cinnamon found at that place or Cottiararam would become your lawful property. Your Captain informed me that you had blockaded the town of Goa and that the Fleet would return in the month of April

1. Translated in Baldaeus.

Bernardo Pessar, the President of the Danish Settlement, warned the Portuguese of the Dutch designs and offered his assistance in return for trade facilities. See Pessar to Viceroy, 21st Sept., 1637 *Doc. Rem.* L. 40 f 375, and Viceroy to King, 30th August, 1638, L. 41, f. 11. See also Viceroy to King 31st Dec., 1637, L. 40. f. 233.

1637 to Jacatra, that on the way thither three of the vessels would touch at Columbo and capture the fort of Batacalo and build another at that place or at Cottiarum, as you may think fit. In the event of these plans being fulfilled I undertake to send a large army with efficient officers to assist in the capture of that fort, and to raise another if necessary. Our next attempt will be the taking of Columbo, and I pledge my kingly word that we shall divide between us whatever is found in that city. I will sell to you all the cinnamon, wax and pepper the Island produces. We shall be able to treat of all matters more fully when the whole fleet shall have been sent, for which purpose we request you to despatch a confidential person with whom we can confer. The alliance which the Great King my predecessor had made with the Portuguese is from this time forth revoked. Wherefore the sooner you can send your forces to this Island the better, in any form you may think expedient. In token of my sincere intentions I send three persons as my representatives by this fleet.

Dated Vintane, 22nd November 1637. ²

1638 The three Ambassadors joined the Hollanders' fleet under Adam Westerwold, which was blockading Goa, on the 23rd of December. On the 4th of January the Portuguese fleet sallied out and a sharp fight took place in which the Hollanders fared badly. "Instead of victory we had to register defeat, having lost two of our best men-of-war," wrote the Governor-General van Diemen to the Seventeen. ³ In the middle of March Westerwold sent his Vice-Admiral, Wilhelm Jacobsz Coster, to Ceylon, to inform the King that he would soon be there. Coster reached Batticalo on the 18th of April, and learnt that the Portuguese General Diego

2. On 22nd December, 1637 Diego de Melho de Castro wrote from Colombo to inform the Viceroy that as learnt from his spy, the arrangement come to between Raja Sinha and the Hollanders at Vintane was to attack Colombo, Galle and Batticalo. *Dom. Rem.* L. 43, f. 176. One spy was Chetinaga Chetim, a trader from the coast, who got his news from the King's Bandigarala; another was the Portuguese Padre at the Capital. *do* 179-181.

3. Letter of 22nd December, 1638.

1638 de Mello had been defeated and killed on the 23rd of March and his army wiped out. ⁴ Helped by the King's men he proceeded to raise two batteries against the Portuguese fort, and on the tenth of the following month Westerwold himself arrived at the spot. Two days later the King appeared with 15,000 men and encamped a mile away, where he was visited by Westerwold. On the 18th Coster opened fire from his batteries and after four hours' bombardment the fort with its garrison of 700 men, including fifty Portuguese, surrendered. These latter were allowed to leave the fort but without their arms, while the Sinhalese in terms of the agreement with the King, were handed over to him. He came in person in a few days with some of his noblemen and inspected the place. He was delighted with these first fruits of his new alliance, for a previous attempt on his own part to capture the place had ended in failure and the fortifications were so strong that without heavy guns, success would have been impossible.

On his orders eight of the leaders of the Sinhalese who formed the garrison were impaled on either side of the battlements, for they had been instrumental in inducing many people to join the Portuguese. He also requested that a hundred Hollanders should be placed in charge of the fort, and this was done with Coster himself in command, the King on his part undertaking to keep them supplied with provisions and also guaranteeing their payment in cinnamon. It was however realised that the capture itself was of little value and all that was found in the fort were a few old guns and a month's supply of rice. ⁵

On the 23rd of May 1638 a Treaty ⁶ was signed at " His Majesty's Palace at Batacalo " between the King on one

4. For Portuguese letters referring to this disaster, see *Prince Vijaya Pala*, Note 7.

5. Westerwold to the XVII, 24th September, 1638; also letter of van Diemen, *ante*.

6. Trans. from the office copy in Dutch, by R. G. Anthonisz, in his Report on the Dutch Records, Colombo.

1638 side and Westerwold and Coster as representing the Hollanders, which was to regulate the future relations between the parties.

The third Article dealt with any forts which might be captured by the Allies. In the Portuguese copy which the King could read, it was stipulated that these should be held by Dutch garrisons, if the King so desired ; all the expenses of re-fortifying where necessary and maintenance were to be borne by him. In the Dutch copy however this proviso by which the option was left to the King, was suppressed. This was deliberately done, and is the key to much of the trouble which subsequently arose between the Contracting Parties.

A quantity of cinnamon was given by the King to pay for the expenses incurred and Westerwold, accompanied by three Ambassadors to obtain the ratification of the Treaty, set sail for Batavia, where he arrived on the 11th of July. Shortly after a report was received from Coster that 700 Portuguese from Goa had been wrecked on the Ceylon coast and been attacked and nearly destroyed by the Sinhalese, while three hundred men who were sent from Colombo to their assistance met with a similar fate. The King, it was rumoured, had obtained from the stranded ships 24 large and 8 small guns and two or three buffalo loads of coined gold.⁷

In August Coster waited on the King at Nilambe and submitted to him the following petition :—

To Raja Sinha, Mighty Emperor or Ceylon and King of Candy,

With due respect and reverence Vice-Admiral Wilhelm Jacobsz Coster, at present residing in Your Majesty's Castle of Our Lady at Batacalo, and Captain of the garrison in the service of Your Majesty and of the Commerce in the East Indies for the High and Mighty States-General of the United Netherlands and His Highness Frederick Hendrick Prince of Orange,

7. Letter of van Diemen, *ante*.

1638 etc., and for the Honourable Directors of the Chartered East India Company and the Honourable the Governor-General and Council of India, appeals to Your Majesty in respect of some misunderstandings which have arisen and which he trusts Your Majesty will rectify, for the sake of the great friendship which exists between Your Majesty and the Dutch nation, the favour of which he will always be ready to repay by his most faithful services.

1. We request Your Majesty to give us permission to trade freely with all your subjects in sapan wood, gumlac, areca, rice, provisions and slaves, leaving the monopoly of cinnamon, wax, pepper and ivory to Your Majesty; and that Your Majesty give us a written agreement in the Sinhalese and Malabar languages with your own signature, addressed to all the Governors and ruling Chiefs in the island of Ceylon, and more especially to the Governor of Bata Calappu, with the order to assist us in every way to become acquainted with the people, and to help us in obtaining the merchandise we require at a moderate price.

2. We beg Your Majesty to inform us of the price at which the cinnamon, pepper, wax and ivory will be charged to us.

3. Your Majesty will no doubt consider that the amount of cinnamon, wax and pepper delivered to us up to the present viz. 143 bar 269 lbs. of cinnamon, 21 bar 421 lbs. wax, 6 bar 179 lbs of pepper, is far from the amount of the expenses incurred in the service of Your Majesty. We beg to enclose a statement of the cost of the expedition and at the capture of Bata Calappu and the expenses for the rations and pay of the garrison.

4. We fear that in the event of the Directors finding that the merchandise sent from Ceylon does not repay their outlay, they may withdraw their assistance and leave the work halt done, which would be a great pity, considering that the good God is harassing and punishing our enemies everywhere and the present is the propitious time for encompassing their total destruction.

1638 5. We request Your Majesty to send us at once a fair quantity of the several merchandises stated above, at the usual price, that we may have them in readiness to send at the first opportunity to Batavia, and prove to our Directors the favourable condition of our commerce in Ceylon. We daily expect some vessels to call here on their way to the coast of Coromandel.

6. In the island on which the castle of Bata Calappu is situated, as well as in the island das Vagas, are splendid rice fields which once were utilised by the Portuguese but are at present neglected. We should be glad if Your Majesty will send us some blacks for the cultivation of these fields.

7. We should be glad of half a dozen men and women as servants for ourselves and the garrison.

8. The Castle being in want of repairs, we trust that Your Majesty will send the workmen we require for the restoration. A few days ago some fishermen and other residents requested permission to live in the Castle. We have not dared to give them permission to do so without the consent of Your Majesty.

9. We beg Your Majesty to inform the Governor of Bata Calappu of the exact quantity of butter, pepper, honey, etc. he must supply for the daily use of the garrison, as well as the quantity of arrack and fresh meat.

10. Also the provisions for our table and the quantity of wax and oil for burning, the vessels and crafts we may use for the service of the Castle, etc. In one word we beg Your Majesty to direct the said Governor to assist us in every way, not giving us fair words but serviceable deeds. We hear that he favours some Moors above us, and listens to their insinuations against us.

We remain Your Majesty's faithful servants in all you shall wish to command.

At the Palace at Nyloba,

28th August, 1638.

1638 To this the King gave a written reply, on which are noted Coster's marginal comments.

1. Vice-Admiral Wilhelm Jacobsz Coster, Captain Major of my Castle, Our Lady, in the district of Batacalo, and of the officers and soldiers of the garrison therein, having presented to us a series of requests, we send answer as follows:—

2. We give the Dutch residing in the aforementioned Castle full liberty to buy and sell, contract for and exchange all merchandises found in our Island of Ceylon, with the exception of those specially reserved to us by contract. Also to buy slaves from whatever part of the world they might originate, except born Sinhalese. These cannot be bought or sold or made into slaves, and whoever contravenes this law will be severely punished. The other goods may be bought at the usual rate of the market.

(Coster: Request to give us a *firman* to all the Governors and Rulers in all parts of the Island).

3. In respect of the price charged for cinnamon, we hold a letter from the Governor of Pulicat and one from the Admiral of the Fleet in which they promise to give a higher price than the Portuguese used to pay. It is rated in Colombo at 130 xerafims the baar, but considering the services rendered with such good-will, the price of cinnamon will be fixed at 110 xer. the baar and pepper and wax at 15 larins the maund.

(Coster: Cannot decide the price of cinnamon without advice from the Governor-General; request H. M. in the meantime to send some down at the price mentioned, to complete our lading to Batavia).

4. We inquired from the Admiral of the Fleet while he was here, the amount of the costs charged for the expedition. He replied that this might be left for the present and promised at the same time that further help would be forthcoming. We should be glad to receive a statement of the amount of our debt and of the value of the goods already delivered on account.

1638 5. Whilst the Portuguese held the Castle of Batticalo we commanded the people living around the fort to quit the place with all their possessions. We will now order them to return and restore the condition of the district to its former state.

6. The fishermen wherever they reside are under obligation to provide daily the necessary quantity of fish for the garrison, and we shall command the Governor to keep them up to their duty. But as for admitting them among your people in the Castle, we think that very unsafe, as they are false and treacherous and have shown themselves so at the time of the Portuguese. The workmen will be sent without delay, but we warn you not to believe all they will tell you. They are accustomed to the ways of the Portuguese and cordially hate them. We were glad therefore to make an alliance with the Dutch who are more honourable and lead better lives. The people required for the domestic work cannot be sent at present, but will soon arrive at the Castle.

(*Coster*: If the King has such a bad opinion of the fishermen it would be dangerous to take them to reside in the Castle, but we are greatly in want of more attendants).

7. We agree that the garrison shall have all necessary provisions as well as fresh meat, for we know much illness has been caused by an unvaried diet of food.

(*Coster*: Demand monthly 30 measures of pepper above the quantity stipulated for by the Admiral).

8. We command that for the table of the Governor daily be sent 15 measures of rice, and 10 large fishes or 15 small ones, 2 coconuts and 1 measure of arrack. Every month 5 measures of salt and 2 of pepper, and 15 measures of butter. Every two months 1 maund of wax for candles, and 15 measures of oil. Honey will be sent daily when it can be procured.

We expressly command the Governor of Battacaloa to see these orders executed, and not only the present stipulations but all those made with the Admiral of the Fleet, for we realise that the Dutch occupy the Castle for my benefit.

1638 (Coster.: We are quite willing to buy fowls and eggs and sugar out of our own pocket if H. M. will give us leave to do so).

9. In respect of the pay of the garrison, it will be settled either in goods or money as desired, the goods being reckoned at the price stated above. Reliance may be placed on the faithful discharge of the amount.

(Coster.: We beg H. M. to send at once some goods at a fair price. The Governor-General and H. M. will easily agree as to the price).

In the Palace of Nyloba, Sept. 8th 1638.

In August the King's Ambassadors started back from Batavia with Arent Gardenys, the Director of the Coromandel Coast. Storms prevented their landing at Mada Kalapuwa but they arrived later with Jacob van Campostel who was to relieve Coster, and a letter from Gardenys himself.

Arent Gardenys, Councillor Extraordinary for India, Governor and Director of the Coast of Coromandel, to the Most Powerful Raja Sinha etc. sends greetings and wishes him good health and long life, with victory over his enemies and those of the Dutch.

Most Powerful King and Mighty Emperor,

About two months ago we left Batavia with three yachts with the intention of going to Ceylon, and visiting the fortress of Battacaloe, and if an opportunity had presented itself, of conferring with Your Majesty on several matters of policy and commerce as instructed by the Governor-General and Council for India. So Your Majesty will gather from the letter which has been written by the Governor-General and will be delivered by the Captain, who is to take charge of the fortress of Battacaloe instead of Commander Coster. The Envoys of Your Majesty who accompanied us on our voyage will inform Your Majesty how we were driven by storms beyond Battacaloe and thus prevented from

1638 paying our respects to Your Majesty; how our yacht de Valck which was despatched to take our letters and presents to Ceylon was wrecked on the coast of Coromandel with the whole of the cargo, which we regret especially as we have nothing of value in our Factory here which we could offer to Your Majesty in place of the articles lost in the stranded vessel. The loss of the vessel greatly inconveniences us. We have written to the Commander of our fleet in the Bay of Goa and the contents of our instructions will be communicated by the Captain who is to take command of the fortress at Battacaloe instead of Commander Coster. We send by him two pieces of velvet, a piece of red damask, two pieces of plain satin, several yards of cloth of gold, and some spirits (Hollands) which we beg Your Majesty to accept in token of our desire to continue our friendly relations with Your Majesty. We are anxious to hear from Your Majesty and pray to God to protect you.

In the Castle of Gelria on the Coast of Coromandel.
October 22nd, 1638.

The Ambassadors also brought with them a letter from the Governor-General and Council of Batavia, confirming the Treaty of Batticalo; they further informed him that a fleet under Antonio Caen had been sent to Goa, and that Coster was to proceed there and return with it to Ceylon in order to destroy the Portuguese⁸. At the same time secret instructions were given to Coster for his guidance in dealing with the King; the spirit in which they were prepared was hardly in consonance with the terms of the Treaty and explains a good deal for the troubles which followed.

“ And because of our lack of information we have been unable as yet to give definite commands to the said Mr. Caen. It will be also necessary to sound the King's intentions and feelings towards us. It certainly would not do for him

8. Dated 11th August 1638, translated by D. W. Ferguson in ii Ceylon Literary Register pp 59-60.

1638 to attack the Portuguese forts without our assistance. We understand from His Majesty's letters and yours as well as from the report of Mr. Westerwold that the King is inclined to lead his forces against Columbo, but we should wish the attack to be directed at Point de Galle, because we hear that it offers an excellent harbour for vessels which can anchor there at any time of the year, and we wish the matter conducted in such a way that the King will be persuaded first to attack Point de Galle and Columbo afterwards if our means allow further assistance. We are anxious to know what success the King had at Tricona Malai and if he has taken the fort. We beg you to be careful and in no way trust the Sinhalese should any further enterprise be resolved upon, but rely on our own people only.

Antonio van Diemen,

Philip Lucasz,

Adam Westerwold

Batavia, 11th August 1638.

1639 Caen arrived before Goa in November and was joined on the 23rd January 1639 by Coster, who was confident that the fleet could drive the Portuguese out of the country. With Coster came some Sinhalese Ambassadors, who three days later presented a letter from the King. The details are contained in Caen's Diary.

Diary.

Jan. 26.—The fleet is anchored a little nearer Goa. The Commander receives with the usual ceremonies the letter from the Emperor of Ceylon, the contents of which are as follows :—

Raja Sinha, the Great and Mighty King of Candy and Emperor of Ceylon, etc.

The letter from the Honourable Governor-General dated August 11th reached me on November 15th. I was pleased to learn that you have been appointed Admiral over the fleet

1639 off Goa, having previously heard much of your courage and intrepidity. I do not know when I may see you here victorious over our enemies the Portuguese, driving them away from this Island, but we hope to see you as soon as possible. The Governor-General in his letter expressed the wish for two elephants, which request was very agreeable to me, and I have kept two of these animals ready to send at the first opportunity. We would have sent them before, but the loss of your vessel near Palicat prevented our doing so. The honourable Governor of that place informed me of the curiosities sent by the Governor-General from Batavia for me and which also had been lost. I feel very sorry for the loss of the vessel. As for myself I value the two letters more than a present of great value. Vice-Commander Wilhelm Jacobsz Coster is a man worthy of all respect. He has greatly assisted me in the taking of the fort of Batacalo and given me much satisfaction during the time of his command here. It was the wish of the Governor-General that Commander Coster should join the fleet at Goa. We have released him from his duties on that account and sent him with two Ambassadors, an Interpreter, and a pilot who knows all the harbours of our Island and will safely conduct your fleet to Columbo. As soon as you shall have arrived we shall confer on all questions relating to war and other important subjects. Having no more to say for the present I again repeat how anxiously I am awaiting your arrival. May God Almighty guide you safely here.

At the palace of Nilambe, Thursday, December 9th, 1638.

[On 4th March the fleet sailed away from Goa and five days later landed two messengers with a letter for the King].

March 9th.—Text of a letter sent by Com. Caen to Raja Sinha :—

Great and Mighty Lord and Emperor,

Your esteemed letter has safely come to hand while lying off Goa, which assured us of Your Majesty's good intentions and serious resolves and pleased us much. We in

1639 accordance with Your Majesty's request have raised our blockade of Goa, and prepared ten men-of-war well provided with ammunition of war and provisions, to drive the Portuguese from Ceylon. Our first operations are intended against the fort of Columbo, hoping to find Your Majesty there with your forces. Having anchored at about 12 miles distance from Columbo we have at once sent messengers to inform Your Majesty of our arrival, trusting that we shall not be kept here long, which would be a source of great danger to our vessels on account of the winds and currents which are soon to be expected from the North. We hope to find Your Majesty in readiness to attack the fort of Columbo without any delay and will take our course thither tomorrow.

On Board our Fleet on Wednesday March 9th, 1639.

[*Précis* :—On the 12th the fleet entered the harbour and bombarded the town with twenty guns, which were chiefly directed at the houses, churches and monasteries. The Portuguese replied, but after a short time their guns remained silent and the Hollanders were allowed to anchor close to their forts. In the course of the night the Hollanders seized a galliot with a cargo of rice, gram and saltpetre which was anchored close alongside a new bastion, in spite of the fire from the latter. On the 15th and 16th firing was maintained from both sides. It was seen that the Monastery of St. Francisco, the Misericordia and hundreds of houses were wrecked, while the Portuguese guns did little damage. Three days later messengers arrived from the King who was at a distance of three miles, and they were sent back the next day with a request that Dom Balthazar, his chief commander, should hasten, as the weather was unreliable. On the 23rd a reply came from him. Caen however on the plea that the message was probably a trick of the Portuguese, sailed for Madakalapuwa, where he arrived on the 2nd of April. He found that a stock of cinnamon was ready at

1639 Sampanturai, and on the fourth sent on Campostel, the Factor at Madakalapuwa, with the King's Ambassadors and a letter, to wait on the King.]

April 4th. . Contents of letter to King.

Our Commander at the request of Vice-Commander Coster and the Ambassadors of H. M. had raised the siege of Goa and by the express and written desire of H. M. had hurried without loss of time to Ceylon, had arrived at the appointed time at Columbo, and had remained at that place a week longer than H. M. had requested. During that time we harassed the enemy so effectually with our heavy guns that they were glad to leave us lying in peace under their forts. We have destroyed the greater part of their public buildings and the enemy were already so disheartened that had H. M. brought his army before the town, the place would have fallen into our power without much trouble or bloodshed. The failure lies entirely with H. M. whom we had expected to find at Columbo according to his promise. Several attempts were made to find out the whereabouts of H. M. We anchored in the Red Bay near Point de Gale, but could get no information. We at last sailed to Matecalo. There we have been informed that the Contract made with our Commander Adam Westerwold for the delivery of certain articles of commerce and the victualling of our garrison, has not been strictly adhered to. For which reason it has been resolved in Council to send an Ambassador to Candy to represent these several matters to H. M. with instructions to return at the earliest opportunity to Matalolo.

April 12th:—received letter from King dated Candy 27th March that as it was unsafe at that season to stop at Columbo, he requested we should take the fleet to Point de Galle where he would send men and provisions for our use. The garrison at Batacalo was authorised to demand from the inhabitants of the district whatever they might require.

[*Précis*:—While waiting for a reply from the King, Caen explored the river for a distance of ten Dutch miles to Sampanturai. As he sailed up he saw the banks all sown with

1639 ice, the open lands teeming with cattle, and the forests full of birds and game. At Sampanturai itself he was given a great reception in the Sinhalese fashion. The roads were decorated with branches of the areca palm, while before each house were placed lighted lamps and pots full of water and fresh leaves. Caen was met by the officer in charge of Sampanturai, Panikki Mudaliyar, who was in poor health and spoke little and in a low voice. To him Caen complained of the insufficiency of the stock of cinnamon which had been collected and of the King's delay in appearing. The Mudaliyar explained that cinnamon was not found in that district and had to be obtained from elsewhere, while as for the King he was absent in the neighbourhood of Colombo. He treated Caen with much hospitality, sending him provisions enough to feed twice his escort.

Caen requested him to send some cattle on board as his men were in need of fresh meat. The Mudaliyar stated that he had no authority to compel the people to bring the animals, but he promised to send fifty buffalos to the shore where the Hollanders could seize and remove them.

On the 16th Caen placed Captain Jan Thyssen in charge of the fort in place of Campostel, from whom he received a letter the following day reporting that the King was encamped twelve miles from Kandy, that he had imprisoned Dom Balthazar for not informing Caen of the King's plans, and that the King and Vijaya Pala were reconciled. Caen then set sail for Kottiarama where Coster landed, and the Chief of Sampanturai came on board and had an interview with Caen. This was followed by a conference to discuss plans for attacking Tricon Malai, regarding which place the Chief had much precise knowledge. On the 20th a letter was brought to the Chief from the King who expressed his deep disappointment at the Hollanders' departure, which had probably deprived him of a great victory over the Portuguese. He laid the blame for this on Dom Balthazar, whom he had consequently imprisoned. He also mentioned that the Portuguese had abandoned Malvana in order to concentrate on Colombo.

1639 Eight days later Campostel arrived by sea with a letter to Caen from the King, who stated that as Malvana and Menikkadawara had been abandoned and the district had declared for him, he would remain there so as to strengthen his hold, and would send an army to assist at Trikona Malai and Jafanapatam⁹. The Chief brought a large number of soldiers and workmen and siege works were commenced, the Portuguese opening a desultory fire on them, mainly using stone balls. On the first of May the bombardment began and after three hours a large breach was made, whereupon Caen sent a messenger to summon the garrison to surrender. The Portuguese however fired upon him, but later sent and apologised. Caen therefore prepared to assault the fort the next day, when a padre appeared to arrange for the surrender. The garrison were allowed to leave with their personal property but not their arms, and the keys were handed over and the Dutch flag hoisted. Within two hours of the surrender 3,000 Sinhalese soldiers arrived. The Chief in charge of Kottiarاما who was in communication with the King, pointedly asked whether the fort was captured for Caen or for the King. Caen replied that if the King would make the same terms as had been come to with regard to Mada Kalapuwa, the Hollanders would hold the fort for the King: otherwise he must refer the matter to Batavia. He further inquired if the Chief thought that the Sinhalese could keep the place without help from the Hollanders, and the Chief frankly answered that he thought they could not.

Two days later the King's Envoys called on Caen to surrender the Fort either to be destroyed or to be maintained so as to protect the temple which stood close by on the hill. Caen however urged that they could not hold it against the Portuguese, and suggested that his garrison should continue in occupation till the Ambassadors who were going to

9. On the capture of the fort and the danger to Jafanapatam, see letter of Manoel Barradas, dated Goa, 10th Nov., 1639 to Manoel Severim de Faria, Bib. Nacional, Lisbon, Mss 7640, India, *Cartas e Noticias*, Doc. 59.

1639 Batavia could discuss matters and instructions were received by him. He added that the forces with him were not sufficient for an expedition against Jafanapatam, while he himself was wanted elsewhere, and he set sail immediately for Batavia. On the 19th the King's Ambassadors arrived ready to start there. The King was willing to refer the question of the fort to Batavia, and had sent with them an elephant as a present. On the 21st they went on board, and six days later the fleet set sail, leaving Gerard Hebers behind in charge of the fort.]

CHAPTER IV.

1639 In the meanwhile news had reached Europe of the destruction of de Mello and his army, followed by the capture of Batticalo, and the Portuguese were profoundly moved.¹ The Seventeen now took the fateful resolution to drive them out of the East for good and gave instructions to continue the blockade of Goa, which was paralysing their opponents.² They hoped before long to secure the monopoly of the cinnamon trade—"The time has come for driving the Portuguese from their strongholds and depriving them of their supremacy in the Indies and taking their place. The present time seems most opportune to accomplish this."³

To the King's letter the Governor-General replied as follows :—

Great and Mighty Emperor of the Island of Ceylon and King of Candea, etc.

Your Majesty's Ambassadors and our Admiral Antonio Caen arrived here safely through God's grace in July last. Through them we received Your Majesty's letters in the Portuguese and Malabar languages, written in the town of Matala dated May 13th, 1639, as well as Your Majesty's presents, for which we beg you to accept our thanks. We opened Your Majesty's letters on the 27th July in the presence of your Ambassadors who on that day were presented to us and whom we received with all honour due to Your Majesty. We were pleased to learn from them that Your Majesty continues in good health, that you entertain towards us the

1. See King to Viceroy, 6th May, 1639. *Doc. Rem.* L. 46, f. 151; also letter of Manoel Barradas, Goa, 25th Sept., 1638, to Manoel Severim de Faria, Bib. Nacional, Lisbon, Mss. 7640. "*India, Cartas e Noticias.*" *Doc.* 56.

2. The XVII to Gov.-Gen. Antonio van Diemen and Council, 14th March, 1639.

3. *Ibid* 12th Sept., 1639.

1639 same friendly feelings as before, and bear the same just hatred towards our enemies the Portuguese as we do. We were sorry to hear that our Governor of Paliacate, through adverse winds, was prevented from delivering in person our letters and presents to Your Majesty, the more so as our yacht de Valck, which was lying in readiness to take Your Majesty's Ambassadors to Batticalo, has been wrecked on the roads, and that the forces we sent afterwards, *viz.*, 2,000 soldiers, were prevented by stormy weather from undertaking the voyage.

All these causes have prevented the march on Columbo or any blow being inflicted on the Portuguese except the loss of the fort Tricon Malai which is of small importance and does not repay the cost of keeping a garrison there. However, although the equipment and armament of so powerful a fleet is a great sacrifice on our part, considering the small reward we have till now obtained in return, as the cinnamon received was not worth the freight, and we have commanded in consequence henceforth not to accept such worthless stuff: considering Your Majesty's distress and the warlike intentions of the enemy and relying on the promised recompense, we have resolved to despatch direct from here to Columbo a powerful fleet with a large number of soldiers, and provided with all the necessary ammunition of war. In order to assist Your Majesty in taking that town and other fortresses in the Island, and for the sake of enabling Your Majesty to prepare your forces in good time and to be ready to meet them at Columbo, we have sent in advance two vessels, to convey this our resolution to Batticalo with two of Your Majesty's Ambassadors, and 200 of our best soldiers to march in company of Your Majesty's army to Columbo. We have placed them under the command of Commissary Jan Thyssen, Commander at the fort of Batticalo, and appointed Marten Scholtens, a soldier of great experience. We beg Your Majesty to allow these persons to command our soldiers during the entire expedition and to excuse any fault they might commit from ignorance or misunderstanding.

1639 We expect that, barring unforeseen circumstances, the Fleet will arrive before Columbo on the 20th or at latest 29th October. We hope by that date Your Majesty's army will be at Columbo, so that there may be no delay as happened on a former occasion when our Fleet was obliged to return without having been able to strike a single blow. We have ordered a yacht to remain stationed at Batticalo which will convey Your Majesty's instructions to our headquarters, and in this manner maintain unbroken communication and report Your Majesty's progress and whereabouts. The Admiral in command of the Fleet is the highest Member of our Council and is invested with the same authority during the expedition as if we were present ourselves, so that Your Majesty may rely that whatever he resolves or undertakes will be valid and executed to the letter.

About a month ago we sent a formidable fleet of nine strong vessels to Goa. We hope that they may have been so favoured by winds and tides that they will have reached in time to prevent any succour being sent from there to Ceylon ; and as the purport of this letter is only to acquaint Your Majesty with our decision and to exhort you to be ready in time to meet our Fleet at Columbo, we have entrusted our General with our further instructions as well as our presents to Your Majesty and several kinds of merchandise and curiosities ordered by Your Majesty. We may add that Your Majesty's Ambassadors seem intelligent and honest-minded persons : they will inform Your Majesty of all they have heard and seen while amongst us. We conclude with the sincere wish that God grant a long life to Your Majesty and victory over all your enemies.

Given in our Castle of Batavia, August 24th, 1639

Antonio van Diemen.

In accordance with the decision contained in this letter, on the 24th of September 1639 the Director Philip Lucasz started from Batavia, but did not reach Ceylon till December, after losing 167 men on the voyage from dropsy and beri-beri. " The sickness took them suddenly and unawares ;

1639 one moment they were in good health, the next utterly prostrate" he wrote to the Directors. Lucasz himself was ailing, but sailed on to Colombo where he expected to meet the King. There was however no sign of him, for he was being hemmed in by the Portuguese. Lucasz calculated that 1,000 or 1,500 men were sufficient to capture Colombo, and he had them available, but he would not expose his men to danger. "We think the Emperor's men and not ours should be sent against the town." The rains had begun and the drenching showers rendered the roads round Colombo impracticable; while a letter was received from the King, stating that as Trikona Malai was occupied without his consent he was not bound to provision the garrison. There were also complaints that the rations supplied at Mada Kalapuwa were poor in quality and that the natives had been forbidden to trade with the place.

Tired of waiting, Lucasz decided on attacking Galle, where he arrived on the 18th of December. As however storms prevented his landing he started for Negumbo, but in casting
1640 anchor there his vessels ran on the rocks and one of them was lost with its cargo, whereupon he put back again.⁴

On the 29th January 1640 the Fleet reached Caymel and landed 1,500 men. The Portuguese hastily recalled the forces which were holding the King back and thus released his army of 15,000 men, which with the Hollanders under Thyssen now joined Lucasz. The Portuguese were defeated in the field ⁵ and on the 6th of February the victorious army reached Negumbo and soon opened a bombardment; but as it was found that the damage caused during the day was being repaired at night, it was assaulted and carried with the loss of one man. Lucasz immediately repaired the fortifications and placed a garrison in charge, to the great displeasure of

4. Lucasz to Directors "off Negumbo," 9th January, 1640.

5. Jan Thyssen to Governor Arent Gardenys, dated Batticalo, 11th April, 1640. Also A. van Diemen to the XVII, Batavia, 9th Sept., 1640. There are translations of these two in ii C.L.R.

1640 the King, who demanded in accordance with his right under the Treaty that it should be surrendered to him, which demand ⁶ was refused.

Lucasz then addressed a long despatch to the King in which he reviewed the past misdeeds of the Portuguese and recited the six previous Treaties between the Sinhalese and the Hollanders, which he had carefully examined.

"We solemnly declare that we do not aim at any assumption of power over Your Majesty's dominions, but only wish to have a part of the commodities and produce of Ceylon under such conditions as shall be agreed upon," he wrote. In order however to clear up all possibility of misunderstanding in the existing Treaties, he proposed a fresh agreement of which he sent a draft in twenty-two paragraphs. These, among other matters, dealt with the disposal of all captured forts, the division of booty, authority to accept capitulations, jurisdiction over all people who were conquered, rights over Portuguese property, trade, transport, navy, harbours and Customs, coinage, ship passports, judicial procedure, and the pearl fishery.

The King was indignant at this attempt to re-open what had been solemnly agreed upon and withdrew from the neighbourhood without a word, leaving Lucasz so uneasy in mind that he hurriedly sent Thyssen to Batticalo to warn the garrison to be on its guard. He himself sailed away from Ceylon on the 21st February in very poor health, while Coster assumed the command.

The latter was able to re-open negotiations, and an agreement was reached with the King. By the terms of this, on the King delivering ten elephants, Tricona Malai would be handed over to him and dismantled, and this was carried out soon after. Batticalo would be delivered on the payment of a thousand bahars of cinnamon. Further, as van Diemen wrote to the Seventeen, "in the event of our driving

6. "Unreasonable pretensions" van Diemen called this.

1640 the Portuguese from Ceylon, we shall only be allowed to hold one fortress on the island, but we shall be at liberty to keep a garrison in Negumbo and other places until all our expenses shall have been repaid. If Columbo be captured all the fortifications shall be pulled down and destroyed, unless His Majesty might wish to keep one fort, in which case the garrison shall be composed of Dutch soldiers, and no Sinhalese. All Sinhalese prisoners are to be handed to the Emperor." ⁷

On the third of March the Fleet set sail for Galle and six days later landed 700 men. They were soon attacked by the Portuguese with great violence and lost some of their large guns and sixty killed, but at last luck turned to their side. Galle was thereupon laid under siege and on the 13th it fell.⁸ "It was a glorious but bloody victory" wrote van Diemen, "we killed all those whom we found armed." The Dutch had 100 killed and 400 wounded, for the King's forces arrived only after the plundering of the town had begun; while among the prisoners were 700 Portuguese with their wives, children and slaves. The prisons were crowded and the death roll there and during their transport to Batavia was heavy. The Kaffirs and Canarese were kept to rebuild the town and fort, while 1,500 Sinhalese were restored to the King's authority. A garrison of 180 Hollanders under Captain St. Amand was placed in charge of the fort at the King's expense, with Coster as President of the Company's people.

"We are now safely established on the Island," reported van Diemen⁹. He was appreciative of the generosity which the King had shown in the agreement entered into with Coster. It is true that the King had declared that he did not need further help till he had settled his account, and was

7. Van Diemen's letter as *ante*.

8. See Relacao da tomada da fortz de Gale pellas Olandezes em 13 de Marco de 1640 feita p. hũ prelado que se achou presente a tudo, B. N. L. Mss 7640, Doc. 69, ff 201-205.

9. To the XVII, 9th Sept., 1646.

1640 becoming rather distrustful of the Hollanders' ultimate intentions; but news had arrived from Batticalo that he had imprisoned fifteen Mudaliyars for conspiring with the Portuguese. It was recognised that he sincerely desired to drive the Portuguese out of the country. The fort he was willing to give was over and above the stipulated charges, while the other forts were to be demolished. He further granted to them the right of free trade throughout the country, on condition of their living in lightly-built houses. "We have gratefully accepted the King's offer of a fort in the Island. There is no better position than Santa Cruz de Galle in the district of Mature, which has 52 villages under its jurisdiction."¹⁰

At the same time van Diemen instructed Coster to persuade the King to maintain Batticalo, Galle, Negumbo and Jafanapatam, as needed for the defence of the country, and further that he would always require the help of the Hollanders, if it be only against internal troubles. If he were unwilling to give over Galle to them "we think it better that the Portuguese be kept somewhat longer in Ceylon, to harass the King." If the King were not sufficiently complaisant, his intention was to instigate the people of Matara to demand protection from the Hollanders. "For this purpose we require some intelligent and devoted persons to influence the country people and make them embrace the Christian religion. The Rev. Molineus would have been the right person had he lived."

Coster, it was known, was "held in great esteem by the Emperor." He was directed continually to press for the settlement of the Company's account and to represent to the King that its soldiers could be better employed elsewhere than in garrisoning his forts. "This will serve to allay his suspicions of our ultimate designs on the Island." Vinck was at the same time placed in charge of Batticalo, while it was proposed to attack Colombo the following year.

10. Van Diemen to the XVII, 30th Nov., 1640.

1640 In accordance with the line of policy now adopted, van Diemen wrote to the King as follows :—

High and Mighty King of the celebrated Island of Ceylon and King of Candy, etc.

Although during this year we have not received any answer to our last letter to Your Majesty, we will take advantage of this opportunity to send our greetings and to inform Your Majesty of our intentions. Commander Philip Lucasz, the first Member of our Council, after leaving Your Majesty's dominions, died on the 5th March last at sea, as also the Rev. Nicolaas Molineus, the loss of whom we greatly feel in the direction of our affairs.

From their papers and also from the reports of our Commander Wilhelm Jacobsz Coster and Commissary Jan Thyssen and the verbal information of Sergeant Meyer, we have learnt the adventures of our costly Armada and the services rendered to Your Majesty against our enemies on the Island of Ceylon. We had expected great things from this formidable Fleet and thought that our war would have been over by the end of this year and Your Majesty's dominions delivered from your enemies. This object seems to have been prevented by distrust and bad advice and the enemy still holds Columbo, Manar and Jafanapatam. Our powerful assistance has achieved nothing beyond the taking of Negumbo and Santa Cruz de Galle at the sacrifice of a great number of soldiers and our principal officers. We have also suffered a great blow by the loss of one of our largest merchantmen on the rocks along Negumbo, with its valuable cargo for Surat and Persia. Nothing of any value was found either at Negumbo or Galle to indemnify us. For the three years' service rendered by us to Your Majesty and the expenses it has involved, which may be gathered from the enclosed memoranda, we have only received in return ten elephants which have been sold at Palicate at about 4,000 pagodas each, whilst we have placed the fort of Tricona Malai in the hands of Your Majesty.

1640 We feel obliged to inform Your Majesty that we are unable to lend Your Majesty any further assistance, and we were pleased to find that Your Majesty does not wish to appeal for any till our expenses shall have been repaid. We beg Your Majesty to tax the several commodities, such as cinnamon, elephants, pepper, etc., at a reasonable price, so that we may remain disposed to lend Your Majesty our further help to expel the Portuguese from this Island. We trust that by this time the 1,000 bahar of the finest cinnamon will according to the agreement have reached our representatives at Negumbo and Galle, and the fort of Batticaloa been delivered to Your Majesty. We have also commanded to remove our garrison from Negumbo, should Your Majesty desire to hold that place, on condition that our expenses for keeping the same be paid ; for we assure Your Majesty that we have better use for our soldiers than the guarding of Your Majesty's forts in Ceylon. About 2,000 men are employed for this purpose, who instantly desire to be relieved, and complain that they do not receive proper food, in consequence of which several have died at Negumbo and Tricona Malai.

We request Your Majesty therefore to settle our expenses as covenanted with the late Admiral Westerwold, after which Your Majesty will be at liberty to do with the fort as you please. We are sorry to find that Your Majesty accuses us of having broken our contract, insomuch as we have placed garrisons at Negumbo and Tricona Malai. This would have been the case had our expenses been paid at once, but as yet we are waiting for their settlement and have had no benefit whatever from the services we have rendered. As for the violation of the Seventh Article, we leave Your Majesty to judge who is in fault. If Your Majesty wishes to be trusted, you must first trust us and treat us as Allies and not as slaves. We repeat that we are disposed as before to continue our services for the welfare of Your Majesty's dominions in accordance with the Contract made and on condition that Your Majesty allows us the products of the country at a reasonable price and

1640 permits us to trade freely in the Island, which till now has been strenuously opposed, it being at the same time accorded to strangers; so that we get all the blows and others all the sweets of our exertions. We trust Your Majesty will see the injustice of this proceeding.

Your Majesty's intention of destroying Columbo after it has been taken is very proper and we entirely agree with it. We are grateful for Your Majesty's permission to build a fort in the Island. We hope it may prove to the advantage of our Superiors and not to their loss. They do not require places for show, but only for profit. Although Your Majesty wishes us to trade freely in the Island, we cannot have our people and property in unprotected buildings, for the Portuguese will no doubt continue to infest the coast and rob us of men and goods. We therefore think that it will be inadvisable to destroy all the Portuguese forts and leave the country unprotected. We propose, subject to Your Majesty's better judgment, that when once the Portuguese shall have been driven from the Island, four forts should be kept—one at Batticalo to the east, one at Galle to the south, one at Jafanapatam to the north—which might be garrisoned by natives or by 500 Dutch soldiers, whose pay and food might be reckoned at a yearly sum of 100,000 xerafims or the value of 1,500 bahar of cinnamon. This would make it safe for our Factors to live in Your Majesty's dominions and at the same time protect them against invasions.

We request Your Majesty kindly to consider the draft of the Contract made by Mr. Westerwold, with its amplification by the late Commander Lucasz, and to propose any additions or alterations Your Majesty may desire, which may lead to the peace and security of our commerce. We have authorised Commander Coster to settle all pending questions with Your Majesty, promising to approve of the decisions reached, and we beg Your Majesty to treat us with full confidence; for we would rather break off all negotiations and withdraw from the Island than be distrusted, as we have been before by Your Majesty at the instigation of the Portuguese who induced

1640 Your Majesty to encamp your army in the forests, which caused them to gain a victory, although later on by the help of God we made them suffer many reverses. We should be glad to enjoy the same benefits as the King of Spain has had in your country. We understand that he received yearly from the district of Mature 1,500 bahar of the finest cinnamon, four elephants with tusks and thirty without; that at Galle he paid 15 xerafims for the baar of cinnamon. We shall be pleased to hear that Your Majesty will make with us the same conditions, for which to show our gratitude, you will find us always ready at your service.

It has come to our knowledge that the servants of Chinamma Maleye¹¹ have urged Your Majesty to surrender to them the district of Billigam as a reward for the trouble they have taken in persuading us to go to Your Majesty's assistance. This is a frivolous pretext and we beg Your Majesty to refuse their request in order to avoid further disputes by our trade being interfered with and benefits bestowed upon those who have least deserved them.

We again assure Your Majesty of our friendly disposition and that as faithful Allies we are ready to assist you fully, intending by next year to drive the enemy from Columbo. When Your Majesty shall have made your plans, we shall help you to execute them in such manner that success and peace may be the result. We beg Your Majesty to take the Dutch residents in Ceylon under your special protection, and to command that the cinnamon, wax, pepper, and elephants, be valued at a reasonable figure, for otherwise we shall be forced to withhold our assistance. About a month ago we sent a formidable fleet to Goa for intercepting the vessels which are expected from Portugal. We have been informed from the Netherlands that they were expecting large reinforcements, which if they arrive, would make Your Majesty's position very perilous; but we hope with God's help to prevent this. The King of Spain has suffered

11. Apparently a Trade Agent of the Company, and a Chetty by caste. See ii. Cey. Lit. Reg. pp. 334, 400.

1640 a tremendous defeat in Europe recently. The Dutch Admiral has destroyed on the coast of England over 60 large galleons, the picture of which Admiral Coster will have shown Your Majesty. We thank the Lord for this victory.

The new forces we are now sending consist of two large vessels and two yachts. The vessels are intended to strengthen the fleet at Goa and the yachts to keep the enemy off the coast of Ceylon and prevent their bringing assistance to Negumbo as they did in February last. We have also ordered a strong yacht to be sent to Galle from Malacca, and we think that in this way we have amply provided for matters to remain *in statu quo* till Your Majesty shall have treated with us for further supplies. We pray to Almighty God to give Your Majesty health, prosperity, and a long life, and beg Your Majesty to accept the small present we offer as a token of our friendly disposition.

In our Castle of Batavia, September 26th, 1640.

Antonio van Diemen.

Matters however did not progress smoothly and Coster who was in charge at Galle waited on the King at Court, but on his return journey was killed in a squabble, the result of his hasty temper. This unfortunate incident occurred on the 21st of August, 1640 and in November the new Portuguese Captain-General, Dom Philip Mascarenhas, recaptured Negumbo¹² and proceeded to blockade Galle, which was soon in great distress. In the same year with the restoration of the native dynasty in Portugal under Dom João IV, that country hastened to put an end to the state of warfare into which it had been dragged by its unwilling association with Spain, and which had cost it so terribly dear in either hemisphere. A settlement was strenuously opposed by the East

¹² See Mascarenhas' Report to the Viceroy (fragment) dated 12th November, 1640, *Doc. Rem. L.* 47, f 86. The terms of surrender dated 9th November, appear on folio 87.

1640 and West Indian Companies,¹³ but finally a ten years' Truce was concluded. The Seventeen however had their own views and wrote to the Governor-General:—"We consider this Treaty prejudicial to the interests of the Company.....The Portuguese right of trading remains confined to the places where they had settled before the Treaty, according to the reading of Article....This Article admits of a very wide interpretation, of which we must make use, not allowing them to trade in any place where we have definitely established ourselves. The Exchequer in Portugal is quite empty, as the Ambassadors themselves told us."¹⁴

They further emphasized the fact that Portuguese competition would be a terrible blow to the Company. "We must with all our might resist any encroachment on our privileges in the manner we have notified to you. Do not hastily enter into any compact or agreements: take time for consideration, and only agree to any matter provisionally on trial, always leaving a loophole of escape if it is found not to answer."¹⁵

Both the Portuguese and the Hollanders sent their representatives to the King.

13. For details see *A Embaixada de Tristao de Mendonca Furtado a Hollanda em 1641* (Coimbra, 1920) and *A Embaixada de Dr. Francisco Andrade Leitao a Hollanda 1642-1644* (Porto, 1923), by Professor Edgar Prestage.

In this year the Seventeen sent to van Diemen "a sample of Cave or Cawa, a kind of bean of which the Turks make a beverage as the Chinese do of the thea." This was brought from Yemen and Abyssinia by way of Suez to Cairo and transported thence to Turkey. They suggested that there might be a demand for it in The Levant. XVII to Governor-General, 16th April 1640.

14. XVII to Governor-General, 5th September, 1641.

"It is certain that the majority of the Estates, if not all, dislike the doings of the Companies, but at present it is not in their power to set them right, because the privileges granted to them are so ample that they are entirely divested of the power of compelling them to do what they do not like."

Sousa Coutinho to the Conde de Vidigueira, 16th May, 1644. (Prestage and de Azavedo, p 145).

15. Among the signatories to this letter was W. Boreel. XVII to Governor-General, 25th September, 1642.

1641 "In 1641 when I was in Kandy I was told by Raja Sinha how a Portuguese came to him with the offer to restore to him all the places conquered by the Portuguese, on condition that he would sign a document, making the King of Portugal his heir and left him all his possessions at his death. Raja Sinha refused the proposal with scorn."¹⁶

In July¹⁷ 1641, for the sixth year in succession, a Fleet left Batavia to blockade Goa: this was under the command of Matthys Quast. On the 17th of August van Diemen wrote to inform him of the news that peace had been concluded with Portugal and attacks on the Portuguese forbidden. He therefore urged Quast to make haste and seize Colombo, while the Portuguese were engaged at Galle. If the Viceroy announced that peace had been made, he need pay no attention.. "Try to effect some important conquest before the peace is ratified. No doubt our Directors purposely were silent on this matter in order not to interfere in our present preparations."

On the 14th of September this direction was renewed: "something effective should be done against them in Ceylon before the conclusion of peace upsets all our plans." The King had sent Ambassadors with three elephants to ask for further help, the reason being the recapture of Negumbo and the devastation of the Galle district. A few soldiers were to be sent to escort him to Colombo or Galle and he was to be informed that the Goa fleet would sail there and he should be in time to combine with it. Subsequent instructions were sent to him to sail to Galle, as the capture of Colombo was the main object. If the available force was too weak to effect this, then it should be diverted to the capture of Negumbo, which was to be demolished. The King's Ambassadors were informed accordingly.¹⁸

16. Martin Vinck to Antonio van Diemen, dated Galle, 25th June, 1643.

17 Instructions to the Fleet, Batavia, 11th July, 1641.

18. Van Diemen to Quast, Batavia 20th September, 1641.

1641 But since May no message had been received at Galle from the King, who was having trouble with his brother Vijaya Pala,¹⁹ and the roads were kept closed. No fresh provisions were available and the men were prostrate from beri-beri, dropsy, dysentery and sores on the legs. Captain Walraven de Riviere and 90 men who went out to forage fell into an ambush, and the soldiers threw down their arms in a panic and fled. As a punishment two of them were sentenced to be shot, but their lives were spared at the intercession of the King's Mudaliyars. St. Amand who had deserted to the enemy at the death of Coster, was enticing the garrison to join the Portuguese, and among others two Scots who were on sentry duty had done so. The garrison consisted of 355 men, of whom 80 were sick. Relief was urgently needed, as the Portuguese kept every available man in the neighbourhood, to lay waste the district and to stop the supply of provisions.²⁰

1642 On the 12th of February, 1642 the Goa Fleet arrived before Galle, but it was not considered powerful enough to attempt anything.²¹ During April and May no provisions reached the fort by land. Thyssen urged that an army should be sent to threaten Colombo in order to attract the Portuguese there, as this would enable him to occupy the surrounding district. Otherwise, he pointed out, at the declaration of peace the Hollanders would be left with barren rocks and no cinnamon. As it was the country had been stripped bare by the King, and the Portuguese had to get their own supplies of rice from Colombo.²² Van Diemen was confident that the King would not be able to meet the Company's claim and would allow it to retain Galle. The occupation of the surrounding country was

19. See "The Prince Vijaya Pala of Ceylon." Colombo.

20. Thyssen to van Diemen, dated Santa Cruz de Galle, 18th Nov., 1641, and to Gardenys, dated 14th September, 1641.

21. Van Diemen to the XVII, 12th December, 1642

22 Thyssen to van Diemen, 22nd May, 1642.

1642 therefore important, so as to anticipate any claim by the Portuguese. The Viceroy had sent and asked for an armistice till official news was received from Europe, but this was refused as opposed to the Company's interests.

In October the official announcement of the peace reached Batavia and was formally proclaimed on the seventh of the month, while Pieter Boreel was sent to Ceylon and Goa to settle about the former country. Van Diemen, in acknowledging the news, very frankly stated his views: "We shall do them as much harm as possible and continue to establish more firmly the possession of the High and Mighty Estates General in the East. We have been very successful during the last year in these attempts."²³ He accordingly instructed Boreel to claim Galle and all the territory round it, and to call on the Portuguese to withdraw from there with their belongings. If this was refused he was to send an ultimatum that war would be continued in India and Ceylon, and this was to be immediately acted upon.²⁴ Under any circumstances the seventh annual blockading Fleet was expected to be in Goa before anything could be settled about the peace, and orders were sent to this to act as if no treaty were contemplated.²⁵ Boreel proceeded to Ceylon, but Mascarenhas would not recognise the right of the Hollanders to anything more than the fort. He there-
1643 fore on the 26th of February, 1643 started for Goa, two messengers with letters from the King for him reaching Galle five days later. The condition in which the Hollanders found themselves, as the result of the Portuguese blockade, was very distressing. "Our position is unbearable. The enemy does not allow the simplest provisions to be brought to the fort by the natives. If one is caught selling one coconut he has to pay a fine of four fowls, and the sale of a head of

23 Van Diemen to States-General, 12th December, 1642.

24. Instructions to Boreel, 20th October, 1642.

25 On 18th March, 1641 Dom João had informed his Viceroy about the Treaty and directed him to stop the war if possible. *Doc. Rem. L.* 43, f. 53. On 27th September, 1641 the Viceroy reported that the position was desperate and that peace with the Hollanders was essential, if anything was to be saved (*do. f.* 90).

1643 cattle would be punished with loss of liberty or of nose or ears, even with death." The lack of fresh vegetables and fruit caused much dropsy and beri-beri, and all that could be effected was to send foraging parties to obtain provisions by force.

Everything was being done to get the natives to the Portuguese side. They would not surrender any territory but were prepared to buy up Galle. The taunts they addressed to the garrison were such "that were this state of affairs to last much longer we should feel inclined to end it by making an end of our lives. Since our first visiting India such ignominy has never been inflicted on us as is offered to us at present in Ceylon."²⁶

Boreel reached Goa on the first of April, a few days after the arrival there of Vijaya Pala who had finally joined the Portuguese, and was entertained in regal style. "A magnificent house was placed at his disposal: he was sumptuously treated: his meals were served in gold and silver dishes and he was waited upon by Knights of the Cross."²⁷ Further details are given by Boreel. He was served "by about twenty of the noblest Dons with gilt swords by their sides and gold chains round their necks. A number of splendid horses stood all day saddled in the courtyard; also a great number of palanquins and sombreros always at hand for myself and suite."²⁸ As was not unnatural the exchange of letters which followed proved valueless and on the 26th Boreel left Goa after formally announcing the continuance of hostilities. On his reaching Galle, Thyssen gave notice to Galvão, the enemy's Commander, of the renewal

26. Thyssen to van Diemen, Galle, 17th March, 1643.

27. Jan Dircksen Galen to Jeremias van Vliet, dated off Mount Dely, 30th April, 1643.

28. Boreel to van Diemen dated on Board, 29th April, 1643.

1643 of the war, while Boreel, after some correspondence with the King which he found unsatisfactory, sailed to Batticalo and thence to Pallicatta where he died on the first of July.²⁹

Thyssen on his part attempted a *coup*. Weligama and the district belonging to it had been given by the General to Ignatio Sarmiento Carvalho with full liberty to appropriate to his use its revenue and produce, and this grant was regarded by the Hollanders as a deliberate affront to themselves.³⁰

Thyssen now sent a force to seize the place and this was attacked by the Portuguese at Akuressa. After a severe fight the Hollanders fled, leaving eighty dead, while seventy succeeded in reaching a vessel which was at Weligama and thus saved their lives. The defeat seriously affected the Company's prestige and the responsible officers were court-martialled and punished at Batavia.³¹

"Peace with the Portuguese in India is an impossible matter, at least if we wish to maintain the Company's just pretensions" wrote van Diemen to the Seventeen. "Not only do we intend to maintain our present rights in Ceylon, but we hope to secure the entire possession of the Island."³²

The Seventeen on receiving Boreel's report decided that if Galle were not surrendered, the state of war should continue and Goa itself be attacked.³³ Van Diemen accordingly sent Francois Caron on the 30th of September with ten

29. "And it is probable that he is in hell where he will deeply feel all he fulminated against us."

Viceroy to King of Portugal, Goa, 4th December, 1643. *Doc. Rem. L.* 48, f. 266. All the documents dealing with Boreel's mission are to be found in *Livros* 48-51.

30. Thyssen to Governor-General, 17th March, 1643.

31. Van Diemen to Directors, 22nd December, 1643. Martin Vinck to van Diemen, dated 25th June, 1643.

According to the Portuguese the Dutch lost 160 killed and fifty prisoners, while the entire Portuguese force was under 200. (*Doc. Rem. ut supra*).

32. Van Diemen *ut supra*

33. XVII to Governor-General, 10th September, 1643.

1643 ships and 1,700 soldiers, which would give him an available force of 2,000 whites. The King was informed of the despatch of the Fleet by the following letter:—

Great and Mighty King,

Last year we sent by Your Majesty's Ambassadors a letter which we know has been delivered to Your Majesty, but to which as yet we have received no reply. The present communication therefore is intended to inform Your Majesty of what we are now doing against the Portuguese for the service of Your Majesty, and to acquaint Your Majesty with the shameful conduct of their General Dom Philippo Mascarenhas, who has refused to vacate the low lands belonging to the town of Galle, which act has been approved by the Viceroy of Goa : so that our Commissary Pieter Boreel was obliged to leave the publication of the Treaty of Truce made between our Sovereign and His Majesty of Portugal unexecuted and continue the war.³⁴

The sole cause of the difference between our Commissary and the Portuguese was the question of the right to the country round about Galle, otherwise the war in Ceylon would have terminated ; but we have taken Your Majesty's interests so much to heart that on this account we have resolved to carry on the war against the Portuguese in all parts of India, until Your Majesty's rights shall have been vindicated, and to prevent their bringing such forces to Ceylon as might enable them finally to drive Your Majesty from your dominions. We therefore sent in the beginning of last month a formidable Fleet to Goa, but as we mentioned

³⁴. The Portuguese fully realised that the Dutch were only playing for delay.

" You must point out that it is not sufficient for them to tell you that they are sending orders in the manner you desire, unless they are despatched in a form to enforce obedience ; otherwise the Estates are making a jest of you by issuing these orders, or the Ministers who should execute them, are making a jest of the Estates."

Dom João to Sousa Coutinho, 30th September, 1644. (Prestage and de Azavedo, p 199). Also Viceroy to King, 15th February, 1644. *Doc. Rem. L.* 48, f. 290

1643 before the real quarrel is about Your Majesty's lands. We have also resolved to send as large a force to Ceylon as we can at present collect, which we have placed under the command of the Honourable Francois Caron, and is larger than any force we sent before, and trust that during this year we shall succeed in securing to Your Majesty the possession of the fortresses of Columbo and Negumbo and all the cinnamon lands.

We sincerely hope Your Majesty will see the necessity for these measures and the importance of driving the Portuguese as soon as possible from the Island, and consequently take a more serious view of your obligations towards us and keep your part of the Contract, for we might otherwise be induced to withdraw our assistance. We distinctly intimated this to Your Majesty in our last letter, but no notice has been taken of our complaints; and after our Ambassador had been kept waiting five weeks, to the great inconvenience of himself and the vessels which conveyed him, he only received in payment of the large sums due to us 2719lbs. of wax, and 2,100 lbs. of pepper, which are scarcely worth while being noted down in our books, and made on us the impression that Your Majesty was laughing at us in your sleeve. It seems that at the same time Your Majesty intended to send another Ambassador to us, only to pacify us with flattering speeches. We are glad our Commissary dissuaded Your Majesty from doing this, as it does not serve our purpose. We do not want promises but deeds.

The Commander of the present force has been authorised to settle matters with Your Majesty, and whatever may be agreed between Your Majesty and him will receive our approval. The account sent to Your Majesty last year as entered against you in our books amounted to 789,316 xerafims; the expenses for this year amount to about 200,000 xerafims, which together make 1,000,000 xerafims, besides what is owing for the pay and food of the garrison of Cruz de Galle.

1643 We think that in this as well as in our last letters we have plainly stated to Your Majesty our meaning, and close with the wish that God may grant Your Majesty many years of health and prosperity, increase of your dominions, and victory over your enemies.

In the Castle of Batavia, September 29th, 1643.

ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN.

On the 20th of December 1643 Francois Caron landed 1,400 men at Galle in order to attack the Portuguese who were at Akmimena, one-and-a-half Dutch miles away, but found them so well protected by bogs and marshes except on the approach from Colombo, that he could do nothing and they withdrew unmolested. He therefore re-embarked his men and coasted along. No suitable landing place was
1644 available except at Panadure, which too had to be rejected as the road from there was over heavy sand. An attempt to land the guns on rafts at a spot nearer to Colombo, proved a failure, whereupon he abandoned the idea of attacking the city from the south and sailed on to Negumbo. Landing there at night his men were drawn up in three squadrons, the van and rear being in charge of Thyssen and Vinck respectively, while he himself occupied the centre. On approaching the fort the Portuguese were seen on their knees, saying their prayers, and the attack began. The defence however was so furious that it seemed the Hollanders would be driven back, but after two hours' fighting they succeeded in entering the fort. The resistance however, was not over, and a continuous fire was maintained from the neighbouring trenches and fortifications. The Hollanders threw burning pikes on the roofs, which soon were in a blaze. The powder magazine exploded and the chief houses were destroyed. The Portuguese had 81 killed and the Hollanders 51 with 140 wounded; Dom Antonio Mascarenhas and Galvão were

1644 among the slain,³⁵ while St. Amand effected his escape. No booty was found as everything of value had been removed to Colombo.

The fortifications were rapidly put into repair and a strong fence of coconut trunks erected, and after that 1,000 men started by land for Colombo, while the vessels coasted along. The Kelaniya river was reached on the 21st of January and earth works were hastily run up along the bank, while the Portuguese opened fire from the further side. Some guns were landed from the ships, but every attempt at crossing was stoutly opposed and after six days the task was abandoned. The fortifications to the south of Colombo had been strengthened since the previous year by a double wall and moat, and reinforcements had been received from Goa, and it was thought that the only means of capturing the place was by way of a regular siege. The Hollanders came back to Negumbo on the 28th and resumed the work of strengthening the fortifications. Outside the old wall a second one was constructed of mud and sand and tree trunks, and lined with turf, and in addition a moat thirty six feet wide and ten deep was dug. Everyone, including Caron himself, toiled at the task, but the heat was so intense that the men were on the verge of striking and had to be promised extra pay to induce them to continue. The King only sent 130 slaves and even these were removed in a short time. The poorer inhabitants helped to carry the turf and were remunerated by payment in salt, of which a store was found in the house of a Portuguese. Caron was very pleased with the result. "We should like you to see the fortifications, for we are quite proud of our achievement," he wrote to van Diemen.³⁶

35. Referring to the death of Dom Antonio Mascarenhas:—

"The loss of men is always to be greatly lamented. How much more at this time, when it is better for us to lose one fort without cost of lives, than to win a battle with loss of life."

Sousa Coutinho to Pedro Vieira da Silva, 13th June, 1645. (Prestage and de Azavedo p. 285).

36. Caron's Report, 17th April, 1644.

1644 For the Hollanders the value of Negumbo was great, because now they could control the cinnamon lands both on the North and the South. Five hundred men were left as a garrison, with provisions for ten months, 25,000 pounds of powder, 27 guns and 3800 balls, as well as two yachts for watching outside ; while Pieter Vinck Booms, who was a skilled engineer, was placed in charge, but subordinate to Thyssen at Galle.

The King however disapproved of the place being fortified and wrote accordingly, urging an attack on Colombo, and complaining of the little which had been done, in spite of the heavy bills which were presented to him. Caron in his letters had ventured to sign himself as "your affectionate friend," and was sharply reminded that such a mode was only used "amongst friends and equals, but not from a General to an illustrious King, Kings of Ceylon being descended from the Sun." Raja Sinha further complained that he was charged with responsibility for Coster's death, to which Caron replied that if he were not responsible he would have punished the guilty person. The King had withdrawn his own army of 2,000 men, leaving only a small body to watch Colombo. A request for payment was ignored, but "we have shown no anger and kept a smiling face."

On the 6th of March Caron sailed for Colombo and communicated with Mascarenhas about an exchange of prisoners ; Mascarenhas replied that the Hollanders with him had elected to join his service, but offered to ransom the Portuguese, to which Caron would not agree. He reached Galle six days later and expressed his opinion that "if the Council thinks the time has come for asserting our rights, the King's hands might be easily forced ; for if the inhabitants were compelled to bring in cinnamon on the plea that the King had failed to pay his debts, he would declare war, as he had forbidden peeling."

1644 With the departure of the fleet the King returned to the mountains, leaving the Disavas of Matale and Sabaragamuwa at Mapalagama, where they were joined by his Shahbandar with all the fighting men he could collect.³⁷

37. Jan Thyssen to Arnold Heussen, Masulipatam, dated Galle, 28th March, 1644

CHAPTER V.

1644 The Portuguese now made a determined effort to re-capture Negumbo, and details of the siege which followed have been preserved in the Diary which was regularly entered within the Fort:—

Friday, May 27th.—About midday some fishermen reported having seen a number of Portuguese at about an hour's distance from here and also a vessel in the river. We conjectured that it was a party of the enemy seeking a suitable landing place. A detachment of soldiers was called out, to whom were distributed provisions and ammunition with orders to march against the enemy and drive them away. Before they left the fort the news reached us that 45 Portuguese vessels were crossing over from Toedelle, and that already a great number of Portuguese had been landed on our side of the river. The Captain of the detachment received orders to take the soldiers to the woods and hide them among the bushes, but not to hasten against the enemy unless the exact number was known, and not to risk valuable lives in vain. We increased the guard on the island Texel, and placed a cannon on the bastions in the island of Walcheren. As soon as it was dark and the gates of the town had been closed, five Portuguese fell upon our Sinhalese outposts, who at once fired and gave warning. We sent word to the detachment to come back as soon as possible.

Saturday, May 28th.—The detachment came safely back to the fortress. The whole day parties of the enemy came in sight and we heard that they were lying at a branch of the river where our cannon could not reach them.

Sunday, May 29th.—Were informed that the Portuguese were raising a battery. We fired the cannon and they retired for a while. It seemed as if they intended to surround us on all sides.

1644 Monday, May 30th.—It became apparent that the enemy's intention was a regular siege of the town and they also tried to take a fort on the island Walcheren. In the evening they attempted to place a bridge connecting it with a point on the island which was hidden from our sight. They tried at the same time to cross to the island of Texel. Ensign van Bremen was sent to watch their movements and report.

Tuesday, May 31st.—The enemy keep under cover and appear only in small numbers. We cannot ascertain their strength. In the evening we made a large fire and we could see that they formed a pretty large camp.

Wednesday, June 1st.—The enemy are making trenches and building huts. As long as they remain in the bushes they cannot hurt us much and as soon as they appear in the open, we hope to lower their pride. Every evening a Sergeant goes round the island to know whence the enemy intend the attack. In the afternoon the enemy's fortification had risen a goodly height. We fired a few times but were too far off to do much mischief.

Thursday, June 2nd.—The Sinhalese in the enemy's camp called to those belonging to our party that they had better come over to the Portuguese before it was too late, whereupon the others answered that if they would come and fetch it they should each have a good meal of rice.

Friday, June 3rd.—Every night a party of the Portuguese tries to surprise our sentinels but we keep a careful watch.

Saturday, June 4th.—One of our soldiers had to be court martialled for mutiny and was condemned to be shot, to serve as an example in order to uphold our discipline at this critical time.

Sunday, June 5th.—The enemy kept so quiet that we thought they had returned to Columbo. We consulted the Vidane and asked his permission to send a Sinhalese to the Portuguese camp pretending to be a deserter and

1644 gather information for us. An old man offered himself to whom we promised 20 larins and a dress. But ere he started the drums and trumpets in the enemy's camp proved that they were still there. Our spy came back on the next morning, the sixth, reporting that he had been near the enemy's works but had not the courage to go any further. We refused to give him the reward. Some of the slaves tried to escape ; two were hanged and others severely punished. The Superintendent who was appointed over the slaves had lessened the number of overseers without our permission. We have placed him under arrest to-day.

Wednesday, June 8th.—The execution of the mutineers took place to-day. The Superintendent of the slaves was degraded in rank with the loss of a month's pay.

Thursday, June 9th.—Early in the morning the enemy began firing at our wall and did some damage. On all parts of the fortifications much mischief was done. In the enemy's works also much havoc was wrought.

Friday, June 10th.—Firing recommenced early. The enemy attacked us from another point and have retired a good way. The Sinhalese Lascarins have been able to continue their rice gathering in the island of Texel. In the afternoon some sad casualties occurred on our side. We used that day 570 lbs. of powder. The faux braie and wall were much damaged. We spent the evenings and the nights in doing repairs. The enemy directed most of his fire on Point Amsterdam. The roofs were carried away from the houses. The wall of the store house was knocked down without however doing greater harm than breaking some porcelain. Ensign Jan van Bremen went with a small party as far as the Salthouse in the hope of making a prisoner, but he returned with the report that the enemy did not hazard so far from camp.

Saturday, June 11th.—The enemy had during the night begun to raise a battery in our Sinhalese quarter; it was soon knocked down by us. A severe storm had raged on the coast and broken the vessels from their anchors.

1644 The vessels had been driven out to sea. They had however recovered their anchors and cordage and the Captains had fastened the ships somewhat nearer to the landing place. We were informed that to-morrow being the feast of S. John, we might expect the enemy to assault us by storm. We duly prepared to receive them.

Sunday, June 12th.—About 4 o'clock this morning the enemy fired one shot to which we replied in the same manner. It appeared as if the works along the sea shore were being continued in order to make suitable transport for the guns. As long as they remain so far in the distance, we are safe. The little damage done to the outer wall can be easily repaired during the night. Towards evening the enemy fired grenades made of coconut shells, which fell far short of their aim. An Ensign was sent with a small party with the hope of capturing one of the Portuguese.

Monday, June 13th.—The Ensign returned. Had seen three men in the distance, who did not come near enough to be captured. The enemy fired from the new battery, to which we replied so effectually that they were soon obliged to abandon it. To-day it was resolved in Council to send a scouting party across the island Texel to the mainland on a voyage of discovery. In the evening we saw large numbers of the enemy along the shore. A couple of shots made them disperse. Our men were kept the whole night ready for action, but nothing of importance occurred.

Tuesday, June 14th.—We saw that the enemy had raised an entrenchment along the shore from behind which they fired. The guns had been removed to the former position; they kept up an incessant fire on the Points Delft and Middelburgh. The Ensign returned with the information that he had only seen one sentinel who at their approach had fled. The assistant Factors, workmen, etc., have formed themselves into a corps of defence, 28 men strong. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon a cannon ball struck the gates, killing one man and wounding several others. The bastion

1644 Delft, the faux braie, the Points Middelburgh and Amsterdam, greatly suffered during this day. A scout party approached close to the enemy's works along the sea shore. At their approach the Portuguese were called from all sides under arms. Our men seeing they would be overpowered by numbers cautiously retired and managed to return safely within the fortress.

Wednesday, June 15th.—At daybreak we noticed that the enemy had connected his works with the Salthouse. A few shots from the Point Rotterdam soon destroyed the approach. During the firing a cannon ball struck one of our pieces, killing the gunner and disabling three of our guns. Several projectiles fell into the stone fortress. The enemy having approached so much nearer, it was resolved to despatch a surprise party. They came to the enemy's works, killed several sentinels, and drove some from the trenches. We had only three wounded and the rest of the party came safely back. They reported having killed at least forty of the enemy.

Thursday, June 16th.—A Dutch deserter came this morning from the Portuguese camp to restore a hat which one of our party had lost. We saw the enemy searching among the dead, probably hoping to find one of our countrymen. We saw the enemy making strenuous efforts to place his guns near the Quinta. We therefore strengthened the bulwarks at the Point Rotterdam, inside with sods and outside with osiers and coconut branches. During the night we managed to fetch a parao full of coconut trees from the Island Walcheren.

Friday, June 17th.—The firing of the enemy came from the direction of the Court of Justice, which made the passage along the Quay and the Watergate quite unsafe. We had several men killed. The enemy were very busy during the night, carrying scaling ladders, etc. We prepared ourselves for an assault.

1644 Saturday, June 18th.—Heavy firing on both sides. Our faux braie and Crescent were much damaged. Raised a screen to prevent the enemy seeing our manoeuvres.

Sunday, June 19th.—Rather quiet this day.

Monday, June 20th.—The weather being rather favourable, it was decided to despatch the yacht Zutphen to Point de Galle in order to acquaint Governor Jan Thyssen of our situation. The enemy sent some of his coconut grenades within our fortress. They burnt, but did no further harm, as they were unable to project the shot.

Tuesday, June 21st.—A Sergeant from the island of Walcheren came to report that he had seen a large body of Portuguese approaching. Ensign van Bremen was sent with a reinforcement, but coming to the spot had only found a buffalo grazing quietly.

Wednesday, June 22nd.—A messenger carrying a flag of truce brought a letter from Dom Philip Mascarenhas, requesting a reply. We told him to return to his camp, that we would send a reply by our own messenger.

Text of Letter from Portuguese Governor.

I wish to let you know that I am not such an inveterate enemy of the Dutch as to desire the death of so many valiant Captains and soldiers, who will in vain be sacrificed by your resistance. You possess the means to prevent this, and I am willing to do my part. We shall have to give an account to our several Sovereigns, who are friendly and at peace, for the amount of blood thus shed. But should you desire it, we will continue the war to the utmost. You can send an answer with full security. May God preserve you.

In my Camp, dated June 22nd, 1644.

PHILIP DE MASCARENHAS.

Answer to Above.

1644 The position in which we find ourselves is not so desperate as to make us feel justified in delivering up the fortress. We are pleased to hear that you are not an enemy of our nation. We should not have shown ourselves at enmity with the Portuguese if our rightful claims on Point de Galle had been admitted. We should then not have captured Negumbo, so that we consider that the innocent blood which has been shed must solely be laid to your charge. The means which you suggest us to employ would be dishonourable for us, and we would trust you better, had you not attacked us instead of leaving us here in peace. We wish the matter to be decided by our illustrious Sovereigns who are friends and allies, or to be negotiated by our Commissaries. We must act according to our instructions, and each man individually execute the orders given to him until the termination of the war. But we hold ourselves innocent of the bloodshed thus provoked. We pray to God to guide and protect you.

In the fortress of Negumbo, June 22nd, 1644.

PIETER VINCKBOOMS.

The superscription was: To the Honourable Dom Philippo Mascarenhas, General of Colombo, at present in the Camp round Negumbo.

This letter was taken to the Portuguese camp by Capt. Meyer. It was received from him at a certain distance from the encampment, so that he was not able to take note of the enemy's position. The Portuguese soon after began firing again. The Sergeant from the island Walcheren reported having seen vessels approaching and men being landed. But when we sent a detachment to the spot, nothing of this could be seen.

Thursday, June 23rd.—A party of slaves with an overseer were sent to the island of Walcheren to cut down a load of coconut trees. They were surprised by a large body of Portuguese and obliged to retire within the Crescent.

1644 The enemy pursued them and before assistance could arrive made an attack on the redoubt. Several of our men were killed and wounded. We fired during the whole of the night, hoping to dislodge the enemy. The grenades of coconut shells which fell in the fortress threatened to burn down the place but we were alert and extinguished the fire as soon as it was perceived.

Friday, June 24th.—We saw that the enemy had destroyed the Crescent and drawn up about eleven detachments behind the coconut plantation. We were rather surprised at their tactics, for the Crescent might have served them as a splendid battery. We expected an assault during the night and held ourselves in readiness, but nothing happened. A meteor burst in the direction of Columbo: this portends some unexpected event.

Saturday, June 25th.—We discovered that the Sinhalese with the Lascarins and lascars in our fort, intended to desert to the enemy. They had made arrangements with the Sinhalese in the Portuguese army, who had promised to spare their lives and receive them well. We took the wives and children of these Sinhalese in the fortress and kept the ringleader of the treason in prison. The enemy made a bridge to connect the island of Walcheren with the shore at a spot which our guns could not command.

Sunday, June 26th.—It was discovered that during the night three of the principal Lascarins and a woman had departed to the enemy. The detachments were again reviewed on the island and we expected an attack. However the night passed without any adventure and we could allow our soldiers to take some rest.

Monday, June 27th.—The enemy were very busy raising works on the island Walcheren which we tried hard to prevent. They also landed a few men on the island Texel who soon were recalled. In the afternoon they were busy with their large craft, probably with the intention of restoring the bridge. They mean to hem us in on every side and then attack us from several sides at once.

1644 Tuesday, June 28th.—The desertion of the Sinhalese daily increasing and in consequence the danger that the enemy were regularly informed of our position, it was resolved in Council to expel all Sinhalese except a few prisoners. About 180 persons were thus expelled. We saw them going towards the Portuguese camp. In the afternoon we heard the firing of guns and presumed what happened to these unfortunate people.

Wednesday, June 29th.—Several deaths were recorded to-day. The enemy's grenades fell on the roofs of the church and other buildings, obliging us to be constantly on the watch against conflagrations. They also made another approach from the sea shore.

Thursday, June 30th.—One of our best soldiers deserted to the Portuguese. At the request of Ensign van Bremen, we allowed him to go with a party and attack the enemy at his works. He succeeded so well that he drove them twice away and began destroying their entrenchments. The third time they brought up such an overwhelming force that our soldiers were obliged to retire. They came back highly elated and in the best of spirits, having only had one man wounded.

Friday, July 1st.—Heavy firing during the whole day. The enemy used as projectiles from his large cannon, blocks of wood, round and about an arm long, which made much noise, but did little damage.

Saturday, July 2nd.—The enemy had approached a long way along the shore. Firing went on all day and night. A heavy storm was blowing from the south-west. The sand was driven in our direction, blinding us. The yacht Zutphen seemed to be in peril. However at break of day we saw it still, only somewhat further off.

Sunday, July 3rd.—During the night the enemy had made a traverse: this would mean that he did not intend to storm us, but we cannot understand what are his ultimate plans.

1644 Monday, July 4th.—The enemy began early firing his large cannon, especially charging our embrasures which were all blown to pieces. We then tried to shoot down their nearest battery in which we only partly succeeded. All our gunners had been killed, and the enemy's fire prevented us using our guns to any advantage. Our fortifications that day were much impaired. We worked all night in building them up again. The enemy had made a trench in the Island of Texel.

Tuesday, July 5th.—A messenger from the Portuguese camp came with a letter from Dom Philippo to be delivered personally to the Commander. He was admitted blindfolded into his presence.

Contents of Letter.

I gathered from your answer to my first letter that you do not intend to deliver up the fortress until the utmost extremity. Since you have captured the place nothing but cruelty has been enacted and misery spread. There is not a single man in our army who has not lost a friend or a relative when the fortress was taken, besides numberless Sinhalese and Kaffirs, people who could not help themselves. I offer you in all honour the greatest courtesy and will treat you with all consideration. Although your enemy you may rely on my word.

From this Camp, July 5th, 1644,

DOM PHILIPPO DE MASCARENHAS.

Answer to the Above.

We can only repeat what we wrote to Your Excellency in our former answer. We must defend the place and preserve it for our Superiors. We are sorry you should charge us with cruelty. It is true that during the encounter many high personages and valiant soldiers have been killed, but they surprised us when we least expected them and we were quite justified in defending ourselves. Nevertheless after the

1644 taking of the place we have spared the lives of every man, and the wounded Portuguese have been tended by us. This shows pity and not cruelty. Many people can testify to these facts. I thank you for the kind offer of the courteous treatment which awaits me. I hope to prove the same to you, when we have a chance of conversing more effectually. May God protect Your Excellency.

PIETER VINCKBOOMS.

In the Fortress of Negumbo, July 5th, 1644.

Whilst writing the above Capt. Meyer had entered into conversation with the bearer of the letter from the camp. He was told that the King of Candy had again entered into treaty with the Portuguese and sent to that effect some Ambassadors. The Portuguese themselves held the King of Candy in little esteem, he being a scoundrel who played with both parties. Of the ten persons who we thought had been killed on June 20, nine had been taken prisoners and conducted to Columbo. An army of 700 whites and a great number of Sinhalese and Kaffirs had been expedited to Galle. We made a present to the messenger of a roll of satin, one of white Mouris, and two skeins of silk. Scarcely had the messenger gone a little way when an arquebusier fired without orders, whereupon the enemy instantly set all his cannon at work. This was entirely a misunderstanding and we at once sent a note to the Portuguese camp to offer our excuses. The Captain who took the letter was met by two Portuguese with a request from the General that he would enter within their fortifications, but he refused to do so on the plea that he had no orders to that effect. However he sent the Interpreter back to ask for instructions.

Although we were rather suspicious, we gave permission that the Captain should go inside the Camp. He was blindfolded and led in the presence of Dom Philipppo, who set wine and food before him and treated him most civilly, and accepted our excuses as he was well convinced that an error had been made through a misunderstanding.

1644 The General expressed himself as very anxious that this bloody strife should cease. He thought we had misunderstood his letter. He only offered advice until matters should have been settled in Europe by our Sovereigns. Another General was also present and said to our messenger: "We both are doing wonders, but you will have to give up the struggle soon. We are already masters of the island, depriving you of the coconut trees and sods for repairing your works." He also confessed that Dom Philipppo began to be tired of the affair; he would give 20,000 reals, if he had never undertaken the siege, and he would be glad if it were terminated one way or another. Our Captain told him that we had still provisions and sufficient ammunition of every kind and hoped that the Portuguese were equally well provided. If they were anxious to terminate the war they could easily retire, which would be less dishonourable to them than it would be for us to deliver up the fortress. Dom Philipppo made a present to the Captain, of a gold chain weighing three reals, and gave the Interpreter 30 Spanish reals for himself, dismissing them with polite speeches and kind messages.

Text of Letter from Dom Philipppo.

I am quite willing to excuse the mistake and hope you will not punish the offender. He has hurt none, our people having already reached our fortifications.

Some time after firing recommenced; however the greater part of the day had been spent in correspondence. During the evening we set to repairing our Bastion Rotterdam, which had been entirely blown down. Several of our men died.

Wednesday, July 6th.—Again heavy firing, but only two men wounded this day. A Sergeant deserted to the enemy.

Thursday, July 7th.—Firing rather less heavy: did little damage.

1644 Friday, July 8th.—The enemy raised a battery on the island Texel. We did our best to prevent them making any progress. Several of the soldiers died of their wounds. The deserters called out to us that they knew assistance was coming to us from Galle, but they would take care it did not reach us.

Saturday, July 9th.—The enemy has placed six detachments on their fortifications. Being short of tinder we have used for some days oakum, but found it did not answer as it was too loose. We then secured it together, making it into pellets by winding cotton round it.

Sunday, July 10th.—The battery on the isle Texel was completed. The enemy had mounted it with two cannon which fired at our stone gate. We could scarcely remain within the fort as the stones flew from all sides. We could not hold our religious service within the walls but in the open air. Our dead numbered 67 in all, while we have 106 wounded and 40 invalided.

Monday, July 11th.—Although the firing was again heavy, little damage was done and that easily repaired.

Tuesday, July 12th.—Nothing happened, but the usual firing and the death of some of our men.

Wednesday, July 13th.—During the night a Portuguese swam across with a burning torch and set fire to a craft which had been hauled on shore close to Point Enkhuisen. The sentinel never heard or saw him, and he returned safely to the other side. Immediately the enemy charged that Point. The conflagration communicated itself to the landing place and we had great trouble in extinguishing it. The vessel which had been used as a store house was entirely consumed, with 40 loads of rice, 10 lasts of straw, cinnamon, and arrack. The misfortune was caused by the carelessness of one of our officers who had neglected to place sufficient sentinels and relaxed guard.

1644 Thursday, July 14th.—Several soldiers died of their wounds. The enemy continue the works on the islands so as to cut us entirely off all communication. We have sunk all vessels along the bank, to prevent a recurrence of last night's disaster.

Friday, July 15th.—Hendrik Jan van Bremen died of disease, and several others.

Saturday, July 16th.—We heard great acclamations in the enemy's camp as if welcoming new arrivals. Fired the whole night in the dark without doing any damage. They threw about 400 grenades without any effect. We threw in four in their works with apparent good results.

Sunday, July 17th.—It appeared that yesterday the enemy received fresh ammunition.

Monday, July 18th.—The enemy had hung up a goose in order to provoke our soldiers. During prayers a couple of slaves escaped. They had to be chased, so that but half the garrison could continue at their devotions. Along the seashore we saw a large party of blacks being directed to the enemy's camp. They were received with three salvos of musketry which sounded to us as if 1,300 or 1,400 muskets were being discharged. We remained all night in arms on the walls. The enemy called out to our sentinels at the Point Hoorn that they had received reinforcements, also men, that day.

Tuesday, July 19th.—A soldier who tried to run over to the Portuguese had been shot dead. We took stock of our provisions of ammunition. We have still 1,300 pounds of powder besides what has been distributed on the several points. We need have no fear that way. We have plenty of cannon balls, a great number having been sent us from the enemy. Our greatest trouble is the scarcity of fuses. We try all kinds of things to find substitutes. In the afternoon we saw the enemy's forces being concentrated in the fortifications. We prepared for an assault: nothing of the kind happened.

1644 Wednesday, July 20th.—The enemy began furiously, firing from all his fortifications at once, so that we quite expected they intended to attack us. After this bravado they stopped firing however.

Thursday, July 21st.—It was agreed that the Council should assemble every other day, so that each member should have an opportunity of making any proposal which he may deem suitable. A decree was issued, in view of the numerous deserters who informed the Portuguese of our position, that a reward of 50 real of eight would be paid to whomsoever should kill or capture a deserter. The same reward would be paid for the discovery of any treasonable intention; calling out to the enemy without permission of the superior officers will be punished with the loss of two months' pay; any officer found drunk at the watch shall lose two months' pay for the first offence: for the second, loss of pay and degradation in rank. An overseer of the slaves who through carelessness had allowed two slaves to escape was condemned to be shot. Heavy firing took place during the day. Our fortifications suffered much: we repaired them as well as we could.

Friday, July 22nd.—The man who had been condemned to be shot on account of his carelessness has been reprieved. The enemy fired 390 times and did much damage. Illness among our men is greatly increased owing to the bad water and want of fresh food.

Saturday, July 23rd.—Before midday the enemy had fired twice; soon after 12 o'clock they made a general assault which they repeated three times, each time with a new corps of men, so that in all 33 detachments were engaged in the attack. They planted four ensigns on the Point Rotterdam and two on the Point Delft. Heavy fighting took place at these Points. Captain Meyer was killed, several officers wounded. The powder took fire and injured many others, but especially through the courageous conduct of civilians who had formed themselves into a corps the enemy was obliged to retire. They managed to scale the wall at the

1644 Point Rotterdam, but they were continually repulsed so that not one came on the other side. The attack on Point Hoorn was so effectively driven off, that the sea was covered with dead bodies. They were routed and retired in great confusion. A few Portuguese set fire to the bamboo fence at Point Hoorn, but did only damage to themselves as they were killed on the spot. The fighting lasted one-and-a half hours; the enemy lost 400 men, leaving in our hands 12 flags, a large number of guns, muskets, pikes, ropes, etc. They had as many wounded as killed, whom they carried with great trouble within their encampment, protecting their operations by a body of 250 men. Among the dead was the General-in-Chief of the Army, five other high military officers, about a dozen alferes, (alviadors) but only three blacks. On our side we had 20 killed and 56 wounded.

Soon after the enemy had retired within their fortifications, a vessel was seen to leave for Columbo. We set at once to repair the walls and bastions, extinguished the fires, cleaned and loaded our guns, reviewed our men, gathered the dead from the several points, brought the scaling ladders which the enemy had left behind within our walls, (they numbered about 80,) found among the dead many more guns and flags. We questioned the prisoners and learnt that the army of the Portuguese was 1,100 men strong, that the King of Candy had made the offer of sending 4,000 Sinhalese for reinforcements, not as being at enmity with the Dutch, but to show friendliness to Dom Philippo. It had been against the advice of Dom Philippo that the assault had been made by the whites. He would have employed for that purpose 300 Kaffirs, but it was the General of the army who had insisted on employing the Portuguese forces. Dom Philippo then would have joined the expedition, but the priests would not allow him to do so. The attack had been decided on rather unexpectedly as it had been reported that our yachts had been sighted off Columbo. Among the booty of the dead we found many letters and documents, but of little importance. The day passed with further occasional firing. Under cover of darkness

1644 we buried our dead. We were astonished to find that the Portuguese did not attempt to do the same, leaving them as food for the vultures.

Sunday, July 24th.—The enemy withdrew from the island Texel and during the night carried away their guns. We saw four ships leaving for Columbo. . . . were busy the whole day removing their belongings from island Walcheren. It seemed as if preparations were being made for raising the siege. However we dared not trust the enemy and kept our men on the walls, the day of St. James being near, on which day the Portuguese think their arms will be victorious through the help of their Patron Saint. The enemy did not fire their heavy guns and neither did we waste our ammunition.

Monday, July 25th.—At the rising of the sun we saw that the embrasures of the enemy were closed and his guns removed. Still his colours were waving from the island Walcheren. This being St. James' day we kept careful watch. A black deserter arrived in the isle Texel. He reported that all the wounded Portuguese had been carried to Columbo, that Santaman had also left Dom Philippo in high displeasure. The *padres* were leaving the camp, nearly all the cannon had been ordered to be carried away overland. From what we heard and saw, it seemed now evident that the enemy renounced further attempts.

Tuesday, July 26th.—During the night the enemy had destroyed a part of their works. We wondered with what object. Either they would not leave us the benefit of their fortifications, or they intended to draw them together for the protection of an army and shut us in, as we should not be strong enough to drive them away. This would involve a tedious time of inaction until assistance could reach us from Gale. In the afternoon a Portuguese deserter, a native of Lisbon, reported that he had deserted because he was not allowed to return to his country where he was married, and requested permission to embark on one of our vessels to Holland. He told us that the camp

1644 was being broken up. Santaman had advised to attack us by night, so that he had an excuse ready for the failure. Some of our men who had deserted to the Portuguese had died in the meantime, and all the Sinhalese we had sent out of the town had fled into the country. The general idea was that Dom Philippo would remain with his army until advice would have been received from Columbo. He had also asked the King of Candy to send 3,000 Lascarins with the intention to re-capture Negumbo. The provisions of rice in the camp would only last another fortnight. No more rice was to be obtained from Columbo, and it would be an easy matter for us to starve that place out by keeping our vessels cruising along the shore. During the last few days ammunition had been sent from Columbo with the intimation that nothing more would be forthcoming. At night we saw a vessel in the distance. We hoped it was a ship calling from Gale, but we were disappointed as she continued her course towards Columbo. We are in sad want of fresh soldiers. We have only 100 valid men at present and every day some have to be placed on the sick list.

Wednesday, July 27th.—As the enemy does not fire any cannon we resolved to make a corps-de-guarde to keep our soldiers under shelter from the rain. In the afternoon the enemy set fire to his works on the island Texel. Only a single flag remains waving on the island Walcheren. We have been busy removing the dead bodies from our moat, about 867, towards the sea.

Thursday, July 28th.—A Malabar deserter confirmed the great despondency which reigned in the camp. All the guns and baggage had been sent to Columbo. Five Dis-saves had been in the camp from the King, but had gone away with their *suites*. The vessel seen yesterday was a Portuguese vessel sent to Manar for reinforcements. We set about rebuilding our fort, which was not much more than a ruin. During the siege the enemy sent 6,567 shots in it, and balls of 24, 18, 12, 9, 6lbs., but mostly 18 pounders.

1644 They made much havoc, disabling 14 of our guns. To-day was found in the field an arrow containing two letters from Santanam. One of these papers had been destroyed by the rain so that its contents could not be deciphered. The other ran as follows:—

“ I hear that you have been inquiring to-day whether I and Jan de Schelder are still alive, which induces me to inform you we are both in good health and ready to receive those who will enter the service of His Majesty of Portugal. Remember the advice given you in my former letter, by which I have proved myself a friend of every honourable soldier. In the camp near Negumbo, June 21st, 1644.

MIGUEL DE ST. AMAND and JOHAN DE ROSA.

To-day our men were able to forage and bring back some fresh fruits and vegetables. The number of our garrison at the present day is as follows:—

428 men all comprised, 257 healthy, 171 invalided.

Friday, July 29th.—The enemy continues shipping his belongings. Seven empty vessels have been sent for this purpose from Columbo. They brought stubble and branches to their gabions as if they meant to set fire to them. Our men hazarded into their utmost trenches and found them full of water.

Saturday, July 30th.—The enemy is still busy with the transport of the camp. Scarcely any firing this day. Several of our wounded died.

Sunday, July 31st.—The enemy fired a few shots from the isle Walcheren, but our men, even when gathering vegetables in the Quinta where they had been posted, were disturbed by no one.

Monday, August 1st.—We sent seven pairs of slaves to repair the faux bray, but the enemy drove them away by their fire. A Kaffir reaches us at nightfall who reports that the enemy has collected his forces on the opposite side of the arm of the river, consisting of 400 whites and a few Sinhalese, with the intention of remaining there encamped.

1644 Dom Philipppo who has gone to Columbo, had sent for reinforcements to Goa and Manar. If they obtain relief before ours arrives, it will be bad for us. This man said the Portuguese had lost a thousand men in all. Several of our wounded died : during the day fetched rushes and canes from the isle Texel, for the repairs of the roofs and stores.

Tuesday, August 2nd.—We heard that our fleet from Galle had passed the mouth of the river Alican, that on their way they had taken the fort at that place as well as the fort at the mouth of the river Panature. The Portuguese and Sinhalese found in these forts had been massacred. This news had caused a great commotion at Goa and forces were sent for the relief of these forts. Several officers were promoted in the place of those killed.

Wednesday, August 3rd.—Nothing of any importance occurred this day.

Thursday, August 4th.—Beri-beri increases among the soldiers. Many die of the diseases. During the day we are attending to the repairs, during the night we work outside the fort.

Friday, August 5th.—We saw the enemy setting fire to his gabions and bastions. Several vessels were plying between the camp and sea. We charged them a few times with our cannon.

Saturday, August 6th.—We lose many men from dropsy, not having suitable drugs against the disease. We see little of the enemy, although we know he is still there. A few soldiers having congregated on the Point Rotterdam, a musket shot from the enemy wounded one of them in the hand.

Sunday, August 7th.—Reports of several deaths from dropsy.

Monday, August 8th.—Ensign Jan van Bremen visited the deserted works of the enemy. He found several dead bodies, probably some of the wounded whom it had been impossible to carry any further. He brought back a few

1644 scaling ladders which he found by the way, but was obliged to withdraw as the enemy had perceived him. We saw two sails rounding the Point of Columbo and hoped they were some of our vessels, but the course they took showed we were mistaken. Some more soldiers died during the day.

Tuesday, August 9th.—No firing took place this day on either side. A new disease seems to prevail here, which causes madness. Lieut. Jan Stalpaart died of the same. We have seven more men attacked by it.

Wednesday, August 10th.—One of our soldiers went right through the enemy's fortifications and found them totally deserted. The Portuguese have retired a long way off, having made their camp among the coconut plantations. We killed a Sergeant Major of the Portuguese on the isle Walcheren.

Thursday, August 11th.—This morning our archers shot a magnificent buffalo, which fresh meat was very welcome for our sick soldiers.

Friday, August 12th.—Lieut. Jan van Bremen took a party with him to reconnoitre the enemy's position. They came quite close to their camp. They fired their muskets, at which sound they saw about a 100 Sinhalese take up their baggage and flee. The party came back without being hurt.

Saturday, August 13th.—Heard firing far away in the direction of Columbo.

Sunday, August 14th.—Two hours before sunrise we saw lights moving about in all points of the enemy's camp, so that we conjectured the retreat was decided upon. A Portuguese deserter who arrived during the day, reported that the enemy had retired. They had sent their wounded and invalided in advance, while the bulk of the army followed leisurely. Yesterday instructions had been received, but the contents had been kept secret. There had been much suffering in the camp on account of the scarcity of rice and other provisions, as also of illness. On some days 25 died of their wounds or disease. Their 38 detachments had

1644 dwindled to twelve ; and half the number of the men composing these were unable to carry arms. The losses of the Portuguese during the time of the siege were calculated at 240 whites.

A page from Dom Philippo had been sent to the King of Candy. Nothing but misfortunes and misery had assailed them ever since the siege. All the soldiers were disheartened. None felt any enthusiasm or real courage ; if after the assault we had made an issue we should have destroyed every man of them. On one occasion some of the Portuguese grumbled on receiving a small ration, saying it were better to serve the Dutch who at least gave their men plenty to eat. This offence was to be punished with death, but the *padres* interceded and they were only punished for insubordination. During the assault it seems that some pots with boiling rice had been thrown over the walls, probably as a means of defence ; whereupon the Portuguese remarked that it seemed the Dutch had plenty of provisions as they could waste them like that. They also compared their hungry lean bodies with the well-fed Dutch soldiers, and did not wonder that one of them could overthrow three Portuguese. The Portuguese intended to leave a barrel of arrack behind containing poison, saying that as the Dutch were so fond of the liquor they would surely pounce upon it and thus encompass their death.

We sent a party to reconnoitre, who reported that indeed the enemy had left the field. We ordered a religious service to be held as a thanksgiving for our deliverance. We sang the 66th Psalm and fired three volleys from all our firearms in honour of the day. It was a touching sight to see all our men, the healthy and the sick who could scarcely crawl, join in the acts of thanksgiving and rejoicing. We sent to explore the deserted encampment and found the place undermined in every direction. They had spent more labour and diligence on their works than art or intelligence. The remainder of the day was kept as holiday.

Monday, August 15th.—This morning a few inhabitants from Cayamelle brought some presents of fruit and arrack and some tobacco. We made them a present of forty pounds of rice. They said they had suffered much from the Portuguese and seemed pleased to be delivered from them. They promised to come and live at the fort with their families; they would also bring us animals and as many fishermen as were necessary for the provisions of the fortress. A little later the Captain of the Lascarins came to inform us that 7,000 Sinhalese were in the neighbourhood and that the King had strictly forbidden that any provisions should be brought to us. All the people at Cayamelle were frightened and sought our permission to live in our settlement. We have granted their request and promised to protect them.

Wednesday, August 17th.—About 100 persons, men, women and children, arrived from Cayamelle and other villages conducted by the Orankaya. They brought us two cows, a number of fowls, fruits and tobacco, also the implements of their trade and their nets for fishing.

Saturday, August 20th.—The Vidane again repeated his request for the Lascarins to be provided with firearms, saying that they were necessary for the exercise of their industry. We then distributed among them some of the weapons taken from the Portuguese.

Tuesday, August 30th.—Heavy rains and wind: Point Hoorn suffered much from the rush of the waves. Orders were given for strengthening the same.

Wednesday, August 31st.—Point Hoorn is in great danger of being carried away by the water. Every effort is made to save it.

CHAPTER VI.

1644 On the 10th of August 1644 the ninth annual blockading Fleet started for Goa under the command of Jan Maetsuycker, who took with him a Commission dated the previous day to settle the differences about Ceylon. He carried in addition secret instructions, if the Viceroy agreed to a peace, to sound him with a view to combine against Raja Sinha: otherwise he was not to break with the King, as the Hollanders by themselves were not strong enough to cope with him.¹

The Portuguese, exhausted with the strain of fighting, were glad to come to a settlement which was by no means favourable to themselves, and on the 10th of November an agreement in Latin, Dutch and Portuguese was signed at Goa.²

In answer to the appeal for help from Negumbo, Thyssen had in June sent from Galle a body of men, who even by the beginning of September had failed to advance beyond Welitara. Mascarenhas had collected his army at Malwana, where St. Amand joined him from Negumbo.³

In the meantime the King had removed all the coolies and cinnamon peelers from the district of Galle to the mountains. Van Diemen was furious. "His aim is to make us exhaust our strength and so abandon Ceylon of our own

1. Van Diemen to XVII, 23rd December, 1644.

His instructions to Maetsuycker, dated 9th August, 1644, are quoted by Rykloff van Goens, (Junior,) in his address to the Governor-General and Council, Batavia, 25th February, 1680. (Record Office, London, C.O. 54, 125).

2. Maetsuycker to Cornelius Weylandt, Surat, dated 22nd Nov., 1644. Also same to van Diemen, 15th November, 1644, which contains details of the settlement. These proceedings on the part of the Company were probably intended to frustrate a settlement which it feared would be arranged between Portugal and the States-General; for details see *Correspondencia Diplomatica de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho*, by Edgar Prestage and Pedro de Azavedo, Coimbra, 1920.

The Treaty made at Goa is printed in Bicker's *Collecção de Tratados que o estado da India Portugeza fez* vol. 2 p. 139.

3. Thyssen to Governor-General, dated Galle, 5th October, 1644.

1644 accord : but the future will show he is reckoning without his host and that we are only helping Raja to help ourselves " he wrote to the Seventeen.⁴

Accordingly " we have instructed our officers to protect all Sinhalese near Galle and to make much of their grievances, and to continue the war in the name of Raja against Raja himself, on the pretext that he withholds the necessary supplies." This ingenious scheme was welcomed by Thyssen. " The order from Batavia to make war against the King in the King's own name, will be a great comfort to us. The suggestion made by the Governor-General and Council of India to make peace with the Portuguese in accordance with the Treaty, and continue the war in Ceylon in the name of the King of Candy and lay siege to Colombo, has much to commend itself."⁵

On the 4th of December Maetsuycker started for Ceylon to settle the details of the new boundaries,⁶ and the opinion

4. 23rd December, 1644.

5. Thyssen, *ibid*; he had received instructions from van Diemen, dated 26th July, 1644, that if the Company's forces were sufficient to secure the cinnamon, whether the King liked it or not, there was no need to fight the King's battles any longer, and he was to be gulled and made a tool of. Quoted by Rykloff van Goens (Jr.) (Record Office, London, C. O. 54, 125.)

6. On 10th January, 1645. As between Colombo and Negumbo, to the former were allotted the Ina, Ampitigam, Beligal, Anapanduna, Quindigora, Galbara and Pernacur Corles; to the latter Pitigal, Deomede, Urupala, Cornagal, Veli, Madure, Kurela, (Hiriyala?) and Mangul Corles.

As to Alicur Corle, North of the Dandugam river to Negumbo and South of it to Colombo.

From Catugambala, Jetigaha Pattu to Negumbo and Udaca Pattu to Colombo, and the third Pattu, Menda, was divided by villages as they were nearer to either of the others.

Putalao and Calpetin went with Manar.

As between Colombo and Galle, the Alicam river, its port, and everything to the north of the river went to the Portuguese, but the Dutch could fish in the river without payment and use it for transport purposes.

The Chaleas were to serve both parties. To avoid friction the Dutch were to send to the Portuguese during the peeling season half the Chaleas from Belitote and Cosgore, the division being not only in accordance with number but also by class. What these gathered was to be collected near the Dandugam river and divided equally, each side paying the Chaleas the usual fee.

Doc. Rem. L. 56, f. 258.

1645 he formed of Mascarenhas was expressed in unmistakeable language. "We judge from his actions that his sense of honour is not great and that he does not despise the vilest means to obtain his end," he informed van Diemen.⁷ Mascarenhas, who had just been appointed Viceroy, was found very willing to enter into a secret alliance against the King, who was still carrying away all the inhabitants into the mountains, so that neither Portuguese nor Hollanders could get much profit from the low lands; an agreement to that effect was accordingly signed between them, drawn up in Portuguese and Latin.

Maetsuycker now forwarded to Raja Sinha a letter from van Diemen which he had brought with him; it was worded as follows:—

Most High and Mighty King and Emperor Raja Sinha.

Although the expenses incurred on behalf of Your Majesty for the war with the Portuguese have risen to a considerable amount, and Your Majesty has as yet made but a small attempt to repay us, so that in fact we should be justified in withdrawing our aid, we however, trusting in the kingly word of Your Majesty and assured that some day we shall find our reward, have again sent to Goa a large and powerful Fleet in order to besiege the Bar and prevent any vessels from entering or leaving the port, and consequently prevent reinforcements being sent to Columbo. After the successful termination of this mission to Goa this Fleet will proceed to Ceylon and by the grace of God drive our enemies from your Island and secure its peaceful possession to Your Majesty, thus enabling Your Majesty to collect the produce of the Island without fear of molestation and to settle with these Your Majesty's debts to our Company.

Your Majesty has already been informed of the truce which has been made in Europe between the King of Portugal and the States General for a period of ten years.

7. 15th November, 1644.

1645 The cessation of hostilities would also have taken effect in India had the Portuguese acceded to our just claims for the protection and possession of some of the lands on the Island and agreed to include Your Majesty in the conditions of peace as intended by the third Clause of the Capitulations. Till now we have in vain demanded compliance with these terms. We intend however to offer once more terms of reconciliation to them, and have appointed one of the number of our Council to proceed to Goa with a formidable naval force in order that it may be evident to all that we are anxious for the cessation of the war and innocent of the blood shed in these quarrels. We feel sure that this time the Portuguese will lower their pride. We shall inform Your Majesty at once of the result of the negotiations, and have given special instructions to our Ambassador to refuse to enter into any Contract, the clauses of which would exclude Your Majesty from its provisions, always on the understanding that this measure would seem desirable to Your Majesty.

Should however the enemy persist in his haughty refusal to admit our claims, it will be incumbent on us to capture Columbo, a proceeding which will be most advantageous to Your Majesty and ourselves. In the event of circumstances taking this course, our General has instructions at once to deliver Columbo as well as the fortress of Negumbo into Your Majesty's hands, the fortress of Galle remaining under our rule. But as long as the Portuguese are masters of Columbo, it will be inexpedient to remove the Dutch garrison from Negumbo. The enemy are only waiting for a chance to re-capture that place. We much regret we are unable to act in this matter on Your Majesty's suggestions, as we are anxious in all matters to act in accordance with Your Majesty's express desires. Besides we could employ our soldiers to better advantage in other parts of India. Your Majesty may therefore rest assured that we shall withdraw the garrison as soon as possible. We do not keep our soldiers in Ceylon for our own pleasure, but

1645 unless we wish to see our conquests again restored to the Portuguese, we must continue in the same policy as we have hitherto pursued, and we feel sure that Your Majesty will not wish that the great sacrifices we have made and the costly blood of our nation should be spilt in vain.

Our General, who has for many years been a member of our Council and who has full knowledge of our good intentions towards Your Majesty, has our authority for acting according to circumstances, and we hope he will do so to the great satisfaction of Your Majesty ; but we must beg of Your Majesty to consider earnestly the means for settling our claims, whether we make peace with the Portuguese or continue the war. Since Negumbo has been restored to the rule of Your Majesty these means have not been wanting, and we are anxious to prove to our Superiors that we were justified in lending Your Majesty our assistance, whilst otherwise they might command us to recall the soldiers. May God keep Your Majesty for long years in health and happiness.

In the Castle of Batavia in the Island of Great Java,
August 19th, 1644.

Your Majesty's, etc.,

ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN.

With this was sent the following letter from Maetsuycker himself :—

Most Powerful King Raja Sinha, Emperor of the Island of Ceylon,

The letter given us at our departure from Batavia by our Governor-General, and which we hereby enclose, will inform Your Majesty of the designs of the present expedition. We reached Goa on September 28th of last year. The Fleet which at first consisted of ten large vessels, has since been increased to sixteen. We had hoped with this large force to have gained some signal advantage over our enemies, but when they saw this goodly array of vessels before their harbour they have humbled their pride and consented to give way to us.

1645 The claims we made and on account of which the war has continued between us in India, although peace has been made between our respective Sovereigns in Europe, were twofold : First the division in equal parts of the lands lying between the furthest fortresses, and second the participation of Your Majesty in the clauses of the Treaty. The results of our negotiations with the Viceroy at Goa, drawn up in the Portuguese language, we now forward to Your Majesty. The Clause referring to Your Majesty being included in the Treaty is not binding but left to Your Majesty's decision. As soon as the Treaty had been signed we sent six of our vessels to Ceylon to prevent Dom Philipppo Mascarenhas, who has been appointed Viceroy, from engaging in any undertaking contrary to the terms of the Capitulations.

Having terminated our several affairs at Goa we also sailed for Columbo and reached Negumbo in the course of last month. The Contract referring to the division of the lands we also forward, from which Your Majesty will clearly see which lands are adjudicated to Your Majesty and which to the Portuguese. The parts assigned to Your Majesty are by no means the least important. The division has only been made up for one year. In the meantime it will be possible to propose alterations or make further claims, in respect of which we shall be glad of Your Majesty's advice. On reaching Negumbo we were informed of the raids made by some robbers into the lands under our jurisdiction. They claim to act in accordance with Your Majesty's orders. We have at once sent a party of soldiers against these outlaws, to protect the poor natives against their depredations. We feel convinced that they were not sent by Your Majesty or entrusted with a mission of plunder and murder. No Potentate ever took delight in ruining his own country or massacring his own faithful subjects.

We have commanded our soldiers to remain encamped in the neighbouring districts and kill as many of the robbers as they can lay hold of. This measure lays again new burdens on our soldiers: not only are we obliged to keep efficient

1645 garrisons in Galle and Negumbo but we must also keep armies on both sides of these fortresses if we do not wish to see the fruits of these districts destroyed, which are the only guarantees for the repayment of our outlay on behalf of Your Majesty. We do not regret the assistance to Your Majesty nor do we wish to withdraw our help. We only require the fulfilment of Your Majesty's obligations towards us as guaranteed by your Imperial word; we trust that from henceforth these promises will be kept, there being no longer any difficulty in the way as the country is now at peace. Our Governor-General will then be at liberty to recall his soldiers from Ceylon and employ them in other wars. It is not his desire or intention to keep the fortresses in the Island as it seems that Your Majesty fears, and may have been suggested by some of our enemies. It was not in the expectation of gaining much profit that we first brought our forces to this island, but only with the desire to do Your Majesty service, and at the same time to harm our enemies, the Portuguese.

Peace having now been restored between us, perhaps Your Majesty does not wish to make use of us any longer. In that case our Governor-General would be only too pleased to remove our garrison from Negumbo and Point de Galle and restore these places to Your Majesty on the payment of all debts Your Majesty owes us. The keeping of these garrisons on the Island is most expensive to us, and our soldiers could be much more useful to us in other parts, as anyone acquainted with our policy in the countries of the East will easily understand.

Our Governor-General was pleased to find that Your Majesty communicated to our representative the correspondence which passed between Your Majesty and Dom Philippo. This was of course right, considering we are Allies and up to the present the Portuguese are our mutual enemies. However whilst we were at Columbo, Dom Philippo showed us the letters addressed by our President Jan Thyssen, (who in consideration of his valuable services

1645 will from the present time bear the title of Governor) to Your Majesty during the time we were still at war with the Portuguese. This proceeding is not in accordance with our idea of loyalty. We hope it was done without Your Majesty's knowledge by the contrivance of some Portuguese who have obtained a certain influence at the Court and who under pretext of being Your Majesty's friends are usually your secret enemies. We are expecting the arrival of a vessel from Formosa. As soon as it will have been despatched to Persia, we will leave Negumbo for Galle, where we will remain for some time and await Your Majesty's instructions.

May God keep Your Imperial Majesty for long years in health and prosperity.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Negumbo, January 27th, 1645.

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

The King replied on the 16th of February,⁸ criticising the arrangements which had been made, but agreeing to a garrison being left at Negumbo since Columbo was not yet captured: this garrison he was prepared to maintain, and he asked that someone might be sent to discuss matters. Maetsuycker sent an evasive answer, pleading he had no suitable person available.

Great and Mighty Emperor,

Your Majesty's letter reached me yesterday, the 28th February, in Cruz de Gale. The letter informed me of Your Majesty's continuing in health, and we hope that Your Majesty may be preserved long years in the same, to the joy and well-being of your subjects, and also of your Allies, of whom we are the principal.

8. Translated by D. W. Ferguson under "Raja Sinha II and the Dutch." (Jour., Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, vol. xviii, pp. 185-186.).

1645 We should have wished it had been possible to delay the division of the lands until a representative of Your Majesty had arrived and to have been assisted by his knowledge and advice, but the matter had to be rather hurriedly terminated on account of the short time at the disposal of Dom Philipppo before his departure for Goa. We have however stipulated that we shall be at liberty to protest within the space of a year when we find that we have been misled. We therefore shall be grateful to Your Majesty for any indication of an infraction of our rights in order to enter our claim for reparation in the name of Your Majesty. It was at the request of the Portuguese that in the Contract for the division our name has been inserted instead of that of Your Majesty, to whom the lands in fact belong. At a future occasion and in our agreements with other Potentates we shall take care that Your Majesty's name be stated, as is but strictly just.

The proposal of Your Majesty to recall the soldiers from the districts round Negumbo and place them in the fortress, the peace with the Portuguese making it unnecessary to keep an army in the field, will be acted upon. For the present however the soldiers are required to keep the robbers in check, who in Your Majesty's name harass the poor natives and destroy the country.

We trust Your Majesty will assist us in securing to the inhabitants the peaceful possession of their homesteads and the undisturbed cultivation of their lands, the products of which are intended for the repayment of Your Majesty's debts to us. We on our side will maintain an efficient garrison in Your Majesty's fortresses and in this manner secure their safety, and we rely on Your Majesty's assurance of sending ample provisions for their maintenance. During the last season we have obtained about 180 bahar of cinnamon viz. 20 from Negumbo and 160 from the lands around Galle. This cinnamon will be taken to Batavia and credited to Your Majesty. We hope to find a large consignment of the other merchandises mentioned in our Contract, at Batticalo.

1645 We have despatched a vessel to that port for taking these in lading and to take the Ambassadors on board whom Your Majesty intends to send to the Governor-General; they, I feel sure, will be welcomed at Batavia.

We regret that we have at present no qualified person to send as a representative to Your Majesty's Court in order to confer on some important matters. The time fixed for our stay in Ceylon is already long past and we cannot delay our departure till his return. Your Majesty might give ample instructions to the Ambassadors and refer all matters to the Governor-General, whose sound judgment and desire to content Your Majesty may be fully relied on.

May God preserve Your Majesty many years in health.

Your Majesty's humble servant,

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, March 1st, 1645.⁹

With regard to the lands which fell to the Hollanders on the division, the Portuguese leaseholders were allowed to resume possession and to continue in occupation till the expiry of their terms, when it was expected that Hollanders with experience in managing lands would be available to take their places. They were to continue paying the rents in kind, delivered at the forts.

The Catholic priests had hurried back to their churches which were all nearly destroyed or in a ruinous condition, but they were refused permission to reside within the Hollanders' jurisdiction. "We hope that when they see their churches deserted and their tables bare they will soon return to the cloisters from which they came."¹⁰

9. Also tr. Jn. R. A. S. (C. B.) vol. 18 pp 189-190.

10. Maetsuycker's Report to Governor-General, dated 11th April, 1645.

1645 Van Diemen himself died on the 19th of April and his successor Cornelis van der Lyn had as low an opinion of the priests as Maetsuycker. "It has been their custom to provide necessaries to those of the inhabitants who embraced Christianity and frequented their Churches. They begged Mr. Maetsuycker to allow them to look after their flocks in our jurisdiction, but of course this could not be allowed. We think that the converts, finding no more food provided, will not be very anxious to frequent the Churches. However we shall appoint a couple of clergymen: making Christians is not only a Christian duty, but good policy."¹¹

*Maetsuycker's secret agreement had an unexpected result, for on his departure Thyssen by a Proclamation dated the 25th of May, declared war on the King, stating at the same time that he did so at the request of Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, who had succeeded Mascarenhas as General, and whom Maetsuycker considered "a straightforward man, not a double-dealer like Mascarenhas."*¹²

The Kolonna Korale placed itself under the Hollanders. Sickness had forced the army of the Portuguese to withdraw from Balane to Menikkadawara, and their Ambassador Jose de Sousa de Cunha was still at Kandy, virtually a prisoner. Homem urged Thyssen to push on from Hakmana inland, but his army too was suffering from sickness. There was a talk that the Danes had undertaken to win back Kottiar for the King, and at Homem's suggestion a ship was sent to guard that port.¹³

A severe drought had caused a famine in the King's Country and the distress was great. Fresh meat was scarce for the garrison at Galle, though the approach of the fishing season was expected to bring some relief. The Franciscans were claiming the same exemption from taxation as they had enjoyed under their Kings, but this was refused.

11. Cornelis van der Lyn to XVII, dated 9th July, 1645

12. Maetsuycker's report ut supra.

13. Thyssen to van der Lyn, 26th May, 1645.

1645 The Jesuits¹⁴ held one village in Galle and several in Negumbo, and their leases were due to expire before long. They were asking for Munnesseram on a nine years' lease and this also was refused. "We have much trouble to confute the arguments of these quibblers: they always know how to explain the words to their advantage. These Jesuits give us a great deal of trouble: they quarrel with everybody and are continually at law with the natives." At Negumbo the sickness was so great that a hundred soldiers died in three months, while the country round was being ravaged by "robbers" who compelled the villagers to abandon their fields and hide in the forests.¹⁵

Thyssen's hasty declaration of war created consternation at Batavia. "Our plan was to maintain an appearance of friendship and keep the natives in order under the plea of protecting Raja Sinha against his own people. Now we shall need forces and new expenses. We refused to return Negumbo to the Portuguese pleading we held it for Raja Sinha. We cannot plead that now. . . . We shall write to Raja Sinha disowning Thyssen's act: he must be recalled." In case the States-General should order Negumbo to be given up "we are anxiously awaiting your instructions how to act. We suggest the order could be evaded by stating that we held the fort for the King of Candia, for whose benefit and protection the Dutch garrison occupied it. In view of such an eventuality it is essential we should re-establish friendly relations with Raja Sinha, so that we may have a valid excuse for refusing to obey the injunction of the States-General. We shall continue in this policy until we receive other instructions from the Directors."¹⁶

14. For a list of their villages in Ceylon see *Doc. Rem.* L. 35, ff 361-368. Those here referred to were probably Bamberenda and Munneswaram. L. 60, f. 396.

15. Thyssen to van der Lyn, 20th August, 1645.

16. Van der Lyn to the XVII, dated 17th December, 1645. The fear that Negumbo would have to be restored was due to the proposals detailed in Sousa Coutinho's despatch to the Conde da Vidigueira, of 13th March, 1645. (Prestage and de Azavedo, p 260).

1645 For the moment the declaration of war led to nothing and the King kept quiet. Disputes however arose with the Portuguese regarding the division of the spheres of influence in the Seven Korales, from where much sickness was reported. Nicholas Overschie had been sent to Ceylon to inspect and report and had established himself at Negumbo.¹⁷ The Portuguese had the previous year lent their trained
1646 elephants to help in the Hunt,¹⁸ and these were no longer available. Overschie now sent a military force and attacked the King's Disava who was in the Hiriyal Korale, and seized on four valuable elephants belonging to the King and removed them to Negumbo. Raja Sinha was enraged and descended on the Seven Korales and drove away the inhabitants to the mountains, while the army of the Hollanders retired to Pannara to wait for reinforcements before attacking him.¹⁹

On the 21st of April 1646, Maetsuycker landed at Matara with reinforcements. He had been sent for a year with a Commission to set right Thyssen's error and to pacify the King, "for the pretext on which we hold Negumbo, namely, for the King, is involved, and we will not be able to claim it in the settlement if we are at war with the King. I am instructed to restore friendly relations, but this is difficult, as he is enraged by the insult of his elephants being captured." Two days later he reached Galle, accompanied by his wife and two young ladies.²⁰

The Council decided to recall all troops from the countryside and leave that to the King, and Adrian van der Stel, who had arrived at Negumbo, was directed to cover the withdrawal. The choice of a Commander was unfortunate and he came into collision with the King's men and lost two guns and his own life, whereupon the King laid siege to Pannara. News of this reached Galle on the 19th of May

17. Thyssen to van der Lyn, 16th December, 1645.

18. Van der Lyn to XVII, 17th December, 1645.

19. Thyssen to Arnold Heussen, dated Galle, 1st May, 1646.

20. Maetsuycker to Arnold Heussen, Galle, 1st May, 1646; also Thyssen's letter *supra*.

1646 and assistance was hurriedly sent to Negumbo from all quarters. "This is the first result of Thyssen's declaration of war; he meant well and we hope he will be lightly dealt with. He is universally liked but inclined to be negligent," wrote Maetsuycker.²¹

The Pannara garrison surrendered to the King without striking a blow. That of Chilaw, which included 60 whites, did the same, so that about 500 Hollanders were in the King's hands. He encamped with his army close to the Kaymel river while the inhabitants fled to the woods. Many leading Sinhalese joined him, and his Disava from Sabaragamuwa was threatening the country on that side. The garrison at Hakmana was recalled. The prestige of the Company was seriously damaged and the outlook was gloomy. The cinnamon peelers and Lascarins, whose services were essential, along with their families, were sheltered within the fort. The relations with the Portuguese too were somewhat strained, but in view of the delicacy of the situation with the King, who refused to enter into negotiations to settle disputes, it was inexpedient to have a rupture. However the Hollanders would not send the Portuguese the peelers from Welitara and Kosgoda as provided in the settlement, and forbade provisions being supplied to Colombo from their territory. The Portuguese on their part allowed the King to pass freely over their lands and also offered him their assistance.

On the 24th of May Thyssen left Ceylon, and a month later a fresh body of men was sent to check the King's army from advancing by Hakmana. Matters at Galle itself were put into better order. The Factor, Vinck, was found to have been remiss and left everything to his wife, who did what she liked, with the consequence that the stores were badly spoilt. The Kaffirs were removed from the Church of St. Francisco, which had become unsafe,

21. To van der Lyn, 23rd May, 1646.

1646 to the Black Fort, where sailors who came on shore were also lodged. A hospital was opened at the White House, a fine large building at the entrance to the harbour, which was threatening to tumble down through neglect. An Orphanage too was started. The Dutch language was making but little progress, as the people only spoke Sinhalese and Portuguese. It was thought that the native Christians and Tupasses who continued to attend Mass would like to join the Dutch Church if the preaching were carried on in Portuguese, which they could understand.²²

By November Maetsuycker was able to report that the King had withdrawn, leaving the Negumbo district bare of people. The attempts of the Hollanders at training elephants were little successful, as several of the animals died in captivity.²³

Two months later he wrote to say that the King was 1647 in correspondence with the Portuguese and that three of their most prominent men had gone to his Court on an embassy. He was now looking out for an excuse for open war, as he hoped that Colombo would then be easily captured and the King vanquished in turn. He was strongly of opinion that in all India there was no place so well suited for colonising as Ceylon, and he suggested confiscating the holdings of the Portuguese and giving them to Hollanders or Sinhalese, who would pay the same rental.²⁴

In May 1647 information was received from a Portuguese fidalgo, who was a spy in the service of the Hollanders, that the Portuguese were determined to get back Negumbo, by war if need be, and that the necessary armaments were being sent to the Island.²⁵

22. Maetsuycker to van der Lyn, Galle, 6th July, 1646.

23. Maetsuycker to the XVII, 9th November, 1646.

24. Maetsuycker to XVII, dated Negumbo, 26th January, 1647. On 24th December, 1646 the Viceroy had written to the Captain-General that it was imperative to make peace with the King, in case war should break out with the Hollanders. *Doc. Rem. L.* 57, f. 473.

25. Diary of Wingurla, by Pieter Sterthevius, 9th May, 1647.

1647 In July the following letter arrived from the King who had for a long time been ill.

"Your letter dated January 9th safely reached me in my residence of Nilabe, where I have been laid up with an illness which lasted nine months, and has prevented me from answering your letter before. Being in a fair way to recovery, I removed to my residence of Kundasale, and now being restored to health I am on my way to my Capital Candy. The Ambassador whom you intend sending to my Court may freely travel by the road to Batticaloa, and when he shall have reached that port my Dissave will find him an escort to proceed to my capital. With reference to what has taken place and the fighting between us, you must remember that I did not call the Dutch nation to my Island. The bad government and management of the Dutch officers have been the cause, but let bygones be bygones. I pray to God that the peace which will be concluded between us may be lasting as long as the Sun and Moon shall last, and that no more misunderstandings shall arise between us. While I was lying ill the Portuguese have sent several times to inquire, and since they have heard that I am restored to health, I have been informed that a nobleman from Columbo and a high dignitary of the church are on the way to congratulate me upon my recovery. The Lord, etc.

In my residence of Kundasale, 12th July, 1647,

RAJA SINHA,

Emperor of the Island of Ceylon.

To Joan Maetsuycker in the fortress of Galle, or to the Person in authority in his stead.

To this Maetsuycker replied as follows:—

Great and Mighty Emperor,

The letter which Your Imperial Majesty has been good enough to write to me from your residence of Kundasale dated July 12th was received by me on the 29th of the same

1647 month with all due marks of respect and honour. I was sorry to hear of the prolonged illness from which Your Majesty has suffered and greatly rejoiced to know that at present Your Majesty has entirely recovered, and I pray the Almighty to preserve Your Majesty in health for many years, and enable you to enjoy all the good gifts from heaven.

The Ambassador who we mentioned in our letter of January 8th will be despatched to Your Majesty's Court, will leave in a few days over Batticalo. Every preparation is being made for his departure, and I was anxious to inform Your Majesty that your wishes will be attended to and any cause of displeasure which the delay may have occasioned, removed. I should have much preferred coming myself on this mission to Your Majesty instead of sending a substitute, but I cannot spare the time necessary for the journey from the other duties imposed upon me by my Superiors. It would have been an exceedingly great pleasure for me to congratulate Your Majesty upon your recovery and personally to make a new alliance of peace and friendship which may be lasting for ever. I trust that my representative will succeed in making with Your Majesty a Contract profitable to both parties on the same basis as that made between Your Majesty and Commander Westerwold, which Contract we are still willing to fulfil in all its bearings as long as Your Majesty undertakes to do the same. The disputes which have lately arisen between us are not of my making nor do we wish to impute them to Your Majesty. They have been caused by the insinuations of base people who wish to sow dissensions between us in order to profit by our quarrels.

We beg Your Majesty not so easily to credit these in future, but to take into consideration the faithful services which we have rendered Your Majesty to the benefit of the Kingdom of Ceylon. We are as much disposed as ever to continue these services, desiring no other recompense from

1647 Your Majesty than the fulfilment of the aforesaid Contract and Your Majesty's favour and friendship. Our Ambassador will fully treat of these matters with Your Majesty, whom we commend to the protection of the Almighty.

In Your Majesty's fortress of Galle, August 11th, 1647.

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

There was some delay before the Ambassador started, and Maetsuycker wrote again to the King:—

High and Mighty Emperor Raja Sinha,

We answered on the 11th of this month Your Majesty's letter of the 12th July and advised Your Majesty by the same of our intention of despatching our Commissary in a few days from that date to Batticalo in order to travel from there to Your Majesty's Court at Candy. The said Commissary is leaving to-day. His name is Captain Laurens de Maerschalck; he has been residing for some time at Batticalo and we hope that Your Majesty will approve of our choice. We have commanded him to assure Your Majesty of our good-will and intentions, and of our desire to be of service to Your Majesty in whatever way you may desire, and to treat with Your Majesty for the settling of our differences, and the renewal of a lasting and peaceful Alliance. The conditions of which he is the bearer are so moderate that we feel confident of Your Majesty accepting and confirming them. As soon as we shall have received this information we shall send a more important Ambassador to complete the preliminary negotiations and to confirm the same in the name of our honourable Superiors. We beg Your Majesty to accredit our Commissary Maerschalck in all matters which he will submit to Your Majesty in our name, and that Your Majesty will allow him soon to return to us, to bring us the joyful tidings of Your Majesty's complete recovery, and report the success of his mission. May God, etc.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, August 25th, 1647.

1647 This letter probably led to the following reply from the King :—

Your letter of the 11th of August has been handed to me in my Palace of Candy. I was pleased to hear that you continued in good health. I did not answer at once as I was expecting the arrival of your Ambassador, to whom I would have delivered your message. About two months ago the Ambassadors from the Portuguese nation requested me to make peace with them, but as I have concluded a lasting peace with the Dutch I have not replied to their proposals nor will I enter into negotiations with them until I shall have heard your resolutions. Since I wrote to you from my residence of Kundasale, which was on July 12th, there has been plenty of time for your Ambassador to reach Candy either by sea or by land by way of Batticalo or of Panawa, through the district of Uva. I have given orders that your Ambassador should find everything prepared at these several places for the continuation of his journey to Candy. I beg you will acquaint me with the cause of this delay. May the Lord, etc.

From my Court in the town of Candy, August 29th, 1647,

RAJA SINHA, Emperor
of the Island of Ceylon.

To Joan Maetsuycker, Governor for the Dutch
Nation in my Fortress at Galle.

To this Maetsuycker replied as follows :—

The letter Your Majesty sent us from your Court at Candy dated 29th of the last month, reached us by two different routes on the 7th instant, by that of Smorgen and of Negumbo. It was received with all marks of respect and with the usual ceremonial. It gave us the greatest pleasure to learn that Your Majesty continues in good health, and we pray that God Almighty may prolong your life and give you many prosperous days to the well-being of Your

1647 Majesty's faithful subjects. Our Ambassador who we advised in our letter dated August 11th would be despatched to Your Majesty's Court, left on the 23rd for Batticalo. We trust that he reached that place shortly after and continued his journey towards Candy. We daily expect to hear of his having been admitted into Your Majesty's presence. We should have wished that our Ambassador had left before, but the vessel which was to convey him required to be equipped thoroughly; a delay of about a week was thus necessitated, and as Your Majesty wished him to come to Candy *via* Batticalo we would not alter his route. We therefore hope Your Majesty will graciously excuse the delay.

With respect to Your Majesty's communication of the steps taken by the Portuguese to induce Your Majesty to make peace with that nation, and asking our opinion on the matter, in answer Your Majesty should therein act as appears best to you and most advantageous to your Kingdom. From the beginning our aim and intention has been and still is to fulfil the Contract between Your Majesty and Commander Westerwold; whilst we trust that Your Majesty desires to keep to the same terms. Our Ambassador is authorised to make some proposals which if Your Majesty accepts will be faithfully carried out, whether Your Majesty makes peace with the Portuguese or continues the war. We think that the reason they are so anxious to make peace with Your Majesty is their fear of the war being renewed shortly between the Dutch and the Portuguese on account of their treacherous behaviour in Brazil. We are daily expecting confirmation of this surmise from Batavia.

They would be glad if they could shelter themselves under Your Majesty's protection in such an event. They would however find themselves mistaken. For in virtue of the above-named Contract we should have the right to attack our enemy wherever we had the chance: with this difference, however, that as formerly we carried on the war against them in the name of Your Majesty, this

1647 time it will be in the name and for the sake of the States-General ; and that any conquest made should not be consigned to Your Majesty, but remain the possession of the States of Holland. For example should the town of Columbo be taken by us, Your Majesty would have no right to claim its surrender. It is important Your Majesty should carefully consider this matter. Besides we doubt if any credence may be attached to the protestations of a nation who can act with such treachery as has been done in Brazil.

As soon as our vessels shall have arrived from Batavia we shall inform Your Majesty of the news they bring ; in the meantime we beg Your Majesty to give our Ambassador leave to return to us at the earliest opportunity, and trust Your Majesty will take such decision with respect to our proposals as may be most beneficial to the safety of your Kingdom. May God preserve your Majesty many years in health and prosperity.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, September 10th, 1647.

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

Maetsuycker's anxiety to maintain friendly relations with the King was not surprising, for in August and September the spy had reported that Mascarenhas had warned Colombo to be prepared for the resumption of hostilities, and was sending large forces to Ceylon.²⁶

1648 It was not till the 10th of October 1648 that two Ambassadors came from the King, who had consented to restore his prisoners, while Maerschallck reported that a new treaty had been arranged. If this new alliance took effect it was expected that the King would help to drive away the Portuguese. "We shall prudently manoeuvre against him and grant him no more concessions than are consistent with the interests of the Company. We shall resign to him no part

26. Wingurla Diary, 9th August and 30th September.

1649 of the country until the Portuguese have been completely driven away and the debt to the Company settled in full, which will take a good many years still" wrote van der Lyn. The Portuguese had suffered many disasters in the course of the year. Sixteen of their vessels were destroyed in a hurricane near Goa, and their affairs were in a bad state. Once they were got rid of, the King could be easily managed, he thought. "Until we are sole masters of Ceylon, the Island will never give us those profits which we ought reasonably to expect. We fear the war will not be resumed till the expiry of the Ten Years' truce, but should an opportunity occur in the meantime, we shall not neglect to seize it." The present moment seemed most propitious, but the Portuguese were aware of their intentions and were careful to give no provocation.²⁷

The Portuguese Ambassadors were still detained at Court, it was said as hostages till Vijaya Pala was sent back, but this the Portuguese were not likely to do. They were still there at the end of 1649. The Portuguese were most anxious for an alliance with the King²⁸ and were very cautious not to make a false move, which would mean their annihilation. "We are making every preparation to encompass our designs" reported the Governor-General. On the 15th of July, 1649, in spite of all the flattery and presents which had been lavished on Raja Sinha, he sent back Maerschalck accompanied by only one of the prisoners, with a demand for the surrender of Negumbo, and the new peace proposals. By these three Clauses in the Treaty of Batticalow were altered, the most material alteration being in the tenth, where the King proposed to substitute "as long as the expenses incurred remained unsettled, cinnamon was to be sold to the Company alone." The effect of this would be to destroy the monopoly, but Maetsuycker acquiesced in order to avoid the necessity of surrendering Negumbo. He thought that the King could

27. Van der Lyn, to XVII, 10th January, 1649.

28. The Captain-General reported that it was difficult to say what the King intended, but it was hoped he would break with the Hollanders, Viceroy to King, 24th December, 1650, *Doc. Rem. L.* 60, f. 394.

1649 not possibly pay up for years, and in the meantime circumstances would alter. On the 12th of August he sent Captain Burchardt Cox to ratify the peace.

The condition of the Portuguese themselves was reported to be very distressing. No help had come from Goa throughout the year. They had refused to surrender the peelers of the Hollanders whom they had seized and Maetsuycker retaliated by confiscating their villages round Galle. Homem protested against this violation of the treaty but could do no more and satisfied himself by forbidding the Chaleas from passing through Colombo on the way to Negumbo. This, Maetsuycker suggested, was a *casus belli*, but van der Lyn considered that such a declaration would be premature.²⁹

It is interesting to note that in January 1649 Maetsuycker led a military expedition to Tuticorin in which 180 Sinhalese soldiers from Galle and Negumbo took part. Much devastation was caused and temples destroyed, while among the plunder which was brought back was the image of Subramaniam Swamy, an object of the deepest veneration which was said to have been preserved at the temple at Trittenada "for thousands of years." A hundred thousand reals were demanded from the Nayaker of Madura for its restoration, as damages sustained for the insults offered to the Company at Kayel pattanam.³⁰

29. Van der Lyn to the XVII, 31st December, 1649. Also Maetsuycker to Van der Lyn, 1st April, 1649, "in the Dutch fortress of Negumbo."

30. See Diary of the expedition, by Johan de Vogel; also Jacob van Kittensteyn to Chief of Kayalpatnam, dated Galle, 29th April, 1650.

CHAPTER VII.

1649 On the 13th of December 1649 Cox returned with the Treaty duly signed and a large number of the released prisoners. The Company had been pressing for the appointment of a Hollander as Disava of Matara, and the King agreed, on condition that the new Disava should according to custom, reside at Court. This did not suit the Company, and now with Cox there came the King's First Adigar, Rampot, who had been nominated to that office and ordered to take charge of the District. Maetsuycker had no intention whatever of complying. "We gave him, his Appuhamis and 300 Lascarins, a great military reception, and carried him within our fort with sound of trumpets. As soon as he was safe there, we raised difficulties....The Dissave in spite of our civility, knew we were trying to frustrate his wishes and so went back to the King, taking with him the three remaining elephants captured in the Seven Korales, one having died."¹

Maetsuycker thereupon addressed the three following letters to the King:—

High and Mighty Emperor Raja Sinha of the Island of Ceylon,

Our Commissary Captain Burchardt Cox returned to this Fortress on the 13th of this month in charge of the Articles of Peace signed by Your Majesty. He was accompanied by Your Majesty's Dissave of Matura who brought Your Majesty's letter dated the 16th of last month. We have received the same with the usual honours and ceremonies, and were pleased with its contents. On the same day two vessels from Batavia appeared in the harbour having on

1. Maetsuycker to Jan Thyssen, Matara, 10th January, 1650. It was only now that the King allowed the Portuguese Ambassadors Dom Jeronymo and the Rector Sebastiao de Fonseca, to return after a stay of four years.

1649 board the person sent by our Governor-General to replace me here in office. His name is Jacob van Kittensteijn, and we hope that this change may be agreeable to Your Majesty and that my successor may render Your Majesty true service. In consequence of my intended departure I have many things to do, and arrangements to make; nevertheless, I gave your Ambassador an audience on the day after his arrival, and discussed with him several points bearing on his appointment. Your Majesty's Dissave maintains that the Gale Corla ought to be included in his jurisdiction. We cannot believe that this was Your Majesty's intention, because that district has been for many years under the administration of the Captain of this Fortress and not under the Dissave of Matura. We cannot admit any alteration in the existing conditions. Your Majesty is aware that we cannot dispense with the service of coolies and are dependent for our supplies on the inhabitants of the country round.

The second point of difference is the claim of the Dissave on the villages which have been leased out, the revenues of which are credited to Your Majesty's account. The Dissave wishes to bestow these grants on people of his choosing, but this proceeding would cause considerable trouble and dissatisfaction. Some of the leases are granted for a certain number of years. We could not possibly break our contracts and we felt assured that Your Majesty would not wish us to behave so dishonestly.

The third question relates to the jurisdiction of the Mabada. This place has been separated from Matura for several years and been governed by a Special Magistrate, which is a fact of which Your Majesty cannot be ignorant. We fear that these great and sudden changes will unsettle the country. The Chalias will desert and seek shelter with the Portuguese. The news of the appointment of the Dissave has already caused great fear among the inhabitants, especially the Chiefs of the villages, and we shall have much trouble to pacify them again. The people are afraid that the Dissave

1649 will take from them their hereditary possessions and privileges, and bestow them on his favourites and carry the owners away from their homes. Although we have reassured them by stating our conviction that Your Majesty does not wish to ruin your subjects and will safeguard their lawful property, we have not been able to convince them all. Several have already abandoned their homesteads. We fear that as usual the Portuguese interfere and try by their false representations to sow dissensions between Your Majesty and ourselves in order to disturb the newly-made peace. We on our part will do everything in our power to prevent such a calamity, and keep guard on the inhabitants of the lands around Galle, to hinder their seeking refuge with the Portuguese.

We are therefore resolved to make the proposed changes gradually and we should be glad if Your Majesty would give instructions to the Dissave to do the same. He is rather too vehement and cannot understand the difficulties which his precipitate actions may raise, as well for Your Majesty as the Dutch Company. Scarcely had he reached the District when he commenced to threaten the inhabitants, which has been the cause of the present disturbances. It is a great pity, for he seems an intelligent man, but he is wanting in experience. We will try and repair his mistake and we hope that the inhabitants will soon have a better impression of Your Majesty's rule. We trust Your Majesty will appreciate our endeavours for the maintenance of the peace and that Your Majesty will agree to leave the Galle Corla and the leased villages under our administration, at least until the advances made by the Company shall have been repaid. Your Majesty's compliance with the request will certainly encourage her to lend further assistance.

The prisoners whom Your Majesty has been pleased to release have safely arrived under conduct of Captain Cox. A vessel will be despatched to Batticalo to fetch the sick and invalid. We shall at the same time send the clock and the other articles which Your Majesty has commanded.

1649 The Dissave in handing me Your Majesty's letter at the same time remitted to me the jewel sent to me as a present. I highly appreciate the gift, not only for its costliness but as a mark of Your Majesty's esteem and affection.

We will comply with Your Majesty's demand and send a ship to Chilao to fetch the cinnamon which has been collected in the Seven Corlas. The account will be left with the Dissave.

Our vessels left for Batavia just when Commissary Laurens de Maerschallck reached the port, so that we have not as yet received an answer to our letters with respect to Negumbo or the war with the Portuguese. We will acquaint Your Majesty with the reply as soon as it shall arrive. Our Commissary will personally relate to Your Majesty the treachery committed by the Portuguese in Brazil.

I should consider it a great favour if Your Majesty would send a reply to this letter before the time fixed for my departure, which will be in about three weeks. In any case I shall write again to take respectful leave of Your Majesty and in the meantime remain as ever, Your Majesty's devoted and humble servant

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, December 27th,
1649.

Powerful Emperor,

After writing the preceding, Your Majesty's Dissave demanded an audience at which he asked leave to go to the Court of Candy and personally to confer with Your Majesty on the vexed questions. We have tried to dissuade him but he seemed so anxious that at last we consented, for we were afraid of displeasing Your Majesty by keeping him here against his wish. But he has again altered his mind and informed us that he would await Your Majesty's reply here. We are astonished at this capricious behaviour in a

1649 person of the Dissave's standing and think it is a bad sign that he seems not to know his own mind and makes a display of his weakness so soon after his arrival, but we hope things will turn out better than we expect.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, December 28th.

Your Majesty's Servant,

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

To His Imperial Majesty of Ceylon,

Great and Powerful Emperor,

Your Majesty's Dissave hearing that we intended forwarding our letter and a few presents to Candy, has again offered to take the same for us to Your Majesty and lay the disputed questions before you. We conjectured from the proposal that the Dissave did not wish to remain here any longer and we have accepted his offer, trusting that Your Majesty will approve. We do not know the cause of the Dissave's dissatisfaction, but we know that we have given no reason for complaint. The Dissave will take with him the three elephants caught in the Seven Corlas, the fourth having died. This act of restitution will we trust induce Your Majesty to restore to us the two cannon which were taken from us during the time of our dissensions.

As the same Dissave seems determined to leave the district we would humbly request Your Majesty, in consideration of the many and valuable services rendered to Your Majesty, to appoint one of our people to the vacant post, and would recommend for this purpose our present Commissary Pieter Kieft, or any other person whom Your Majesty may choose. This appointment would be the greatest proof of Your Majesty's confidence in us and affection towards the Dutch nation. It would also prevent further misunderstanding and remove subsequent difficulties. We trust to receive a favourable reply to this our last request: Your Majesty has given me during my residence in Ceylon many marks of good-will

1649 and favour, and the granting of this request would set the crown on the benefits bestowed on me. It will secure the peace of these districts and is the desire of the inhabitants. If it is the privilege of Kings and Emperors to reward those who have served them most faithfully and loyally, we feel justified in making this claim as a recognition of our services. With our assistance Your Majesty's enemies have been defeated, your power firmly established and at present in a position to extend your conquests, which, we pray God, may so happen.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, December 29th,
1649.

Your Imperial Majesty's Servant,
JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

List of presents sent to His Imperial Majesty of Ceylon :—

- 2 heavy cannon of small calibre.
- A casket with 6 bots. of spirits.
- A piece of galloon 100 yards long.
- 1 lb. of fine thread.
- 1 blue stone.
- 2 large painted hangings.
- Some reams of paper, small size.
- 1 coverlet.
- 1 cockatoo.
- 2 fine beatilhas.
- 50 pints of Spanish wine.
- 2 catties silk.
- 2 pieces of velvet.
- 1 fine cassa.
- 2 folio books.
- 1 gold embroidered waistband.
- 2 pieces of cloth of gold.
- 500 silk buttons.

Made in one parcel and wrapped in a piece of linen.

1650 The Disava started but stopped at Hakmana, from where he wrote to the King, and news was received that the Disavas of Uva and Sabaragamuwa were on the road. Maetsuycker thereupon determined to go to Walasmulla by way of Hakmana and force him away. "We can easily find excuses for our proceedings and can lay the blame on the Dissave. We do not fear that the newly-made peace will be disturbed. We have our prisoners safe back and are prepared for whatever may happen" he wrote.²

The next day he wrote again to the King :—

Powerful Emperor Raja Sinha, Raja of Ceylon,

In our letters dated December 28th and 29th of last year we have acquainted Your Majesty with the inconsiderate conduct of your Dissave of Mature, whom Your Majesty has appointed as Governor over these districts. We are obliged to refer to the subject and complain of several impertinences and insults from this official, trusting that Your Majesty will see that justice be done to us. As we explained in our former letter the Dissave offered to take our despatches and letters and presents to the Court of Candy, and submit to Your Majesty the differences which had arisen between us, although against our persuasion. We agreed to this proposal not wishing to give cause for dissatisfaction either to Your Majesty or the Dissave. We conducted him outside the fortress with all due honour, but scarcely was he outside our jurisdiction before he repented of his offer, and knowing that he could not justify his inconsiderate actions, he dared not appear before Your Majesty. Instead he accused us of uncivil treatment and pretended that we had ignominiously driven him out of the Fortress. This is a deliberate untruth, which if believed, will do us much harm : everyone in the neighbourhood can testify to the contrary, and it was against our will that we agreed to his leaving us. He is now doing much mischief by declaring openly he soon will come back with the Dissaves of Uva and Soffragam to reduce the inhabitants of this district to submission,

2. Maetsuycker to Thyssen, 10th January, 1650.

1650 as he calls it, threatening the most severe measures against them, to force them to deliver to him their buried treasures, which he pretends they have hidden.

Such speeches are unworthy of an intelligent Magistrate ; however they have frightened the ignorant natives to such a degree that many of them have left their homes in despair. We have not been able to ascertain whether they fled into the woods or sought shelter with the Portuguese. He sent us a letter from Cattune and forwarded it by Jan Paeb. The sheets of the paper were all torn and cut at the edges, as if he were writing to one of his servants or subjects. In consideration of the high position we occupy, we certainly consider this a great insult. We have returned the document unread, so we are ignorant of its contents. We afterwards learnt from a note addressed by him to our representative at Haeckman that he intends to remain at Cattoene. This position differs greatly from his pretended desire to take our letters to Your Majesty. In keeping these back he is doing us another great injury. We hear that he is now engaged in plundering and murder, threatening the inhabitants and doing all he can to devastate the country and to endanger the continuance of the peace so lately concluded between Your Majesty and ourselves. We most humbly beg Your Majesty in your high wisdom to remedy these our grievances in order that our peaceful Alliance may endure as long as the Sun and Moon will abide in the heavens. Assuring Your Majesty that on our side no cause will be given for its disturbance, I am at present at Haeckman with the gentleman who is to replace me here in office, to install him in authority over Your Majesty's lands and towns.

We both subscribe ourselves Your Majesty's most faithful servants, and we trust that Your Majesty will honour us with a favourable reply and give us the satisfaction to which our long services to Your Majesty have entitled us.

In Your Majesty's Fortress at Haeckman, January 11th,
1650.

Your Imperial Majesty's Servant,
J. MAETSUYCKER.

1650 The Adigar continued at Hakmana, awaiting orders, and on the 28th of January Maetsuycker from Galle sent him the following ultimatum :—

Johan Maetsuycker, Councillor for India and Governor for the Dutch Nation in the Island of Ceylon, to Rampot Adigar who has been appointed Dissave of Matura by His Majesty.

The whole world has witnessed the honour and respect with which we have received you and the marks of friendship and affection we have shown you during your stay in the Fortress of Galle. Those who were with you and have assisted at our conferences will have witnessed how anxious we were to place the government of these lands in your hands in accordance with His Majesty's intentions. The only matter on which we could not agree was about the Corlas of the Mabada of Gale and the villages which had been leased out for the benefit of His Majesty. We wished to have His Majesty's advice and opinion to guide our decision, but you declined to await these here and urgently requested to be sent to Court to lay the matter personally before His Majesty. We offered no opposition to your request as we were anxious to have the differences settled, and dismissed you with all possible marks of respect and ceremony, even allowing you to take away the female elephant which had been captured by us in the Seven Corlas, the removal of which will hamper us much in the hunting of elephants.

All these marks of courtesy were sincere on our part. We fully expected to meet with the same from you, but we have been sadly deceived in our expectations. Instead of going to Candy as you proposed, and presenting our letters and considerations before His Majesty, you remained in Dolas Corle, occupying several posts with your guards, collecting Lascarins and forcing them into your service against their will, and making a display of hostilities as if we were at war. When we sent our Captain Marcus Carel from Hackman

1650 to you to remonstrate and demand an explanation of your actions, you refused to receive him, fled over the mountains, and from your safe retreat addressed a letter to the Captain in which you accused us of treachery, an insult which our nation cannot possibly tolerate. A letter we wrote to you with the request to transmit it at once to our Commissary at Court received no better reception. You insulted our messenger and asked what we were doing in His Majesty's lands, and if it had not been better to choose the sea as our place of amusement. You intimated with threats that you would soon see that our privileges were curtailed and that we were not better than if we were at war with His Majesty and not at peace. We have just been informed that you have forbidden the Mayorals and Vidanes of Caliture and other places to hold any intercourse with us or to provide us with any necessaries.

These are acts of open hostility which you have undertaken on your own responsibility, and without the consent of His Majesty, with the result that the natives are becoming restless, the country is disturbed, the lands devastated, and our mutual enemies, the Portuguese, encouraged in their arrogance. We can no longer quietly allow these disturbances, as they are a source of danger to the dominions of His Majesty. We are therefore compelled to take action and we warn you in the name of His Majesty that unless you quit within twenty-one hours the lands placed by His Majesty under our control, we shall attack your forces and drive them away from these posts, the same as we should any other enemy of His Majesty. We consider this measure necessary for the peace of the country and the well-being of His Majesty's subjects.

In His Majesty's Fortress of Galle, January 28th, 1650.

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

1650 The King was reported to be extremely angry, and Maetsuycker wrote to him again on the 23rd of February :—

Powerful Emperor Raja Sinha, Raja of Ceylon,

We are informed by the advices from our Commissary Pieter Kieft that Your Majesty has received our letters dated 27th, 28th and 29th December and the 11th January. We had hoped that Your Majesty would have taken notice of our grievances or at least sent us a reply. We now learn to our greatest surprise that Your Majesty is so angry with us that not only is no answer vouchsafed to us, but Your Majesty charges us with a desire of breaking the newly-made Peace. Our Commissary has sent us a copy of Your Majesty's letter dated January 12th, which we consider very insulting to us, and we object to the term *casta Hollandeza* which occurs six times in this short letter. We cannot understand the cause of this alteration in Your Majesty's usual courteous and discreet expressions. We know ourselves free from blame, but we conjecture that Your Majesty's Dissave at Mature, Rampot, has blackened us in Your Majesty's eyes. A letter found by one of our Captains in his former lodgings confirms this supposition. This letter was addressed to a certain Wimeldum Mudjer of Your Majesty's household. Among other things stated therein he mentions that the truce between our nation and the Portuguese has been extended, and that we are keeping the fact secret for the purpose of doing harm to Your Majesty.

We solemnly declare that this statement is untrue. In fact we know that altogether different views are entertained by our Rulers, the effects of which will soon become apparent to Your Majesty. Your Majesty will then no doubt form a better opinion of our honesty than you have at present. We beg Your Majesty to believe in our deep regret that such reward should be bestowed on us for all the faithful service we have rendered. We have delivered Your Majesty from the thralldom of the Portuguese and have been the means of the present greatness and prosperity of the country. Your Majesty may remember

1650 in what position you were before our arrival in the Island and compare it with the present state. You will then acknowledge that we have not deserved to be spoken of in such vile and injurious terms, and considering that the Peace had only been made a very short time ago, the whole world will be shocked, and dishonour shed on Your Majesty's great name; and besides we know for certain that our high and mighty Rulers will not quietly brook similar insults, for we can clearly prove that we have not laid ourselves open to them.

From the letter of our Commissary we learn further that Your Majesty has expressed a doubt as to the Articles of Peace having been subscribed by our Rulers at Batavia. Had any delay taken place we should have at once informed Your Majesty, as we are not in the habit of acting with duplicity. The Governor-General and Council of India have duly recognised the clauses of the Treaty, and earnestly recommended to us the strict adherence to the same. At the same time they have given us distinct instructions carefully to guard against the machinations of Your Majesty's officials as on former occasions. It has been clearly shown that some of these are more favourably inclined towards the Portuguese than towards us, and in order to do us harm here have specially endeavoured to lay bare the cinnamon-producing districts, and so deprive us of the just returns we expect from the great outlay on behalf of Your Majesty.

It now appears that Rampot had the same intentions, and we were obliged to safeguard our interests and oppose him. If Your Majesty blames us for this action and upholds the doings of Rampot, we shall conclude that Your Majesty is not anxious for the continuance of the Peace. At present we will however not impute such bad intentions to Your Majesty. We will consider the dissatisfaction and expressions of displeasure with us as the outcome of the slanderous representations of Rampot and other friends

1650 of the Portuguese who we know are still numerous at the Court of Kandy. No doubt the writer of the letter to our Commissary was one of these, and we fancy that he put in the insulting expressions without the knowledge of Your Majesty, in order to make mischief, for we should be sorry to think that Your Majesty approves such treatment. We trust that Your Majesty will prove that our surmise is the right one by inflicting severe punishments on the writer, and so give satisfaction to our Rulers. We will await Your Majesty's answer before taking further measures, in the meantime continuing in Your Majesty's service with the same faithfulness as before. Trusting that Your Majesty will soon be convinced of our sincere devotion, we pray Almighty God to keep Your Majesty for long years in health and prosperity.

Your Imperial Majesty's Servant,

JOAN MAETSUYCKER.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, February 23rd, 1650.

Shortly after Maetsuycker left the country and his successor Kittensteyn continued the game.

Great and Powerful Raja Sinha, Raja of Ceylon,

On the first of this month we have despatched in one of our vessels *via* Batecalo a letter to Your Majesty with the clock and dumb-weight promised some time ago. The vessel carried also our instructions for the removal of our sick prisoners. We hope that our letter and present have reached Your Majesty in safety. We shall also be pleased to hear that Your Majesty continues in good health. As we mentioned in our former letter, we hold ourselves assured of Your Majesty's honest intentions to keep the newly-made Contract, the first proof of which has been given by Your Majesty sending us a fair amount of cinnamon from Chilau. We on our side would give a similar proof, and have withdrawn our troops from the surrounding fields, in the conviction

1650 that we should be henceforth free from molestation or annoyance from any of Your Majesty's subjects. We have however been disappointed in our expectations. As soon as we had withdrawn our troops, Rampot Adigar has seized the fields and camped his troops in Katuwana, driving our soldiers away.

We cannot believe that this action has Your Majesty's consent, but feel convinced that he has acted on his own authority. However we felt it our duty to stop his treacherous proceedings. For this purpose we have sent a party of soldiers against him to drive him away not only from the position he had taken, but from the whole district of Mature, which has been successfully accomplished, and we hope that Your Majesty will approve of our action. In order to promote the peace and well-being of the districts, we earnestly request Your Majesty to recall Rampot, for if this is not done the Peace cannot be maintained, and if he continues his warlike aggressions, other troubles will arise, of which not we but Rampot will be the cause and which will justify before the world the means we take to safeguard our interests. We beg Your Majesty to send us a full and clear answer to this and our former letter at the earliest opportunity, and with all good wishes for Your Majesty's health and prosperity, we remain,

Your Majesty's faithful Servant,
JACOB VAN KITTENSTEYN.

In Your Majesty's Fortress of Galle, April 25th, 1650.

In answer to the letter of the first of April here referred to, the King replied as follows³ :—

Raja Sinha, the powerful Emperor of Ceylon, wishes the Governor of his Fortress of Galle, health and happiness.

3. There is another translation of this letter in R. A. S. Jn., 18. pp. 204-206.

1650 The letter which you sent me on the first of April reached me in my Palace at Bintenna. As I have been informed you are a person of position and intelligence, I was pleased to hear of your safe arrival at the Fortress of Galle and of your readiness to keep it in my name. You referred to five letters which the Honourable Joan Maetsuycker had written to me during the last and present years. After the hostile action which has taken place in the Seven Corlas, Joan Maetsuycker had sent to me an Ambassador named Laurens de Maerschallck through whom he made a request for peace and pardon. In consequence I sent my Ambassador with instructions to my Fortress of Galle to renew the Contract formerly made at Batticalo. Later on two persons of position and authority were despatched to my Court to ratify in the name of the Prince of Orange and of the Dutch Company the terms of the Peace then concluded. Afterwards I appointed my Dissave to the government of Matura, but some differences which have arisen between my representative and the former Governor have been the cause of my delaying to reply to the letters.

In the letter addressed by you to me you request that a person belonging to the Dutch nation be appointed as Governor over the district of Mature. The same request had already been presented to me by the Ambassador who had come to my Court for the ratification of the Peace. I was very pleased at the proposal and agreed on condition that the person thus appointed should reside at the Imperial Court, as is the custom with the Dissaves of my nation. No definite reply was made to this reservation, but the Ambassadors agreed to take with them a Dissave whom I should appoint, and to place immediately under his jurisdiction the aforesaid district. When my Dissave arrived obstacles were put in the way to prevent him taking charge of his office, and now a request is made to me to appoint in his stead a subject of the Dutch nation. You will easily understand that I cannot accede to this request.

1650 Joan Maetsuycker in his letter to me throws all the blame on my Dissave. The latter accuses the former Governor. As I am anxious to know who is in fault, I have sent my former Ambassador with several of my high officials at Court to investigate this matter. If my Dissave has offended, I shall at once remove him; but if he is found innocent I shall uphold and defend him. The Contract made at Batticalo and confirmed at Jacatra has been broken by the events in the Seven Corlas through the fault of the Dutch. Soon after they sent a request for peace and renewal of the Contract made with Adam Westerwold, the terms of which the Dutch assert by word of mouth and in writing that they are willing to observe. If the Dutch do this I on my side will also keep the Covenant; but if the Dutch desire war, I only beg to be informed of this desire without delay.

In every letter sent to me you harp upon the expenses incurred in my service, and demand repayment. Several times I have requested a statement of Accounts, which as yet I have not received. By the present I again repeat my request, and demand at the earliest a full statement of the Company's charges, and a counter-statement of the amount to be deducted not only in value but also for depreciation of the land which through the fault of the Dutch has remained uncultivated, as well as the loss through devastation of the same. My lawful debts I am most anxious to settle without further delay. May God protect you.

May 3rd, 1650.

I have just received a report from the Dissave of Mature in which it is stated the Dutch have sent an armed force against him and that they have taken some prisoners and killed and wounded many others. The Dissave, considering the Peace had only been renewed lately, and for fear of our displeasure, has offered no resistance. I have now altered my decision and shall not send representatives to Galle, as I had intended, but will first await an answer to this letter.

RAJA SINHA.

1650 To the letter of the 25th April the King replied as follows :—

Raja Sinha Raja, most powerful Emperor, wishes the Governor of his Fortress of Galle the blessing of good health.

Your letter dated April 25th reached me in my palace at Bintenne on May 10th. I was pleased to hear of your good health and pray God to keep you in the same for many years, and enable you to serve me with zeal and loyalty as I feel sure is your desire.

The vessel which touched at Batticalo brought the clock and other presents intended for me, and when I was informed of their having touched port I was as gratified as if they had already been delivered to me. I have had the sick prisoners conveyed to Batticalo to be embarked in the first Dutch ship leaving the harbour. In your letter you again make complaints against the Dissave whom I have appointed over Mature. In my reply of the 3rd instant I have fully discussed the point. If it is found that the Dissave is at fault, he will be at once dismissed and another man appointed in his stead. You say that in order to preserve peace and tranquility you have been obliged to resist the Dissave with an armed force. This measure seems rather contrary to a desire for the continuance of the newly-made Peace. Whenever a Governor or other official fails in his duty, it is the custom in every part of my dominions to report the matter to me, and his case is laid before the Court, which decides on the severity of his punishment; but to march against one of my representatives with an armed force is a transgression of authority and duty.

The messenger who brought your letter to the palace had also money and a letter for your Commissary Kieft. I have had the same remitted to him. My previous letter containing explicit statements on the matter in dispute I need not at present enlarge upon. In the future I request you not to write

1650 in Dutch or Latin, for in the translation of these languages some inaccuracies might lead to misunderstanding. For this reason I desire that in writing to me you should make use of the Portuguese or Malabar language.

Dated May 11th, 1650.

Kittensteyn to Raja Sinha.

The letters which Your Imperial Majesty has been pleased to address us on May 3rd and 11th reached us on the 20th and 22nd of that month, and we received them with all due marks of respect. In answer we assure Your Majesty that with regard to the government of the district of Mature we have no other wish than to advance Your Majesty's interests and to act in your service. We are desirous of strictly fulfilling all the terms of the Contract made by Your Majesty with Mr. Adam Westerwold at Batticalo, but at the same time we hope Your Majesty will equally observe the conditions of the new Contract made with Governor Joan Maetsuycker and confirmed by the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council at Batavia. The dispute between the former Governor of Galle and Your Majesty's Dissave being a matter of importance we have referred it to Batavia, being convinced that it will be equitably dealt with. I humbly request Your Majesty to await patiently the answer and not to undertake anything in the meantime which might injure our position. We feel that we can safely trust to Your Majesty's foresight and discretion.

Your Majesty requests that in future we should use the Portuguese or Malabar language in our correspondence. As we do not feel sure that our meaning would be correctly conveyed, we think it better to adhere to the custom of writing in Latin, which is the language in use for all political correspondence. Several rumours have reached us, stating that Your Majesty is negotiating with the Portuguese to our disadvantage and that for this purpose Your Majesty has sent some Envoys to Columbo.

1650 We doubt the accuracy of this statement. We scarcely think that Your Majesty, in view of the existing Alliance, would proceed in this manner without at least informing us of your intentions beforehand. We forward a small curiosity for Your Majesty's acceptance. We had hoped that our vessels from Surat would have arrived ere this and brought us the articles we have ordered from there for Your Majesty. Our waiting for their arrival has been the cause of our delay in answering Your Majesty's letter. We remain Your Majesty's faithful servants and send all good wishes for Your Majesty's health and prosperity.

In....Galle, July 23rd, 1650.

J. VAN KITTENSTEYN.

Raja Sinha to Kittensteyn,

Raja Sinha....wishes good health to the Governor of his Fortress of Galle.

Whilst staying in the town of Alut Nuwara in the kingdom of Bintenna your letter dated July 23rd came to hand. I send a few lines to inform you that I have ordered the Dissave of Mature to appear before me in the town of Badulla in the kingdom of Uva. He will explain the cause of misunderstanding between you. Before I left Alut Nuwara I was informed that a large Dutch Fleet is expected during the present season, intended for assistance against the Portuguese. The news has caused much pleasure. Please inform me if you are in need of anything which I might send you from here.

Wednesday, August 25th *en route*.

RAJA SINHA.

Kittensteyn to Raja Sinha,

Great and Powerful Emperor Raja Sinha, Raja of Ceylon.

We received on the 6th instant Your Majesty's letter dated August 25th from which we were pleased to learn that Your Majesty enjoys perfect health, of your departure

1650 from Bintenna to Badulla in Uva, and the decision Your Majesty has taken to command Rampot to appear before you and give an account of what has passed between him and Governor Joan Maetsuycker. We rely on Your Majesty's renowned impartiality and trust that our explanations and the statements given in our former letters may result in the condemnation of Rampot.

Your Majesty was rightly informed that we are daily expecting large reinforcements from Batavia, intended for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ceylon and the whole of India. We are anxiously waiting for instructions from our Superiors in Batavia, as we know for certain that the war between the Dutch and Portuguese has been renewed in Europe some time ago. No sooner the reinforcements arrive we will inform Your Majesty, and trust that by their help we shall be able to avenge all the insults and injuries which the Portuguese have heaped upon Your Majesty and ourselves.

We beg Your Majesty to accept our best thanks for the courteous offer to supply us with articles of necessity, and we shall always be ready to acknowledge the same with faithful service. We shall be glad to hear Your Majesty gives no credence to the many false insinuations which our enemies spread about us in order to hurt us in the estimation of Your Majesty. We much regret we have nothing of any value to offer Your Majesty, but we hope soon to forward a token of our esteem worthy of so great and powerful a Monarch. In the meantime we beg for the continuance of Your Majesty's favour and pray Almighty God to preserve Your Majesty for many years in health and strength, and give you fulfilment of all your reasonable desires.

Your Majesty's faithful Servant,

JACOB VAN KITTENSTEYN.

Galle, September 17th, 1650.

CHAPTER VIII.

1650 Negotiations were still dragging on in Europe and the Seventeen wrote to the Governor-General Cornelis van der Lyn and his Council "So far nothing has been settled in the States-General as to peace being concluded definitively with Portugal; we are of opinion that this matter will be kept *in statu quo* as long as possible."¹ In Ceylon though the tension was less, yet there was reason for anxiety and the Hollanders prepared for all eventualities. The King kept the roads so securely guarded that no news leaked out from his country. It was known however that two large guns had been sent from the Capital to Badulla, and communications with the outposts at Hakmana and Akuressa were cut off. The Hollanders therefore concentrated on Matara, where they began to build a rampart with a moat.²

As for the Portuguese, Mascarenhas had been recalled and a Commission of Three appointed to govern the State, but their position was reported to be steadily getting worse. No reinforcements had come from Portugal. "Their soldiers are small boys of 12 and 13 years who swagger with a sword by their sides. Most of the older ones are deserting. Everyone for himself, seems the motto at present."³

1651 Presents⁴ and protestations of friendship were being lavished on the King, who on his side sent Kittensteyn a "magnificent Jewel," as well as three elephants for the Company. Raja Sinha was anxious to meet him in person in

1. Letter of 10th September, 1650.

2. Kittensteyn to van der Lyn, 6th November, 1650.

3. Hackgeest to van der Lyn, dated Wingurla, 13th October, 1650.

4. Bribery was freely employed among Western diplomatists, and Dom Joao authorised his Ambassador, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, to offer the Prince of Orange up to 400,000 cruzados, if he would support the demand for the restoration of the forts captured from the Portuguese. See his Secret Instructions of 5th May, 1643. (Prestage and de Azavedo, p 1).

1651 order to settle matters. "This must be prevented by fair means or foul, for it is only a trick to get the Lowlands again into his power" wrote van der Lyn to the Seventeen.⁵

1652 Throughout 1652 friendly relations were maintained and numerous letters and presents were exchanged. The King was especially pleased with a fine black Persian horse, and in return sent two elephants and a ring. He was less pleased with two large mastiffs, as he did not care for the breed, and he now asked for two white dogs as well as some Siamese fowls and canaries, and a quantity of fine cloths. Maetsuycker had presented him with a book about the War with Sweden and some other Reports, in Latin: he did not understand the language and returned these to be translated into Portuguese for him.

In spite of all these courtesies the policy of the Hollanders in no way altered and was stated by the new Governor-General, Carel Reiners, in unambiguous language. "We know his policy is to coquette with both sides and keep them evenly balanced against each other.... We know that we cannot trust him and must guard against him as against an open enemy. We have given distinct instructions to our Governor under no pretext whatever to join our forces with those of the King, but that when the King should bring his army down to the Lowlands, we must surround it and keep it shut in, to prevent his doing mischief." He still insisted on the title of "Lord God" being used in addressing him,⁶ and Reiners suggested that this question might be discussed by an Ambassador; but the difficulty was to find a suitable man for the post, as so many previous Ambassadors had been treated practically as prisoners, like Maerschalk and Pieter Kieft.

On the 20th of June confidential news was received at Galle that the war was renewed. The information was however suppressed till the peeling of the cinnamon

5. 19th December, 1651.

6. See also his letter to Kittensteijn, dated 5th September, 1652, Tr. by D. W. Ferguson 21 R. A. S. Jn. pp. 260-266.

1652 which was in progress could be completed. A large quantity of the spice was being shipped to Batavia as well as a certain quantity of its essential oil, which was easy to extract and fetched a good price. Eighteen elephants, including three with tusks, which were captured in the Galle district, added to the Company's revenue.

The official notification of the resumption of hostilities arrived on the 20th September, and the Factor Sybrandt Groes was sent to announce it to the Portuguese. Vessels had already been despatched from Batavia to intercept the supplies which were meant for Colombo. The Hollanders had a highly efficient espionage system. "It appears that everything is known at Jacatra, even the conversation which takes place at Your Excellency's table" wrote Francisco Freire de Figueiredo to the Viceroy by way of caution. This writer had a very low opinion of "the scoundrel Maetsuycker.... This Maetsuycker is a treacherous man. Outwardly he made a great display of welcome, but in his heart there is nothing but enmity and opposition."

Groes desired to go and warn the garrison at Negumbo after completing his mission at Colombo; this he was not allowed to do and he was forced to return by the way he had come. The Portuguese immediately crossed the Alutgama river, but at the sight of the Hollanders' vessels on the sea, drew back, while a great Mudaliyar who guarded the road to Galle at Alutgama, and in whom they had much confidence, joined Groes, much to the satisfaction of the Hollanders. "He being well acquainted with the Portuguese position at Columbo and the strength of their army would certainly not have chosen our side, had he not been convinced of their weakness and inability to defend their positions" wrote Reiners in reporting the occurrence. With the Mudaliyar came his family and a number of Moors, Lascarins, Chaleas, Karawo and other people. "This was a great loss to the enemy and caused much dismay in their ranks. The Mudaliyar advised us to take advantage at

1652 once of their despondency and invade their territory. He predicted that the whole of the beautiful country between Alicam and Caliture, as well as Pasdun and Wallewitte Corales, would easily become ours."

This advice was adopted and the Portuguese abandoned their "dilapidated fortress on the banks of the Kalutara river" with their stores, and retired to the further bank. Kittensteyn, who had taken the field in person, strengthened the fortifications. His troops were quartered "in the beautiful Roman Catholic Church and other buildings," but had to abandon them owing to the Portuguese fire from across the river. Twenty two villages of the Pasdun Korale declared for the Hollanders, and were placed in charge of the Mudaliyar as he "was intimately acquainted with the character and habits of the natives. He has promised on oath to act as a faithful and honest servant and to administer the district to the satisfaction of both the residents and the Company. To ensure his fealty we have removed his wife and children to Galle." On his advice a force of 50 Hollanders and 200 Sinhalese occupied the fort at Anguruwa Tota, while the Kalutara army raided the country as far as Panadura.

The King on his part was not idle and his army captured the Sabaragamuwa fort. This army "had orders from the King to join our forces, which we do not wish and will be difficult to prevent unless we keep along the sea shore under pretext of protecting the King's harbours, until such time as we shall be masters of Columbo" wrote Reiners.

On the 20th October Kittensteyn returned to Galle and a week later Adrian van der Meyden, who knew Ceylon well and had successfully administered the Coromandel Settlements, arrived to take his place.

At Anguruwa Tota news was received that the Portuguese intended to attack it and the officer-in-charge decided to withdraw. While doing so the Portuguese hurried up. "Confusion soon spread among our Sinhalese and Dutch soldiers: they fled in the greatest disorder, throwing away

1652 their weapons" and abandoning a standard. The parties responsible for this disgraceful incident were severely punished, though the Mudaliyar and Vidane who commanded the Sinhalese were lightly dealt with. There was however a rumour of dissensions among the chief officers of the Portuguese and that some had been killed in their quarrels, while the King was threatening Munnesseram and the Kuruwiti Korale.⁷

At Batavia Maetsuycker had been appointed Director-General, and Caron had severed his connection with the Company. He had suffered much persecution at the former's hands and refused to accept the usual State farewell dinner which was arranged for him. He had since maintained twelve successful law suits against the Company. "The only fault laid to his charge was that he was too rich." Very few vessels had reached Batavia from Europe, and it was explained that Holland had come into conflict with the other Provinces. Figueiredo "found things much altered since the first time I visited Jacatra: then the greatest display of luxury, now a want of comfort bordering on poverty."⁸

Till December 1652 no help had reached Colombo and there was a talk of famine. Reiners was confident that all reinforcements could be stopped and the town easily compelled to surrender. "Our only fear is that Raja Sinha will play us false and send supplies to our enemies overland. At any rate he will claim his share of the spoils whenever Columbo falls into our hands. If we refuse he will become our enemy. We cannot allow his forces to join ours, for, in the event of his again taking offence, our own Christian Lascarins would desert our army. As a whole the people are treacherous, and naturally more devoted to their own Rulers than to us or the Portuguese. The most friendly relations still existed between Raja Sinha and our Governor :

7. Carel Reiners to the XVII, 24th December, 1652. Jan Croon to Governor-General dated 20th October, 1652. Kittensteyn to Reiners, "in the fortified town of Crux de Galle, 6th November, 1652."

8. Figueiredo to Viceroy, undated.

1652 daily new Ambassadors or messengers arrived in Galle, which seemed a good sign. Still we know how unreliable are his professions of friendship. We must take a leaf out of the book of the Portuguese ; as soon as we shall have driven the latter away from the Island, we must keep the King in awe, just as they have so successfully done for so many years. The conquest of Ceylon will be one of the most important events in the history of our Company. We are doing our utmost to secure it for you, but our forces are inadequate. We hope by the next despatches to inform you of the capture of Columbo.”⁹

1653 In the meanwhile the Portuguese had abandoned the country round Colombo and this was raided by the Hollanders right up to the gates of the city, which was being blockaded by sea at the same time. The dissatisfaction which prevailed among the Portuguese culminated in a serious mutiny in the course of which the Captain-General Manuel Mascarenhas Homem was deposed. “He was accused of having entered into secret negotiations with us and offered to deliver the City into our hands for a certain sum of money : there never has been the smallest question of such a proposal ” reported Maetsuycker. With the re-organisation of the Portuguese which followed they were able to inflict on their enemies what was acknowledged to be “a severe defeat.” *Anguruwa Tota had been re-occupied by the Hollanders, and the fort with 100 Dutch soldiers, 24 Javanese and 140 Sinhalese was forced to surrender after a nine days’ siege.* “It was thought that having plenty of provisions and means of defence the garrison would have held out much longer. Their courage failed them and they surrendered shamefully ” admitted Maetsuycker.

This was in January 1653. In May with the change of the monsoon the blockading vessels left Colombo, to which help was at once sent from Goa. Batavia was busily engaged with the troubles in Amboina and Ternate and could only spare forty Javanese for Ceylon, though the time was

9. Reiners to the XVII, 31st January, 1653.

1653 considered most favourable for driving the Portuguese out of the Island. They had no provisions and their army had to be out foraging in the country, moving on Malvana to protect the Capital whenever enemy vessels came in sight. All the districts they abandoned were promptly occupied by the King, who was himself in the field. The Lascarins from Negumbo twice raided Kalpitiya and Manar, and surprised the outposts guarding the approach to the river at Mutwal. The lack of food was so great that desertions by the Portuguese to the enemy were frequent.

The inhabitants who occupied the country between Kalutara and Colombo were called upon to join the Hollanders and as few complied, soldiers were sent to seize the refractory and sell them as slaves, a third of the amount realised being given to the raiders. It was however made a condition that such slaves could not be sent away to other districts and could be ransomed at any time.

Not a single vessel reached Goa during 1653: discipline had ceased to exist among the soldiery there. Their pay was in arrears and they plundered and molested the townsmen without the Viceroy being able to control them.

The King, reported Maetsuycker, "does not seem anxious to join us openly, which suits us very well. We are thus relieved of the necessity of refusing his assistance, which no doubt would embitter him against us." At his request a personal Guard of twenty-six Hollanders under an Ensign was sent to him, and he presented Kittensteyn with "a magnificent jewel and two splendid elephants, one with tusks, with full trappings." "The King still asks for the restitution of Negumbo and wishes that, should we take Columbo, the place shall be razed to the ground. Governor Kittensteyn in his last letters to the King, had not given a plain promise to that effect, and in consequence he is again in a bad temper. We certainly do not mean to comply with his demands, so long as he fails in repaying the advances we have made to him."¹⁰

10. Maetsuycker to the XVII, 11th January, 1654.

1654 Little was done in 1654 owing to the lack of men. Van der Meyden with a thousand men met the Portuguese near Sabaragamuwa on the bank of the river, but though he lost heavily in the engagement which followed, he failed to effect anything. Five Portuguese vessels were intercepted off Negumbo by the Hollanders' ships which however were unable to stop them. The appearance of these vessels so terrified the garrison at Kalutara that they abandoned the fort and fled to Welitara, from where they cautiously returned as far as Bentota in July. Several Mudaliyars, Appuhamis and Lascarins deserted to the Portuguese. "They give as the reason for their desertion, the bad treatment they receive from us. After having shown their fidelity for several years, and suffered with us the hardships of warfare, they are treated like dogs. We fear they have some cause of complaint."¹¹

In May as the Portuguese vessels were returning to Goa, they were met by Ryckloff van Goens who was on his way from Surat and were totally defeated. Two accounts have been preserved of this encounter, one by van Goens himself and the other in the Diary kept at the Factory of Wingurla.

Ryckloff van Goens to Director Gerard Pelgrom, Surat:

Since we left Wingurla on the last day of the preceding month we have been but slowly progressing. This has been owing to our meeting on the first of this month in the vicinity of the isle of Goa with the Portuguese galleons coming from Columbo. They were powerful vessels, well armed and with a powerful crew. After several hours' sharp fighting we have driven them on shore. The greater part of the people managed to escape. We made three prisoners, burnt the vessels, and continued our voyage. The galleons had left Columbo in company of three other vessels. They had fallen near Negumbo with our cruisers, and had driven

11. Governor-General to XVII, 7th November, 1654.

1654 the yacht Dromedary on the coast. We soon sighted two of them ; we chased them and kept firing all through the night, driving them close under the shore, where we saw them lying at anchor when daylight appeared. As they were rigged out like war vessels and we saw no chance of boarding them, and were unwilling to expose our richly laden fleet to possible damage, we decided to sacrifice the yacht Zydworm and use it as a fireship. At her approach the enemy cut her cables and steered towards the rocks where she was soon broken to pieces. The next day a similar attack was made on the fourth vessel, the crew of which sought safety in flight and the ship blew up. We lost 16 men and have an equal number of wounded. The Portuguese fought with the greatest intrepidity. They had sworn rather to blow up their vessels themselves than surrender them to us. Their loss of human life must have been very heavy.

Soon after we sighted the fifth galleon in company of another vessel. We began to chase her but on account of the darkness postponed decisive action till next morning. The galleon tried to run under the Portuguese fortress Onor, but we prevented her, and she was soon forced by our cannon to surrender, stipulating that the life and liberty of the crew should be granted. This victory has entirely destroyed the remainder of the Portuguese power in India. We thought that the vessels sent from Goa to Colombo were only patachos. We were quite astonished to find them large galleons and we should never have believed that the Portuguese naval forces were still so considerable. These five vessels were mounted with 24, 34, 36, 38 and 42 pounders with 800 or 1,000 men on board. If we had met them together we should have been in a sorry plight, but the good God separated them to enable us to take revenge for their wanton action in capturing the Yacht van Dort in the mouth of the river of Siras in the King's territory.

RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS,

HUYBER DE LAIRESSE.

Postscript.

1654 The Portuguese had given us work from the 1st to the 8th of May. As soon as one ship had been disposed of another came in sight. The two middle ones gave us most trouble; the largest called St. Jean holding out against Meyden Popkensburch and Weesp from 5 o'clock in the evening till next morning. This action delayed us on our voyage nearly two days. Our vessels had also suffered much in the rigging. Three times we were so close under the shore that one of our vessels struck on the rocks and it was a marvellous piece of good luck that she was able to get free again. Our powder was exhausted and our guns disabled. Luckily the last galleon had plenty of ammunition on board as well as all kinds of ships' gear. We also took from her six splendid metal guns, four of which were placed on the Meyden and two on the Weesp. We much regretted we were obliged to leave the other guns on the other galleons, they were much too heavy to remove. They are now at the bottom of the sea, of use to nobody.....

In the yacht Sluys, Roads of Cananore, 10th May, 1654.

Wingurla Diary kept by Factor Leendert Jansz of Tongeren, Director of the Company's affairs in the kingdom of Visiapour.

.....They also confirmed the rumour that the five Portuguese galleons had been in action against three of our ships between Columbo and Negumbo. The fight lasted from morning till night. The two Admiral ships had boarded each other. Our vessel had received such damage that she had surrendered, the Portuguese having already hauled down our flag. But on coming on board our men had fiercely attacked the enemy. The Admiral himself was killed. A gun placed near the rudder greeted all who tried to come on board; many Portuguese were killed and the others were so frightened that they loosened in all haste their grappling irons and ran their vessel into the harbour of Columbo. Our Admiral returned to Negumbo but the ship could not be kept afloat and stranded. The crew however had been saved.....

1654 The Portuguese had counted this a victory and great rejoicings had been held in Columbo. The 5 galleons had then continued their voyage to Goa, having on board 36 Dutch prisoners. These galleons were manned with 150 Portuguese, and 100 native Christians, carrying from 28 to 30 guns. They had separated about Cochin, the one vying with the other to be the first to bring the good news to Goa. But on May 3rd two of these galleons, S. Anthony and S. João, had met our fleet. The Portuguese at first thought that they were four English vessels convoying seven of their own ships to Columbo. They made straight for them but soon found out their mistake. However they were not dismayed but boldly opened hostilities.

The S. João which was in front, engaged seven of our vessels and kept them occupied from the afternoon until the next morning, and was at last obliged to drop her anchor close under the wall. The remaining four of our vessels had been busily engaged with the S. Antony, but as the firing of the guns seemed to make but little impression on the enemy, Commissary van Goens had decided to use the English Zydworm as a firing ship against the S. João. The Portuguese man-of-war at her approach cut her cables and allowed herself to be driven on the rocks, where she soon was broken up in pieces. The S. Antony after defending herself most bravely, was blown up. The Captain and greater part of the crew had found means to save themselves by swimming towards the shore. The Governor of Anchola had saved about 14 of the heavy guns of the destroyed galleons, which he has placed in his fortress....."

1655 The sea fighting had cost the Portuguese their frigates, but they had re-occupied Alutgama and an attempt to dislodge them was unsuccessful "owing to the half-heartedness of our soldiers, composed of sailors, Javanese, Sinhalese and a few Dutchmen." Van der Meyden was anxious to keep on friendly terms with the King and he wrote "kindly forward at the earliest opportunity

1655 6 pieces of coloured velvet
 3 pieces of common alcatifas
 20 boxes of good Persian wine
 10 baskets of scallions
 3 barrels of sardines
 12 sheep
 6 rams
 10 pots of preserved dates

as a present to Raja Sinha."¹²

The following letter from van der Meyden narrates the course of events till May 1655 :—

Van der Meyden to the Governor-General and Council:

Hon'ble, valiant, learned, wise, prudent, very generous and honoured Sirs,

This contains incidents since my letter of November 14th. The conclusion of peace with the English was duly published... It was agreed that with the men from the yachts, and our forces from Mature and Bentota, we should make an attack on the Portuguese position at Alicão. Our combined forces consisted of 690 men, soldiers, sailors and Javanese, and 700 Sinhalese. We safely crossed the river and reached the side on which Alicão is situated. From natives we were informed that the Portuguese force was composed of about a dozen companies of 25 or 30 whites, and 100 Sinhalese. They had raised a double rampart of coconut trees filled with earth. By a circuitous route we tried to reach them from the other side. The Portuguese then retired close to the shore, and secured a favourable position. We followed them there and many shots were exchanged. The Javanese at once took fright, and dared not face the fire. Ensign Lieut. Jan Lybos then arrived with the advance force but was driven back by the Portuguese. I came to his assistance with the Volunteers and we kept the enemy

12. Van der Meyden to Director Sarcerius, 26th January, 1655.

1655 employed till the afternoon, but our other ten companies did not make their appearance. The officers could not induce the men to join the fray. At the first shots the Sinhalese had turned their backs to the enemy, and we were obliged to hold our muskets to their breasts before they could be persuaded to return to their ranks. We had to keep careful watch, as notwithstanding they managed to slip away unperceived.

This insubordination had a bad effect on our Dutch soldiers and the Javanese. We were compelled to make promises of additional pay and succeeded at last in inspiring our men with a little more courage. The detachments under command of Mr. van der Laan having at last come up, the Portuguese were driven from their position, abandoned their guns and beat the retreat. They were pursued as far as Macone, but a range of hills prevented further pursuit. After attending to our dead and wounded we rested that night in the Portuguese camp. The next day we despatched the Captains of the Galle Corle and the Dianteira with a body of Lascarins to Caliture to obtain information as to the enemy's movements. They heard that the Portuguese were collecting their forces into the fort and that they had sent large numbers of wounded to Columbo. We then deliberated on the expediency of attacking the enemy at Caliture, but on account of the great numbers of our soldiers that were disabled and the sailors being now more useful on board the yacht, it was decided to desist for the present from further action.

We sent a notice of the recent events to the Dissave of Saffragan, informing him of the retreat of the Portuguese from that district. We gave orders for a Crescent to be raised opposite to Bentota as a defence of the newly-acquired territory. Captain Jan van der Laan and Abraham Kous were left in command of the army at Bentota and Chief Factor Jan Croon appointed to be my substitute at Galle during the time of my absence in Negumbo. I found everything in good order at that fortress.

1655 It had been ascertained that in the engagement at Alicão the Portuguese had quite sixty killed and an equal number wounded. King Raja Sinha had sent a short Note to the Commander at Negumbo that he had made an attempt to surround the enemy but that it had failed. He relied on our lending each other mutual assistance.

After leaving Negumbo I visited Bentota and was informed by Captain van der Laan that the Portuguese kept themselves safely ensconced within the fort. He confirmed the rumour as to the losses of the Portuguese, but scarcely any natives were among the dead or wounded. I returned to Galle on the 13th and found everybody in good health and the place in good order.

(He proceeds to speak of the disposition of vessels and the rumours of assistance coming to the Portuguese.)

Two galleons and 8 frigates were on their way from Goa with a new General and 400 soldiers on board. These were sighted between Columbo and Negumbo on January 30th and chased by the Lion and Rabbit. But the enemy's vessels kept so close to the shore that in the pursuit our vessels ran aground. They managed to get afloat again after much trouble, but in the meantime the enemy's fleet had safely run into the bay of Columbo. The greater part of the newly-arrived soldiers have been sent at once up-country where they have joined the army under command of Captain Gaspar Figere which numbers about 400 whites and a still larger number of natives. They have driven the Dissave of Seven Corles back towards Candy, though in that engagement the Portuguese had nine whites killed and 15 wounded.

(Further shipping news:) Another small yacht in the name of Prince Sysasonsa has come to Batecalo from Bengal with presents to Raja Sinha. We fancy that this friendly action is intended to draw the King from our side to that of the Portuguese. Up to the present the Ambassador

1655 from Bengal has not yet received permission to come to Candy but it cannot be postponed for ever,¹³ and we presage nothing good from his interview with the King.

(Trade matters:—elephants including 3 tuskers sold to Bimelepatam for 5,000 rix dollars.)

For the last ten months we have been very unfortunate with our cattle. A great number of buffalos and cows have died from disease, as well as elephants. Several of the latter have been ordered and are being trained for Bengal. We have appointed Antony Rabel¹⁴ as Superintendent over the elephants. He understands the hunting and training of these animals and is a valuable servant to the Company in this branch of business.

(Trade: for last 3 years areca fetched 24-30 larins the amunam and it is decided to buy up all at 24. Natives will be glad of 20, as they usually get 15 and sometimes 8. The Company's villages were yielding good returns in areca. Customs dues of Galle much increased since 1651.)

Factor Ysbrand Godsken, whom we had despatched with a letter and presents to Raja Sinha, returned here on March 19th in company of two Ambassadors who brought us a letter from the King, a copy of which we enclose. The Ambassadors assured us that the King had been so annoyed by the Portuguese presence close to Candy that he had decided to invade with his army either the Seven or Four Corles, and requested us to keep the enemy engaged on the other side. We consequently ordered Captain van der Laan and Dissave Edmond Ruysch to make a kind of hostile demonstration at Calutur, which was done from the 3rd to the 12th of April; but as the King seemed again to have changed his mind and the Ambassadors themselves were

¹³. Probably the one mentioned by Johan Jacob Saar as arriving in 1643 and being detained for fifteen years. See his *Account of Ceylon*, Tr. by Ph. Freudenberg, 11 R. A. S. Jn. pp. 233-314.

¹⁴. For Rabel see "Notes on a Dutch Medal," R.A.S. Jn. 18. pp. 130-135

1655 doubtful of his appearance, Captain van der Laan withdrew again with his forces to Bentota. We have heard since that the King really had started, but that his design had been discovered by the Portuguese who surprised the King's army, drove it back with heavy losses, and for the time put a stop to Raja Sinha's warlike intentions. We are not sorry that the Portuguese prevented his joining us, and we hope that this state of affairs may continue for some considerable time.

We learnt that the enemy are shortly expecting assistance from Goa, and we fear that then they will leave Raja Sinha alone and turn against us, to try to re-conquer their lost lands. We trust that the necessary reinforcements from Batavia will also soon reach us; in the meantime we would suggest that the vessels make an attempt to secure or destroy the Portuguese craft ready at Tuticorin to convey provisions to Columbo. The crews on board the vessels to be sent ought to be 150 men stronger than usual, as we hope next season to besiege both Columbo and Manar. We cannot in justice and reason keep our soldiers beyond their time of service; we have already a great many discontented men in the camp and garrisons, as well as married and sick. The arrival of valid and healthy men would no doubt soon revive their drooping spirits. We do not want a repetition of the events in Brazil, but if we are left here without sufficient fighting material, Ceylon, after all our sacrifices, may also be lost to us.

Raja Sinha has accepted our letter to himself, but not our letter and presents to the young Prince. He was very pleased at the attention shown by us, but as no other presents had as yet arrived, he intended to wait till other nations should have sent their offerings, and then hold a public holiday when they would be presented with great ceremony to his well-beloved son and heir. We would suggest that a crown, sword, shield, and other rare articles be sent from Batavia for this occasion, and that for Raja Sinha himself be added a few cases of strong spirits, and a pleasant letter recommending him to keep friendly with the Company.

1655 We think that he would then more likely be induced to undertake some more exploits against the Portuguese. Whilst quietly at Court he is enslaved to his sensual appetites, and the interests of the Company demands the actual display of his allegiance to us. We only hope that his life will be spared for many years to come and that the young Prince may not be done away with before his accession to the throne; for in that case another dynasty might succeed, which would be ruinous to the position of the Company. From notes taken by Godsken it would seem that the King was rather partial to us. Last year His Majesty sent five elephants from Batticalo to Porto Novo. The Ruler of Sensier Ambereh in return sent some curiosities. We have allowed this to pass unnoticed.

For some time some counterfeit 6 and 10 stiver pieces from Goa have appeared. . . . It would be advisable to forbid here all the coins from Goa, but in that case we should want a larger supply of Dutch money than has been received up till now. At the first opportunity we intend attempting to capture Caliture, but we are without the necessary engines of assault. We hope to receive two mortars and a cannoneer to work them, and about 300 muskets, with the other things we have ordered. . . . We have also been informed of a plan being devised at Goa for an attack on the fortress of Galle. We are well prepared for them and do not think they will find the task easy. We should be glad to commence the siege of Jaffna as well as Columbo, but at present the Portuguese are stronger than we, and the best we can do is to protect what we have conquered. Captain van der Laan will supply further details in person. He has assisted at the taking of Trinquemale, Negumbo and Galle, is a most experienced soldier, and a valuable assistant and adviser.

In the fortress of Galle, May 14th, 1655.

A. VAN DER MEYDEN and 6 others.

CHAPTER IX.

1655 On the 18th of May some Portuguese vessels, which conveyed the new Captain General Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, were seen off Reigama and were chased by the Dutch ships. Sailing close up to them in the brilliant moonlight, they opened fire so effectively that two of the Portuguese vessels were driven on shore, one capsized, and two frigates laden with stores were captured, while Coutinho made good his escape round the coast with the four which remained. One hundred and ten Portuguese, besides 140 others, were taken prisoners, and a large number were drowned.

On the 30th of June 1655 the Dutch Factor at Wingurla had sent a report on the condition of affairs among the Portuguese in India. "The Governor-General Dom Braz de Castro had until the 12th of this month, sheltered himself with his bodyguard and his principal belongings at the Pass Dausym, from where he could easily reach the land of the Moors if the occasion required, for the poor man has been lately living in continual fear of being sent a prisoner to Portugal: but now his adversary Dom Antonio de Sousa has left Goa, and he has been invited to return by the Padreists, who are at the head of the civil affairs, as well as the Church in Goa, he has returned to his palace in the town. In the hospital at Goa over 400 white Portuguese soldiers and sailors have died during the year. The Viceroy distributes no pay to the soldiers, consequently they are insubordinate, commit excesses and desert into the Moorish lands. The pirates from the Coast of Malabar become daily more bold. They have this year carried off several craft from the harbours of the kingdom of Visapour."¹

1. Factor Liendert Jansz to the Governor-General, 30th June, 1655.

1655 Negotiations for an exchange of prisoners were opened with Goa, but van der Meyden was determined "not to release all the blacks without ransom, as the Portuguese almost entirely use blacks on board their vessels. When in 1638 I was at Goa with Commander Adam Westerwold, he objected to the release of a single black, in order to inspire them with aversion against service in the Portuguese Navy. . . We should be glad if you could find a few hounds for Raja Sinha. He is anxious to keep some of the breed, either from Manilla, China, Japan or Taiwan."²

"Rumours are also current that King Raja Sinha is again inclined to make friends with the Portuguese, and would join them with the object of besieging Negumbo. We do not quite believe in these rumours. It is the fact however that the King lately sent an elephant to the General of Columbo and also one to the Captain of the forces, Gaspar Figere. At the same time we hear that since then the latter attacked the King's troops under command of the Dissave, and that a Captain, two Mudaliyars and others, have deserted from the Portuguese camp to that of the King."³

With regard to the Embassy from Bengal the Governor-General wrote: "We should have thought the bad reception the former Envoy received from Raja Sinha would have deterred the Prince from making new overtures. We know nothing of the purpose of the Mission, but we conjecture nothing good from it. Last year Raja Sinha sent five elephants as a present to Porto Novo for Amber Chan, and in return he has received some valuable curiosities."⁴

"As we are very anxious to make an end of the costly wars we are obliged to wage against the Portuguese in Ceylon, we have resolved on sending thither the necessary reinforcements for a decisive operation" reported Maetsuycker, and on the second of July he sent advice of the forces which were ready. On the fourteenth of the following month

². Van der Meyden to Governor-General, 10th June, 1655. See also Governor-General to XVII, 24th December, 1655.

³. Van der Meyden to Governor-General, 26th June, 1655.

⁴. Governor-General to XVII, 24th December, 1655.

1655 Gerard Hulft, Director-General for India and First Councillor, started from Batavia with a fleet of twelve vessels, which conveyed 1,050 soldiers, with a great stock of munitions and siege implements. He was authorised to extend van der Meyden's term of office by another three years and to increase his salary to 200 or 220 florins a month.⁵ "We hope" added Maetsuycker "you will approve of the order given by us in case of the capture of Columbo, which town we commanded to be demolished and burnt to the ground."

What followed till the 14th of November is contained in the following report by Hulft to the Governor-General :—

Honoured and very wise Sir,

Taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the arrival of the yachts Avenhorn and Kampen in the Bay of Galle from Persia, I forward a few details of the occurrences which have taken place since I left Batavia on Aug. 15th. Cape Comorin was sighted on Sept. 12th, and not finding any instructions from Governor Adrian van der Meyden as I had been led to expect, it was resolved to set course for Negumbo, but we were driven to Calpatin, and our vessels were separated. After much delay some of them reached Negumbo, where the soldiers were landed. The very same night Captain Westrem was despatched with two companies of the garrison to secure the passage of the river Dandegama, and march from there to the river Montaval, also securing the passage over that stream which would open the road for us to Columbo. I myself with 1000 men followed in the evening. We marched under a heavy downpour of rain for several hours, but owing to the fatigue of the men it was resolved to march back, especially as our powder and shot had been rendered useless by the wet.

On reaching Negumbo we were informed by Commander Haun that the Portuguese Armada had been sighted close to Columbo. With a view to intercept these vessels I ordered

5. Governor-General to XVII, 24th December 1655.

1655 the soldiers again on board, and started in advance, instructing the Captains of the other yachts to follow as fast as possible. We left Negumbo in the evening, thinking to find ourselves next morning near Columbo, but at break of day the Mate informed me that we had driven away and were between Caleture and Barberin. Knowing that Governor van der Meyden was in that neighbourhood, I decided to land the soldiers and join the forces of the Governor, leaving orders that the other ships should land their contingents at Macoen or Barberin, and the vessels to sail for Columbo. As soon as the union of the two armies had been effected we marched on Caliture. After a siege of 14 days the fortress fell into our hands with 300 white Portuguese.

The next day being Oct. 16th, whilst an attempt was being made for crossing the river Pannetura, we met with a division of the Portuguese army under Captain Domingos Sarmiento. After a severe skirmish they were routed. We pursued them for two hours by the light of the moon. We had two men killed and about a dozen wounded. The Portuguese lost at least 20 men, and the number of wounded who hid in the woods is uncertain, but must be considerable. In the morning we were informed that the Portuguese had rallied their forces and prepared for another skirmish. We took a favourable position on the shore, and in less than half-an-hour the enemy were driven back. We chased them as far as the church at Milagre close to Colombo. Only 300 of the fugitives reached the town. Including the prisoners quite two were left behind.

We collected our forces at Milagre and next day marched to St. Sebastian with the intention of securing that church as well as the church St. Guadeloupe. At St. Sebastian we found that church occupied by about 100 Portuguese, and although a most favourable position they were obliged to evacuate the spot. At the other two points no resistance was offered at all, so that we found no difficulty in enclosing the town on all sides and bringing up our cannon. For a fortnight we kept up continually firing till at last we had

1655 silenced the enemy's guns from the several points of S. Joan, S. Stephen, S. Philippo and Clergos, and as we ourselves were short of ammunition it was resolved to make a general assault. Previously however we had summoned the Governor to surrender the town. He answered that his duty was to defend it in the name of his King.

The following orders had been issued: The Macht van Enkhuysen and Worum would attack the Water Castle and keep the garrison engaged, to allow the Commander Roothaes to approach from the other side. Captain Jacob Lippens with two companies and 50 sailors was to force an entrance on that point of the town, which was considered weakest. Major van der Laan would attack the rampart S. Joan and Governor van der Meyden the Queen's Gate. For several reasons the plan was unsuccessful. Skipper Lippens was wounded at the very beginning: his party fell into the hands of the Portuguese. Instead of capturing the fortified position of Clergos, the men entrusted with that part of the enterprise, dispersed through the town and engaged in plunder. The next day was occupied in attending to the wounded, whom we sent to Negumbo and Moutawael. By general consent it was resolved to persevere in the siege, notwithstanding this disaster, but we are sadly in want of reinforcements in men and cannon balls, 12, 18, and 24 pounders.

We have now advanced too far to retreat, and our long-cherished plans for the sole possession of the whole of the land are too near realisation now to be abandoned. We seem on excellent terms with Raja Sinha. In a letter dated the 5th of this month he informs us that he is marching with his army to join us. We have tried to dissuade him from his intention, but if he is determined to persist in it, his presence may after all be useful to us.

Mr. van der Meyden has agreed to renew his engagement for another three years at a salary of F. 220 a month. In view of his peculiar position and the difficulties of the post,

1655 he thought he had a right to expect the same terms as other Governors. I pointed out to him that the salaries for Governors was fixed at F. 200 a month, but he objected that this was the remuneration for the first term of office, not the second. He has however agreed to the terms offered, on condition that he would be proposed as Councillor Extraordinary for India. Considering his long and tried services, I am of opinion that the request ought to be complied with.

I hope you will excuse this short report. I have not my notes and must rely entirely on my memory. Besides I am confined to my bed on account of a wound received during one of the engagements; Mr. van der Meyden has kindly had it copied by his Secretary. Pastor Petrus Keselerus, who died on the voyage, made me promise to obtain for his widow permission to return to the Netherlands, should she desire it.

In the Camp at Columbo, Nov. 14th, 1655

GERARD HULFT.

On the same day Van der Meyden, who was himself in the Hollanders' camp, informed the Governor-General "An assault on several points of the town, undertaken yesterday, was a complete failure."⁶

Ten days later he sent a further report.

Van der Meyden to the Governor-General

If the new Captain-General Antonio de Sousa Coutinho had been able to reach Columbo with the whole of his Fleet, we learn from the intercepted letters that they would have sent then their combined forces to Galle Corle and the District of Mature and we should have been unable to drive them away at Bentota. But the greater part of the Armada having been destroyed by our yachts, and the General having reached Columbo after a long delay with only three frigates, we have

⁶ Van der Meyden to Gov-General, 14th Nov., 1655.

1655 had time to breathe and nothing of any importance has taken place in the way of hostilities. However the convoy from Tuticorin with supplies had succeeded in reaching Columbo a short time before the arrival of our fleet. Raja Sinha has sent us a few friendly notes ; he has refused to receive the Ambassadors of prince Sousora or sell elephants to them. As soon as Columbo shall have fallen into our hands we mean to keep the Moors from Bengal away from Columbo, and impede their trade with Cochín.

We were very pleased with the arrival of the Director-General Gerard Hulft with the reinforcements. We have made good use of them already and hope to be able to report the capture of Columbo within a very short space of time. The Director-General has communicated to me part of his instructions, and I will endeavour to execute your wishes with due alacrity.

Through Factor Leendert Jansz we heard of the arrival of a new Viceroy in Goa with three galleons and a large caravel with 6000 new soldiers, the greater part of whom would be shipped to Columbo. But only four frigates with provisions and 200 recruits have reached Columbo, and these have been at once despatched to the army of Gaspar Figera, and for the greater part killed in the last engagement. By the prisoners made on the same occasion we were informed that only 800 soldiers and 1200 sailors had arrived at Goa by the four vessels above-mentioned, and that they had been landed immediately in Mormugoa.

At present the whole population of Columbo numbers in all about 10,000 people, and the only provisions do not amount to two lasts of rice. Raja Sinha has sent a letter of condolence to his Dissaves of the Seven and Four Corles after the failure of our assault on the town. He seems still very friendly to us, but he is rather afraid that should we succeed in capturing Columbo we may ignore his claim to a share of the conquest. We told him repeatedly that we mean to keep strictly to the contract made at the time with Adam Westerwold, which seems to allay His Majesty's fears.

1655 We shall be glad to receive at the earliest opportunity a couple of medicine chests for the use of the sick and wounded. At the surrender of the Portuguese at Caliture it has been stipulated that the soldiers shall be sent back to their country and officers landed somewhere on the coast of India or Coromandel. We have placed some of the feeblest on board the yacht to be taken to Batavia, and either carried home, or if they wish it, be engaged for military service at Amboina.

In the Dutch Camp before Columbo, Nov. 24th, 1655

ADRIAAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

Hulft to the Governor-General and Council :

Honourable, valiant, wise, and very discreet Sirs.

I wrote a short note to the Governor-General on November 14th, being at the time so unwell that I could not give a detailed account of what has taken place since my arrival here. Mr. van der Meyden who has promised to make up the deficiency, has not gone so fully into matters as I should have wished. Although still suffering from my wounds, I am now fairly convalescent and able to send a minute report.

After the victory at Caliture and our great success against the Portuguese on the shore at Paniture, where we captured several hundreds of whites, we commenced on October 18th the siege of Columbo. The town was closely surrounded on all sides. For 15 days a continuous firing was kept up from five batteries with fifteen guns and such havoc caused in the place that all the principal points such as Clergos, St. Philippo, St. Stephano, St. Joan, and the Curas, were destroyed. It was then resolved to make an assault, but our designs were frustrated. The ships Macht van Enkhuysen and Worcum had been ordered to enter the bay and keep the garrison of the Water Castle engaged, whilst Commander Adriaan Roothaes would make an attack on the same from the land side. But the Macht van Enkhuysen alone was at her post. The Worcum, either through a misunderstanding or adverse wind, came an hour later, and

1655 instead of taking her position close to the Macht van Enkhuyzen, attacked quite another point of the Castle where she could do but little mischief. The Enkhuyzen notwithstanding her utmost exertions was soon disabled, the crew swam on shore, and the vessel was driven under the Castle. It still lies there and somewhat served as a sort of protection to the Bay, but we would have preferred that Captain Schram had set fire to her instead.

Skipper Jacob Lippens had been ordered to take fifty of our best sailors and two companies of soldiers in seven Chinese champanas over the water reservoir and attempt an entrance into the town close to the house of Dom Jeronimo, one of the weakest spots, and then to take his men along the rampart to Clergos, and there join Captain Jan van Westrenen. Scarcely had the expedition started when they were greeted by some shots from three armed boats which were guarding the reservoir. The party in the champanas courageously defended themselves, but the Skipper having been severely wounded, he was put on shore with others who had been disabled. The remaining force proceeded to the town and captured a point close by the house of Dom Jeronimo, then went towards Point Clergos, but were stopped by a party of armed men close to the house of Bastian Caldera and driven back. Instead of returning to a safe place they dispersed through the town, plundering the houses and churches. Pressed by the enemy ninety of them surrendered and were led away prisoners.

Captain Westrenen and Captain Huysch, who had been instructed to make an attack on Clergos and St. Philippo, also failed in the execution of the orders. At the critical moment the scaling ladders were not at hand, confusion ensued and from that point the men were also driven back.

Captain Gons and Captain Culenborg, who were ordered to attack St. Joan and the Curas, met with no better success. Both Captains were severely wounded. The hand of God has been heavy on us. Humanly speaking the Company has reason to complain of the inefficiency of her officers.

1655 On the Point St. Stephen, which was the strongest of the town, the cannoneers had charge of one of the guns with the order to keep up an incessant fire, but here again the order was misunderstood, the battery abandoned, and the advantage given to the enemy.

After our defeat we found our loss amounted to 600 men either killed or wounded. The latter were sent to Galle, to Negumbo and to Montewal. We then deliberated on the next steps to be taken. After due consideration it was resolved to continue the siege, but it will be necessary that for this purpose we receive reinforcements before April, consisting of soldiers and war ammunition.

(Here follow details about the movements of some ships.)

Should you decide upon sending reinforcements to Ceylon, we hope that you will direct them straight upon Galle and time them to be here by the middle of April at the latest. By next Monsoon the Portuguese will probably obtain assistance by way of Manar or Jafanapatam. On account of the disastrous issue of the attack on Columbo and the failure of my plan for the capture of the place, I humbly submit to your discretion whether you wish me still to remain here or to return to Batavia. In the latter alternative I would propose my stopping at Achin on the way, in order to terminate the negotiations now in progress.....

Judging from outward appearances it seems that Raja Sinha is at present favourably inclined towards us. He rather seems to doubt our ultimate designs, but I have tried to allay his fears by general assurances. At the news of our defeat he has written to one of his Dissaves, expressing his sorrow at our misfortune, instructing him to dissuade us from making another attempt until he should have joined us. Although we do not exactly want his assistance, we do not know how to refuse it whenever he does arrive. The General of Columbo, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, has begged for his help, offering to restore the lands around Columbo, but it seems that the King has rejected the proposal. This is a good sign, unless it were proved that the copies sent us

1655 by the King of the correspondence, had been written for our deception. The King's Dissaves do not interfere with us or annoy the residents at Mature, though they are very masterful in the districts of the Corles which were formerly Portuguese possessions but have been lately abandoned by them and fallen into our power. These Dissaves have made complaints against us to Raja Sinha, alleging that we were appointing Vidanes in all the villages with the object of bringing them under our rule. This is a misstatement of facts. We have only sent some natives to forage for the Army. At present we are pretty well supplied from those quarters. The Dissaves frighten and unsettle the natives who had begun to gain confidence in us, with the result that the people leave their homesteads and abandon the crops. But Mr. van der Meyden informs me that this is not of much consequence ; at present there is at Mature more cinnamon barkers than are required.

I remain your most obedient and devoted Servant,

GERARD HULFT.

In the Camp before Columbo, November 24th, 1655.

A Private Person to Leendert Jansz :

After having camped for a month with the army of Galle and the field forces, and waited for reinforcements in order to drive the enemy from Caliture, a fleet of 13 sail was sighted. Governor Meyden at once called the men under arms and ordered them to march towards the shore. In the meantime Director-General Hulft had already landed between Barberyn and Macoen.

Capt. van der Laan having returned from Batavia in these vessels, bringing with him several companies of soldiers, the combined forces now amounted to 1400 valid soldiers, men like giants. The march to Caliture was at once begun. We immediately occupied all the Passes, and after a fort-night's siege the place was surrendered on condition that the whole garrison should lay down their arms in presence of our troops and as prisoners be conveyed to the Netherlands.

1655 The fortress now occupied by our troops was at once put in a proper state of repair, and the combined forces then marched towards the river Paniture which was crossed by means of almadias. But before the passage had been completed, the enemy had rallied and appeared in good order along the shore, intending to make an effort to re-capture Caliture. Our troops were at once ordered to face the enemy. After half a dozen charges they began to retreat and in half an hour's time they were entirely routed. We counted 15 wounded, among whom was our Captain van der Laan. The enemy lost 18 men and had a great number wounded.

If we had been safely on the other side of the river with our whole train, we should have pursued the enemy further, but we did not want to waste time and were anxious to carry our guns to the opposite bank. What we had expected happened. Next evening the enemy returned to the charge. We were quite prepared. A furious encounter ensued. Both sides fought like lions, but our guns did such splendid work that the enemy became soon disheartened, the soldiers flung down their muskets and sought safety in flight, leaving behind them their ammunition, provisions, and all their belongings. The Bandanese did good work in the pursuit. With their sharp swords at one blow they struck off the heads of their adversary. The remembrance of the misery suffered in the Portuguese prisons was a good stimulant for taking revenge. It was a wonderful victory. The fight took place on the bare shore. Neither party was protected by the least shelter of any kind, and although the bullets were flying thickly from all sides, we only lost one man. The enemy must have lost at least 500 and we counted more than 50 prisoners. Captain Gaspar Figera managed to reach Columbo, but only with the smaller half of his original army. Our troops having been refreshed, the march on Columbo was commenced. Director-General Hulft on the way secured Matual. This is a Pass on the way to Columbo and extremely convenient by its river for the conveyance on land of the fighting material from the ships.

1655 We have now been for a month besieging Columbo ; our cannon have done much damage in the town, yet the enemy refused to surrender. Everything was then made ready for an assault, and on Nov. 10th another summons was despatched to the General for the surrender of the town. A delay of 24 hours was requested for a final decision, but it was only a subterfuge to gain time and prepare for our intended attack, which our General understood quite well and ordered the firing to be resumed. On the 12th Nov. it was resolved to make the assault on four Points of the town at once. The yacht *Macht van Enkhuysen* had orders to attack the Water Castle, one of the strongest Points, whilst the troops would attack different Points from the land side. But the chances of war had turned. The yacht after fighting for two hours, being disabled, the Captain was obliged to abandon it, and the enemy with great rejoicings conveyed the poor remnant into the dock. We had no better success on land. On every Point we were driven back.

Several misunderstandings seem to have led to the defeat, and at one Point where we succeeded in entering the town, the soldiers at once began to plunder and were surprised by the Portuguese, who made 150 of them prisoners. A great number of our most experienced officers and captains were killed. Director-General Hulft has been wounded in the leg, but fortunately he is recovering. The defeat we must ascribe to God's wrath over our manifold sins—we must humble ourselves before Him and pray that at the next occasion the victory may be granted us again. Humanly speaking we are sure that if the scaling ladders had been at hand at the right moment, the town of Columbo would have been that day brought under the sway of the Company. Since then we have changed our lion's coat for that of the fox. Slowly but gradually we are getting closer to the town and we are at the present moment only

1655 20 roeden distant from the moat. The trench diggers are so near that the guns cannot hurt them, and we hope to get into the town by these means.⁷

Maetsuycker in reporting the progress of events in Ceylon stated as follows: "They gave such a hot welcome to their assailants that the blacks who had charge of the scaling ladders flung them down and refused to obey the orders of their officers. After this sad termination of this fair promising plan, serious discussions took place among the Members of the Council on the expediency of continuing the siege of Columbo or giving it up. After duly weighing the pros and cons, the majority voted for the continuance of the siege. Raja Sinha seems seriously inclined to take our side. He is under the impression that as soon as the Portuguese shall have been got rid of, we shall treat him no better than they did. We cannot deny that he has some cause for this suspicion, but we hope he will have another opinion of us when he finds that as soon as Columbo shall have fallen into our hands, we deliver the place up to him to be demolished, which is our ultimate intention. Lieut Joris Hervendonck is still doing service at Court with a few soldiers and is fairly well treated."⁸

Hulft to Director Hendrik van Gent, Surat :

5 Feb., 1656

I left Batavia on Aug. 14th and reached Ceylon in September. We camped with our army at Caliture on Sept. 29th, enclosing it from both banks of the river. The town capitulated on Oct. 14th. We made 300 white prisoners. Next day whilst marching on Columbo we met at the ford of the Paneture river a Portuguese force under command of Domingo Sarmento. After a determined skirmish the enemy were beaten

7. Dated from the Camp, 3rd Dec., 1655.

8. Gov.-General to the XVII.

1655 off. The next day we were again attacked by the enemy under command of the Captain Mor Gaspar Figaro. They were about 700 men strong. They were also defeated, leaving behind 400 dead and wounded, and we pursued them until the evening close to the gates of Columbo. The next day we began the siege of Columbo. We were only opposed at one point, that of St. Sebastian. We then were several days occupied in bringing the heavy guns on land and putting them in position. They did such efficient work that soon the principal bastions such as Clergos, St. Philippo and St. Joan, seemed a heap of ruins. It was then decided to storm the town. The assault took place on the 12th of Nov., but we were so courageously driven back that we had to retire with a loss of 600 killed and wounded. Several other attempts were made to surprise the town. We also tried to place a mine under the fort St. Joan, but on reaching the moat which was about 15 feet deep, we found that the enemy had made an earthen bastion and planted several guns on the same. We then thought of capturing the Point, but we were warned in time that the enemy had placed within the works at five different places, several barrels with gun-powder which they would explode as soon as we should have reached those spots. It was therefore considered best to remain quietly in our entrenchments and trust to the famine, which is already becoming acute in the town, to do the work, and under God's blessing give us the victory over our enemies.

Order for Assault on Colombo. (Extract) :—

The Navy.

The two yachts to approach the Water Castle each with 110 of the best soldiers and 5000 lbs. powder. Two other yachts to stand close by ready to land men if bombardment was effectual.

By Land

- 1655 St. Joan to be attacked by the water side and the Curass. Scaling ladders to be in charge of Bandanese, Javanese and Sinhalese, superintended by Dutch sailors. If the former refuse to carry them, the sailors must place them in position. These latter will carry hand grenades, sabres and pikes. Bastions Clergos and Philippo at Porta Rainha to be scaled. Sinhalese Lascarins to carry away the wounded.

**Factor Adriaan van Meuwelandt to the Company's
Representative at Tegenepatnam :**

With regard to the position at Columbo, we cannot add much to our account of the 4th. A few days ago a distribution of rice has taken place in the town, each person receiving provisions to last for two months. The town is now so closely surrounded that nobody can leave it either by water or land. The inhabitants of Manar or Jafanapatam are unable to obtain any other information of the situation inside than what their spies hear in our Camp. The besieged are very hard pressed. A short time ago they made a sortie and our troops to draw them on pretended to retire, but at the right moment they were so well received that in their flight back to the town they left several dead and wounded behind.

Dec. 19th, 1655.

- 1656 On the 12th of May 1656 the city surrendered, and the intervening events are set out in the following Documents :—

Van der Meyden to Laurens Pit, Pulicat :

The storming of the Point St. Joan took place on the 5th of this month, the result being an offer of capitulation, the town of Columbo surrendering on the 12th. Raja Sinha is greatly displeased because we do not comply with his demand for the placing of Negumbo and Columbo unreservedly in his hands, and we are prevented by this change in the friendly demeanour of the King, from putting our plans in regard to Tuticorin into effect.

Columbo, 19th May 1656.

Jan Croon at Galle to the Directors :

May 22, 1656.

1656 At first our tactics were directed from a considerable distance from the town, but later we made a kind of gallery over a dry moat on the side of the town towards Negumbo between the points St. Stephen and St. Joan, and thus gained an entrance into the town at the latter point. Success seemed sure when a great misfortune befell us through the death of the Hon'ble Director-General Hult. On the 7th of this month the attack of this Point was ordered. The enemy boldly repulsed our advance and three times we were obliged to retire. Our loss was immense. We hear that we registered 200 wounded, among them several of our Officers. Still the Point was at last captured and our guns placed on the bastion, with the result that the town being bombarded from so near a spot, the Generals offered to capitulate on the 10th. On Friday, the 12th the Contract was signed and the Dutch flag raised instead of the Portuguese.

(Last year 17 elephants, including 8 tuskers, were captured.)

Capitulations presented by the three Portuguese Delegates :—(Extract)

1. Delay till 20th asked for, as reinforcements were expected.

2. On surrender, churches and images to be respected. Padres may remove all images, relics, sacred vessels, silver lamps, prayer books and ornaments, and their own movables.

3. The two Generals and Coutinho's son to receive all consideration and allowed to remove all property, Portuguese suite, servants, and slaves; they may remain in their houses till they went on board, and provided with all expenses and vessels.

4. Same to Captains of the City and Field, Factor, Sergeant-Major, and family of deceased Captain.

1656 5. Infantry Captains and all other officers shall leave the town in uniform, with flying colours, beating drums, and loaded muskets, and ships provided to take them to India or Coromandel.

6. Elders, Vereaders, Judges, Civil Officers, Keepers of His Majesty's property, and members of Court of Justice, to get same treatment as Captain of town.

7. Knights, Notables, Casados and other inhabitants, the same treatment. Those desiring to join the Dutch may retain their property. One Church to be reserved for their use.

8. Foreign merchants may remove all their merchandise. If they need sailors "some of the fugitives be pressed into their service, or as many pariahs (*carias*?) as shall be required".

9. "The black inhabitants of the town, of whatever caste, shall enjoy the same privileges as the Portuguese Burghers".

10. "The Modliars, Araches and Lascarins formerly in the Portuguese service shall be allowed to remove their belongings out of the town and settle in such places as they may choose."

11. The deserter Symão Lopes de Castro to be pardoned and allowed to leave with the Generals.

12. Dutch subjects who had joined the Portuguese to be pardoned.

13. The sick and wounded to remain in hospital till they recovered.

14. After surrender, protection to be guaranteed from all harm or molestation.

(Signed) ANTONIO de SOUSA COUTINHO.

The three Delegates were Lourenço Ferreira de Brito, Hieronimo de Luzena and Diogo Leitão de Sousa.

THE ANSWER.

1656 1. Town must be surrendered tomorrow, May 12th, before noon.

2. Granted: but priests must remain in a special house till ships are available.

3. Substantially granted.

4. Officers may take personal property and wearing apparel and some slaves; Commanding officers may remove what their slaves can carry. Troops to leave town with flying colours and drums, and deposit their weapons before the General's tent. Passage to Europe will be provided: the men with Indian wives will be conveyed to Coromandel.

6. Granted: "The principal residents and Casados...shall be treated with the same consideration as the superior Portuguese officers, but the natives of the country shall be dealt with at the discretion of the Governor."

"The Modliars and Lascarins shall be treated as those under the rule of the Dutch Settlement."

Vessels arriving till May 30th will be allowed to go back free till out of sight of Colombo.

In the Dutch Camp before Columbo, May 12th, 1656.

(Signed) ANTONIO de SOUSA COUTINHO

and Members of the Portuguese Council:

Adriaan van de Meyden, Joan van der Laan, Pieter de Bitter, Eduard Ooms, Ysbrand Godskens.

Van der Meyden and Council to Gov.-General Maetsuycker :

31st May, 1656.

(During the siege Raja Sinha sent buffalos as food for soldiers, and men to carry palm trunks for the works.) "Not to give him any cause for displeasure we have at once transferred to him the districts round Columbo formerly in possession of the Portuguese and placed all the inhabitants under his jurisdiction. Our delegates who have so long been detained

1656 in his camp have all returned except Lieut. Frans Hals, who is still kept at Candia : however I think more because the King likes him so much than from any evil intention. It will be necessary to send another intelligent representative to be about the Court to counteract the machinations of the nobles,—who in their hearts favour the Portuguese above us,—and who will impress upon His Majesty our desire to conform to the Contract made with Mr. Adam Westerwold.

“The King still continues in drawing the Sinhalese away from our districts. If he is not remonstrated with, the whole country of Mature will be depopulated. Mr Antony Rabel is at present engaged in the hunting of elephants.”

(Bought up all the areca at 16 larin, and selling it at 27 and 28.)

DIARY OF EVENTS.

March 29: Information received that reinforcements for Colombo were ready at Goa.

“Raja Sinha having expressed the desire to make the acquaintance of Director-General Hulft, the latter started for the King's Camp on April 5th. He was met in great state by the whole Court. The King was very gracious and was presented with two jewels, one for the Prince and one for himself. The Director-General returned here on Sunday, the 9th. He inspected the works that day and the next, on which occasion having rather imprudently exposed himself, he was struck by a ball and killed on the spot. His body was conveyed to Galle to be buried with all honour. Raja Sinha showed great grief at the news. In his letters he constantly refers to him as “My much beloved Director.”

April 14th: News of a Portuguese Armada being at Cochin. The Flushing sent to scatter it was successful, sinking some and driving the rest to Tuticorin.

April 18th: Another summons to surrender sent to Coutinho.

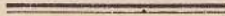
1656 . May 2: Exchange of prisoners for the eight Dutch.
 " The released men acknowledged that they had received the same rations as the Portuguese, but the confinement and want of fresh food caused the death of the others."

" On the 6th of May it was resolved in Council to make an assault on the Point S. Jean, which was undertaken on the following day. Our first efforts were successful, but we were several times repulsed. However we secured the Point, from which we could now direct our guns more effectually on the town. The storming of that Point caused great loss of life on both sides, and our soldiers suffered much from the throwing of burning pitch from the houses. On the 11th three Deputies from General Antonio de Sousa Coutinho presented to us the Terms of Capitulation, which together with our conditions are enclosed. The public surrender took place on the 12th. We entered the town and placed our soldiers on the several Points. We feel sure that this news will be more pleasant to you than to Raja Sinha. As soon as he was informed of the Terms of the Capitulation, he has forbidden his Dissaves from communicating with us. He has also shut all the Mountain Passes and forbidden provisions to be carried to the town from the country round. We have made several polite applications to him without avail. We have also proposed to attack together the Portuguese at Tuticorin, but His Majesty does not even vouchsafe a reply. He has shown his animosity by ordering the removal of his subjects from Gale and Matara; we believe that this altered behaviour has to be ascribed to the insinuations of the Portuguese who have still many friends at Court." Twenty-two Portuguese frigates still blockaded at Tuticorin.

" We much regret that notwithstanding our severe orders and the express assurances given to the Portuguese, our soldiers on entering the town and several days afterwards, engaged in the most ruthless plundering. The officers could not maintain discipline. The late Director Hulft had promised the men that they should be allowed to plunder freely, and receive six

1656 months' prize money. We hope that in consideration of the long strain of the siege and the valuable accession gained by the taking of Columbo, you will confirm the Director's pledge." As Raja Sinha had closed the Passes, his Dissaves were not admitted unless they came with a letter from him. Only 300 Lascarins and 100 coolies left with the Dutch, who are quite insufficient.

Columbo, 31st May, 1656.



CHAPTER X.

1656 A new Act had opened, and Van der Meyden reported the signing of the terms of surrender to the King.

Illustrious Emperor,

We have sent a verbal answer to Your Majesty's welcome letter dated the 6th instant¹; Your Majesty's subsequent letter reached us last night, to which we now reply.

Your Majesty's Dissaves have no doubt reported the capture of the Point St. Joan on Sunday last. The Portuguese repulsed us three times. That day and the next, owing to the enemy firing from all parts, we had many wounded and killed. We soon mounted our guns on the captured Point and reduced the enemy's fire to silence. Our countrymen who have died in prison, have been treated as well as the Portuguese soldiers; they had an equal ration of rice but received no fresh meat. We recommended the released Portuguese to acquaint their friends inside the town that we were on the best of terms with Your Majesty, that their reliefs and supplies sent from Goa were being kept blockaded at Tuticorin, and that they should advise the speedy surrender of the town.

In marching the troops towards the town we would suggest the playing of the full band and the vigorous beating of the drum. Joris Hervondonck with the other soldiers to be employed in Your Majesty's service here, have arrived in due time.

With respect to the Articles of Capitulation, we beg to enclose a copy of the same and feel sure Your Majesty will also approve of them. Just now the Deed of Capitulation with the annotations of the Generals has been returned to

1. Tr. R. A. S. Jn. 18. p. 233.

1656 us, and we have annexed our signature. We are now awaiting the armed soldiers and burghers to leave the town, after which we shall take possession of it in the name of Your Majesty. We request Your Majesty to send without delay the Imperial Standard to be planted on the bastion. We shall keep Your Majesty fully advised of the subsequent events.

In the Camp before Columbo, May 12th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

The King passionately denounced the chicanery which had been practised on him and van der Meyden set himself to soothe him into quiescence.

Most Illustrious Emperor,

Your esteemed letters of the 11th and 12th instant² reached us safely. We greatly approved of the tone of the letter which Your Majesty has been pleased to address to the General and residents of Columbo. If we had not yet taken possession of the town on behalf of Your Majesty, we should have forwarded them, and no doubt they would have served to facilitate negotiations: but as our conditions were at once accepted and we had already occupied the town, it was agreed by the advice of Your Majesty's Dissaves, to retain the letters until we should have received further notice of Your Majesty's intentions. But as no intimation has reached us, we have in the presence of one of the Dissaves, ordered an inventory to be drawn up of all the ammunition of war and other booty found at the time of surrender.

We are sorry to find that Your Majesty is not pleased with the conditions of the Capitulation, but we hope that Your Majesty will consider that the aim was the securing of Columbo with the least possible amount of damage and bloodshed. If we had insisted on better terms, we should have been obliged to sacrifice many more valuable lives.

2. Tr. R. A. S. Jn. 18. p. 237.

1656 We found on entering the town that there were still more defenders inside than we had been led to suppose. Besides it was well known that the Portuguese were expecting relief, and therefore as they refused to treat directly with Your Majesty, we considered it expedient at once to enter into negotiations with their Parlementaries, and to take possession of the town for Your Majesty. We faithfully intend to keep to the Articles of the Contract made at Battecolo, and the assurances given to Your Majesty by the late lamented Director-General. The Clauses referring to the Modliars, Araches, Lascarins and other natives of the island, promising them favourable treatment if they remained under my rule, must be understood as given in my quality of Governor for Your Majesty and the Company whose dutiful servant I am. Your Majesty will find that your interests are my first care, and therefore should be no longer displeased. As soon as I shall have terminated the necessary arrangements for the safety of the town and the removal of the greater part of the Portuguese residents, or if Your Majesty wishes it earlier, I shall be pleased to come in person to confer on these several points. Interpreter Blum, who is the bearer of the same, will present to Your Majesty the two white Persian cats, a silver boat, and a silver crab, which I have obtained for Your Majesty from the Captain-General Antonio de Sousa Coutinho.

In Your Majesty's town of Columbo, 14th May, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha :

Great and Powerful Emperor,

Having captured this town for Your Majesty and supposing that the fleet sent from Goa for the relief of the besieged is still blockaded by our vessels at Tuticorin, much remains to be done ere we can congratulate ourselves on a complete success. We must prevent the supplies stored in the frigates from being carried by means of small boats

1656 through Pambenar to Jafanapatam and Manar and further to Putalão, where our enemies might again cause disturbances in Your Majesty's territory. It would be most opportune if Your Majesty could make it convenient to come to Columbo and advise us as to what parts of the town ought to be demolished and what points ought to be fortified. We at the same time transfer Negumbo into Your Majesty's hands, to be demolished, for we fear that should the Portuguese succeed in bringing soldiers and supplies to the Island, they will make an effort to regain the places they have lost. We have been very busy in superintending the removal of the greater part of the soldiers, padres, and married people in our vessels to the coast of Coromandel, and the supply of food from Matual to comfort the famished Portuguese remaining here. The Dissaves around the town refuse to let the soldiers pass in quest of provisions. They forbid the natives to sell supplies and they keep away from us. We earnestly entreat Your Majesty to command them to communicate with us and assist in making a list of the property found in Columbo. We also beg Your Majesty to forgive any seeming neglect on our part or any act we may have committed which has caused Your Majesty displeasure, and to instruct George Blum to transmit to us Your Majesty's wishes and intentions, or grant me leave to present myself in person before Your Majesty to give a full explanation of the state of affairs. We assure Your Majesty of the sincere feelings of friendship which the Company, the Governor-General, the Council for India, and we ourselves entertain for Your Imperial Majesty, and the young Prince, and with our most humble greetings to both, we commend Your Majesty to the protection of the Almighty.

In Your Majesty's town of Columbo, May 20th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

The King sent a dignified reply. He had patiently borne the past infringements of the Treaty, and Hulft, in the name of the Prince of Orange and of the Company,

1656 had solemnly promised to surrender Negumbo and Columbo to him. On that undertaking he helped them to take Columbo, and he was going to wait for the decision of these higher authorities.³

Addendum by Interpreter Blume,

To-day, Monday, May 22nd, His Imperial Majesty sent for me and ordered me to translate His Majesty's letter which had been written in Portuguese, into Dutch. When my duty was accomplished I presented the same to His Majesty who discussed with me on some promises made by the late Director-General. When the latter arrived in Ceylon the Emperor had written to him several times about some rebels in and outside Columbo, and especially about a certain Gaspar who caused much commotion in His Majesty's domains, and also about some presents which had been sent from Goa for presentation to His Majesty. The Director-General had only sent a few of the rebels to be dealt with by His Majesty, which was not according to the agreement. Besides His Majesty requested me to remind you that when the Contract of Batticalo was made, it had been agreed that any town captured with the help of His Majesty by the Company, should be restored with all its contents. After the taking of Columbo no attempt had been made to deliver to him the rebels, and in lieu of the presents the King had received two cats, a small vessel, and a crab. The King thinks that such treatment is a bad sign and will lead to no good issue.

Van der Meyden to the King :

Illustrious Emperor,

The letter dated the 21st instant with the *post scriptum* added on the 22nd reached us last night, and in reply we bring the following points to Your Majesty's notice.

3. 21st May, 1656. Tr. R. A. S. Jn. 18. pp. 239-240.

1656 The Contract made between Your Majesty and Mr. Adam Westerwold, as well as the three Clauses altered at the time by Captain Bergaert Cocx and Commissary Pieter Kieft, we have repeatedly promised Your Majesty should be faithfully observed by us. We sincerely regret that Your Majesty felt aggrieved at the return of Your Majesty's Dissave, with whom we had some disagreement. The late Director-General was authorised by the Directors of the Company in Holland and the governing body in Batavia to make such arrangements with Your Majesty as would be consistent with the interests of the Company and the services she had rendered Your Majesty, and we hope to accomplish the same to Your Majesty's entire satisfaction. We on our side hope that Your Majesty will continue in friendly relations with us.

With respect to the promise given Your Majesty by the late Director-General that the towns of Negumbo and Columbo should be at once transferred to Your Majesty, we understood from him that it had been Your Majesty's own desire that a small part of the town should be preserved, and that the largest part be demolished. We therefore beg Your Majesty to send us the necessary labourers to commence the work of demolition, both here and at Negumbo. All the low-lying lands about Columbo have been freed from the enemy by our sole exertions. The country has already been cleared at the cost of Dutch blood, before Your Majesty came down with the Sinhalese troops. The services rendered by us to Your Majesty deserve better recognition than we receive. Your Majesty should at least permit the Dissaves to forward provisions for our soldiers. We have repeatedly summoned them to our presence but they heed us not. We are only acting in the name of Your Majesty and in your Imperial service. All civilised nations will testify that the fault was not with us. It seems that Your Majesty has a grievance against us. We are obliged to write in Dutch as Your Majesty will not allow Interpreter Blum to come here and translate our letter into Portuguese. With

1656 respect to the orders given to the late Director-General, Your Majesty may rely on their aiming at the furtherance of the best interests of Your Majesty.

Your Majesty has already been advised that some traitors were made captive when the town was taken and it was intended to deliver them up to Your Majesty; but as their liberty had been one of the terms of the Capitulation, we could not break our word. If we possibly can find some valuable presents, we shall keep them for delivery to Your Majesty. As to the stipulation of the Contract that in the event of the capture of any town the spoils should be divided between Your Majesty and the Company, it is on account of that Clause that we so particularly have desired the presence of Your Majesty's Dissaves.

The day before yesterday one of the vessels sent for the blockade of the Portuguese fleet at Tuticorin has come back with advices. It will be necessary to despatch as soon as possible a sufficient number of troops to attack them in earnest and destroy them. As long as Your Majesty's Dissaves refuse to confer with us and obstruct our soldiers in their foraging expeditions, our hands are tied and we fear that their opposition may result in disturbances and bloodshed. All the disasters arising from such a condition must be imputed to mistakes not committed by us.

In Your Majesty's town of Columbo, May 24th, 1656

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

Raja Sinha to van der Meyden:

Raja Sinha, the Most Exalted Monarch and the Most Powerful Emperor of the Illustrious Empire of Ceylon, wishes much health and prosperity to Adrian van der Meyden, Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Galle.

Your letter of Wednesday, the 24th, reached this Court on the evening of the same day. You say that the late Director-General had several times demanded my intentions

1656 with regard to Negumbo and the town of Columbo as soon as she should have capitulated, and that he understood I desired to demolish the large part of the town and to fortify the remainder. The fact I only remember is that on three consecutive occasions I have made with the Dutch nation a Treaty of Peace in which these points had been settled. Of other conditions I have no knowledge, and if you desire the continuation of peace, strict adherence to the Clauses of the Contract will be the only means of success.

I shall despatch the Dissave of the Seven Corles to take possession of that fortress of Negumbo, and you will oblige by sending the necessary Delegates for this purpose, as agreed by the Clauses of the Contract. Let me know as soon as you shall have given the instructions required.

From this Great Army and the Court at Reygam Watta,
May 29th, 1656.

RAJA SINHA RAJA.

Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha :

Most Illustrious Emperor,

We had hoped that Your Majesty would at least have sent a reply to our last letter dated the 24th. We again request that Your Majesty will at once order the Dissaves to allow supplies to be conveyed to Columbo for the use of the soldiers. The rumour has reached us here, causing us much dismay, that Your Majesty is intending to despatch troops into the districts round Galle and Matara, to force the natives to leave their homesteads. We can scarcely give credence to this rumour, but should it be true that some malcontents are trying to disturb the peace of these districts, we earnestly beg Your Majesty, in consideration of the signal services rendered by us, at once to order their return and also to settle all misunderstandings which may have arisen between Your Majesty and us, and thus prevent our former friendly relations being turned into hostilities.

1656 Great and Mighty Monarch, we do not demand any more territory than that which Your Majesty has accorded to us till now as a lien on account of the considerable outlay which the Hon'ble Company has made on Your Majesty's behalf. We only desire to hold the neighbouring Corlas until such time as all danger from fresh invasions by the Portuguese shall have disappeared. We again declare that this is our true intention and that we are also prepared to extend Your Majesty's dominions to the opposite coast of Madura, and we pray Your Majesty to prepare for this expedition without delay. In the meantime we request to be informed of Your Majesty's Designs, or at least to be allowed to communicate with the Dissaves, and that they will receive instructions for providing us with supplies.

In Your Majesty's town of Columbo, May 30th, 1656

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

About noon to-day four frigates arrived in the bay from Goa. The Captains informed us that on the 22nd last a convoy had reached Goa from Portugal, part of which had at once been despatched for the relief of Columbo. We have also some intercepted letters, the contents of which we would communicate to Your Majesty; and we would feel obliged if for this purpose Interpreter Blum might be sent here in the company of one or more Dissaves. The presence of the Interpreter is also required here for the payment of his salary.

Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha :

Illustrious Emperor,

Scarcely had we despatched our letter when Your Majesty's welcome communication reached us. We are pleased to see that Your Majesty agrees with our proposal to demolish the greater part of this town and to fortify the remainder. It gave us also much pleasure to read Your Majesty's assurance that you will observe the Clauses of the

1656 Contract made with the Dutch in all their bearings, and to secure a lasting peace between us. The first step to make it durable must however be perfect sincerity on both sides.

We again beg Your Majesty to send a Dissave with two Officials of the Court to make an inventory of the spoils of the city and to confer on the best means for the protection of Your Majesty's dominions, as also for the transfer of the fortress of Negumbo, which should be followed at once by its demolition. At present the fortress is filled with wounded and a large amount of the property belonging to the Company is stored there, but these could all be removed to Columbo. We are anxious to give Your Majesty a proof of our sincere intentions and of our willingness to comply with Your Majesty's wishes as far as compatible with the interests of our Company. We hope Your Majesty will send us a favourable reply without delay.

In Your Majesty's fortress and town of Columbo, May 30th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha :

My Lord and Emperor,

We fully expected that Your Majesty would have honoured us with a reply and would have left the districts of Galle and Mature which we have possessed for such a long period already, in peace and undisturbed. But it becomes daily more evident that Your Majesty intends to worry us by keeping the Passes closed against us, and we are also handicapped in our intended expedition to Tuticorin by the measures taken by Your Majesty for the depopulation of the country round. We have been informed that Cattepetti Appuhami has sent a written document round the district of Mature claiming that territory in the name of Your Majesty and containing a prohibition against the delivery of supplies to the Dutch. Many of the natives of Allicam have also been carried away from their villages, and some peaceful inhabitants

1656 seriously wounded near the river of Caliture. In order to prevent further trouble we beg Your Majesty to desist from these hostile proceedings, and be pleased to consider the great services the Dutch have rendered to Your Majesty, and that we have always been Your Majesty's sincere Allies and defenders, and thus continue in peace and friendship with us.

We hope Your Majesty will within three days of this date acquaint us with your intentions with regard to the town of Negumbo, and also inform us in what manner we have caused Your Majesty displeasure. If Your Majesty does not grant a reply, we cannot remain answerable for the consequences. We shall then conclude that Your Majesty now intends to repay with hostility the enormous debt you have contracted towards the Company, and we shall be obliged to oppose your designs by the force of our arms. However if Your Majesty consents to leave the districts mentioned and the country from thence along the seashore to this town as far as Motuaal as before undisturbed and in peace in our possession as a fief, we shall at all times be ready to render Your Majesty further services.

We forward by the present a beautiful falcon and two hawks (the other falcon escaped during the voyage from Persia). We hope Your Majesty will be pleased with these birds.

In the fortified town of Columbo, June 10th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

In spite of the high tension which existed, the present was received with delight by the sport-loving King.

Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha :

Most Illustrious Emperor,

We were pleased to find from Your Majesty's letter yesterday⁴ that the falcons we sent gave Your Majesty

4. Tr. R. A. S. Jn. 18. p. 241.

1656 much pleasure, and understood from the Portuguese text that Your Majesty wishes the Persian falconer to come to your Court. We have several times communicated Your Majesty's desire to him, but he is unwilling to go, for he says that Your Majesty detains the people that come to your Court and refuses them leave to go away again. We ourselves have the same cause for complaint. Our soldiers and the women carried away from the river at Matual, as well as a messenger with letters from Galle, have been seized by Your Majesty's soldiers and cannot obtain permission to return to us. We again petition Your Majesty to allow the Interpreter Blum and the Persian who had charge of the birds we lately despatched, at once to go back to Columbo. Perhaps then the falconer will change his mind. It is not our custom to force people against their will, although we should be pleased to oblige Your Majesty if we could. We are at all times ready to do Your Majesty service, although it seems that some of the nobles at Court try to make Your Majesty believe otherwise, and insinuate that by holding part of this town, we do Your Majesty an injustice. Our sole intention is to remain here until the Portuguese shall have been conveyed to their several destinations and all danger as to the safety of the town be past, and then to protect Your Majesty's territory along the coast from their further incursions. If we remain at peace with Your Majesty, this is the plan of the Company on which Your Majesty may rely.

With humble greetings to Your Majesty and the young Prince,

In Your Majesty's fortified town of Columbo, June, 15th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

Van der Meyden to Governor-General :

20th June, 1656.

On the 10th of this month we sent a letter of serious representation to the King with a present of three falcons,

1656 requesting him to desist from further disturbing the districts of Passedum, Walewite, Gale and Mature, threatening him with our intention of opposing him by the force of arms. We placed a body of 200 men at Bentota for the protection of the Chaleas and inhabitants of the district between Caliture and Madampe. As yet His Majesty has sent no other reply than an acknowledgment of our present, which gave him much pleasure. He desired that the Persian falconer who tended the birds, should be allowed to come to his Court to take charge of them, but the man declines the honour. We wrote to acquaint the King of his refusal, at the same time complaining of the detention of one of the messengers with letters from Gale at the river Panature, and of five native women of Negumbo who were carrying some things to their husbands. But the King ignores our letters. We have no idea what his intentions are. We fear that he wishes to keep all the Passes in the country closed as far as the sea shore, and to engage Portuguese to come to his aid for the re-capture of Negumbo or Gale. Our subjects in the neighbouring districts are flocking into the town, as they cannot obtain sufficient food owing to the presence of the King's soldiers. Should the King ally himself with the Portuguese, we must make open war against him. As the probabilities are that this will happen some time or another, we request at the earliest your instructions.

Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha:

My Lord Emperor,

We are much astonished that since the capture of this town Your Majesty has not favoured us with any direct reply to the requests made in our letters, and that instead Your Majesty orders hostile proceedings against us. We again seriously ask Your Majesty to command the Dissave of Safragam to refrain from sending decrees and troops in the districts of Matura, Gale, Walewite, and Passedum Corle: also to warn him and the Dissaves of the Four and Seven Corles against carrying away the natives from the villages,

1656 which is now constantly being done, and to order these persons to be sent back to their homesteads, and open the Passes which are now guarded by their soldiers. We cannot permit such vexations to pass unnoticed, and shall be obliged to respond on our side with hostile demonstrations. These marauders will be the cause that the peace between Your Majesty and the Company is disturbed. If Your Majesty yourself desire war and in this way try to avoid your responsibilities, we should wish it to be plainly stated, for we must either be at peace or at war. We must again repeat that we shall be blameless of the trouble and misery which Your Majesty's actions may produce. The innocent will in that case suffer most.

In Your Majesty's, etc, July 5th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

Joris Blume to van der Meyden :

A short time ago when the great King of this renowned realm was displeased with us, the Director-General Gerard Hulft arrived with his fleet in Ceylon, who was fortunate in restoring the Emperor's tranquility of mind and pacifying him, as may be shown from the correspondence which passed between the two personages mentioned. He visited His Majesty at his Court and was received with the greatest marks of honour and respect. The Emperor called him his much beloved Director-General, and I feel persuaded that he would have succeeded in obtaining for the Company such favourable terms in this Island of Ceylon as they will never secure in any other part of India. But after the death of the Director-General things have altered through different causes, and it now seems that instead of profit and honour, the Company will reap nothing but loss and shame, and we unfortunate people who are kept at Court will be the first to be made to pay for it. Please send the Persian falconer who has come in charge of the birds. If you humour the King in this way, it is very likely we shall all be released. For the present we are in pretty good health, but we hope God will soon send us deliverance.

1656 Whilst writing the above a messenger arrived here, bringing a falcon and other presents for His Majesty. Besides from the coast of Coromandel six falcons with the falconer in charge have also arrived, which will be presented to His Majesty at the first occasion. There were some others left at Candy and also at Cottiar and Batticalo.

When I had written so far I read my letter to the Emperor and he ordered that the birds you had sent some time ago should be taken out for sport; but the birds having been trained in a different way and in a different language, did not obey the orders. His Majesty was very displeased and ordered the birds to be sent back to you. If you would send the Persian falconer who has trained them, His Majesty would be greatly pleased. If you refuse, it will seem as if you did not even desire to give this small token of your wish to satisfy the King.

Your faithful and obedient servant,

July 1st, 1656.

JORIS BLUME.

Van der Meyden to the Governor-General :

Raja Sinha shows himself every day more dissatisfied with us. He has returned the three birds we sent him, accompanied by a letter written in his name by Interpreter Blume, in which he uses very proud language and insinuates that he will cause the Company henceforth more trouble than pleasure. The King again demanded the Persian falconer, but the man refuses to go. He pointed out to us that two of the large feathers on the side wings of the birds had been broken, showing that the man in charge of the birds at the Court understood the business as well as he. We suppose the King means to signify that he intends clipping our wings. The King still holds the Passes occupied with his troops. The Appuhamis, Arachchis and Lascarins who in the several districts have fallen away from us, keep the country in a continual state of disturbance. Several

1656 times they have fired on our soldiers at Pittegalle and with a force of 100 Sinhalese attacked our post at Hakman, consisting of 10 Dutch soldiers and 15 Lascarins.

In the beginning of last month four of our white men deserted to the camp of Raja Sinha, but we have heard that they have not met with a hearty reception. In the camp of Reygam Watte provisions were scarce. The soldiers suffered much from disease. Blume also informs us that the King means us no good, that he intends to march with his whole army from Reygam Watte, and that he himself was carefully watched and allowed to communicate with no one except the courtiers. He told us that many of the Chiefs whom we thought faithful to us, were in fact on the side of the King; but our greatest trouble consists in the desertion of our own men, of which we have to deplore several examples.

Colombo August 5th, 1656.

Raja Sinha to van der Meyden :

My most Powerful Imperial Majesty has made peace with you under the impression that all its obligations would be observed as due to My Exalted Person. But you have behaved in this matter and in all others as barbarians and people who are unacquainted with the honour due to Kings, who have no god and no law and no faith. Neither Myself nor the Illustrious Kings my Predecessors have ever given cause for such treatment. And in order to show you that my Imperial Majesty does not bear malice, I send you information that one of your yachts has stranded near Batticalo. The goods have been saved and an inventory drawn up by the Dissave, who will send them back to you either by land or sea as you may desire; and if you wish the yacht to be repaired, you are at liberty to have it done.

From the Imperial Court and Great Camp at Reygam Watte, September 9th, 1656.

RAJA SINHA,
Most Powerful Emperor of Ceylon.

1656 **Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha :**

Raja Sinha, most powerful Ruler of the mighty Empire of Ceylon, whom we pray Almighty God to preserve for long years in health and strength, as also the young Prince, for the prosperity of His Majesty's vassals and total defeat of our mutual enemies.—Amen.

Your Majesty's note dated September 9th reached us on the evening of the 10th. Your Majesty complains that the Contract made with the Company's Minister has not been kept by us and that we have been amply rewarded for the services we have rendered. Your Majesty must recollect that whatever we have gained has been obtained by our own exertions and taken from the enemy. We do not want to enter into the question whether on the side of Your Majesty the agreement has been faithfully kept. We are glad to have Your Majesty's assurances that Your Majesty does not look for gain, and are grateful for the information that one of our yachts has run on the shore at Batticalo, and the cargo had been taken care of by the Dissave of that place, to be conveyed to Columbo by land or sea and placed in our possession. If the yacht mentioned is the same privateer as stranded last year, Dissave Tinnekon has already her bill of lading. But if it is not the same, we should be glad to receive further details.

On the 3rd instant a ship has arrived at Gale from Batavia with instructions that the Governor-General and Council for India again intend to send a formidable fleet for the blockade of Goa and thus inflict more harm to our enemies, the Portuguese. His Excellency much regretted that Your Majesty was dissatisfied with the reasonable offer we had made, and hoped that the peaceful relations between Your Majesty and ourselves might soon again be restored. We shall consider this to be the case if Your Majesty will favour us with a distinct answer to the present, and also allow the people still detained at Court to return to us here. But if Your Majesty inclines to treat with the Portuguese, as we hear from Calpentin and Chilau

1656 that it is your intention, we shall oppose such a combination by all means in our power. Your Majesty will be pleased to consider the misfortunes which must follow on such a course, which must necessarily involve disaster on both sides. We beg Your Majesty to remember that it was through our action that Batticalo and Trinquemale, as well as the low-lying lands about Columbo, have been conquered for Your Majesty. Your Majesty cannot wish to hurt your own vassals, and we hope therefore will choose peace rather than war, and agree to leave this place as well as the lands held by us up to the present, as mortgage to the Company, who can thus repay herself for the great outlay on Your Majesty's behalf, by the cinnamon produce of these districts.

In Your Majesty's, etc. October 10th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

In the meantime as Raja Sinha had cut off the supply of provisions to Columbo, all passes to vessels for Kottiarum were stopped.⁵

5. Laurens Pitt, Governor of Coromandel, to the Governor-General, 30th Sept., 1656.

CHAPTER XI.

1656 On the 3rd of October the King replied,¹ enclosing a letter which he had received from the Portuguese.

Text of Portuguese letter to Raja Sinha :

All the nations of the East and the Kings of the Oriental dominions are aware of the good understanding which always existed between the Portuguese and these Illustrious Rulers. Having discovered these distant lands after many trials and dangers, they settled there with the object of extending their trade. The Kings welcomed them in their countries ; as they always tried to please the lawful Rulers, they were treated with much honour and consideration. Your Imperial Majesty and the Kings your predecessors will bear witness to this truth, which is also exemplified in the good understanding which has always existed between them and Your Majesty's subjects. With the consent of Your Majesty the Portuguese have allied themselves by marriage with the people of the country, and at all times rendered them the services they demanded. These services were much valued. Witness the excessive honour and favour bestowed on the Viceroys of India by King Dom João Peria Pandar. We have shown ourselves equally anxious to please Your Majesty and are so even at the present day.

We allow that on some occasions Your Majesty has been badly treated by some of our Generals and Captains, and that unpleasantness has been the result of such action ; but the misunderstandings have only lasted a short time and the persons who committed these injustices have found their due reward. The King, our Master, has punished them severely and commanded our Viceroys to do your bidding and content Your Majesty in all things.

1. Tr. R. A. S. Jn. 18. p. 242.

1656 We do not know whether the Dutch will keep their promises to you. From all appearances we doubt it, for it is their aim in all parts where they settle to subdue the country under their own rule. This is proved by the events in the South of India. As soon as the Portuguese had been driven from Malacca, the free navigation of the surrounding kingdoms was forbidden, and thus their trade stopped. This is the reason why the Portuguese are much respected in those parts. For their own interests the Dutch keep them engaged in constant war. Many proofs might be given in support of this statement. In Europe they at one time were the subjects of the King of Spain. They revolted against their lawful Ruler, asking help from France and England. In return for the assistance given they have, as soon as they were free, made war by sea and land on their former Allies. Their greed is so great that as soon as and wherever they see the least chance, they strain every effort to gain some advantage or conquest. Your Majesty's eyes must have been opened to this during their struggle against us in this Island. Your Majesty should have made an alliance with us, which would have prevented Columbo being lost to you. Your Majesty has favoured the Dutch too much, and trusted them too implicitly. As they have deceived Spain, France, and England, and acted with regard to the Kings in the South of India, so they will do with Your Majesty.

It gives us much comfort to hear that Your Majesty expressed sorrow at our expulsion from Columbo, and we were much gratified to hear that Your Majesty shows much kindness to some of our distressed countrymen. This is the true spirit of great and magnanimous Potentates, who delight in showing mercy and forgive former injuries, proving themselves thus the equal of Julius Caesar.

In gratitude for these benefits we have thought it our duty to address the present to Your Majesty, hoping that our Governor will soon enlarge upon the same. We

1656 therefore humbly beg Your Majesty to allow us to send some Ambassadors to your Imperial Court to express our devotion and to confer with Your Majesty on further plans.

We are ready to do Your Majesty such service as you may desire, promising to do our work faithfully and in all things conform to the promises made, as in duty bound.

We hope Your Majesty will license the bearer to return at once. Your Majesty having expressed a desire that I should enter the Imperial Service, I am highly pleased to gratify you in this. May God protect Your Imperial Majesty and grant you a new sceptre and a new crown and perfect health, as well as to the young Prince many long and happy years for the prosperity of the country and the blessing of its inhabitants, and above all victory over all your enemies.

Your Majesty's most faithful slave,

ANTONIO DO AMARAL DE MENESES.

Manar, September 18th, 1656.

Van der Meyden to Raja Sinha :

My Lord Emperor,

Your letter dated the 23rd with the copy of a letter from the Portuguese Captain Antonio do Amaral has come safely to hand. We had hoped for a more favourable reply to our representations. After due consideration we feel it is expedient once more to submit to Your Majesty a clear statement of facts.

Firstly, with regard to the alliance made at Batticalo, we fully desire to fulfil its Clauses to the letter, but we must also insist on Your Majesty doing the same. The misunderstanding seems to have arisen from the non-compliance with its terms, the observance of which would remove all existing difficulties. But it seems that Your Majesty does not wish that they should cease. The Hon'ble Governor-General and Council of India are much puzzled by the conduct of Your Majesty, and they are of opinion that if the Company is bound by the terms of the Contract, so is Your Majesty.

1656 Your Majesty states that the Dutch have made in former times promises which now they do not intend to keep. Your Majesty yourself called us into the country for the expulsion of the Portuguese. This feat had already been unsuccessfully attempted by the illustrious Raja, King of Sittavaca. We on behalf of Your Majesty have accomplished the deed. It can scarcely be said that we have not fulfilled the hopes we held out.

What have we done since the capture of Columbo in contravention of the Clauses of the Treaty, and why has Your Majesty at once closed the mountain Passes and prevented stores of fresh food being carried to this town for the use of our soldiers? In every way we have been obstructed in our intentions to follow up our success against the Portuguese, and to destroy their armada which we keep blockaded at Tuticorin. Your Majesty's animosity has further become apparent by the forcible removal, even the killing of the natives under our control. And now Your Majesty leagues yourself with the Portuguese and sends them comforting messages, condoling with them that they have been driven out of Columbo, and offering to join them in their quarrels against us. But Your Majesty will soon find to your cost what they mean with their wiles and insinuations, and in the end be forced to confess that God always protects those that are in the right. Why should the Portuguese maintain that our sole aim is to gain possession of all the kingdoms of India? Have not the Portuguese done so before us? We came with no other intention than to extend our commerce, and only demanded free traffic by sea. But the Portuguese were jealous, attacked us first, and did us much harm.

The King of Spain laid the Netherlands under a heavy iron yoke, but gradually God has given us the victory over our enemies and the King of Spain was obliged, in presence of the most powerful Potentates of Europe and the Ambassadors from all the Courts, to renounce his pretensions on the United Provinces of the Netherlands

1656 in the town of Munster. The High and Mighty States-General never made war on France; and with respect to England, they ought to have attacked them before. In what Kingdom of India are the Portuguese held in more respect than the Dutch at the present time? We constantly lower the dues at Malacca, which were excessive during the time the Portuguese held that town.

With regard to the Island of Ceylon, we ask nothing beyond compensation for the expenses incurred by the Company on Your Majesty's behalf: the expulsion of the Portuguese: and peace with Your Majesty and your subjects, without interference in the Seven, Four or Five Corles. But if Your Majesty disturbs the district of Mature, and refuse to leave that part in peace and the cinnamon peelers undisturbed: unless Your Majesty sends back the persons detained at Court, and those removed by the soldiery, within ten days from date: we shall conclude Your Majesty is in league with the Portuguese, and intends us harm instead of good, and therefore our duty will be to oppose hostilities with enmity. We shall try to liberate our subjects by force. We shall capture any port of Your Majesty's dominions we shall think fit. Even in the event of Your Majesty being victorious in the conquest, you would gain nothing, as the Portuguese would claim a larger share in the country than they held before. We pray God to avert such a disaster. Your Majesty may be sure that the help of the Portuguese will not lead to such honour and profit as our assistance had procured Your Majesty.

In the Town of Columbo, October 27th, 1656.

ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN.

Van der Meyden to the Governor-General:

On the 10th of September we received a letter from Raja Sinha in which he called us barbarians who seemed to be without a King or laws, whose word could not be relied on. The reason for his writing was the information that

1656 a ship had run aground off Batticalo, a fact with which we were already acquainted. It was a Danish privateer. We sent no answer to the King, awaiting first your instructions as to the reply. Having received these we wrote to him on October 10th, to which he answered on October 25th, using threatening terms and enclosing a letter from Antonio do Amaral, with whom he seems to have been already for some time in treaty. Although we did not consider the letter authentic, it proved the King's intentions, and it was resolved to collect our available forces in Columbo and to intimate to the King that unless within ten days he returned all the people he had drawn away from our districts and observed all the Clauses of the Contract, we intended to obtain our rights by force of arms.

Mustering our troops we found our forces to consist of 700 valid soldiers, 250 sailors, a number of Javanese, Bandanese, Toupas, and as many Lascarins as could be collected. Leaving Commander Adam Roothaes in charge of the town, I set out at the head of the expedition. We crossed the river Matual, where the Sinhalese forces offered no opposition. A few boats were manned and sent up the river as far as the Pas Nacolegam, where Rampot, the former Dissave of Uva, with the Pensi Corale of the Four Corles and Diwacre Modliar, were lying with about 1,000 Lascarins. After about half an hour's fight they took to their heels, leaving the Pass open for us. We then made two divisions of our troops and thus marched along both banks of the river. The armed boats and sloops could not accompany us, as the strong current drove them backwards instead of forward. About noon my party reached Calane, but as the party on the other side did not make its appearance, we retraced our steps in the pouring rain and decided to wait till the next morning to start together.

The march towards Reygam Watte was accomplished in perfect order. We entered the place with beating drums, but found Raja's palace in ashes and the camp entirely deserted. We then marched past Malvana to

1656 the village of Nagamme where we remained for the night.

We made the usual signals to invite the people to present themselves before us. We were sorry to find that the district had been entirely devastated and almost depopulated. All the coconut trees had been destroyed. We seized along the river a few catamarans laden with the King's baggage. It proved of little value, as the enclosed inventory will show. We waited at Nagamme till about midday, but as none of the residents presented themselves before us, the Members of the Council present met in consultation for deciding on the next move. Since it was ascertained that Raja Sinha had withdrawn to Ruanelle, the choice lay between pursuit or a march towards the district of Safragam for the purpose of forcing some of the natives to return to our fortresses. As our provisions were nearly exhausted and the country still infested with marauders, it was resolved to send a party of 250 soldiers with a number of Lascarins towards Gourbeville, Candanpelle, a distance of about 5 miles, to remain there for a few days, and to return with the bulk of our army to Malvana to obtain provisions and make a fence to replace the broken-down wall, and send the sailors back on board the ships. Leaving Major van der Laan in charge of the troops, I hastened back to Columbo in order to despatch the vessels without delay to Goa and Batavia.

Referring again to the position of affairs between Raja Sinha and us, we are sorry to report that his marauders still infect the district of Mature. They have even dared to show themselves in the villages Malimande, Baygams, Dikwelle, even close to the town of Matara, which we could not prevent, our troops being occupied at other places. It was decided that Captain Emout Ruysch should leave the depopulated Morrua Corale and bring a strong party to Accurass for the protection of the Beligam Corale. The remainder of our troops would occupy Hakman, it having become evident that the ruling Chiefs of Mature were very lukewarm in their devotion to us and did nothing to expel the King's marauders.

1656 (Here follow shipping movements) "The Schildpao has stranded close to Yale and the crew, and 21 men, were all massacred by Sinhalese,"

Portugese frigates still off Mannar.

Colombo, 19th November 1656.

Governor-General Maetsuycker and Council to the Directors :

We informed you last year of the expedition which had been sent to Ceylon under Commissary Gerard Hulft, more especially with the object of gaining possession of the town of Columbo, which has always been a great obstacle in our way. We also mentioned the unfortunate issue of the assault on Nov. 12th and that afterwards a regular siege had been decided on. We sent on March 7th of this year considerable reinforcements, in the Roode Leuen and Avenhorn and the fluit Pelican, consisting of 273 soldiers, a goodly number of sailors, ammunition, and provisions to the value of 40240 florins.....The letters from Commissary Hulft and Governor van der Meyden contained nothing of much importance, except that the siege was being continued, and that the Portuguese did their utmost to force us to withdraw.

On April 5th of this year Mr. Hulft had an interview with King Raja Sinha who had come down with a large army and camped a few miles above Columbo. The King received him very graciously, and made him a present of a jewel and a gold ring, which however were showy rather than valuable. He returned to Columbo on 9th following. The next day he went to inspect some of the works which were in progress, and having imprudently exposed himself, he was struck by a cannon ball in the breast and died almost immediately. The Company has lost in him a true and intelligent servant. The body was carried to Galle and received preliminary burial in the church. It will be interred with the usual solemnity and ceremony as soon as Governor van der Meyden shall have returned to Galle.

1656 The siege is being continued by the Governor. The Portuguese, shut in from the sea and land, will not be able to hold out much longer. Food is very scarce. Hundreds of poor citizens are driven by the enemy out of the town, but are again driven back by our troops. On May 7th an assault was directed against the Point St. Joan, which was taken possession of without much opposition: but when our troops advanced to penetrate further into the town, they were forced to retire with heavy losses. However they held the Point St. Joan, although the inhabitants kept up a continual fire from the roofs of the houses in the vicinity. On the 11th the Governor of Columbo sent his Parlementaries to negotiate for a surrender. The same day the conditions were agreed upon. The present and former Generals, Antonio de Melo de Castro and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, would be conveyed in our ships either to Cochin or Wingurla, with all their property. The padres, military officers, burghers, merchants, and natives other than Sinhalese, would be taken to Pulicat with permission to go from there to St. Thomé. They would be allowed to carry with them all their portable goods. The soldiers, only about 100 in number, would be shipped to Batavia, to be sent from there to Europe.

The town was then transferred to the Company after a siege of six months and 27 days, and garrisoned with our troops. The sufferings during the siege must have been intense. Several thousands must have died of want and hunger. Dead bodies were lying in hundreds about the streets. The stench was unbearable and might have caused a serious epidemic. Unfortunately after the surrender, discipline could not be maintained among our troops. We fear the officers encouraged the pillage, but as it contravened one of the Clauses of the Contract, we must regret this blot on the honour of the Company. Within the town we found 128 iron and metal guns, 25 metal clocks (bells?) a quantity of sulphur, saltpetre, balls, areca, cinnamon, cloth, 7650 lbs. of gunpowder, 8 lasts of rice, 24 frigates (?) and a number of slaves. The soldiers have been conveyed to Batavia, and the

1656 padres and merchants to Coromandel; but as yet the Generals were waiting for a ship to take them from the Island. A few days before the surrender of Columbo the yacht Flushing, cruising about Calecut and on the coast of Malabar, had sighted a numerous fleet of frigates and other craft coming from Goa with reinforcements and provisions for Ceylon. The yacht gave chase, several frigates were disabled and sank, the remainder were forced to seek safety in flight, to round the Cape Comorin and run into Tuticorin, from which they after some time managed to reach Jafanapatam.

During the siege of Columbo Raja Sinha has been very helpful to the Company, providing necessaries and provisions, without which it would have been impossible for us to sustain the siege for such a considerable time. But he was also keeping up communications with the besieged Portuguese at the same time. As soon however as the town has surrendered, he has shown himself exceedingly hostile. He has closed all the mountain Passes and forbidden the purchase and removal of cattle and food, his troops have infested the country about the town and carried off all the natives. He has not only done so about Columbo, but also about Galle and the Matura Corle which have been already so many years under our peaceful rule. He gives no reason for his altered behaviour. Our Commissaries have offered him, immediately after the fall of Columbo, to have the fortress of Negumbo demolished, with the promise to do the same to that of Columbo later on. He takes no notice of our letters or representations and in the meantime continues his hostile demonstrations. It was rumoured that he had asked the Portuguese at Manar and Jafanapatam to make common cause with him against us. Of course they would be only too glad to dislodge us from Columbo, or at least make its possession useless to us, a proceeding which might lead to a long and disastrous war.

We suppose that the King is offended because he has not been consulted about the conditions of the surrender, and as he was camped in its vicinity he

1656 might have had a voice in the matter. He may also be aggrieved because we have placed our troops in the town, which he would have at once destroyed by fire ; and he may think that we intend to keep possession of it and become his bitter enemies as the Portuguese were formerly. Governor van der Meyden is of opinion that we have a right to keep the town, as the King does not hold to his Contract and tries to evade payment of his debt to us by all possible devices. We are inclined to agree with the proposal. If we are able to secure our hold on Columbo and the neighbouring districts, the new possession will prove a very valuable acquisition to the Company, not only on account of the cinnamon, of which we should have the monopoly, but also on account of the tribute we could impose on the native villages, and the command of all the articles of trade. The fear of the King joining the Portuguese against us will oblige us for the present to keep large forces in the Island, which rather upsets our calculations, as we had hoped that by the capture of Columbo we should be enabled to lessen instead of increasing our outlay.

We had given instructions to Commissary Gerard Hulft, in the event of Columbo falling into our hands, that the town should at once be demolished and the neighbouring districts taken under our protection. If he had lived he would no doubt have acted in this sense and prevented the difficulty which may now arise from the combined action of Raja Sinha with the Portuguese. The latter keep some of their adherents and spies still in all parts of the country, and we shall have to be on our guard against them as well as against our open enemies. However as Raja Sinha generally alienates his friends by his haughty demeanour, we hope that this alliance may not last long and that the Portuguese will find enough to do with their own affairs by defending their remaining possessions against our attacks. All necessary precautions are taken by us to defend the most important points of the Island ; the Passes are also guarded to prevent the King from invading our territory. We shall easily keep him out, unless he be assisted by the Portuguese.

1656 We mentioned that in the first unsuccessful assault on Columbo, seventy-four Dutchmen had been taken prisoners. A short time before the capture of the town only eight of these were alive, who were then exchanged for an equal number of Portuguese. The released prisoners stated that the treatment they had received from the Portuguese was not worse than that extended to their own soldiers. Since the town had surrendered five frigates laden with provisions have arrived from Goa. These came just in time, for fresh food was becoming scarce through the closing of the mountain Passes by Raja Sinha. Several deserters found in the town have received due punishment, among them a certain Portuguese, Simão Lopes de Basto, who had offered his services to the Company at Surat and had been sent to us with information regarding the fortress at Diu, by Director Hendrick van Gendt. Scarcely had he reached Ceylon when he enlisted again with the Portuguese.

[Trade matters follow] "Our instructions will be found in the Letter Book as well as our opinion with regard to Columbo, the decision of which we have ultimately left to the Governor, authorising him to act in accordance with the changes which may result from the actions of Raja Sinha."

Batavia, 4th Dec., 1656

The effect of the King's displeasure was that "the principal villages round Columbo have been entirely depopulated." The people too were hostile, and when a frigate stranded near Galle, they killed twenty of its crew, only one man escaping to convey the news. "Now that it seems pretty plain that the King dare not openly resist us nor can rely on the help of the Portuguese, we are of opinion we must retain possession of Columbo" wrote the Governor-General. "Not only shall we have the benefits of the cinnamon produce of the country round, but the port itself will improve our commerce." Plans had been made to demolish the greater portion of the fort, and this would render possible a reduction in the size of the garrison needed for its defence: he sent to

1657 Holland a survey showing what the proposals were. "The Governor also proposed gaining possession of Manaar and Jafanapatam...but we fear that we shall be unable to take this matter in hand during the present year."²

In the course of the year 1657 he was able to report that the King had not appeared in person in the Low-country, though raiding incursions were made from time to time. The threatened alliance with the Portuguese had led to nothing, and if he started hostilities, arrangements had been made to blockade his coast from Kottiarاما to Batticalo and to cut off the foreign trade of his country. At the same time the refusal of passes to Kottiarاما had greatly irritated the Nayaker of Tanjore, whose own ports suffered heavily in consequence.

The clay walls of Negumbo were replaced by stone, and van der Meyden recommended building another fort at Chilaw in order to protect the cinnamon in the Seven Korales as well as to control the port "where much shipping goes on." The demolition of Columbo had not begun. The collection of cinnamon was progressing well, the Elephant Hunt had captured five tuskers and twenty *Aliyas*, and though the areca crop was poor, prices were good. Hulft's funeral at Galle had cost 1987 florins. "One hundred and fifty Dutchmen have married native women in Columbo, which in time may prove very beneficial to the Company."³

1658 Text of a letter addressed from Lisbon by Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal⁴ to the Portuguese Viceroy, Count of Villapouca.

dated April 24th. 1658.

Count and much esteemed Friend,

I, the Queen, send you my best greetings. Since the arrival of Captain Antonio de Sousa de Menezes, no vessel has

2. Governor-General to XVII, 31st January, 1657.

3. Governor-General to XVII, 17th December, 1657.

4. Dom João IV died in November 1656, and was succeeded, by Dom Affonso VI, under the Regency of his mother Dona Luisa de Gusmão.

1658 reached Lisbon, so that we are ignorant of the present state of our affairs in India, which gives me much uneasiness. The prisoners from Ceylon, who have returned to this country, inform us that the whole of the Island is lost to us, owing to the insufficiency of our means of defence, and that all our fortified places on the South Coast of India are menaced. The whole country is disturbed by the news. We fear that we have overrated the capacity of Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, and if another captain had been sent to his assistance instead of Francisco de Seixas, the disaster would not have happened.

I understand that soon after your arrival in Goa dissatisfaction has become rife in Goa, because you have appointed Commander of the Fleet, Louis Mendoza Furtado, an experienced person, and that he has been in charge of a fleet of ten galleons, a few patachos and a number of frigates, and we hope that he had given a good account of himself against the enemy. Manuel Mascarenhas assures us that there is no want of money in India, the revenue amounting to 700,000 xerafims, nor of soldiers or vessels. The 1200 who were embarked on the ships in which you left, added to the 830 who followed, would be quite sufficient to man twelve galleons, which would easily keep the enemy off our coast. As true as you are my right hand in India, I promise that in September 1659 I shall send you a strong contingent of men and ships to enable you not only to reconquer Ceylon, but any other place which may have been lost in the interim. Be sure the fortresses on the South Coast be constantly kept in a proper state of defence, with sufficient garrisons, and adequate provisions and stores of ammunition. You will also give your attention to the Castles of Mormagoa and the Agudos, and their batteries, keeping the galleons always under their guns, for we have no better strongholds in India. If we lose these, all would be lost; the others may at any time be regained. We hear that the Dutch intend to rob us of our possessions on the South Coast. Be at all times on your guard. Defend one of the Castles in

1658 person, and give the command of the other to Dom Manuel Mascarenhas—a nobleman of high repute and devoted to our cause.

I have considered it expedient to exhort you to maintain the most friendly relations with King Adelsia, that no dissensions arise between you at any time, for the town of Goa being situated in his land, he might forbid provisions being sent to the town. He might also make a Treaty with the Dutch and besiege the town by land, while the others blockaded it by sea. The same policy should be observed with regard to the domain of Cammara, for sufficient provisions can reach Goa from these parts alone, as I have been told by your predecessors. The marriage contract between the Princess, the Infanta, and the King of France, has nearly been concluded. There is also a prospect of a marriage between the daughter of Cromwell and my dear son Dom Alfonso. The King of France promises with the help of Cromwell to bring about the cessation of hostilities between the Dutch and the Portuguese.

During the present year I can despatch no other than the two present ships. All the available forces are required to defend our Frontier against the King of Spain, who since the death of my Lord Dom Joan IV makes attempts at re-conquering Portugal. He has killed a great number of our soldiers in battle, and we have been obliged to surrender to him a few places, but we are endeavouring to release them from his power and have collected such a strong Army that we hope to defeat the Spanish forces.

You will order detailed reports to be drawn up with respect to the loss of Ceylon, and give instructions that the former General Antonio de Sousa, and Francisco de Seixas, who fled after being defeated before Ceylon, be conveyed to Portugal, where they will be arraigned before the High Court of Justice.

You will also send instructions to the Governors of Mosambique, Mombassa and other places to keep careful

1658 watch, in order not to be surprised by the enemy. You will take care that they be amply provided with ammunition of war and other things necessary for their protection, and take the same precautions in respect of our possessions to the north of Goa.

I request that all due honour and favour be shown to the Captain-General-in-Chief Louis de Mendoza Furtado, as well as to Dom Manuel Mascarenhas, Dom Pedro Henrico and Don Guilliano de Noronha. These are all noblemen of the highest character and may be employed at all times in my service, for which they have offered me their persons and their possessions.

Remember to order the Director for India to fill all our Stores with provisions and all other necessities. The revenue of the land of Galseta may be used for the purpose. The Comptroller-General must dismiss a couple of cashiers and two clerks, as so many officials are not wanted. They will be required to submit their accounts to our Director. Our agents and treasurers must also be called upon to have their books examined, as I hear that they are over a million in arrears. This money could be used for the equipment of the frigates at Cannanore or the North.

The Cannarin Generals of the districts of Salsete and Bardes, and all the ruling Chiefs of the island of Goa, must be informed in my name that all the posts along the shore must be strengthened and guarded against an unexpected landing of the enemy, and that also the frontiers along the country of the King must be watched. Should they be desirous to lease the collecting of the tolls and the duty on tobacco and arrack, you might consent even if at present we should be the losers, but they must pay the rents every quarter.

The Noblemen, imprisoned by the Viceroy, the Count of Sarzedas, for rebellion against the former Viceroy, Count d'Obidos, must all be embarked for Portugal.

1658 In conclusion, I again recommend that all fortresses be kept in a proper state of defence, especially Marmagoa and d'Aguades, on which I thoroughly rely.

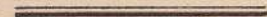
Lisbon, April 24th, 1658.

The Queen signed this letter, and it has been copied by order of the Count of Odenir, whose signature has also been added.

Compared with the translation and found to conform.

Columbo, May 11th, 1659.

JACOB BORCHORST.



CHAPTER XII.

1658 Ryckloff van Goens was cruising about the Indian coast: his plans were to capture Tuticorin and Manar and then blockade Cochin: if he failed to take this last, he intended to go with all his forces in May to attack Jafanapatam.¹

Letter from Commissary Ryckloff van Goens to the Governor-General Joan Maetsuycker and the Council for India. Dated March 17th, 1658.

Honourable, valiant, wise, prudent and very generous
Sirs,

We seize the first opportunity to inform you that after a perilous voyage we only reached Goa on November 19th. We were disappointed in finding things very different from what we were led to expect. Instead of the vessels we had hoped to find ready to join our intended expedition to Diu, we were obliged to exchange our strong war-yacht *Vlielandt* against the unseaworthy *Arondster*. The enemy's fleet consisted of four splendid galleons and five lesser vessels. The flagship carried 48 guns; the vice-admiral 40: and the other ships from 24 to 30. There was also a yacht mounted with 10 guns ready to start with a cargo for Portugal. Six days before the arrival of our fleet, three large vessels had entered the port of Goa. Under these circumstances it was considered inexpedient to undertake the attack of Diu. Moreover we had been informed that the Portuguese had been advised of our intentions and had fortified themselves. In the event of a naval battle taking place at Goa and our fleet being defeated, Ceylon would have been unprotected. It was therefore decided to reinforce the fleet at Goa, for which purpose we left the *Phoenix*, *Tholen*,

1. Van Goens to Van der Meyden, 26th Dec., 1657.

1658 Vlielandt, Weisp, Worum, Schelbing, Goudsbloem, Junkyer and Livness, under command of Adrian Roothaes with Admiral van Kener as vice-Commander and Rens Jansen as Rear-Admiral. The guns from the Salamander, Goes, Naarden and Arondster were transported on these several vessels, so that when I left there were 352 heavy guns on the fleet and 1100 combatants.

After despatching the fluits Venenburgh and Oyeraar to Surat the Avondster and Boterbloem were told off in advance to Ceylon, to inform Governor van der Meyden of our designs on Tuticorin and the North Coast of Ceylon. Captain van der Laan went on Dec. 5th with the Salamander and Naarden to cruise in company of the Arondster about Cape Comorin and wait for my arrival. I followed on Dec. 10th and expected to find the vessels waiting for me at Cape Comorin with advices from Ceylon. The Arondster and Boterbloem were lying off Cape Comorin, but had not been able to cross over to Ceylon on account of the weather. The Salamander and Naarden had not been heard of and had as I thought been driven by the strong North-East winds past the Cape and perhaps past Ceylon. At last on Dec. 25th it was decided to send the Arondster and Boterbloem across to the Island and remain a few days longer at Cape Comorin in the hope that the other vessels might make their appearance.

Having sailed for Columbo we found sufficient forces available for an attempt on Tuticorin, Manar and Jafanapatam. We heard that Captain van der Laan had reached the first-mentioned place before us and made an unsuccessful attack on it. We at once started thither, arrived on Jan. 24th and had the next day the place already in our possession. Governor van der Meyden has informed you already of the measures taken by us to make the natives satisfied with the change of rule. After appointing Factor Voms resident at Tuticorin and having entrusted him with a mission to the Naique of Madura and Tevar, we crossed over to Manar, but owing to the strong winds and want of small craft for landing the troops, we only could begin operations on Feb. 19th. The

1658 enemy was well prepared, having made a track along the seashore extending over two miles. Fourteen frigates with 700 whites on board were ready to drive us off. Our combined Fleet attacked these. The Portuguese bravely defended themselves. We took about thirteen men, but the enemy double that number.

During the night we approached so close to the shore that the objects on land were within the range of our muskets. The enemy in order to prevent the landing of our troops ventured between our Fleet and the shore, but could not save the situation. The troops were landed at daybreak and the fight at once began. The Portuguese were soon routed, and pursued by Captain van der Laan. But our men could not follow them long. During the five and a half months they had been confined on board, they had, so to say, lost the use of their legs. Besides we were unacquainted with the country and dared not venture too far inland. Whilst we were thus engaged on shore, Skipper Rob had orders to attack the frigates which had been abandoned by the Portuguese. They were all burnt.

Notwithstanding the heavy rain we marched along the shore in an easterly direction and early in the evening we reached the most outlying post of the enemy. It had been built on the projecting point of the island, just opposite Ceylon. We found it mounted with six iron guns. I summoned the Commander to surrender and at once two persons appeared, desiring to negotiate terms. The arms were laid down. It was agreed that the unmarried people should be conveyed to Batavia and from thence to Europe. The married couples, only eight in number, should be taken to Columbo and from there to Goa. For the defence of Manar the Portuguese had collected all their forces from the neighbouring garrisons and had left in Jafanapatam only a very small number of men and two frigates. Those that managed to escape had crossed over to Ceylon and to Jafanapatam. We took 124 white prisoners from the fortress. The Portuguese themselves declared that 350 persons were missing. Among the killed

1658 was the former General of Ceylon, Anthonio d'Amiral, a man whom they held in great esteem. I had him buried with military honours.

It was decided to follow up our victory at once and Major van der Laan was ordered to march as fast as possible with the whole military train to Jafanapatam. I followed three days later, after having attended to the most urgent matters at Manaar and on the fleet. I joined Major van der Laan on March 1st. The combined forces were divided into 16 companies, each comprising 53 men. The only trouble we had was that the soldiers suffered so much from soreness of the feet. On the 3rd we had arrived at the small bay which was to be crossed. This was an arduous and perilous undertaking and might have caused our ruin if the enemy had thought fit to attack us at that place. Half of our forces could only be conveyed to the other side at a time and we had to wait eight hours ere the second half could cross the canal. I took the best of our troops over first. Luckily the enemy seemed already to have lost heart, but it took 24 hours before the men and baggage were brought on the other side. By crossing this inlet we saved a march of three days, which our soldiers could certainly not have accomplished.

On the night of the 7th we had reached close to Jafanapatam. We then invested the town. The enemy had ensconced themselves in a large church which we at once attacked and which was soon abandoned. They enemy lost 15 men, we made 10 prisoners and quartered our troops in the vacant church. Next day we got possession of another church called St. Paul, a strongly built edifice, and we are now lying close to the Castle. We are daily coming closer to the South side of the town. The enemy shoot at us from the houses and churches. They sometimes hit and kill, but on the whole we have had but four losses. In all we have 40 killed and 27 wounded. Just now the Maas reaches Jafanapatam with 200 men from the Salamander which

1658 at last had reached Columbo and which had been at once sent to us by Governor van der Meyden. The reinforcement arrived just in time, for we could otherwise not have continued the siege. The enemy has still free access to the sea, we cannot cut him off from that side, which would require three yachts, 10 heavy guns and about 200 men, which cannot be spared from here. Our entire force, including the Ambonese, amount to 1100 men. We only left 60 soldiers at Manaar ; three hundred would scarcely suffice in the event of the enemy meditating a surprise. But we are hoping shortly to receive some reinforcements from the fleet which soon will leave Goa.

The jurisdiction of Jafanapatam extends from Calpatin to the North, past Manaar (which is a beautiful and fertile island about 7 miles in extent and has a population of 2000) as far as the great inlet, thence to the point Pedro where the harbour is enclosed by a small tongue of land. The whole area, so far as I can calculate, is about 30 miles, excluding the island of Manaar. It is flat and excessively fertile. It produces rice, cotton, sayi, elephants, wild and tame game, etc. It is thickly populated. The inhabitants are of small stature and very submissive. They are much more engaged in handicrafts than the Sinhalese people. They are weavers, dyers and cultivators. Nine islands close to the shore also belong to Jafanapatam, the population numbering 20,000 is also engaged in handicrafts and prefers the Christian religion. The country of Jafanapatam is divided into three provinces, each sub-divided into 5 districts. The numerous villages around have already placed themselves under our rule. At present the Portuguese only hold sway over the town and the two fortresses. The natives seem very well satisfied with the change of Government and, not to lose the advantages already gained, we have resolved not to undertake anything serious against the town until the arrival of the vessels from Ceylon. The Castle, which is one of the strongest in India, is a square building, with four large bulwarks on the four corners, connected by four half-moons. It is much larger than the

1658 Castle at Batavia. It is built on a high point above the sea and cannot be scaled. General Anthonio d'Amiral had the walls restored since the capture of Columbo. They seem to us about 16 feet in thickness. It faces the sea on one side, therefore it can only be forced by famine.

I have been informed that the revenues of Jafanapatam amount, exclusive of the harbour dues, to 72,000 *patacos* yearly, besides 100 elephants. The pearl fisheries of Manaar and Tuticorin are leased for 8000 *patacos* a year. Once master of Jafanapatam we could abandon Pulicat. All the profits of the trade would then fall to our own people, and we should not be subjected to the annoyances from the Moorish officials. The whole of the South Coast would then soon fall under our rule, the population being of the same race as the Sinhalese. The trade would be entirely in our hands, and Jafanapatam might become the granary for the whole island of Ceylon. The population comprises 50,000 Christians. They pay their own clerics and visitors of the sick. The weavers are anxious to contract for any amount of cloths. They provide the whole of Ceylon with their manufactures. The place is of much more importance than we had imagined, and can be kept up without costing the Company anything. But it will be necessary to appoint over Ceylon a disinterested man who will devote himself not to his own interests but to those of the Company. The pearl fisheries at Manaar are also much more productive than would appear from information supplied to you. The reef of Manaar has produced pearls worth 2,000 to 3,000 Real of Eight each. The present war has of course interfered with the fisheries.

If I succeed in gaining possession of the castle and town of Jafanapatam I shall make the strictest enquiries in every matter, and take such measures that the Company is no longer defrauded of her dues. The expenses for a garrison at Jafanapatam will be very small. I would advise that this immense Castle be demolished and 60 men placed in the small fortress of Cays at the entrance of the harbour and

1658 a Factory built at Point Pedro, where the ships can anchor close to the shore. A small fortress at the Pass between Trincomale and the inlet at Jafanapatam would secure the whole country against any attempt by Raja Sinha. However, a strong fortress is wanted at Manaar. General Anthonio d'Amiral had already begun to build it. The foundations alone cost 20,000 Real, and a garrison of 150 men would be necessary. Another fortress or redoubt should be raised near Cape Comorin, at a spot which seems specially suitable and which could be guarded by 40 or 50 men. As soon as the demolitions shall have been completed at Columbo a garrison of 250 men will be sufficient for the protection of that place, and that of Gale could also easily be lessened. At Matura a body of 350 would be required and at Negumbo and Chilau 100, so that in all 1050 soldiers would be wanted for Ceylon, besides the sailors and civilian assistants; but through the conquest of Jafanapatam Ceylon will become one of the most profitable possessions of the Company.

As for the successes obtained before Goa, where we beat off the enemy three times, we refer to the reports of Commander Roothaes. The Portuguese were this time very strong and we expect that they will have received reinforcements by next year for which we must also be prepared, in order to maintain our supremacy on the sea. It is a pity that our fleet generally reaches Goa too late. We would therefore propose that the next expedition leave Batavia about September 15th and sail direct for Ceylon, where it could be strengthened with some small craft carrying a crew of no more than fifteen men, which we have found very useful against the frigates in our last exploit.

With these combined forces we could then make an attempt on Cotchin where the Portuguese would collect their strongest naval force, and if we were so lucky as to defeat them the whole coast of Malabar and the pepper trade would be ours. We could leave at Cotchin a redoubt with 100 men and give the town in charge of the Samorin on condition to sell us the pepper at a fixed price. We would

1658 then go to Goa and in January proceed to Diu. Should the Portuguese in the meantime send out a fleet South, we would at once leave Diu and go in their pursuit. We only fear that in the event of our being obliged to withdraw from Jafanapatam before it has capitulated, the Portuguese may make an attempt at the recapture of Manaar. We expect that Governor van der Meyden will take timely measures to prevent a similar disaster. We hope that the yachts Goes, Naarden and Worrumb may reach you with the booty and the merchandise from Coromandel in August next. After Jafanapatam, St. Thomé must next be subdued, —we do not think its conquest will lead to trouble with the Nabob,—and at last the Portuguese driven from Coulaugh, when their entire power in India will be destroyed.

In accordance with your instructions Factor Liendert Jansen has been dismissed and ordered to Batavia. We have appointed in his stead Sub-Factor Landolick. The frauds committed by Fiscal van der Dussen with regard to the lading of the Venenburgh have induced me to order him to go with the ship to Surat in order to be present at the unloading. Copy of his reply is enclosed.

You will soon receive the proofs of the dishonesty of Vice-Commander de Bitter. During the night he had three large chests removed from the prize-craft Mosambique. He has confessed to have taken a box containing 200 ounces of ambergris, 2000 ounces of musk and 83 lbs. of gold. He has distributed the musk right and left, but the gold has not yet been traced. My hurried march hither prevents me forwarding the necessary documents relating to the above-mentioned facts. There are still several matters which demand my closest attention. I therefore hope you will excuse the meagre details of the present. I have requested Governor van der Meyden to send you all the papers I left in Ceylon, and I trust that the Residents of Surat, Goa and Wingurla will also forward you the copies of the instructions sent to them. If we are favoured with a speedy victory, it is my intention to cross over to Coromandel for

1658 the purpose of inspection, to return about September to Jafanapatam and then travel by land to Columbo. I will despatch the troops as early as possible to Columbo, and only leave here the necessary garrisons. I reckon that I shall need six months to attend to all the urgent matters in Ceylon. As I do not doubt but Commander Roothaes has given you this year the greatest satisfaction, I would recommend that he be next year again appointed Commander of the Fleet. Governor van der Meyden might join him and confer with him on the plans with regard to Cotchin and Diu.

With reference to myself, I beg to remind you that when I left the Netherlands, I was promised by express Resolution of the Seventeen the first vacancy on the Council for India. The death of Mr. Ceasar allows me to present myself as a candidate, and I trust you will accept me as a member, which favour I will gratefully acknowledge by devoting my best powers to the services of the Honourable Company.

In the Dutch Camp before Jafanapatam, March 17th, 1658

Your humble servant,
RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.

Examined and found to conform to the original.

In the Castle of Batavia, Sept. 25th, 1658.

ANDRES TRISIUS.

Contract between the Admiral and Commander-in-Chief and Sergeant Major van der Laan on behalf of the High and Mighty States-General of the United Netherlands and the United East India Company on the one side, and....Rodrigo and Alonzo Masias representing the Captain of the fortress Manaar, Andre Valoso, on the other side.

Dated February 24th, 1658.

The married soldiers with their wives will be placed under the protection of the Dutch and conveyed to the coast of India as soon as occasion offers. This Clause only relates to white Portuguese. They will deliver their arms at a spot

1658 about 50 paces from the Castle to Sergeant Major van der Laan and be taken by our vessels to Batavia to be conveyed afterwards to Europe.

Thus resolved and agreed in the Church of St. Cx, this 24th of Feb. 1658. In the town of Manaar.

RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS,
JAN VAN DER LAAN.

Compared and found in accordance with the original.

Jafanapatam, June 24th, 1658.

CORNELIS VALKENBURGH,
Secy.

Letter from the Governor of Jafanapatam, Joan de Mello, to the Captain-General of the Naval Forces sent to his assistance.

Dated May 12th, 1658.

The bearer of the present letter will inform you of the straits we are in owing to our town being blockaded by land and sea. He will acquaint you with the enemy's strength, with the situation of his batteries, with the damage he has done to our ramparts and fortifications and of the progress he has made. Our soldiers are stationed in the faux braie and the trenches made by the enemy nearly touch this defence. His force consists of 1000 white soldiers besides the garrison placed at fort Cays, which we were obliged to surrender a few days ago. We are short of everything in the town. I do not wish to specify our wants as this letter may be intercepted. I have written fully *via* Negapatam. We are driven here to the utmost extremity, and unless assistance arrives shortly we shall not be able to hold out much longer. We have plenty of combatants. I can send a strong force to meet you and help you to cross the enemy's line, if you will let me know in good time at what spot you intend to land. It would be well to resort to some stratagem in order to engage the enemy in a skirmish, and inform me of this

1658 having succeeded. I would then make a sortie and having the enemy between us, with God's help we might defeat him. You can safely consult bearer as he knows the country well and is much esteemed by the residents. He has great influence with the natives and is thoroughly devoted to my person. He has himself offered to undertake this dangerous mission and you may put entire confidence in his statements.

May God lead you here in safety, where your arrival is anxiously looked for to the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the safety of the Portuguese nation.

In the fortress of N. Signora das Milagres at Jafanapatam, May 12th, 1658.

JOAN DE MELLO.

CHAPTER XIII.

1658 LETTER FROM COMMISSARY RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL JOAN MAETSUYCKER AND THE COUNCIL FOR INDIA.

Dated July 6th, 1658.

Honourable, valiant, wise, prudent, and very generous Sirs,

In my last letter dated March 17th I informed you of our doings up to that time and that we were then besieging Jaffanapatam. Through the intelligent zeal of Skipper Cornelis Rob, the yachts Morgenster, Manaar, Waterpas, and the sloops Amsterdam and Japare joined us by crossing the Straits of Manaar, which enabled us to blockade the fortress of St. Francisco or Cays to cut off all access to the town from the sea. An attack on the city was then decided on. Major van der Laan led his men on the South side, and I to the church of St. Domingo on the North. We joined each other at night, with eight killed and a dozen wounded. We then together attacked the Church of the Misericordia driving the enemy, who were holding the edifice, into the Castle. They left two metal guns behind. We had only a few wounded, the enemy many killed.

Having thus come much closer to the town we at once began to dig trenches, which were completed about the end of April. The yacht Naarden was now added to the blockade of the fort Cays. Just when everything was prepared for an assault, the enemy capitulated. The conditions were that the officers and padres should be conveyed to Goa and the white soldiers to Europe. Their baggage, which we claimed, was of no value. The capture of the Water Castle was a great step gained, as we could now keep all our forces united for reducing the fortress. We summoned the Commander to surrender, but received a haughty reply. The guns were then taken from the yachts.

1658 We raised round the fortress eight batteries and daily approached closer to the Castle, till we were quite close to their faux braie. We were very short of powder and had sent a boat to Pulicat for the same, which remained much longer on the way than we expected. In the meantime we were informed by several deserters that an epidemic was raging within the fortress and the town, and people were dying by hundreds.

The powder having at last arrived we could now fire on the Castle from the land and waterside at the same time. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely, sustained by the hope that assistance would reach them from Goa; but the season having now advanced too far to continue in this expectation, a note was brought us on June 21st, asking for a temporary truce, when next day the Parlementaries would come to negotiate terms of surrender. They demanded the free removal of their private property, slaves and a couple of guns, and the permission to sell their houses and fields. I replied that I would consent to their leaving the Castle on the usual conditions, that the officers and married people would be conveyed to Goa as also the padres, that all other persons would be considered and treated as prisoners-of-war to be conveyed to Europe, without license to carry away any of their goods except those we allowed them to take, and that all the Toupas should remain with us as slaves.

The Capitulation was signed on June 23rd. Three thousand five hundred persons emerged from this enormous Castle, consisting of 800 Portuguese, 200 white women, 300 armed Toupas and Kaffirs, 600 natives from Malabar, 300 slaves, male and female, and 1200 sick people, slaves, women and children, who give us a great deal of worry at present. I at once placed our Standard on the top of the Castle, but we kept our soldiers outside for fear of the contagion, for this large number of people had lived inside more like cattle than human beings. The booty reserved for the Company contains a few sacks of Saji and of

1658 Saltpetre, 300 slaves and gold and silver to the value of F. 30,000. Perhaps later on we may discover some hidden treasures which I will safely guard for our Masters. The soldiers and officers were allowed to share the remainder of the spoil, which was of little value.

By God's grace the Company is now Mistress of Jaffanapatam and Ruler of the Island of Ceylon, from which the entire Popish gang and its idolatry has now been banished. We have ordered a general Thanksgiving day on Wednesday, August 7th, for the whole of the Island of Ceylon. We ourselves feel humbly grateful to the good God for the unexpected success. At first things looked very black. Our long voyage obliged us to abandon the designs on Diu. If we had gone there we should have surely met with defeat, as you will learn from the reports from Surat. Commander Roothaes will have explained how necessary it was to reinforce him with part of my fleet, as otherwise he would not have been able to withstand the enemy. I therefore left with Commander Roothaes, vice-Commander Adrian van Lenen and Rear-Admiral Rens Jansen with the ships Tholen, Phoenix, Vlielandt, Weisp, Worrum, Schelburgh, Gonds-bloem, Jierikyer and Lioness, whilst the heavy guns from the Salamander, Goes, Naarden and Arondster were distributed over the other ships, making in all 352 guns.

The separation of our vessels and our delay at Cape Comorin turned out for the best, for if we had arrived earlier at Manaar we should have met with bad weather. It was also a great blessing that the enemy fled before our approach, and it would have been foolhardy to make pursuit, as we were unacquainted with the roads and condition of the land. Our troops underwent great sufferings, we had only provisions for three days and the soldiers had to be kept on short rations, because I would not allow them to forage in the native villages. They were on the point of mutiny, but on reaching the inlet we found provisions for another ten days. We had no money wherewith to purchase necessities. We had not been supplied at Batavia and there-

1658 was none to be had in Ceylon. The Portuguese had not expected us so soon at Jaffanapatam and had therefore not made suitable preparations. The people around the town fled before us and clamoured to be lodged within the walls. We did not know the actual strength of the enemy, which was later shown to have been very great. If we had known this we might have hesitated in attacking such a powerful enemy on their own ground.

Among other fortunate circumstances was the meeting with several Moorish craft which were not able to continue their voyage to Galle, and hearing of our vessels lying off Jaffanapatam did us good service in providing us with rice. Governor Pitt also strained his utmost powers to keep us supplied with necessities, more especially gunpowder, of which we were so short, that for an entire month we could only fire thirty shots. The enemy often thought from the silence of our guns that we had raised the siege. The agony I have suffered during that time is known to God alone. However, as matters turned out, we have made this conquest at very little cost. We lost in this war ninety-eight Dutchmen and about one hundred coolies. Five of our wounded lying in the hospital are not expected to survive their injuries, but the others have all recovered except seventeen. The loss of the enemy at Manaar was 350, both killed and made prisoners; at Cays 117, and here at Jaffanapatam 400 deaths and over 800 Portuguese prisoners, making in all 560 dead and 1000 white prisoners, excluding the Toupas, the women, children and slaves. Our whole force consisted of 1000 men, besides 70 Ambonese.

A rumour that the Portuguese at Goa were preparing a fleet to assist the besieged at Jaffanapatam had reached Factor Leendert Jansen at Wingurla. He at once, on his arrival at Galle, reported the same to Factor Haun who advised Governor van der Meyden, who again sent us word. But as we were convinced that through their defeat and the damage done to the galleons the Portuguese would not be able to equip a fleet of any importance, we felt that the rumour must have been exaggerated. However, to secure against surprise

1658 we were obliged to keep the Gondsbloem and Vlielandt longer in Ceylon than had first been intended, but we hope that they will reach Batavia in time to be again fitted out for the next expedition on the coast of India. The truth of the rumour has since proved to be a fleet of 40 frigates which have been sent from Goa to Cutchin.

The large number of Portuguese prisoners giving us much trouble, we have resolved to send a batch of them to Batavia in the Naarden which must return home for repairs. We enclose the list of names. Those marked B have plotted against my life and that of Major van der Laan. We have proofs that they tried to poison us. The priests have been sent to Coromandel. We were anxious to get rid of them first. The prisoners have also violated the contract and carried with them much gold and silver. We found it secreted about their persons. I am of opinion that the persons whose names have been marked should be kept at Batavia as long as possible and well guarded, as they would no doubt make mischief if back on the coast of India. One of these, Anthony Memdes, knows a great many of our plans. There is also our bitter enemy Gaspar Figaro, who has so cruelly mutilated some of our countrymen. He has fought against us in Ceylon, was twice made prisoner and twice released. He must not be allowed to return to Goa, but must be conveyed to Europe in accordance with the terms of the Capitulation. In taking these measures we shall keep them at least three years from here. The Conditions state that those with the rank of Captain shall be conveyed to Goa, but we must apply this word only to the regulars or those in actual service, not to the Reformados.

I now look forward to receive early instructions as to my next movements, and also with regard to the negotiations with Raja Sinha. I would suggest that the following conditions be laid before him and on their basis an agreement arrived at:—

1st, that the lands of Mature, Galle, Columbo, Negumbo, Chilau and Calpatyn with their dependencies, be

1658 held by us in lease with full power to raise forts wherever these may be deemed necessary by us, until such time as the King shall have paid his debts.

2nd.—That the Domain of Jaffanapatam, the Province of the Wannis, Manaar and the neighbouring districts be placed under the absolute control of the Company. This part of Ceylon in former ages, before the landing of the Portuguese, was governed by a king of the Gentiles, and neither Raja Sinha nor any of his predecessors ever held sovereignty over it.

3rd.—That the subjects and residents of the Kingdom of Jaffanapatam and those of the lands held on lease, shall live in peace and amity with each other, and that the Emperor or any of his representatives be forbidden to carry away any of the inhabitants under whatever pretext.

4th.—That all the country roads and rivers of both Domains will be free and open to the travellers from all parts of Ceylon and no one will be obstructed in his progress.

5th.—That the ports of Trincomale and Batacalo shall be open ports for the Emperor, but that those of Chilau and Calpentin and some others, if necessary, shall be exclusively reserved for us.

6th.—That the entire inlet of the Sea, generally called the Bay of Tutecorin, extending from Cape Comorin along the coast of Madura, past the islands of Rameswaram, Adamsburg, Manaar, and then along the coast of Ceylon and the island of Calpentin as far as Columbo, shall remain under the exclusive rule of the Company and no one be allowed to frequent these waters without our passes.

7th.—That, if the Emperor wishes it, we shall send in a yearly balance sheet of credit and debit.

8th.—That we will always show due respect and deference to the King and his son, the Prince.

9th.—That we shall protect the leased lands against the enemies from outside and duly inform His Majesty when the necessity for such measures arises.

1658 Probably Raja Sinha will claim from us the restitution of Columbo or Negumbo. He will advance a claim on Manaar and Jaffanaptaam, and will defend to the utmost his pretensions on Calpentin. The latter place, of which he has now gained peaceful possession, together with Trincomali and Battacalo, will afford him a large increase of revenue, and if he will agree to our conditions, I think it would be just to let him keep these three ports, although the harbour of Calpentin would also be very useful to us, as it commands the whole inlet. The duties on the export of areca, which latter produce through the late war has reached an enormously high price, will make a great difference to the revenues. Raja Sinha has not interfered with us during the late exploits against the Portuguese. Our messenger has been treated by him with the utmost courtesy and rewarded with the gift of an elephant with tusks. It is rumoured that the Dissaves of Panneke and Ouve are on their way to Jaffanapatam in order to confer with me. I will protract the negotiations until the receipt of your instructions and in the meantime guard against any surprises, but as I informed the King in my letter that I had to deliver a Note from you with a present, I should be glad if you would forward me a few lines for this purpose and the present could be chosen in accordance with the good or bad reception of our proposals.

Our next plan is to despatch Major van der Laan with the greater part of the Fleet to Negapatam and make an attempt to capture that place. This enterprise cannot be commenced until we shall have got rid of the greater part of our prisoners, which we hope to be about the 20th. I myself will remain here until the middle of August to make all the necessary arrangements and administrative changes. Manaar being the key to Jaffanapatam will be protected by a garrison of 300 men, which will leave us in all 550 soldiers to be conveyed to Tutucorin and Columbo, where they will be found very useful about October, when we may expect some hostile action from our enemies. We intend to build a small fortress at Tutucorin or Pondekeyl with a garrison of 100 men, and

1658 also to drive all the priests from their benefices as far as Cape Comorin and make the Paruas a little more submissive to us. These people have given us much trouble during the siege, and now work against us at Tutucorin. Then we shall combine our small yachts at Tutucorin either through the Strait of Penner or the canal of Rameswaram, and take such precautions that we need not fear being surprised. But in order thoroughly to accomplish these designs, we earnestly request that three or four light sailing yachts such as the Cabeljoun, Red Lion or other, be despatched at once to Cape Comorin, there to await our further instructions. Should they meet with too violent winds there, they could run into the bay of Madura, taking care not to approach too near to the coast of Ceylon which is dangerous.

I shall give orders to look out for these vessels by the time they may be expected. I feel quite sure that it is the intention of the enemy to bring all his forces to Tutucorin by the beginning of October. Forty frigates are already lying ready off Cutchin, and our movements are being watched. They know that at present Manaar, Negumbo and Columbo are badly protected and no doubt have their designs on one or other of these places. They are not aware that we have been able to bring away from the siege of Jaffanapatam such a considerable number of soldiers. If they resolve to fight us with their fleet of frigates, our light yachts will be able to chase them. If they have designs on Columbo, they will bring out their galleons. If the fleet which yearly is being sent for the blockade at Goa, could at that time be also at Columbo, we might give them a naval battle, which I feel sure would crush their power at sea for ever. If the enemy's courage should fail about October, and neither the frigates nor galleons show fight, we shall feel justified in withdrawing another 200 men from the garrison at Manaar, 100 from Jaffanapatam, and the whole garrison from Tutucorin.

We muster about 700 soldiers in Ceylon besides the Ambonese, and if another 600 could be sent from Batavia we

1658 should feel confident in the success of the military exploits which we have planned. We should first go to Cotchin, where surely some of the frigates would fall into our power. The town, when the fleet was destroyed, could not offer resistance long, and even should the siege last longer than we anticipate, our Fleet at the same time blockading Goa would prevent any help or provisions reaching it. After Cotchin we would proceed to Diu. During the bad season the harbour of Diu is inaccessible, so that no frigates could come to the relief of the town. We could continue the siege from the landside and our yachts could shelter at Surat.

Director Winninock has sent me a secret plan for the surprise of Diu. He has already begun negotiations and paid large sums of money for the information. Among the persons he has treated with are a Portuguese Captain and the vâlet of the Governor of the Castle. The whole affair is too ridiculous to be treated seriously, and the worst of it is that everybody in the Factory knows all about this plan and it is discussed openly. Even if the capture of Diu were considered inadvisable for the present, we could make an attempt on Bombain or Bassier, the possession of which by us would involve the ruin of the trade of Diu. The reason why I consider that Cotchin should be secured before the expedition to Diu be undertaken, is that I know for certain the Portuguese mean to place the post under the protection of the English. Last year negotiations to that effect have taken place between their Delegates and the English President, and the English have taken twelve guns from their vessels, which have been placed in the town. The English themselves told us this for a fact, which has been confirmed by some Dutch prisoners who have lately returned from there.

From the permission freely to leave the Castle at the Capitulation of Jaffanapatam, we have excluded the bestlooking widows and daughters and orphans to give in marriage to our soldiers. Living being very cheap here, I would suggest that the married soldiers should be paid monthly here and at

1658 Manaar which would save the expenses of their keep. The same might be done with the unmarried soldiers, which would induce them to get married and lead a more regular life. Through our possession of the Straits of Manaar and Tutucorin, provisions, especially rice, can be conveyed cheaply to Ceylon. They can now be obtained at half the price we used to pay before. By paying the soldiers monthly, including the cost of living, the Company could yearly save F. 36,000 and prevent nasty abuses now caused by the rapacity of the superior officers. You will gather from the enclosed report that we have given instructions to our Envoy to the Naick of Madura, to demand that pepper from the Malabar coast shall only be carried across the Bay by the Company's servants. This condition must be insisted on, and in the event of Cotchin falling into our hands, this will secure the monopoly of the pepper trade to us, for in the districts North of Cotchin pepper is much dearer than at Cananore, and the traders to the north of Cananore even buy additional loads of pepper at Malabar, as they can sell it with a great profit in the places along the Bay. The private traders who frequent Ceylon are well aware of this fact; they first exchange their pepper for rice, and then resell the pepper again in the Island.

If you agree to leave the ports of Calpentin, Trincomalai and Batticalo to Raja Sinha, we should like to know your views with regard to granting permission to the Moorish vessels for freely frequenting these ports, with our passes; also whether Negumbo should be demolished, and a guard and Customs house would be sufficient protection; and if at Chilau we must erect a redoubt or a more efficient stronghold for the protection of our cinnamon-producing districts.

Governor Pitt has informed you that our cruisers have seized two small English yachts laden with contraband goods for Jaffanapatam. The vessels have been confiscated by us on behalf of the Company. We have renamed them Jaffanapatam and Negapatam and have referred the President to you with his revindications.

1658 Among the booty of Jaffanapatam were two elephants. The people of Wannia have brought us another five, the amount of their yearly tribute. Among the elephants found in the town, twenty-seven had been sold to the Moors by the Portuguese, the money received, but the animals not delivered to their purchasers. The latter have several times applied to me for the animals or the restitution of the money. I have explained to them that the transaction had taken place between them and the Portuguese. They could not claim from us. However, we submit the matter to your superior wisdom, knowing that you wish us to do what is just and honest. In the meantime I shall try and sell the elephants. Those sold by the Portuguese have either been valued much too low, or the King defrauded for a considerable amount. In order to get the highest price for the animals, and acquire some knowledge of their real market price, I have sent ten to the coast of Coromandel, requesting Governor Pitt to offer them for sale. All the particular points of the several animals have been carefully noted, so that the details may serve as a future guide.

In my former letter I gave a description of the position and condition of Manaar and Jaffanapatam. Personal observations have convinced me that in general these informations were correct, but much remains to be done ere the necessary arrangements and changes can be said to be completed, and the prospect of my intended visit to the coast of Coromandel becomes less and less probable. The matter which troubles me most is that among the numerous officials of the Company there are so few who are really competent, and those that are competent have other faults which annul their merits. You are aware that besides my Secretary I only brought with me from Batavia two persons who possessed some administrative capacity: Mr. Voms and Fiscal Van der Drissen. Mr. Voms was indispensable. None of the Ceylon officers could be trusted, for the candidate recommended by Governor van der Meyden was Sub-Factor van Ree, whom I had found out stealing pepper, and whose spoils I have still secure in the fortress of Negumbo. I have also been obliged to take

1658 into my service Factor Ysbrandt Godsken, whose honesty is also suspect and who is besides accused of sharp practices and rapacity. The above-mentioned van Ree is a very intelligent and active person, as far as I know he leads a respectable life, and in appearance is very religious. As he is well acquainted with the customs of the Malabars and has a pleasant way of treating the natives, I have been obliged to send him with Mr. Voms to the Naick of Madura and the Tanadar. He has executed his commission so well that he has induced the latter to declare himself the open enemy of the Portuguese and offer to provide 2000 native musketeers to assist in the capture of Manaar. I had no one else to appoint Chief at Manaar, but he has followed up my instructions with so much zeal and intelligence that I do not regret the choice. The island of Manaar is at present in an excellent state of defence and I am truly astonished at the short time in which he has accomplished the feat.

I have only two other persons on my list, the Surat Factors Albert van Brengel and Josephaes Vosch, but they are both in delicate health, and the first-mentioned wishes to return home. Among our military there is none fit for the post except Major van der Laan, whose further services during the next exploits cannot be dispensed with, and there is really no one suitable for the important position at Jaffanapatam. To place the town under the government of the Governor of Ceylon was out of the question. I have, therefore, for the present placed it under the rule of Governor Pitt, and hope you will let it remain so. Jaffanapatam entirely depends on the trade with the coast of Coromandel, and the natives have more in common with the residents on the Coast than with the other inhabitants of Ceylon. I have requested Governor Pitt to come here and take over the management of affairs.

If next Season you should again be in a position to send an expedition to the Coast of India, we would remind you to send a large provision of heavy cannon balls, from 12 to 24 pounders, and also small ones weighing 2, 3 and 4 pounds; of

1658 each of the larger kind not less than 3000 and of each of the smaller, 1500 or 2000. Our present stores will be wanted at Manaar, Tutucorin and Columbo. We have also found that the gunpowder sent from Batavia is much better than that which we received from the coast of Coromandel. It is even superior to that from home. We should, therefore, be glad to receive as large a quantity as you possibly could spare, and if we run short, we could still be supplied from the Coast. Gunpowder could in future easily be manufactured here at Jaffanapatam or at Manaar, where the are abundant. We also should want a large quantity of rough planks and small beams. The hurdles have been found very useful. We would further require 50,000 or 60,000 musket bullets or better still 100,000 pieces of shot, and 40 or 50 boxes of tinder, and at least 1000 muskets or rifles, as most of our work against the Portuguese has been done by these weapons. They are especially useful in the trenches, and in dark weather. All the other necessities for the next enterprise are noted down on the enclosed list.

The Portuguese have made many complaints about our way of warfare and that we have made use of large pebbles and flints which we threw from our mortars on the Castle and killed most of their men. We have replied that no conditions as to the use of projectiles had been stipulated beforehand. We only mention this to make you see the necessity for placing as ballast in the vessels sent to Ceylon as many pebbles as they can carry, for they are fearful engines of destruction. They were hurled from our guns on the roofs of the houses and went through the floors, burying themselves in the ground. The soldiers and most of the people lived in holes covered over with palisades and earth, and the people who lived in stone houses slept on boards let in the walls and windows. In a small enclosed place like Diu, the throwing of flints would cause much damage. For this purpose the two large mortars which are at Batavia and are of no use there, would do excellent service. If you should wish to judge of the effect,

1658 it would be easy to do so. The mortar should be filled with stones weighing from 16 to 24 pounds, and shot out to a height of from 9 to 15 degrees. There is absolutely no danger in working the guns, and you will be surprised at the force with which the stones are ejected. Placed on strong stands, one on fort Diamond and the other on Ruby, no enemy would dare to approach the Castle. We prefer the throwing of stones much above that of grenades. Two hundred shots from our largest mortars required only 500 pounds of powder and caused more harm than 3000 shots with cannon-balls, for which at least 30,000 pounds of powder would be necessary.

In my former letter I roughly described the plan of the Castle. I now enclose a carefully drawn map of the same; but although it is a beautiful building, I am of opinion that it ought to be demolished to the ground and a smaller one built at Point Pedro or Cays. I had hoped also to send you a detailed map of the district of Jaffanapatam, Manaar, and the whole bay of Tutucorin, on which the pearl beds would be indicated, which would have assisted you in your decision of the most suitable place for the erection of the new fortress, but as yet I have been unable to attend to the matter. I hope, however, to make a visit of inspection through the whole country and have an accurate map drawn up. In the interval the huge Castle will be restored so far as to serve for a shelter, and I shall confer with Governor Pitt on the choice of a spot for the erection of a smaller fortress which will only need a garrison of 200 men. We are now expecting the yachts Arondster and Lioness from Ceylon to rid us of the remaining prisoners and take them to Batavia. At present the yachts Goes and Worrum are still here, and I cannot dispense with them. I have consulted our naval authorities on the possibility of taking these yachts to Cape Comorin by the middle of September, but the general opinion is that it would be impossible. We shall however bring them as early as possible to join the other vessels at Cape Comorin. Provisions for eight months should be conveyed for them on board the other vessels as all their stores have been exhausted.

1658 I mentioned before that I intended to despatch Major vander Laan about the 20th of this month to Negapatam, and hoped to follow myself about the middle of August, and then conjointly go to Tutucorin either by land and water, and watch the proceedings of the enemy. We do not, however, propose to imperil our small forces by an attack on Negapatam or St. Thomé, but we shall besiege Negapatam until the end of August to give some employment to our soldiers, and we feel confident that the town will be in our possession by that time. This place can easily be blockaded by two of our small yachts, and within the space of two years the whole of its commerce will be ruined. The same will happen with St. Thomé. The town is in such a sad plight and its commerce already so far decayed, that there is a talk of selling their heavy artillery. The Portuguese think that if we intend the conquest of the Coast of India, all places along that Coast would willingly submit to us if we allowed them the free exercise of their religion and permission to continue their business or trade. But we are not sure if these opinions are genuine and leave them to your judgment.

Here follows a list of the soldiers who will be left in the garrison at Jaffanapatam and a request that their wives may be sent from Batavia to join them. If you desire Major vander Laan to remain in Ceylon, he would also wish his wife and family to come over. Captain Johannes Hartman, a very efficient officer, expresses a desire to leave the service and return to Batavia. I have not accepted his resignation and have made him a Captain in order to induce him to stay. I hope you will send him the branch at the earliest opportunity. Vice-Commander Pieter de Bitter who has proved himself a valuable adjunct and shown a particular talent in the making of batteries, who declares that he has delivered to Commander Roothaes the whole of the booty taken from the Mosambique, is leaving by the present for Batavia. We did not wish to judge his case here but have sent him for trial before the Court of Justice at Batavia.

1658 As yet I have had no occasion to enter into details on the facts which have come to my knowledge of the frauds committed by the superior officers in Ceylon, some of whose acts are deplorable. They rob the poor soldiers in such a degree that they look like beggars and vagabonds. I will carefully investigate these matters and send you a clear and truthful report. We informed you that the residents of the newly-conquered districts were for the greater part Christians. The Rev. Philippus Baldaeus, who has been present during the whole of our expedition, will remain in charge here of the divine worship. His wife has been sent for from Galle. He is now trying to learn the Malabar language. He preaches also in Portuguese, but in order to attend properly to the duties, another pastor will be wanted for these parts. At present it is impossible to forward a list of the things found in the Castle, but it will follow in about a week with a more detailed letter.

In conclusion, a few words about myself. As ever I am ready to devote my best services on behalf of the Company, but should you decide that my stay in Ceylon be prolonged, I would request that my wife and family join me, as I fear that it will be another year ere I shall have fulfilled the whole of your Commission.

With very humble greetings,

Your devoted servant,

RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.

Jaffanapatam, 24th July, 1658.

Articles of the Convention made between Sr Leonardo d' Olivera d' Almeda, Vedor da Fazenda, Sr. Diego de Lorya, Captain Mor of the Infantry, and Albro Rodrigues Boralho former Captain of the field forces, Delegates Plenipotentiary from Sr. Joan de Mello, Governor of the Castle, Senhora de Milagres, on behalf of His Majesty the King of Portugal on the one side, and Mr. Joan van der Laan, Sergeant Major of the Dutch Army in front of

1658 the Castle, Mr. Albert van Brengel, Chief Factor, and Lucas van der Dussen, Fiscal, acting for the Honourable Ryckloff van Goens, Councillor Ordinary for India, Superintendent, Admiral and General of the Dutch Forces, on behalf of the High and Mighty States-General of the Free United Netherlands and the Honourable Directors of the Chartered East India Company, on the other.

Dated June 23rd, 1658.

I.

The Castle Nuestra Signora de Milagres being seat of the government of Jaffanapatam, all the districts under its jurisdiction, with the islands and other dependencies, together with the ammunition and engines of war, will be delivered by tomorrow, the 23rd day of the present month, to the persons appointed to receive the same, on the following conditions :—

2.

All the ministers of religion will be permitted to leave the Castle freely with their private clothes and vestments, except gold, silver or jewels of whatever kind, and will be, as soon as an occasion presents itself, conveyed to Goa or another place to the north of that town.

3.

The property left by the Portuguese Admiral Anthonio d' Amaral, deceased, are claimed rightly to belong to the Dutch and will be handed over to the Commissaries.

4.

The chief officers, namely the Governor, the Veedor de Fachenda, the Captain Mor and all persons with the rank of Captain, will be allowed to leave the Castle with their insignia, and treated by the Dutch with due courtesy, but with no other property than that allowed by the Dutch. Their gold, silver, jewels and slaves shall all be confiscated, and they will also be conveyed to Goa or any place to the north.

5.
1658 The other officers and privates shall leave the castle with all their ensigns and arms, to the beat of the drum, with a bullet in their mouths, and lay down their weapons at a spot previously designated. They will remain our prisoners-of-war, until they can be transported to Europe. They cannot take anything with them except their clothes, but will receive in the interval the usual pay.

6.
The cannoneers and musketeers of Portuguese nationality will be included, also the King's agents, fiscals etc., under the Clauses of the Fourth Article.

7.
All married soldiers will be conveyed to Goa with their wives and families, but they will be forbidden to carry with them any of their property or slaves.

8.
The sick and wounded will receive kind treatment, and every possible means employed to restore them to health.

9.
The Toupas will be delivered to the Dutch Commander-in-Chief to be dealt with at his discretion.

10.
The Parties on both sides undertake to obtain ratification of the above Contract from their Superiors.

Actum in the Dutch Camp before Jaffanapatam, June 22nd, 1658.

(Follow signatures as above.)

The Clauses of the Contract made by our Delegates having been approved by us, we hereby ratify the same.

Actum in the Dutch Camp in the town of Jaffanapatam, June 22nd, 1658.

RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.

1658 Here follows the acceptance of the terms on the part of the Portuguese, dated from the castle N. Sra. das Milagres, June 23rd, 1658.

(Signed) JOAN DE MELHO.

Compared and found in accordance with the originals, July 24th, 1658 at Jaffanapatam

CORNS. VALCHENBURGH

Secy.

Negapatam had already been occupied by the Dutch, when the Nayaker of Tanjore laid siege to it and bombarded the place. Van Goens hurried up from the neighbourhood of Jaffna, and on the 16th of August fought with and drove away the Tanjore troops. He proposed to use the place as a rice depôt for Ceylon. "It is a very neat and well-fortified town from where it is easy in favourable weather to make a return voyage to Jafanapatam in twelve hours."

CHAPTER XIV.

TEXT OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY THE GOVERNORS OF INDIA TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

Dated December 18th, 1658.

Sire,

1658 We feel it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the position of affairs in India and to inform you that unless we are properly assisted, the whole of Your Majesty's possessions will be lost.

At the time when Dom Manuel Mascarenhas Homem was Governor, the Dutch laid siege to the fortified town of Columbo. As soon as the news reached him he at once despatched an armada of 26 galleons under command of Captain Francisco de Seixas Cabreira, who ought to have at all costs hurried with his reinforcements to the relief of the town; but instead of doing his duty, having sighted a Dutch ship about Manaar, he fled with the whole of his fleet, leaving one single galleon behind to face the enemy. The Commander of that ship, Captain Simão de Souza Perera, defended himself for two long days fighting, until the greater part of his men were killed and the ship was destroyed. He himself and the remainder of the crew fell into the hands of the Dutch. The Admiral never came to his assistance or even attempted to take his ships to Columbo. The town was obliged to surrender principally through famine. The greater part of the inhabitants had died of hunger and a great many had deserted to the enemy.

After leaving Columbo we first went to Cotchin, but having received instructions from Goa, we at once proceeded thither. We set to work collecting soldiers and ammunition for the defence of our southern fortresses Manaar, Jaffanapatam,

1658 Negapatam, Tutucorin, St. Thomé, Coulaugh, Cotchin and Cannanore; but as our forces were inferior to those of the enemy, the Dutch have taken the best of these places such as Jaffanapatam, Negapatam, Manaar and Tutucorin, which they first besieged, bringing their batteries close to the town, while at the same time they blockaded the fort with about 40 vessels. We hear that they now have designs on Coulaugh, Cotchin and Cannanore, so that we only can consider ours the fortresses of Marmagon and Agoada, and those to the north of Goa, and Mosambique. If the Dutch wished to possess themselves of the latter, they could easily do so.

Besides vessels sailing round the South Cape, they blockaded the Bar of Goa constantly with about a dozen ships. Last year we attempted to drive them away. Nine galleons and one patacho under command of Louis de Mendoza at four different times attacked their fleet, but always close to the fortresses, according to his instructions. Three times he showed great courage, but Admiral Anthonio Pereira did even better than he. He boldly sent his ship among the hostile fleet, did a great deal of damage to it, and caused great loss of life. One of our galleons took fire and was blown up, not by the action of the Dutch, but by accident. As the Dutch have plenty of ships in India, they have this year again blockaded the Bar of Goa with ten vessels.

In the letter written by Your Majesty to the late Viceroy, it was stated that Governor Manuel Mascarenhas Homem and the Comptroller-General had informed your Majesty that the Treasury of this town contained over 700,000 xerafims. The fact was that we found only 63,000 xerafims, and those had been collected with the greatest trouble, the poor people being unable to pay the imposed taxes. We were obliged to borrow from the Treasury of St. Francisco, 96,000 xerafims, which money has been expended on the equipment of the galleons, and this year we have no money to do even that. We have called together all the combatants of the town and formed them into three Corps for the defence of the town. It has been deemed expedient

1658 to send an envoy to King Adelsia. The person chosen was Dom Pedro Henriques, a nobleman of high repute. He took with him a sum of 100,000 xerafims, which has been taken as credit, and 30,000 xerafims were borrowed from Dom Francisco do Luno for the travelling expenses of the Envoy and his *suite*. The Executive Council has also borrowed from the same source 200,000 xerafims for the fitting out of the galleons, which we hope to send out against the enemy in January. We earnestly implore Your Majesty to send us by next year adequate reinforcements, otherwise we shall not be able to resist the enemy at all. The greater part of our soldiers desert to the Moors, as we are unable to provide rations for them. The Moors give them more pay than they receive from us; besides we have only need of their service in Winter, and being dismissed in the Summer, they have no means of existence.

We have to inform Your Majesty that last Winter three galleons were lying in Pameley. During the night one of these was set fire to, and entirely destroyed. We did our utmost to save the others. The fire was the work of traitors, of whom our town is full at present. The fortresses of Agoada and Marmagon are being kept in a proper state of defence. They have a sufficient garrison and war material. The galleons are always lying under their guns, and in this way the fleet and the fortresses protect each other. In accordance with Your Majesty's instructions, we have strengthened the forts at Mosambique, Diu, Mombaça and other places to the North of Goa. We have shown Your Majesty's letter to our Director and the Comptroller-General, who have at once acted upon Your Majesty's instructions, as will appear from their own letters enclosed. We have also called before us the Governors of these districts, and offered them the lease of the tobacco, arrack and the excise, but they refused it on the plea that they were too poor and could scarcely pay their own taxes on account of the failure of the crops. We have therefore granted the lease to Dom Manuel Lobo de Silveira who will guard the coast, whilst the Governor will find him a Captain and 500 soldiers.

1658 By the first ship which leaves, the noblemen, at present in prison, will be sent to Portugal and also the accomplices in the dissensions between the Count of Obdios and Francisco de Seixas.

In conclusion, we again humbly beseech Your Majesty to remember the condition in which the State of India finds itself and to send us the promised reinforcements, for without them we shall not be able to preserve it for Your Majesty. We rely upon Your Majesty's promise to send us succour by next September, and not only to us, but also to the three other States.

Since January all payments have been stopped to the Ministers of religion, to the public works, and all other government officers. The revenue suffers from the blockade, and the harbour duties have fallen to one-third of the estimate. Although our advices will be despatched by the caravel which is being equipped, we have sent the present by messenger to Surat, to be taken to Portugal in one of the English vessels.

May God protect Your Majesty.

FRANCISCO DE MELLO DE CASTRO
ANTHONIO DE SOUZA COUTINHO.

Goa, December 18th, 1658.

APPENDIX.

Seventeen days after our messenger left, we received information that the Dutch have taken Coulaugh, and that their fleet was now at Cotchin. Here their progress was impeded by the Queen of the country, who forbade their landing. They then proceeded to Cannanore with their whole train of artillery, but an advice boat had come with instructions, with the result that they re-embarked their troops and guns,

1658 and sailed south. Further details will be given to Your Majesty by the Secretary and Veedor da Fazenda, who are now leaving for Portugal.

Goa, Jany. 25th, 1659.

FRANCISCO DE MELLO DE CASTRO.
ANTHONIO DE SOUZA COUTINHO.

Compared and found in accordance with the original.
Colombo, May 11th, 1659.

JACOB BORCHORST.

1659 **Commissary Ryckloff van Goens to the Governor-General:**

4th Feb. 1659.

* * * *

We were also very much grieved to hear of the unfounded complaints the defeated enemy had made against us, as if we had not punctually kept to the letter of the Capitulations. As this is not a personal matter but concerns also the honour of our Council and of our Company, I must contradict these accusations, and for my justification enter into a few details. It was expressly stated in the Articles of the Contract that the Portuguese, without exception, should be conveyed to Goa or to other places north of that town. This Treaty was concluded on June 23rd. Anyone acquainted with the monsoons will know that this could not have been done before nearly four months had elapsed from that date. As they could not remain at Jafanapatam all that time, we thought they might as well be conveyed to Batavia to be sent to Goa from there.

No mention had been made in the Contract as to the route nor the time. This omission has not been made by us on purpose or with an unkind intention. The Article referring to the priests will show you that we remembered your express injunctions of never sending any ecclesiastics

1659 to Batavia.....The reason why they stopped on the coast of Coromandel instead of at once proceeding to Batavia *via* Malaca was on account of our knowledge that we should find there better accommodation for their transport, as also that we had not provisions enough on the spot for the wants of so many mouths during a long voyage. If we have erred at all, it has been in having too much regard for their comfort. In Jafanapatam they could not remain, for then we should have soon lost that place again. We kept as large a number as was possible, being forced to do so as we were short of vessels.....I myself have felt great pity for the women and children and have done all I could to make their position easy, but their complaints are exaggerated. It would have been inhuman to keep the women and children and first ship all the men, but it was no fault of ours that the voyage was so much longer than usual.

We fully understand you were not pleased at the arrival of so many hundreds of prisoners; but we were obliged to get rid of the married people who could do us most harm. The soldiers could be lodged in the churches and large public buildings, where we have kept them in seclusion. As soon as I had left for Negapatam, the few remaining Portuguese at once set to work to rouse the natives against us. During the siege we intercepted a letter in which the vilest means were suggested for our ruin. The messengers whom we took prisoners declared that they had been instructed to kill me and the Major. Their reward would have been the Habit of the Holy Cross and the control of some villages. The garrison of the Castle was in the greatest distress, the men had been starving for days. The officers alone were well fed. During the last month of the siege 800 people had died from want, and after the surrender of the Castle we have treated our enemies with all the courtesy due to their misfortunes. It was a sad sight to see such a large number of starving wretches leave the town, but we could not help feeling the greatest indignation against the chiefs who had taken good care of themselves and left their inferiors to starve.

1659 We had over 1000 sick and wounded to attend to. It took three days to bring all the people out. Many had to be carried and some died while being removed. Exceptional care had to be taken to provide food for these debilitated creatures. The Portuguese then praised our benevolence and kindness. They have forgotten all that and reward us with ingratitude. We have treated with severity those who had entered into the plot against us, but otherwise shown as much compassion as was possible under the circumstances. We have allowed Jan de Mello, the Governor, to keep all his private belongings except gold and silver ; also the chief officers. I entertained them before they embarked, and made them each a present of a couple of slaves and 50 rixdollars. They were conveyed on board with military honours. In conclusion, I beg to report that my conscience in no way accuses me of cruelty. The Portuguese had told us that there were no more than 1200 people in the town: we found them over 4000. We had scarcely enough provisions for our own wants, and not enough vessels for the immediate transport of this number.....

With regard to the accusation that we have retained some widows and unmarried women against their wish, that is also false. No mention was made in the Contract with respect to them and we considered that they were at liberty either to be reckoned among the married people and be conveyed to Goa, or to choose freely to remain among us and marry some of our soldiers. We have kept them here to be removed last, as we know they would be in the way at Batavia ; but we have safeguarded their honour and treated them with all due respect. Fourteen, who we were told were of high families, have been conveyed to Columbo, and lodged with some of the best families. Two widows and seven unmarried women are still at Jafanapatam, who at their own request have remained. The women themselves were greatly distressed when we told them that they had to leave, for they had no place where they could be received. A daughter of Ignatio Sarmiento has been taken to her father. Some of the Toupas have enlisted with us.

1659 Others have been sent to Ceylon. In the siege of Negapatam they have shown great bravery and gave no trouble.

The items of booty found in Jafanapatam are entered in our Ledgers. Gold, silver, gems, slaves, elephants etc., to the value of F.43000. We believe that the soldiery have taken to themselves some trifles, but nothing of consequence. It is therefore evident that the Portuguese had hidden their treasures. Some of the bells are cracked. We have counted the Toupas among the slaves, but we hope that you will set them at liberty. They may be found very useful at Sofragan and other unhealthy places in Ceylon. They are accustomed to the climate and not so liable to sickness as our soldiers. We should have sent some of the slaves to Batavia, but at present they are useful here for the works of fortification. We shall demolish the large Castle and strengthen Punto Pedro. In the season the vessels can lie there close under the shore to a distance of 15 miles eastward along the coast. We found during the siege that the flinging of stones was very effective and a good substitute for gunpowder when that article runs short.

[*Précis*.—sending plan of town shortly: “the immense castle now useless:” the King has written “demanding the restitution of the island from Jafanapatam and Manaar to Columbo. He wishes those that have displeased him to be punished, demands investigation with regard to the booty at Columbo, and the death of the Hon’ble Director-General, and particularly insisted on the fact of his being master in his own country and sole arbiter over his subjects, and that he intends to punish them and carry them away from their homes. I have carefully perused the Contract made between Raja Sinha and the late Mr. Westerwold, and have come to the conclusion that we are justified in blockading at once all the ports in the island. If Raja Sinha had kept quiet it might have been difficult to find an excuse for doing so: now his show of temper has come quite opportune. We have already closed Chilau and Calpentyn. Three of his Dissaves are

1659 scouring the district of Saffragam, the Four and Seven Corlas, and have already carried off many of the natives. For the protection of the Chalias we have sent some troops to the Passes of Hakman, Akuras and Galereas ; also to Matura and Galle Corle and the Pass at Malvana ; but we are not strong enough to oppose the enemy in the wild districts of Columbo and the Four and Seven Corles. We have however decided to take our whole force along the sea coast between Chilau and Calpentyne....

We believe that Raja Sinha never intends to pay the Company the smallest amount of his debt. We are therefore justified in making open war on him and doing him as much harm as we can. We think we can do most mischief in the lowlands of the Wannias above Jafanapatam. We have sent an ultimatum to Raja Sinha. If within 12 days he does not condescend to reply, the war will at once commence and we hope by the help of God, to make things so warm for him, that all exports, all revenues, and even salt, will fail him. It is perfectly clear that Raja Sinha's pretensions to Jafanapatam and the island of Manaar are invalid. I shall order some of the Modliars and magnates of Jafanapatam to draw up a statement of the just rights of the former Kings of Jafanapatam who were descendants from the King of Tanjore. They never intermarried with any of the relatives of the Kings of Candy, and therefore Raja Sinha's claim cannot for a moment be considered. As soon as it comes to war we shall send him the document as a justification of our action.

I highly appreciate the token of approval sent to me for the conquest of Jafanapatam, but I should have wished that I had given you satisfaction on every point and no occasion for reproach : for your approbation is to me infinitely more valuable than gold chains and medals.

Columbo, 4th Feb., 1659.

1659

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE ADMIRAL

Illustrious Sir,

As soon as I learnt that you had returned to Columbo, I decided to write a few lines to inquire after your health, with the wish that you may enjoy good health and prosperity for many years to come, as you so highly deserve. The great kindness you have shown me already gives me reason to hope that you will accept my petition favourably, knowing that at all times I am your devoted slave.

At present I am laid up with fever and other troubles caused by the bad water in the Wani. Although we have plenty of doctors here, they all failed in finding a remedy. I have therefore been my own physician and with the help of God I am beginning to mend.

I have to acquaint you with the sad news that the charge with which you entrusted me has been taken from me, although laid up with illness. I had appointed two of my nephews, both intelligent persons, to take my place at the Court and look after the interests of the Company. They are well known to you. They are Don Gaspar Gideon Barrapule and Sinco de Andrada. Since I came from Manaar I have sent in seventeen elephants. I have had no trouble with the labourers, as the natives have all quietly submitted to their appointed tasks. With the exception of a few to whom we gave license to return to their homesteads for the purpose of attending to their fields, they all work at the fortifications without grumbling.

With regard to the provisions, I have taken all the measures you suggested, and as far as I can judge, the crops here, as well as in the Wani, promise so fair that all needs shall be satisfied, and a little to spare.

The whole district of Wani is happy and peaceful. There is no cause for grumbling, for there is no oppression. We

1659 protect and assist all who come to us and the people can live quietly and content. The only reason I have for making a complaint is on a personal matter. Your Excellency had appointed me as Secretary to the Court of Jafanapatam, but the Honourable Commander has appointed in my stead a Brahmin, notwithstanding the opposition of all the magnates of the country. As I am now of no further use here, I request permission to return to my wife and family. Anyhow it must appear strange to you that the Commander has dismissed me from a post to which I had been appointed by you. The Mudaliyars and Receivers all complain of this high-handed action and fear that the same fate may be theirs. The Iyawanses and other natives are also dissatisfied because a person of so little weight has been appointed to such an important post. Besides it is well known that his brother-in-law is an idolatrous priest in the pagoda of the King of Candy. His sisters and other relatives fled also there when the Dutch entered Jafanapatam. This will tell you what a dangerous person he may become, for as Secretary at the Court all the writings shall have to pass through his hands, and he will know all the secrets of the Government.

I have done my duty in explaining these matters to you, so that you may take such decision as is most conducive to the welfare of the Company. May God keep you in his graceful protection.

Your devoted slave,

DON MANUEL DE ANDRADA.¹

Jafanapatam. Feb. 6th, 1659

In accordance with the translated copy

Columbo, May 14th, 1659

JACOB BORCHORST.

1. There is mention of the writer in Van Goens' Instructions to Anthony Paviljoen, 31st Oct., 1658. Tr. by Sophia Pieters, Colombo, 1908.

1659 Governor-General JOAN MAETSUYCKER and Council
to the Directors

16th Decr., 1659.

[Précis: Van Goens' plans against Cochin stopped as he had to send men to Amboina. Raja Sinha had sent large bodies against Galle and Matara, but this plan was checked by Van Goens' return to Ceylon, who also occupied Chilaw and Calpenty, to Raja Sinha's great anger. The best way to bring Raja Sinha to reason is to destroy his salt works and blockade the ports of Trincomalai and Batecalo. He is demanding the evacuation of Jafnapatam, Manaar and Columbo. Fortifications of Manaar completed: Pearl fisheries at a standstill, the beds having been covered with sand. It was intended to dismantle Fort of Jafnapatam and remove fort to Pt. Pedro, but there was the serious objection that good drinking water had to be fetched a long distance. Jafnapatam has been transferred to the Ceylon administration from that of Pulicat.

..... The King of Candy had several of the officials of his Court executed and had recalled his soldiers from the Lowlands, and we hope now he will be better advised and leave us in peaceful possession of these districts.

Van der Meyden had been invited to continue in charge of Ceylon for a further period. He reported that while Matara from the Walawe Ganga as far as Galle was still fairly populated, the Rayigam and Hapitigam Korales were quite deserted, and most of the people of Sabaragamuwa and of the Seven Korales had been carried away by the King's soldiers. The Lascarins from Negumbo and the Wallalaviti Korale had done good work against the Portuguese, in contrast to those from Matara. "We must by kind and fair treatment, secure the fidelity of the Lascarins in the low-lying districts. We must also guard against alienating the sympathies of Mr. Antonio Rabel, who is among the Sinhalese nobles the staunchest friend of the Company." He suggested that Dutch farmers should be got out to attend to the neglected arable lands.

1660 In April 1660 he had marched along the shore through the Seven Korales to Kalpitiya and dislodged the Sinhalese who were at Navatkadu. He recommended that Trincomamalai, Kottiarاما and Madakalapuwa should be left to the King: The latter's son was only fourteen years of age at this time, being the son of a lady from the Coast of Coromandel. He was not popular among the noblemen, and should the King die, van der Meyden pointed out, domestic wars may therefore easily be predicted, and in that event perhaps some of the parties might seek help from the Company. "Then will be the time for us to extend our conquests".²

The Seventeen were very favourably impressed and wrote to the Governor-General "None of our Colonies promise so fair." Weavers and dyers should be invited over to Jafanapatam from India, while the commerce with Coromandel and Bengal might be permitted to the Free Burghers, but not to the Company's servants.³

At Columbo the wall along the coast had been entirely swept away by the waves, as it was only cemented with clay. The walls of Galle were strengthened, while the orders to build a fort in the island of Amsterdam, as Kara Tivu was now named, were cancelled.⁴

On the 9th of May of the same year a Treaty was concluded with Perunali Chedupadi Kotta Tever, Lord of Ramenacoil and the neighbouring districts, on the following terms:—

The Alliance made between the Tever and the Company shall exist in good faith and friendship as long as the Sun and Moon endure.

2. Van der Meyden to Governor-General, 20th Sept., 1660.

3. Letter dated 7th May, 1661,

4. Governor-General to XVII, 16th Dec., 1660.

1660 2. The navigation shall be free for the respective subjects in all seas and ports of both nations. The Straits of Manaar shall be open to the subjects of the Tever and the Canal of Ramenacoil to those of the Company, provided the usual passage money be paid and that the traders strictly adhere to the regulations in force at the different places.

3. Warships and other vessels not carrying merchandise shall be free.

4. In order to strengthen the friendly Alliance and to settle any disputes which may arise, each party shall yearly send his Envoys to the other, and if he thought necessary to send additional missions, each party shall be at liberty to do so.

5. The Tever has the right to employ five tones for the pearl fisheries, the same as he had formerly under the rule of the Portuguese.

6. The Honourable Company will grant passes to the Tever's ships and those of his subjects to all friendly ports, but not to those places with which they are at war.

In Ramanada Puram the 24th of Sittirai of the year Saroemary estigammadoe, being April 24th, 1660.

CHAPTER XV.

1662 In February 1662 van Goens and his Council reported on the state of the Island to the Seventeen:—

“ With regard to the matters in Ceylon we feel that much still remains to be done. The most efficient Administrators and Governors have until now been obliged to concentrate their energies on the continuation of the war and have been unable to enforce the new laws and regulations. For the proper government of the Island men of exceptional parts are required. They must be assisted by intelligent and honest co-operators. At the present time the persons at the head of affairs are sadly deficient. From the letters sent to Batavia you will be able to judge how much the Company's interests are neglected. The fleet was not only badly equipped, but the Captains and sailors were quite ignorant of their calling. They were with few exceptions drunkards and scoundrels.....Governor van der Meyden is far too weak and incompetent to continue at his post.”¹

1663 The King was said to be quiet and friendly and to have sent back some of the fugitive slaves, but no one had come to remove the presents the Company forwarded him. Van Goens himself was going to Ceylon to prove that his plans were practicable, in spite of the gloomy prognostications of van der Meyden “ who is averse to them not from ill-feeling but rather from want of true understanding.....Many of the soldiers killed in the battles had married native wives and left children : these have all to be provided for out of the charity funds.”²

A few months later he wrote after his arrival in the Island: “ Columbo and Galle swarm with evil-disposed Portuguese of the lowest kind who refuse to work and, increasing

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1. In the Camp before Cochin, 14th Feb., 1662.
 2. Van Goens to the XVII, 23rd Jan., 1663.

1663 fast, like weeds, are a great danger to the community....

At present over a hundred families of Moors have settled in Columbo : six years ago there was not a single Moorish resident in the town. These people trade on the carelessness of our soldiery and the little value they attach to money, which they recklessly squander as soon as they receive their pay. Our citizens' only talent seems to be to establish taverns, but they have no inclination for honourable work."

There was difficulty about finding an Ambassador to take the presents destined for the King, as all such were detained by him. "To flatter him is the surest way to obtain what we desire. His subjects have spoiled him through flattery, and he expects whoever approaches him to call him Lord God. He is getting old and indolent, and the best way to treat him is to let affairs take their own course."

"The great sources of trouble with which we have to contend are on the one hand the Moors, who in great numbers have settled in the districts of Galle, and may in their mode of life and occupation be compared to the Jews at home. They are abstemious, satisfied with small earnings, and very careful of their money. Through their humble ways, their industry and their servility, they manage to get hold of all the small trades from our countrymen; but a greater evil is the incapacity and vice of our own people. The bulk of our colonists were formerly soldiers or sailors, and therefore uneducated people knowing no trade; they are only good for opening taverns and selling arrack.. We ought to make Ceylon self-supporting, so that it could dispense with goods from outside.....These measures succeeded at Jafanapatam; the population is increasing in prosperityThese statements will show you that money is being brought from outside to Jafanapatam, but that it is withdrawn from Columbo and Galle."

1663 He emphasised the fact that Agriculture was the first consideration in the country; there had been a marked increase in the yield of grain and a parrah of the best white rice could be purchased for three fanams.³

1666 Hostilities had broken out with England and the Seventeen, in announcing a great battle ending in a magnificent victory which had been fought off the English Coast and lasted from the 11th to the 14th June, 1666, ordered that the event should be celebrated by public thanksgivings and rejoicings throughout all the Company's Possessions.⁴

Governor-General to Directors :—

Since Commissary van Goens has undertaken the government of Ceylon, Madura and Malabar, the position of affairs in that Island has in a short time greatly improved. A plot was set on foot in January last by some discontented regents and Dissaves to kill the King and place his son on the throne. The plot so far succeeded that several of the King's nearest advisers and courtiers were killed. The King barely escaped to a place called Hangrangkitta and in his distress he wrote to Governor van Goens, calling him his Governor of Columbo, Galle, Negumbo, Manaar and Jafanapatam, begging him to come to his aid, as we were bound to do by our Contract. He asked also that some vessels should be sent to Batticalo and Cottiar. He accused the Portuguese of having incited his subjects against him. The revolt has also spread to the lowlying lands and over 6000 natives have placed themselves under the protection of the Company and the inhabitants have now again settled quietly to their avocations. In order to restore peace to the Seven Corles and thus secure the prosperity of Columbo and Negumbo and at the same time to make a show of assisting Raja Sinha, Governor van Goens

3. Van Goens to the XVII, 28th August, 1663.

4. XVII to Governor-General, 24th June, 1666.

1666 sent Capt. Pierre Dupont with 200 soldiers to Ruanwelle, and Capt. Maasher Schoulter and young Ryckloff van Goens from Galle and Matura to Billigam with 200 Dutch soldiers and 400 Lascarins. A third detachment was sent later on.

These troops kept possession of the district and held the Pass of Safragam. The natives thus re-assured, returned peacefully to their dwellings. A few sloops were sent to Cottiar, but the crews were forbidden to land, we do not know by whose orders. In fact the reports are very contradictory. Some state that Raja Sinha is dead, others that he has been bewitched, and can no longer attend to government. His son has been placed on the throne, but rules only in name. The magnates of the realm hold the reins of government. But it is evident that Raja Sinha has lost all prestige and authority. The whole country is unsettled, and the Chiefs of several districts have offered to place themselves under the rule of the Company and pay the tax on the salt. No orders or instructions were received from Candy for the government of the lands, and they did not know who were the rightful masters.

In our letter dated Aug. 4th we mentioned that the English Agent Edward Winter had sent some delegates from Madraspatam with valuable presents to Raja Sinha. The object of this Mission was said to be to effect the release of prisoners, but from intercepted letters addressed by the President to Raja Sinha which have fallen into the hands of Governor van Goens, the object was to induce Raja Sinha to make common cause against us, and secure for themselves free trading in Ceylon. This is a serious matter, for at the time Raja Sinha was asking us to protect his posts of Batticalo, Cottiar and Trincomalee, and Governor van Goens proposed that we should make an attempt to take possession of the first-named ports, so that we could exclude any other nation from the Island. We have after due consideration given orders for the execution of that plan. On Sept. 21st Governor van Goens sent Capt. Dupont with four small yachts, 100 soldiers and 90 Lascarins direct from Belligam to Trincomalee, with some.... and send from Jafanapatam. The old Portuguese fortress was soon

1666 taken. We had intended it should have been rebuilt, but advisers on the spot judged that a wooden barricade would do as well and we shall await the opinion of the Engineer. We have not heard how this our capture has been viewed by Raja Sinha or the Sinhalese Government. It does not seem that the loss is taken greatly to heart; Capt. Dupont mentions that a well of excellent water has been found at Triconamale.

Governor van Goens also having asked our advice as to the taking possession of the districts by our military, we have instructed him to act according to circumstances, but to avoid giving too great offence to Raja Sinha or the present Government. It appears from later advices that it was decided to recall the troops from Saffragam and place that district again in the hands of the King. However the news of our war with England having reached Ceylon, it has been decided for the security of the country to keep our troops at their posts, and it was also proposed to put a garrison at Chilau in order to secure the monopoly of the areca. Governor van Goens had not been able to state exactly the number of natives who had been added to the jurisdiction of the Company, but from the amount of rice required for their sustenance it was thought to be nearly 10,000.

This unexpected increase of hungry mouths decided the Governor to send to Batavia for 1000 lasts of rice and to Bengal for the same quantity. At the same time the Governor wrote that the new subjects had taken to the growing of rice with such a zest and that God had so blessed their labours that within three or four months the district would produce enough for its own wants. We hope that for the present necessity sufficient supplies can be procured on the coast of Coromandel. If not some of the vessels will have to go to the Canara and may at the same time serve for convoy to our vessels on the way to Surat and Persia and also make a kind of demonstration on the coast of India, as Commander Gosken has been instructed to do with the ships for Japan and the Malay Archipelago to the north of Masulipatam and along the coast of Coromandel. We are pleased to learn from

1666 our advices dated March 23rd that the last parcel of pearls had found a good sale at home. There seems a good prospect that the bed at Manaar will produce this year a larger quantity than ever before. Governor van Goens intends to employ F. 100,000 of the F. 400,000 received from Persia for the pearl fisheries, which have lately been much neglected at Tutucorin and Manaar. It appears that much thieving has gone on at these places. Factor Nyhof is accused of having sent divers down for his own profit under pretext of their fishing for chank shells. Six of the smuggling crafts have been brought to Tutucorin, but the culprits got off safe. This fact proves however that the oysters are mature and careful supervision will be exercised at Jafanapatam, Aripo, Manaar and Tutucorin.

Dated Jan. 30th, 1666.

1668 Towards the end of 1668 Maetsuycker, who was still Governor-General, was able to report that the fortifications of Galle were completed the previous year, as well as the new north rampart at Negumbo: that there was a garrison of Lascarins at Chilau, and the old guard house at Kalpitiya had been repaired: that the garrison at Trincomalai had been transferred to the new fort and the Portuguese fort at Puliyan-divu was being rebuilt. An attempt was made to occupy Kottiarama, but this was abandoned owing to the protests of the Sinhalese inhabitants. The intention to fortify Parititurai and Amsterdam was also definitely abandoned. "We learn that Raja Sinha is quite childish from old age, and we hope that his health will prevent him from doing us mischief."⁵

At the end of September the fort in Mende Corale was attacked, the garrison at Morahella cut off, and that at Bibile-gama was at the enemy's mercy. This last with those at

5. Governor-General to the XVII, 18th Oct., 1668.

1668 Sabaragamuwa and Arandore were therefore withdrawn. The places were found very unhealthy and since February 200 men had died of disease.⁶

1669 It was some satisfaction to find from actual receipts that from tolls Kalpitiya yielded more than Trikonamalai, Kottiarاما and Matakalapuwa put together.⁷

1670 Translation from the Sinhalese, containing the declaration of three Lascarins of Wedja who escaped from the custody of their keepers and made their way to Negumbo through the bushes and unbeaten roads, giving a report of what passed between the troops of the King and ours, on Sept. 6th and 7th, 1670.

On the 6th of this month, being Saturday, at about 1 o'clock some Dissaves arrived with a great number of Lascarins at Arondure, surrounded the *pak*, and when their men had been posted round, two Arachchies came forward and called out to the besieged "You have kept the place so long for His Majesty, that now His Majesty allows you to withdraw with your weapons and belongings to Ruanelle or Columbo, and surrender the place to us". The Commander Harman Dircksen being absent at the time, the Ensign, as his representative, sent a Toupas soldier with a Sinhalese interpreter to ask the new-comers whether they were friends or foes, and what they desired. They replied that they were friends and had been sent by His Majesty to demand from the Dutch to leave the *pak*. The Ensign thought it best to comply and prepared to withdraw to Ruanelle, but close to Arandure the country was swarming with natives who began to fire on the party; they however aimed so high that none was touched. The Dutch perceiving they should not be able to pass along that road, returned to the *pak* and remained there that day. Next day being Sunday, two other Arachchies came to

6. Governor-General, to the XVII, 19th December, 1668.

7. Governor-General to the XVII, 17th November, 1669.

1670 parley and made the same request as before. The Ensign perceiving it would be impossible to go to Ruanelle decided to go upcountry and about midday left the *pak* bearing a white flag and green branches. They surrendered to the King's officers, who took them a long distance inland. The Dutch were allowed to retain their muskets, the Sinhalese were deprived of their arms. The three Lascarins seeing a chance of escape, eluded the vigilance of their keepers and safely reached Negumbo.

Compared and found to agree with the original text,

In the Castle of Columbo, Sept. 30th, 1670

W. VAN DER MOLEN

Governor of Ceylon Ryckloff van Goens to His Majesty Raja Sinha :—

Dated November 24th, 1670

It is now thirteen years since I first had the honour to address Your Majesty, and I have sent many letters since which all prove our anxiety to please Your Majesty, but Your Majesty has not deigned to answer them personally. We have only from time to time received an *ola* from one of the persons at Court, written by Your Majesty's order. The bearers of these letters have always been well treated by us and allowed to depart in safety. But the Envoys we sent to the Court of Your Majesty have been kept there for years, amongst others the valiant Captains Francois Haas, Francois van der Berg, Anthoni d'Orthe, while our ambassador Hendrick Draak has died in Kandy after an illness of several years' duration. Besides these high officials; numbers of our countrymen are detained and many have died of want and misery. For years we have borne this undeserved treatment because we could not believe that these things were done by order of Your Majesty but rather at the instigation of our enemies; yet this contempt for the simplest rules of humanity has brought such disgrace on the name of Your Majesty, that all kings and rulers despise us for having endured it so long. We repeat again that we know Your

1670 Majesty would not act in this way unless stimulated by bad advisers. They have also accused us of having murdered the persons who brought to us the body of the ambassador Hendrik Draak, deceased. We were obliged to detain them longer than usual because of my being absent from Galle and Columbo. The accusers did not remember that our people have been kept for 10, 12 and even 20 years at Kandy, notwithstanding our manifold requests for their release. Besides we have been so maligned that Your Majesty has allowed your troops to attack us. Your Majesty ought to know us better, and that we are not cruel nor inhuman; and to our sorrow we find that our accusers are just the persons who are conspiring to deprive Your Majesty of your Crown and your life.

It cannot be unknown to Your Majesty how treacherously they have behaved towards our men at the *pak*, pretending Your Majesty wished them to leave and go to Ruanelle. As a proof of the unshaken confidence we place on the word of Your Majesty the men left the *pak*, but scarcely had they marched outside, when they were attacked by a number of people collected for the purpose. We are pleased to find that Your Majesty has shown your displeasure and punished the perpetrators. We shall exercise a little more patience, trusting that we shall receive an answer from Your Majesty; and if after a certain time it does not reach us, we shall conclude that Your Majesty is again in distress and forcibly detained. For we cannot believe that a sagacious ruler like Your Majesty would willingly keep us in suspense. Another attempt on Your Majesty's life will probably be the cause, and we shall then take every means to assure your safety.

The bearers of this letter are Gallegama Adigar, and the Gopala Mudaliar, who accompanied the body of the late Hendrik Draak. They arrived a few days after my departure from Galle and Columbo for the inspection of Batticalo, Tiroquonamalai, and Jafanapatam. About

1670 four weeks ago I returned to Columbo and found matters in a worse state than I expected. Your Majesty knows full well that these persons could not be dismissed before my return, and they will give you further explanations themselves. We shall detain here Jasonder and Golahelle Apuhami and Haccourvi Gammene Rale until we shall know Your Majesty's decision with respect to the persons who have been decoyed from the *pak*. We fully trust to Your Majesty's sense of justice, and that these men will be restored to us without delay, in order to insure the peace of the country and its trade flourishing in accordance with Your Majesty's desire. But if these people are not sent back to us under safe guide, we shall be obliged to seek revenge by land and sea and retaliate on those whom we know to be the chief culprits. We trust Your Majesty has still enough freedom of action left to show your generous mind, and will send some responsible persons to settle this matter in a conciliatory manner. We promise to do on our side what we can to make negotiations easy.

In future we shall consider no letters genuine but those signed by Your Majesty himself, and addressed to no other person than Your Majesty's faithful Governor at Columbo. This is our firm resolve, necessitated by the conviction we have that Your Majesty as well as ourselves are deceived by false reports. Only lately, and on my way to Batticalo, one of the five persons sent to convey the body of our ambassador has sent a secret letter to the Court of Your Majesty which contained all sorts of false accusations against us, saying that we were gone to Batticalo in order to ruin and destroy the whole place. Those members of Your Majesty's Staff who are inimical to us have thereupon, against the desire of Your Majesty, sent to that district to take revenge for the villages I had destroyed and the people I had killed. The inhabitants of the district themselves could attest to the contrary. It is evident that these persons do their utmost to lower us in the estimation of Your Majesty and have a handle for their treachery. This again has become manifest in their doings near Columbo. We are anxiously looking forward to

1670 Your Majesty's reply, and our desire is the welfare of Your Majesty and the restoration of peace and quiet in Your Majesty's dominions. May God preserve you for many years.

Your Majesty's faithful Servant,

RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.

Columbo, November 24th, 1670.

Affidavit of Jacob Scheepmeister :

There appeared before me van der Ham, Secretary to the Hon'ble Ryckloff van Goens, Councillor of India, Admiral and Governor of the Island of Ceylon, the Coast of Malabar etc., and the undersigned witnesses:—

Jacob Scheepmeister, soldier in the service of the Hon'ble Company, who arrived on July 19th with the body of Ensign Hendrik Draack from Ditelichie, where Raja Sinha is keeping his Court, and declared on his word of honour that three weeks before his departure he saw Raja Sinha, whom he had seen many times before, and conversed with him in a familiar way. On the last occasion he had observed that Raja Sinha's face was much swollen, his beard quite white, his eyes swollen, red and bulging, suffering in both his legs of what deponent thought to be gout, and other disorders in several parts of the body. Witness further reports that he has seen such fearful scenes that they cry to heaven for vengeance. Numbers of little boys between seven and ten years of age were daily brought from the country to be sacrificed. Whenever Raja Sinha was in one of his paroxysms, five or six, and sometimes ten or twelve of these innocents were taken to the banks of the river, where their arms and legs were cut off and the trunk placed in a kind of box which is ignited, and thus sent floating down the stream. At other times when Raja Sinha has the murder madness on him, mothers are forced to dash their young infants against the rocks under the plea of doing justice.

1670 Every week a number of people are executed at a certain spot which the Dutch and English call the Field of Blood. On the most futile pretext, the death of a favourite hawk or dog, Raja Sinha orders the execution of half a dozen or more unfortunate wretches. Witness assures having been present when Raja Sinha ordered a boy of twelve years of age to be killed because one of his small birds dropped a feather. When his sufferings were very acute Raja Sinha behaved like a madman, calling all his attendants by the foulest names and declaring that he would see them all die before his death. He hoped that the whole Island should become a wilderness and that he would leave behind him such a reputation for cruelty and barbarity as no other sovereign on earth had enjoyed. He sometimes intimated that he would deliver the whole of his kingdom to the Dutch on condition that all his courtiers should be reduced to slavery and employed at the hardest work. These manifestations of fury showed however that Raja Sinha was consumed by fear. He dared not leave his couch or call any of his former friends around him. He suspected everybody and had his most intimate friends watched.

Witness expressed his opinion that if the Dutch came with a sufficient force to Candy, that town and the whole district would hail us as saviours. In private Raja Sinha led the most shameful life. He spent nearly all the day in bed intoxicated. A number of women were employed to massage him, and if one of these chanced to hurt him by touching on a painful spot, she was at once consigned to death. Numbers of these unfortunate women had thus found their death, including several Portuguese Mestizzos. The usual form of execution was drowning. As far as witness knows, besides five deserters only ten of our people are still alive and twenty-four of the English, Frans Has among the number, who had borrowed from the deponent 12 rixdollars for which he had given an I.O.U. Ensign Draack had kept a journal and made many notes, but as soon as Draack died all his

1670 papers had been taken to Raja Sinha, except the few scraps found by witness. Raja Sinha had been much affected by the death of Draak, and had allowed deponent to collect all the property of the deceased and take it with him. Besides the Dutch and English detained at Kandy, about 400 Portuguese were kept in the bare lands of Uva and treated no better than our people. All the Portuguese priests had died or been killed, except one very old man.

The deposition of witness was duly signed in the presence of Jacob Stevensen and Arnout Toa, bookkeeper and clerk.

SCHEEPMEISTER.

....I certify to the above

CORNELIS VAN DER HAM,
Secretary.

In the fortress of Trinquenemale, September 6th, 1670.

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