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'A TULIP IN LOTUS LAND'

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF DUTCH BURGHER
ETHNICITY IN SRI LANKA

by

Rosita Joan Henry

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts

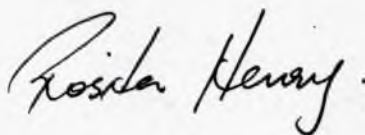
The Australian National University,
Department of Prehistory and Anthropology

April 1986

For my grandmother and friend, Ione Esmeralda
Drieberg (nee Buultjens)

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted
for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University,
and to the best of my knowledge contains no material previously
published or written by another person, except where due
reference is made in the text.

Signed

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Rosita Henry". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Signed".

Rosita Henry

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page		
Disclaimer		
Table of Contents		i.
List of Tables		iv.
Acknowledgements		v.
Note on Terminology		vi.
Map of Sri Lanka		vii.
INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE OF THESIS		1.
CHAPTER	1	ORIGINS
	1.1	Introduction 5.
	1.2	Portuguese in the Maritime Provinces 5.
	1.3	Colonisation by Portuguese 7.
	1.4	The Idea of Race in Portuguese Ceylon 9.
	1.5	Advent of the Dutch 13.
	1.6	Colonisation under the VOC 16.
	1.7	Race Relations under the VOC 21.
CHAPTER	2	DEVELOPMENT OF AN ETHNIC CATEGORY: SEMANTICS OF ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION
	2.1	Introduction 29.
	2.2	The British Takeover, 1796-1802 19.
	2.3	Social and Economic Position of Dutch Company Servants and Burghers 32.
	2.4	British Policy Toward Dutch Religion and Education 37.

		ii.
	2.5 The Dutch Language	40.
	2.6 The Semantics of Ethnic Classification	44.
	2.7 The British Image of the Burghers: From Heterogeneity to Homogeneity	51.
	2.8 Dutch Burgher Rejection of British Categories	55.
CHAPTER	3 THE DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF CEYLON: RECONSTRUCTION AND INSTITUTIONALISATION OF AN IDENTITY CATEGORY	
	3.1 Introduction	59.
	3.2 Historical and Structural Conditions	59.
	3.3 British Cultural Hegemony	67.
	3.4 Revivalism and Ethnicity	74.
	3.5 The Boer War	77.
	3.6 The Dutch Burgher Union	78.
	3.7 The Journal of the DBU	80.
	3.8 Inclusion/Exclusion in Dutch Burgher Identity: the 'Chosen Past' Image Presented in the Journal	81.
CHAPTER	4 DUTCH BURGHER ETHNICITY: AWARENESS OF STRATEGIC INTERESTS	
	4.1 Introduction	91.
	4.2 DBU Evaluation of the Structural Position of the Burghers	92.
	4.3 DBU Strategy and Action Regarding Dutch Burgher Interests	97.
	4.4 The Coming of Ceylon Independence and the Decline of Dutch Burgher Ethnicity	100.

4.5	Sinhalese - Buddhist Nationalism and Emigration of the Burghers	106.
CONCLUSION		113.
APPENDIX 1	Original Resolutions of Council for Regulating the Burgery and Trade Guilds (10 June, 1659)	116.
APPENDIX 2	Alfred Ernst Buultjens: Resumé and Genealogy	125.
APPENDIX 3	The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon : Constitution, By-Laws, Officers and Members, January 1908	144.
APPENDIX 4	The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon: Application for Membership Form	165.
APPENDIX 5	List of Genealogies published in the Journal of the DBU and Example of a Genealogy	167.
APPENDIX 6	Memorial of the Burgher Community... To the Earl of Crewe, 30 May, 1910	173.

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
TABLE 1 Occupational Profile of the Burghers and Eurasians - 1921 Census	65.
TABLE 2 Regional Distribution of Burghers and Eurasians Compared for the Census years, 1824, 1881, 1901, 1921, 1946	67.
TABLE 3 Educational Profile of the Burghers - 1921 Census	68.
TABLE 4 Religious Affiliation Among the Burghers and Eurasians - 1921 Census	84.
TABLE 5 Christian Burghers and Eurasians by Sect - 1921 Census	84.
TABLE 6 Commissions Awarded, Ceylon Light Infantry, Regular Force, 1949-74 (Horowitz, 1980:69-71)	108.
TABLE 7 Commissions Awarded Ceylon Artillery, Regular Force, 1949-60 (Horowitz 1980:69-71)	108.
TABLE 8 Ceylonese Cadets at Sandhurst, 1956-67 (Horowitz, 1980:69-71)	109.

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NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Although Ceylon has officially been known as Sri Lanka since 1972, I have used the name Ceylon in this study, except in the title, since the subject matter and bulk of the literature consulted pre-date the name change.



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----- Boundary of the Maritime Provinces in the early 18thC.

MAP OF SRI LANKA

INTRODUCTION

This study on the Burghers of Sri Lanka addresses itself to the problem of social identity, the idea of race, and the concept of ethnicity. In particular the thesis focuses on the institutionalisation in 1908, of Dutch Burgher identity, as opposed to Portuguese or other 'non-Dutch' Burgher, in the form of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon (DBU). Although the thesis is based mainly on a literature study, my argument does not depend on an exhaustive catalogue of texts dealing with Sri Lanka and the Burghers. Rather, the focus is on one particular text - the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union - in order to analyse how a group has semantically constructed a distinctive identity category for itself, as well as to delineate structural conditions that have led to that construction in the first place.

This leads to considerations about the large body of literature on ethnicity published in recent years, especially the primordialist/circumstantialist debate, and the reaction by some writers against this type of study due to the weak status of ethnicity as a social scientific concept. De Lepervanche (1980:25) for example has suggested that, as used in social scientific research and in government policy, ethnicity is an ideological concept which reproduces hegemony by denying the structural inequalities of class.

Nagata (1981), in an excellent summary, broadly outlined two main approaches to ethnicity taken by various social scientists. The circumstantialist approach 'regards ethnicity as a dependent variable, created and controlled by a broad combination of external interests and strategies, which invest it with potential for

action and mobilization', and the primordialist approach 'sees ethnicity emanating out of a corpus of basic, elemental, and irreducible ('primordial') loyalties, with a power and determinism uniquely of their own' (Nagata, 1981:89). A number of writers (e.g. Epstein, 1978, Ballard, 1976, Keyes, 1981) and Nagata herself have taken the middle ground in the debate, arguing that the primordialist and circumstantialist approaches are not mutually exclusive, but that an adequate theory of ethnicity must include elements of both. I see the primordialist/circumstantialist debate in ethnic studies as merely a manifestation of a more general argument on the relative weight to be assigned to cultural and structural factors in the study of human social formations. However, I believe that this is only an argument in ethnic studies because most writers focus on the ethnic group as a real entity rather than as a symbolic construction. My argument in this thesis is based on the idea that ethnicity is a discourse which 'primordializes' culture. However, as a discourse, it is part of the structure of social relations and operates within the context of social reality. Thus, I see Dutch Burgher ethnicity as a discourse which developed within the context of historical and socio-economic relations in Colonial Ceylon.

The Burghers of Sri Lanka are a minority group (never more than 0.7% of the total population)¹ which arose out of the political-economic intervention and eventual domination of the island by several European powers. The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon were under Portuguese nominal control and influence from 1505 to 1656, under the Dutch 'Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie' (United East India Company) from 1656 to 1796, and under the control of the Madras Presidency of the British East India Company until 1802 when they became a Crown Colony.

1. Fernando (1972:63) tabled the proportion and growth of the Burgher population in relation to the total population 1871-1963.

'Burgher' is a Dutch word meaning citizen, or commoner, and during the period of Dutch occupation was a civic title initially given to the European free settlers or colonists i.e. those Europeans not under contract to the Company. The European community thus consisted of Company servants and Burghers and included not only Dutch, but also 'Germans', Swiss, Belgians, French and other Europeans who had elected to work for the Company or settle on the island under its dominion. Later, citizenship and the title of Burgher came to be granted to their descendants and in general to all people of European descent, including Portuguese, or all those who 'dressed and behaved' as Europeans. After British takeover of the Maritime Provinces from the Dutch Company (VOC), the name Burgher became an imputed racial/ethnic label, a synonym for 'half-caste' or Eurasian.

Chapter 1 describes the historical circumstances leading to the origin of the Burghers. I focus on conditions in the Portuguese and Dutch periods which became the fertile seeds from which Dutch Burgher ethnicity sprouted in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. In particular, I examine the historical contours and development of the idea of race, in order to understand future Dutch Burgher stress on a European origin, and their image of their group as a 'tulip in lotus land'.¹

Chapter 2 explores shifts in the meaning of the name 'Burgher' in order to show how the idea of racial/ethnic diversity, which lay at the foundation of the workings of British Colonial government, was articulated during the period of changeover from Dutch to

1. A phrase used by a Dutch Burgher (B.R. Blaze) under the pseudonym of A.N. Ohnimesz (1934:1).

British rule. I argue that Dutch Burgher ethnicity developed out of the idea of race, and the coding of evolutionary time in social structure during the British period.

Chapter 3 is an examination of how the Dutch Burghers, as opposed to other 'non-Dutch' Burghers, operating within the same British ideology of a plurality of ethnicities, attempted to construct semantically a separate identity for themselves, through the formation of the Dutch Burgher Union (DBU) in 1908. The chapter is based on a study of the DBU journal as a text in which Dutch Burgher ethnicity, as discourse, is manifested.

Chapter 4 focuses on the strategic element in Dutch Burgher ethnicity. I examine the DBU journal for information about Dutch Burgher awareness of their changing political and economic interests, and the strategies of the DBU to further these interests.

CHAPTER 1

ORIGINS

1.1 Introduction

The emergence of Dutch Burgher identity in Ceylon occurred as part of a historical process, and a historical explanation is thus required. This chapter focuses on some of the historical conditions in the Portuguese and Dutch periods which became the fertile seeds from which Dutch Burgher ethnicity sprouted in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. I have based this study mainly on secondary sources, as well as some more readily available published primary sources such as contemporary travellers accounts and memoirs of the Dutch Governors. Most of these works were available to the Dutch Burghers themselves, and would have in turn informed their sense of 'shared history'. The idea of a common origin or past is an important part of ethnic identity. Histories of their past could be used by the Burghers to uncover for themselves 'buried potentialities of the present' (Thompson, 1981:17). As Hastrup (1982:155) wrote in an article on the emergence of Icelandic ethnicity in the early middle ages,

...what matters is that the idea of shared history exists. Without it, an ethnicity cannot be declared, even if, at another level ethnicity may still be just a way of speaking of political relations.

In the first section of this chapter I concentrate on the period of Portuguese control and the establishment of a Portuguese creole community in Ceylon.

1.2 Portuguese in the Maritime Provinces

First Portuguese contact in Ceylon was in 1505 when Don Lourenço de Almeida anchored off Colombo and made a treaty with the

Sinhalese King of Kotte¹ promising Portuguese protection of Ceylon ports in exchange for cinnamon (Ludowyk, 1962:103-4). However, it was not until 1518, when a fort was built in Colombo, that Ceylon became part of the Estado da India (State of India) a term by which the Portuguese described their 'conquests and discoveries in the maritime regions between the Cape of Good Hope and the Persian Gulf on the one side of Asia and Japan and Timor on the other' (Boxer, 1969:39-40). Affonso de Albuquerque's (1509-15) capture of Goa, Malacca and Ormuz had ensured Portuguese control of the major spice-trade routes in the Indian Ocean, and Goa was made the Portuguese headquarters. At this stage Portuguese policy favoured the establishment of Protectorates rather than direct conquest and their position in Ceylon was uncertain. In 1521, internal conflict in the Kingdom of Kotte over succession rights led to its split into three smaller ones - Kotte, Rayigama and Sitawaka, under the brothers Bhuvanekabahu, Rayigam Bandara and Mayadunne respectively. The Portuguese retained their hold on Kotte through alliance with Bhuvanekabahu who sought their protection against the ambitions of his brother Mayadunne in Sitawaka. According to de Silva (1972:6),

Eighty-five years after their first visit to Ceylon, the Portuguese still had little real power in Ceylon. They, and their Christian converts were confined to the areas surrounding the forts of Colombo and Mannar. Even these forts were frequently besieged by the Kings of Sitawaka and Jaffna who acted in concert against the foreign danger.

After Bhuvanekabahu's death in 1551, the Portuguese proclaimed his grandson Dharmapala the King of Kotte. Dharmapala became a Catholic, named the Portuguese King his successor in 1580, and remained a mere figurehead until his death in 1597.

1. There were three kingdoms in Ceylon at this time - Kotte, Jaffna and Kandy.

It was not until the Captain-Generalship of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo (1594-1612) that the Portuguese were able to gain control over other parts of the island. Portuguese policy had changed to one favouring direct conquest rather than the establishment of Protectorates. This was partly influenced by internal events such as the collapse of the Kingdom of Sitawaka, and external influences such as the threat of Dutch takeover. The conquest of Ceylon became of great strategic importance to the Portuguese. In 1620 they conquered Jaffna but were never able to take Kandy. By the end of their rule in Ceylon however, they had nominal control of most of the maritime region of the island and had established forts at Colombo, Negombo, Kalutara, Malwana, Galle, Sabargamuwa, Menikkadawara, Jaffna, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa (de Silva, 1972:78).

1.3 Colonisation by Portuguese and Origin of a Portuguese Creole Community.

The Portuguese had essentially military and commercial interests in Ceylon but the tenuousness of their hold on the maritime provinces obstructed extensive colonization. According to Boxer (1969:296-8) nearly all the Portuguese who left for the East were classified as soldados in the service of the Crown, and were liable for military service until they died, married, deserted or were incapacitated by wounds or disease. After about ten years they were allowed to return to Portugal, but first had to be given permission by the Viceroy at Goa for passage aboard a homeward-bound Indiaman. Moreover they had to pay for their own passages. Hence there was some incentive for soladados to find themselves native wives. Those who were married after their arrival in

Ceylon were usually allowed to leave the royal service and settle down as citizens or traders, being then termed casados. These casados mostly resided within the Portuguese forts but were granted land and village holdings outside.¹ The Portuguese kept registers of these land holdings, called tombos. According to de Silva (1972:217).

The tombo of Vaz Freire indicated that in 1614 the Portuguese village holdings extended along the coastal belt from Colombo to Matara and a few fertile areas inland. Revenue figures from the same decade indicate that the Portuguese held villages covered something like 1/5 of the area of Kotte.

Many of the casados also owned armed vessels which were used in coastal trade. They became very wealthy and passed on this wealth to their descendants.

Apart from these casado descendants, it is possible the creole community in Ceylon was considerably augmented by the illegitimate offspring of Portuguese with local women and with the slaves they had brought to Ceylon. Boxer (1963:61) translated a part of a letter by Padre Lancilotto written in 1550 about the behaviour of Portuguese in the Estado da India,

There are innumerable Portuguese who buy droves of girls and sleep with all of them, and subsequently sell them. There are innumerable married settlers who have four, eight or ten female slaves and sleep with all of them, and this is known publicly.

Boxer considered that there may have been 'some exaggeration in Padre Lancilotto's scandalized description of the excesses of the Lusitanian libido in sixteenth-century Asia, but there was not much'.

1. Here the Portuguese followed Sinhalese custom, which meant that the holder was in possession of a small tract of village land that had to be cultivated gratuitously by the villagers.

1.4 The Idea of Race in Portuguese Ceylon

According to Guillaumin¹ (1980: 42-5) the idea of race grew up only in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She referred to 'the belief that groups are naturally diverse, because of endogamous characteristics which are determining factors themselves, independently of history or economics' What then ideologically justified or explained social relations in Portuguese Ceylon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? According to Guillaumin, the history of the idea of race began with the definition of social relations based on slavery. That is, the spread of slavery was accompanied by the classification of human beings according to 'intellectual, epistemological and geographical' criteria. Guillaumin argued that these were mere taxonomies at this stage however, and social relationships between human groups were not yet thought to be governed by natural causality. This section explores the genesis and historical contours of the idea of race with respect to the Portuguese seaborne empire. I argue that the idea of race had its genesis in the 'internal' relations of Portugal itself as a seigneurial society with an emphasis on the concept of pureza de sangue (purity of blood).

Although it was the spice-trade which attracted the Portuguese to Ceylon and the East in general, one of the original impulses behind Portuguese overseas expansion had been the slave-trade. Slaves were owned by people of almost every class in Portugal and occupied the lowest rank in an already hierarchic and seigneurial society with the King at the top and the various ranks of churchmen,

1. Also Banton and Harwood (1975:11); Banton (1983: 32-6).

nobility and free commoners below. Portuguese law maintained this order by assigning privileges and disabilities to people in accordance with their hereditary position. By law the slave was considered 'a man who, having been deprived of his natural freedom by the law of nations, was treated as a thing for some purposes' (Saunders, 1982: 114). The laws of war in Christian Europe allowed the enslavement of infidel prisoners of war. According to Saunders, slaves were treated as chattels, but not to the same degree as they would be later on in the Americas. Their humanity was recognized by assigning them civil rights similar to those of dependent children and by placing them in the same category as lower-class free men for purposes of legal jurisdiction. Saunders (p.132) argues that there was only a blurred division between slaves and lower-class freemen in Portugal and that,

...the principle of order within Portuguese society was not the subordination of slaves to all free men, but the subordination of all servants, free or slave, to their masters.

Apart from this principle of order, it appears that the most general categories used to classify people in Portugal were religious. The Portuguese saw themselves as Christians in opposition to Jews, Muslims, and Pagans, who could be enslaved if taken prisoners-of-war. Relations between people were expressed in terms of religious categories and one of the reasons used to justify black slavery was to facilitate the christianization of these people. Up to the early fifteenth century black slavery had been unknown in Portugal. Slaves had been mainly Muslim captives from Morocco. In fact the word for slave was mouro (Moor) which had religious connotations. When blacks were first taken as slaves to Portugal they were initially referred to as mouros negros (blackamoors).

However, from about 1459, they were called escravos negros (black slaves) in contrast to Moors who were then called escravos brancos (white slaves), with no religious connotation (Saunders, 1982: xiii). It appears that with the introduction of black slavery came the idea that it was not only religion that distinguished people and determined their position of superiority or inferiority, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, colour. Colour was linked to the idea of sin and descent. Black Africans were considered to be slaves because of sin. They were thought to be descendants of the son of Ham who had been cursed by blackness and perpetual servitude (Genesis, IX,25). As Saunders (1982: 174) noted,

... the Portuguese thought that, because of their colour, blacks were an entirely different species of human being. Thus though their behaviour might resemble a white's, it was nonetheless not the same thing and did not respond to the same motivations. And in Portuguese eyes, anyone other than a white Catholic European was undoubtedly inferior... The Portuguese evidently believed that colour differentiated men so completely that a cross between a white and a black, namely a mulatto, was as different from his parents as a mule (mulato) was from an ass and a horse.

The Portuguese brought these ideas to the East when they came in search of spices. Boxer in his book, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825, attempted to disprove the commonly held belief that the idea of race did not yet play a part in relations between people in the Portuguese seaborne empire. As an example of this belief with regard to Ceylon, I quote Don Peter (1978: 259),

...The Portuguese placed no social barriers between them and the people of the country. In their dealings with the people there was generally no race or colour prejudice. They fought side by side with the Sinhalese or Tamil lascorins as Comrades-at-arms; they appointed Sri Lankans to positions of honour and distinction on a par with themselves; they admitted the people to social intercourse with them. They intermarried and settled down in the country, making it their home....

In contrast Boxer (1963: 69-70) showed that even though the Portuguese Crown still took the line that religion and not colour should be the criterion for citizenship, with laws being passed to this effect in 1562 and 1572, in practice the majority of European-born Portuguese believed in white superiority. According to Boxer (1969: 249) the Portuguese laid great emphasis on 'the concept of limpeza or pureza de sangue (purity of blood), not just from a class, but from a racial standpoint'. Boxer noted that the term racas infectas (contaminated races) is 'frequently encountered in official documents and private correspondence until the last quarter of the eighteenth century'. However he is unclear about to whom this term was used to refer and what it meant. Was it for example used in reference to the Mulattoes or Mestiços? Was it their European blood that had become contaminated? The Jesuit Priest, Father Alexandre Valignano¹ categorized the Portuguese Population in India in 1580 as (a) Reinol, European-born, (b) those born in India of pure European parents, (c) castiços, born of a European father and a Eurasian mother, (d) Mestiços, 'half-breeds'. Boxer noted that in the seventeenth century the term castigo came to be applied to Portuguese born in India of pure European parentage, and Mestiço to anyone with a European ancestor, however remote. According to Boxer (1963:71) 'the correspondence of successive viceroys of Goa is full of complaints against the real or alleged physical and moral inferiority of Mestiços as compared with European born and bred Portuguese'. It appears that blood came before colour as a determining factor in social relations. The European blood of a Mestiço no matter how fair his complexion might be, was thought to be contaminated by the native blood also flowing in his veins. Blood was also thought to be able to

1. Cited in Boxer (1963:62-3)

be contaminated by mothers milk. For example, Boxer (1963:66) noted,

A Portuguese Franciscan friar, born (so he said) of white parents in India, complained in 1640 that even he and his like were called 'Niggers' by their European born colleagues. These latter argued that although some of the Creole friars might be of pure, European descent, yet the fact that in their infancy they had been suckled by Indian ayahs was sufficient to contaminate their blood and their character for the rest of their lives.

Similarly, the French circumnavigator Le Gentil de la Barbinais, believed that the Portuguese citizens at Bahia, where he stayed in 1718-19, derived their preference for 'coloured women' from having been suckled by slaves (Boxer, 1963:114).

It is clear that in 17th century Estado da India, characteristics such as colour and even more importantly blood were considered important determining factors. The concept of purity of blood as it existed in Portuguese seigneurial society proved a fertile one for the development of the idea of racial purity. According to Boxer (1963:65), the practical effect of this idea is especially revealed by an examination of the history of the Religious Orders and the armed forces of the Crown. After initially admitting a few Indians and especially Mestiços to their ranks, by the end of the sixteenth century, all Religious Orders refused to admit these categories, and although welcomed in the armed forces, Mestiços were confined to separate companies (Ribeiro, 1948: 162,189).

1.5 Advent of the Dutch

The Dutch appeared on the scene in Sri Lanka at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A sophisticated urban culture, with a prosperous business community whose main interest was shipping had evolved in Amsterdam. As Shetter (1971:87) wrote,

...the Dutch now opened up a trade territory of almost unlimited scope, relying very little on domestic products and very heavily on the middleman role of carrying cargo for others.

In 1602 the various Dutch companies interested in trade in the East were amalgamated into one company, the 'Vereenigde Oost - Indische Compagnie' (the United East India Company), commonly referred to as the VOC. The Company received a charter from the States General giving it the powers of a sovereign state. It was allowed to levy troops, make treaties, and appoint Governors to its foreign territories. In the same year the Company sent Admiral Sebald de Weert to negotiate with the King of Kandy, Virmala Dharma Surya. However, as Ludowyk (1962:119) wrote,

Nothing came of these talks, for de Weert succumbing to what was then regarded as the national vice of the Hollander, drunkenness, behaved offensively in the King's presence and was later killed with a number of others in his suit.

In 1628, Rajasingha II became King of Kandy. His hatred of the Portuguese led him to collaborate with the Dutch. In 1638, he signed a treaty¹ with the VOC giving it certain trading rights in exchange for helping him get rid of the Portuguese. The Dutch and the Portuguese were in conflict for the next twenty years. With Rajasingha's help the VOC conquered the coastal areas in the south-west. However, it was not until 1658 that the last Portuguese stronghold, Jaffna, was taken. Contrary to the treaty with Rajasingha, the VOC kept possession of all the coastal forts it had taken from the Portuguese.

Even after takeover however, the VOC was faced with the threat of over one hundred years of Portuguese and Catholic influence

1. The Westerwolt Treaty - signed by Admiral Adam Westerwolt.

in the Maritime Provinces. The Portuguese left behind a Catholic Mestiço community, the members of whom were called Topassen¹ or Swarte Portugeesen (black Portuguese) by the Hollanders. The Portuguese influence was also marked among the Sinhalese and Tamils, especially those whom the Portuguese had relied on for support during the period of their control. Portuguese Creole was the lingua-franca. European dress had been wholly or partially adopted by many. Portuguese names had been chosen at Baptism by many Sinhalese so that it was impossible to tell by name alone whether a person was of actual Portuguese descent or not.

Although the VOC attempted to make allies of the Topassen, employing many of them in its armed forces, the uncertainty of its hold on the Maritime Provinces during the early period led the Company to be greatly concerned about the loyalty of the Catholic population. The Company officially supported Calvinism and associated Catholicism with the enemy. All Portuguese priests were expelled in 1658, but in 1687 a number of Goan Missionary priests came in disguise to Ceylon to preserve the Catholic faith in the Maritime regions. The Company's attitude and relationship with the Portuguese Mestiço Community in the early years after the takeover, is expressed in the following quotation from the Memoir of Governor Van Goens to his successor (1663:18),

1. This term, adopted by the Dutch from Portuguese Creole, was also applied to the corresponding class of Eurasians in India, Malacca and Batavia. Its derivation is uncertain. According to Boxer (1947:1), "the ancient attribution of the Hindustani Topi, has much to commend it; since this class of persons often called themselves, Gente de Chapeo in Portuguese, while the Indians also referred to them as Toppee Walas or 'Hat-men'. Another explanation is that the term originated with the Dravidian Tuppasi, 'interpreter'." Other spellings include Tupass, Toepas. The Sinhalese word Tuppahi used in reference to Burghers, is cognate.

Your Excellency should also as fixed principle for your government unceasingly proceed against and drive away from the country the Portuguese canaille, such as toepasses and similar folk. The names of whom it is necessary that Your Excellency should send away are with the Captain of the Burghers, as regards this place, and with Commandeur Roothaes in respect of those in Galle. The chief reasons why it is imperative that they should be expelled are that they do nothing but continually pursue the native women who are married to Netherlanders in order to debauch them, live without toil, seduce the slaves to thieving, correspond with the papists on the opposite coast and spy on all our activities; from all of which Your Excellency can appreciate the absolute necessity of expelling these scoundrels.

In later years the position of the Portuguese under the VOC seems to have become easier. Schreuder (Governor of Ceylon, 1756-61) abolished the criterion of having to pay a certain sum of money to acquire the privileges of citizenship. This rule had excluded many Mestiços, since they had been reduced to great indigence during the lengthy Portuguese/Dutch War and had largely remained amongst the poorer of the population due to the great many restrictions imposed on them by the Company regarding their commercial activities.

1.6 Colonisation under the VOC

The first Dutch and other Europeans to come to Ceylon after take-over by the VOC arrived as servants of the Company rather than as colonists. Apart from the Military and Maritime personnel engaged by the Company, employees for service in the East included the following categories: (i) Mercantile - Opper-koopman (senior merchant), Koopman (merchant), Boek-houder (book-keeper), Assistant (clerk); (ii) Ecclesiastical - Predikant (qualified preacher), Krank-bezoeker (sick-visitor, catechist); (iii) Craftsmen and Artisans - Carpenter, Mason, Gunsmith, Smith, Locksmith, Sword-cutter, Furniture-maker, Blockmaker, etc.¹

1. Information taken from Appendix II in Boxer (1965:300-302).

Various Governors of the VOC advocated that the Company encourage colonisation in the form of free settlers who could trade side by side with the Company and supplement its activities. For example Governor Maetsuyker (1650:18) wrote in his Memoir,

And whereas the Company at all events will be compelled to maintain itself in this Island generally in a good state of defence...., no better means, in my opinion can be discovered to relieve in a small degree the heavy expenses in respect of wages than the fostering of a large number of Burghers and the establishment of a regular colony for which this place is especially suited.

His hopes for large scale colonisation were never to be realized however. According to Arasaratnam (1958:208-9), regulations passed by the Company Directors in 1662 and 1670 for immigrants to come from Holland, seem to have produced only five families - farmers, shoemakers and a carpenter. One hundred years of VOC control later, Governor Schreuder still had to stress the need for more free settlement. He wrote (1762:26),

Indeed if people of our country were to live everywhere in the country, promoted agriculture, and multiplied, I have not the least doubt that our lazy and unpolished Sinhalese would derive some benefit therefrom and become industrious and civilized.

And such inhabitants could also increase both in number and efficiency, and should they be exercised in times of peace they could more readily bear arms in times of war or necessity, and with more zeal for the Company's interests than a number of degenerate people, or so called native soldiers, who year in and year out receive their pay and board-wages just as other brave soldiers.

The few colonists or free settlers that did eventually settle on the Island were mainly drawn from the ranks of retired Company servants, both civil and military. In spite of regulations passed to encourage colonisation¹, the Company actually was reluctant to have too populous a class of free settlers competing with

1. See Appendix 1 for Original Resolutions of Council for Regulating the Burgery and Trade Guilds, passed on 10th. June, at Colombo (1659)

it in trade. During the seventeenth century, the few settlers there were, found great difficulty providing for themselves because of Company restrictions regulating Burgher involvement in trade. In other words, by restricting free enterprise in Ceylon, the Company actually stifled colonisation. As Boxer (1965:217) noted,

... so many restrictions were placed on the residence, means of livelihood and behaviour of the free-burghers, that the term 'free' was and remained a singularly inappropriate one throughout the Company's rule. These burghers were in every respect less advantageously placed than were the Company's officials, not excepting indulgence in smuggling and private trade.

During the seventeenth century, the free settlers who did manage to make a reasonable life for themselves on the island, remained under the shadow of the Company. They stayed within the confines of the towns, protected by the Company and avoided the hazards of the countryside. The King of Kandy was still waging intermittent warfare against the Dutch and, as one servant of the Company, Schweitzer (1682:48-9) wrote,

Therefore this Island of Ceylon is not unjustly call'd the Dutch Soldier's Slaughter-House; and when they are commanded thither, they reckon themselves going to Execution. For the Cingulaish Inhabitants and Soldiers are not the only Enemies they have there, but the Blood-Suckers with which the Ground is alive after a show'r of Rain will suck the Blood out of 'em: Besides this are Hunger; and then the Unwholesomeness of the foggy Air, by which those who are not used to the Climate, fall into many Distempers. Some are seized with a Stiffness in their Limbs, others with Dizziness and cannot endure to look on the Light. Some get Ambayen: the most are killed by the Bloody-Flux and the like, so that I have seen in Columbo more Soldiers in Hospital than in the Garrison....

The Company tried to help the Burghers earn their livelihood by passing regulations giving them monopoly in a number of occupations. Only Burghers were allowed to be Bakers, Tailors, or Tavernkeepers, with the exception of a few native Christians

who could 'prove their eligibility by diligent church attendance'.¹

Tavernkeeping appears to have been the occupation most attractive to the Burghers. Arasaratnam (1958:206) wrote on the opening of taverns by Burghers, and the type of persons some considered them to be,

There was easy money in this trade and it was easy work and suited their temperament more than any occupation... The drunken orgies and attendant vices tended to bring down the whole tone of life among the burgher colony and gave the Dutchman a low reputation among the conservative and puritanic native community. This was primarily due to the poor stuff of which colonists were made. It was observed by a high official of the Company that they were nothing but the scum of humanity.

The Company's policy was to aim toward self-sufficiency in food on the island, and it tried to promote agriculture among the Burghers by granting land to anyone who agreed to cultivate it. It was hoped that this would prevent the necessity of Burghers setting up as tavern keepers. As Governor Van Goens (1675:34) wrote,

Till further orders no burghers should be discharged from service at any other place than Colombo, and then only on the condition that they should seek their livelihood by agriculture. The same should all be married and of good character, and should also be provided with a house and garden and other means, so that we may be able to rely on their ability to earn their livelihood without setting up as publichouse keepers or adopting any other disreputable professions.

However not many Burghers took to farming, unlike the Dutch settlers in South Africa. According to Arasaratnam (1958:198),

...From the very nature of their background they would not have been unduly attracted by a planters life... Trading and sea faring was obviously a more colourful occupation and an easy road to quick prosperity before the eyes of the Dutch burghers. The fact that the bulk of the burghers

1. See Appendix 1

were drawn from the sailors and soldiers of the Company had a large influence on their attitudes for they were of a type more inclined to the adventurous and hazardous life of a trader rather than the placid and settled life of the farmer.

Since on the one hand the Company denied them access to the most profitable trade, and on the other they found it difficult to compete with the Muslim traders in any of the lesser trades, the Burghers were in an unenviable position. The VOC tried to compensate the Burghers by ordering, unsuccessfully, that all trade in the hands of the Moors¹ be passed over to them, but it was only through widespread abuse of Company regulations that Burghers were eventually able to make their fortunes in Ceylon, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century. By this time the Dutch were beginning to lose power as their English rivals grew more confident of their position in the East. According to Boxer (1965:278) the decline of the VOC could have been due to,

...the increasing tendency of the VOC to rely on uneducated 'louts from the heart of Germany', who had no particular incentive to work hard for Dutch directors and shareholders.

At any rate by the eighteenth century, the participation of both Burghers and Company Servants in smuggling and illicit trade was widespread, inspite of heavy penalties imposed by the Company.

As Governor Pielat (1734:16) wrote,

It was also necessary to issue a placaat (plakaat - official regulation of the VOC) against the monopoly of grain, of which there had been rumours for some time, and also against the clandestine trade in spices. A sad example had to be set in Galle, where the chief mate of the ship

1. The Muslim Community in Sri Lanka is known by the name Moors which originated with the Portuguese. Some may be descended from Arab traders who came to the island in Medieval times. Others are more recent immigrants from India.

'Rypdorf' named Jan Daniel Schulz, was put to death on that account; while the chief doctor of the same vessel, Adriaan van Bochel, who was found guilty of the same offence, was flogged and branded, and the Vryburger (Free Burgher) Jan Bello, who had acted as agent in this matter and who fled the same evening that affair became known, was since summoned by edict, and on his non-appearance condemned to be hanged.

It is reasonable to speculate that the Burgher Jan Bello sought refuge in the Kandyan Kingdom. According to Robert Knox (1966(Orig. 1681): 344-5), a sailor in the service of the English East India Company who was captured by the King of Kandy in 1668 and detained for nearly twenty years, there were at that time many Portuguese and about fifty or sixty Dutch living in the Kandyan Kingdom,

Some whereof are Ambassadors, some Prisoners of War, some Runaways, and Malefactors that have escaped the hand of Justice and got away from the Dutch Quarters. To all whom are allotted respective allowance but the Runaways have the least, the King not loving such, tho giving them entertainment.

Both the Dutch and the Portuguese served in the King's army, but under their separate Captains, since they objected to be placed together under the same Captain.

1.7 Race Relations Under the VOC

Life within the Dutch towns was organized according to the structure and occupations within the Company. All the chief civil and military officers lived with their wives within the walls of the fort, and most Company business was conducted there.

In Colombo, the under officers and soldiers also kept houses inside the fort, while in Jaffna they lived outside in the open town.

The houses were laid out like Dutch towns, with streets running parallel or at right angles to one another¹. According to Schweitzer

1. See Brohier, R.L. Links between Sri Lanka and the Netherlands. Colombo, Netherlands Alumni Association of Sri Lanka, 1978, for a good description of Dutch forts and homes, including maps, plans and photographs.

(1682:62), the officers lived in great state and even the ordinary soldiers and clerks kept boys to clean for them and women to cook and serve their food.

One of the main concerns of the Company regarding the free settlers on the island was their relationship with the natives and especially the problem of intermarriage. Only the higher officers of the Company were able to bring their wives with them from the Netherlands. Soldiers and others released from Company service had to find wives among the local women, especially those of Portuguese descent. In the early years after takeover, in order to promote colonisation, the Company actively encouraged marriages with Asian and Eurasian women. It was especially Maetsuyker, Governor of VOC possessions in Ceylon, 1646-1650, who recommended intermarriage. However, by the time he gave up office in 1650 there were only sixty-eight married free Burghers. According to Boxer (1965:221) this number increased after the Dutch captured Colombo and Jaffna from the Portuguese in 1656-8, when 'about 200 Dutchmen married some of the Indo-Portuguese women who stayed (voluntary or otherwise) in the island'.

While on the one hand the Company initially encouraged intermarriage, on the other it sought to control it by granting marriage licences only in cases where the Commissioners of Marriage Causes and the Predicants, certified that the women were not 'contaminated by criminal conversation or immodest behaviour with other men and also that they know their prayers well and can answer questions regarding the most important principles of our religion' (Van Goens, 1663:32)¹. Schweitzer (1682:74-7)

1. See also Schweitzer (1682:76) who noted,
Any European in this island under Dutch rule may marry,
any woman he pleases of whatever Nation she may be, if only
she is christen'd and has a certificate from the Minister.

gives some very interesting accounts of marriages between Europeans and native or mestiço women. I quote him extensively here because he portrays an excellent picture of the lifestyle of many of the free settlers, and the origins of many of today's Burghers. He wrote,

(p.77)

There lived a Shoe-maker in the Old City of Columbo, named Jan Gerritsen of Brabant, that had married a Mestize (as they call a woman that hath had a white Father and a black Mother), her Father and Mother were very honest People, and my great acquaintance; (he was named Gerrit Hein of Westphalia, a Sugar-Beer-Brewer of Columbo, and one of the Burghers, her Mother was a black Cingulayan Woman, but a good Catholic).

(p.76)

There was at this time a Baptiz'd Jew of the name of Moritz, that had been for a considerable time very familiar with the Daughter of a Cingulayan Nobleman, tho' not marry'd to her: He had a grievous fit of Sickness, during which she was so faithful and serviceable to him, that he promis'd her Marriage as soon as he should be recover'd. Being got up again, she pressed him constantly to make good his Promise; but the Jew refus'd it out of meer shame before the other Europeans of being seen at Church with such a long-ear'd Creature; and persuaded her to have both the slit Lobes of her Ears cut and so far as possible made into better shape, and she had it done accordingly; after which the Jew Marry'd her in Columbo on a Sunday... Another Jew, Ludwig Christiansen of Darmstadt, a Convert likewise, Marry'd at the same time a young Black Gentlewoman of Malabar, very Rich; for whom I was Bridesman.

(p.74)

I pack'd up two hundred of Bulat¹ Leaves amongst my things, which a Cingulayan carried after me. These Leaves the Inhabitants chew continually, as I have already told; therefore I brought them to make a present of to a Widow, by name Branco de Costa, whose father had been a Portuguese and her Mother a Cingulayan, and by whom I took my Diet. She thought, I had some Affection for her, and I left her to believe it: I paid her 2 Rixdollars by the Month, and had a very good Table, and what Beer or Suri I pleas'd at Meals. Her first husband was a substantial Free Merchant at Columbo. Call'd Jan Christiansen; he was Owner of a Ship,

1. Betel Nut

with which he had often been at Bengal at the River Ganges (...) and drove there a considerable Trade: but going there again in the year 1678, was cast away with a Hurricane in the Gulf, as was suppos'd, and he and his ship lost. Although he had taken a considerable amount with him, yet she was left worth over twenty thousand Ducats, and twenty Slaves from Bengal which she used very inhumanely with Blows and Whippings. But I could not marry her, not for her being Black, but that her Ears, though they were richly set out with Gold, were very large and a Span long, and that her Hair, that would reach down to her Heels, she would besmear with Oyl made of Coco-Nuts ev'ry Day and then wind it up on her Head, just as we serve Horses in Germany which have long Tails... She spoke no Dutch, but Portuguese and Cingulaish, which were her Father's and Mother's Languages.....

Van Goens, who was Governor between 1662 and 1663, and again between 1665 and 1675, was concerned that the Dutch 'race' in Ceylon should 'degenerate' as little as possible through intermarriage, but remain 'strong and vigorous'. According to Van Goens (1663: 32-3), there were about thirteen to fourteen hundred children on the island with Dutch fathers in 1663. He wrote,

This number should with good care and strict upbringing rapidly increase and in 15 or 20 years become so considerable that our Netherlanders should not be reduced to the necessity of marrying purely native women, the which should also give our nation strength and vigour.

These offspring were classed as either Castizos or Mestizos following Portuguese categorization, terms which later Governor Schreuder (1762:26) considered should be as 'unknown here as at the Cape of Good Hope'. The Portuguese descendants continued to be distinguished as Tupassen or Portugeezen.

The Company advocated and supported the education of both Castizos and Mestizos. They were all supposed to be educated in Dutch manners and language and kept away from Portuguese and native habits. Governor Van Goens (1663:32-3) wrote,

The boys should be brought up with care and allowed to follow as little as possible the habits of the natives or their mothers, and with this object in view, the children of soldiers and other poor people (who through inability or their own fault cannot ensure the good upbringing of their children) should also be placed in the orphan-school. The boys should be trained to handicrafts or as soldiers, as it is to be feared that the majority of them are not fit for anything else.

The VOC was under obligation to maintain schools at all its settlements of a standard which corresponded to those in the Netherlands. According to Van Goor (1978:94),

In view of substantial annual fluctuations in the enrollment, we would have to assume that the vast majority of pupils remained at school only as long as it was necessary to learn elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic.

For further education, higher officials of the Company sent their children to Europe. Others had to rely on the Dutch Seminaries which were eventually established at Nallur, near Jaffna in 1691, and at Colombo in 1704. These however did not always accept European and Mestizo students. Their main aim was to train Sinhalese and Tamil landpredikers (native clergymen), catechists, schoolmasters and interpreters. As Van Goor (1978:79) wrote of the Colombo Seminary,

The ethnic composition of the 72 pupils who attended the seminary in the period from 1739 to 1760 did not entirely conform to the original plans. In all there were 29 Mestizos, which meant that they were over-represented, 21 Sinhalese and 18 Tamils.

The standard of education had been raised during this period by Governor Van Imhoff, so that the pupils who completed their studies at the Seminary could continue their studies at universities in the Netherlands. Between 1759 and 1772 the standard was lowered again however, and Mestizos were withdrawn

from the Seminary and allowed to enter Company Service.

In 1772 Mestizos were again admitted to the Seminary, but this decision was rescinded in 1786. According to Van Goor (1978: 100), of the twenty-nine Mestizos who had attended the Colombo Seminary in the period 1739-1760, seven were ordained as Predikants, a few served as VOC schoolmasters, one became a catechist, and another a book-keeper. As regards the rest, Van Goor noted,

Because of their knowledge of Sinhalese and Tamil acquired at the Seminary, they were probably more often than not given administrative posts in the countryside. At least one of them later fulfilled a judicial function under the British.

According to Boxer (1965: 222), in spite of Company policy to educate the Dutch Mestizos away from the Indo-Portuguese ways of their mothers, the free Burghers failed to evolve as an essentially Dutch colony. Portuguese creole remained the lingua-franca in the Dutch settlements and was the preferred home language of most Burghers. As Boxer (1965:224-5) put it,

Batavia, and in varying degrees the other Dutch settlements in Asia, thus presented the curious spectacle of a Dutch Calvinist male society wedded uneasily with a largely Indo-Portuguese female society.

In spite of their links with the Indo-Portuguese or Tupassen through their Mothers, the Dutch Mestizos developed socially and economically as a separate community, especially in the major towns like Colombo, Jaffna and Galle. Dutch Mestizo girls were encouraged to marry new recruits from Europe. Van Goens Jun, Governor between 1675-1679, wrote in his Memoir (1679:12),

Marriage with native women is forbidden in Ceylon, because there are sufficient number of women descended from European fathers. This prohibition must be maintained.

Although this prohibition does not appear to have been very strictly enforced¹, there eventually evolved during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Ceylon, a group of 'more Dutch' Mestizos who were priveleged in VOC employment and educational opportunities and were less subject to the condescending or contemptuous attitude of most Netherlanders to their Eurasian kinsmen. In 1715-17, Mestizos had been forbidden employment in the VOC. In 1718 this was even extended to Castizos. By 1756 however, these rulings were rescinded (Boxer, 1965:230). As mentioned above, Mestizo boys, especially those who had been attending the Seminary at Colombo were taken into Company employment after 1759. They served as clerks, schoolmasters, revenue collectors, legal officers etc. The Portuguese descendants or Tupassen, on the other hand, except for those enlisted in the armed forces, were not given employment in the Company, but had to make an independent living, generally in the manual trades or as servants to the Dutch officials.

Thus when the British took over the Maritime Provinces from the Dutch in 1796, they were faced with Burghers, or citizens, in all the major towns, who were already divided according to descent, occupation and social standing into Dutch versus Portuguese. Because of their position under the VOC, the Dutch Burghers proved to be very useful to the British especially in the initial period of changeover. Being familiar with Roman-Dutch law and having served in various administrative capacities under the VOC, they continued to provide a similar service for the British. Many early British accounts point out what they saw as a class distinction between the Dutch and Portuguese Burghers.

1. See Schweitzer (1682:76)

However, this distinction was insignificant when compared to British categories based on race. The British classed all Burghers together as 'half-castes', and this overrode any distinctions which the Burghers made among themselves on either a class or descent basis.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF AN ETHNIC CATEGORY: SEMANTICS OF ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the British construction of 'Burgher' as racial category. I focus on the social and economic position of the Burghers under the British and British stereotypes of the Burghers as presented in British literature of the period. I argue that British hegemonic ideology imposed a structure of racial categories in Ceylon and that this coding of evolutionary time in social structure is linked to the Dutch Burgher ethnic revival movement of the early twentieth century. My discussion is based on the idea that ethnicity is a discourse which arises out of the ideology of race. The ideology of race was hegemonic in nineteenth century British Ceylon and the emphasis was on biological and genetic differences between people. In twentieth century ethnicity the emphasis has been on cultural difference, but whether the ideology is one of genetic or cultural difference is unimportant. In both cases a 'deterministic theory of human attributes' (Rex, 1983:159) is used as a justification for the inequalities in relations of power and production in society.

2.2 The British Takeover, 1796-1802

The British takeover of the Maritime provinces from the VOC in 1796 can be related to political unrest in Europe, particularly in the Netherlands. De Silva (1953: 17-20) gives an excellent analysis of the events leading up to the takeover. In the Netherlands, civil unrest and hostility towards the House of Orange led to an unstable political situation and it was

only through British and Prussian intervention that the Constitution of 1747 and the position of the Hereditary Stadtholder, William V of Orange, was guaranteed.

However, in 1794-5 the French over-ran the Netherlands and with help from the Dutch patriots, altered the Constitution. The Stadtholderate was abolished and a new system of representation was instituted. The United Provinces were renamed the Batavian Republic. William V, who had presided since 1748 as Chief Director General over the ruling committee of the VOC, went into exile in England. As De Silva (1953:17) noted,

The development of events in Europe placed the Dutch colonies in an anomalous position. If they invested in the new Republic they would be a legitimate object of British attack. If, however they remained loyal to the expropriated Stadtholder and the superceded constitution, the proper attitude for the British to adopt would be more difficult to decide.

Fearing French takeover of Dutch holdings in the East, the then British Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Grenville, persuaded the Stadtholder William V, to authorise the Governor of Ceylon, Van Angelbeek, to allow the Maritime Provinces to be held in trust by the British as a form of protection. The Stadtholder consequently wrote to the Governor (quoted in de Silva, 1953:18),

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

'Wherefore, Noble, etc... we commit you to God's holy protection, and remain

Your well-wishing friend,

W. PR. V. Orange.

Kew, 7th. February, 1795.

As de Silva noted (1953: 19,20), the Stadtholders' letter was open to interpretation. The British claimed the right to protect the Maritime Provinces by temporarily occupying them. On the other hand, Governor Van Angelbeek and his Political Council, suspecting that the real British intention was to take permanent possession, decided that they should remain absolute masters, only accepting British aid. After receiving news from Europe that the Batavian Republic was actively supported by the majority of Netherlanders and created by them and not just by French intervention, which had been their previous impression, Van Anglebeek and the Council refused to allow British entry at all. This led to British attack on Trincomalee after which the other Dutch forts capitulated without much resistance. What is important here with regard to the situation of the Burghers was that since the British actually had to do battle with the Dutch in order to caretake the Maritime Provinces for them, their status became rather ambiguous. Were the British simply caretakers or possessors through conquest?

After British takeover, the Maritime Provinces were made a dependency of the Madras Presidency of the British East India Company.¹ This Madras regime was not very successful and was abolished in 1798, and control was then divided between the Crown and the East India Company. The Honorable Frederick North took over as Governor. He

1. The British East India Company was granted a Charter by Queen Elizabeth I on 31. December 1600, giving it the right to acquire territory, command fortresses and troops, exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction and coin money. The Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were established in 1689 and the Company remained a political power in India until the Indian mutiny of 1857.

and members of the Civil Service were appointed by the Crown, but they were under control of the Governor General of India and the Directors of the East India Company. Revenues of Ceylon, especially the cinnamon monopoly, were under the Company's control. The control of the East India Company was abolished altogether in 1802 after the Peace of Amiens and Ceylon became a Crown Colony under the administration of the Colonial Office. The Peace of Amiens had finally, six years after takeover, settled the question as to the possession of the Maritime Provinces in British favour.

2.3 Social and Economic Position of Dutch Company Servants and Burghers during British Takeover (1796-1802) and the Early Period of Crown Rule.

When they took over the Maritime Provinces the British were not only faced with the native population, but also with a highly heterogeneous population of Europeans and Eurasians which had arisen in the bigger towns during three centuries of European control. This included families of Portuguese and Dutch descent which had been settled on the island for generations already as well as newcomers from Europe. As mentioned in Chapter 1, some of these families had exercised strict control over the marriages of their daughters, accepting only Netherlanders or other Europeans, of whom there had been, in a century and a half of Dutch control, a constant influx. There had thus arisen a group of Eurasians with stronger claims to "Dutchness" or "Europeaness" who had been favoured by the VOC in educational and employment opportunities.

During the first six years after the British takeover, Company Servants and Burghers had no certainty that the island would remain in British hands and were unsure of their status.

This was a period in which many adjustments in their lifestyles had to be made. As de Silva (1962:550) wrote,

These relics of 1796 were in an 'extremely singular and uncomfortable' position, being half prisoners of war and half citizens of Ceylon.

Several writers have made reference to the poverty that faced many of the Burghers and ex-Company Servants.¹ Apart from the loss of their positions with the VOC, they lost many of the fringe benefits and opportunities for private trading ventures associated with involvement with VOC trade.

Until the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the bulk of VOC employees remained on the island. From then on began a slow exodus. Governor Maitland was instructed to stop allowances to the Dutch prisoners and to send those who wished to depart, to Batavia in the cartels Rusthof and Resolution (de Silva, 1962:550). Those who wished to stay were required to take the British Oath of Allegiance. According to Cordiner (1807:87) about nine hundred Dutch remained. He wrote,

The Dutch inhabitants in Ceylon are about nine hundred in number, and excepting a few families, are reduced to circumstances of great indigence, but by rigid and meritorious economy, and some of the lesser labours of industry, they maintain an appearance, in the eyes of the world, sometimes affluent and gay, and always decent and respectable.

Many of the Dutch inhabitants who remained were those with property on the island and who were married to native or Eurasian

1. Cleghorn (1927: 250, 255); Cordiner (1807 :87).

women. In one of the first accounts to be published on Ceylon after British takeover, an English army captain, Percival (1803: 109) wrote,

It is in particular very common in Ceylon to see a respectable and wealthy Dutchman married to a Portuguese woman..., a connection which our countrymen look upon with the greatest abhorrence and would not Enter into on any account.

The Dutchmen, and other Europeans, who had married Ceylonese women, were in a difficult position if they wanted to leave the island for, as Digby (1879 :14-15) noted,

No Dutchman, who had married a 'country' wife would have dared take her to his friends in Holland, much less to the narrow minded colonial circle of vrouws in Batavia.

According to Cordiner (1807 :87), some of the Colombo Burghers were able to make money by letting their houses to the British and retiring to smaller 'less convenient' dwellings, and also by hiring out their slaves.

Many ex-Company Servants and Burghers were also employed directly by the British. Being short of personnel themselves the British found it necessary to make use of the expertise of many of the Burghers as clerks and judicial officers. Their knowledge of the island and the customs of its people made them good mediators in the changeover to British rule. As Cleghorn (1927 :255) reported in his diary during his tour of Ceylon in 1796,

Here [Jaffna] as a Manar [sic] the civil servants of the Dutch government are entirely unprovided for by ours. Their salary at least ought to be allowed them, which would afford them only a very moderate subsistence... If they are well treated many of the Dutch would be disposed to assist us by furnishing useful information. They might become farmers, or they might be employed in collecting the revenue. Finding protection and comfortable subsistence under our administration, they would become attached to our government and forget their old connection with Holland.

In a letter, dated 5 October 1799, to the Directors of the British East India Company, Governor North mentioned that he had requested that the Dutch Servants take the Oath of Allegiance and accept judicial situations under the British. His proposal was at first refused. Only Fybrantz (President of the Court of Equity) and Baron van Linden (one of its members) agreed. The other Dutch Servant's attitude soon changed however and North noted that many 'respectable personages have offered their Services'.¹

The establishment of Crown Colony rule which brought with it a Civil Service and a Charter of Justice, altered the position of these Dutch servants however. The Dutch courts were abolished and provincial courts were set up with British Civil Servants as their Presidents. As Kannangara (1966: 132) noted,

The establishment of the Civil Service, and the judicial reforms which North carried out, displaced many of the Dutchmen from their former positions, and brought about a clamour for employment elsewhere or for pensions.

Some of them were absorbed into the Clerical Service to assist the British Civil Servants and, according to Kannangara (1966:134), to circumvent the rule that all Civil Service appointments be made from Britain, and to provide employment for the Dutch, North established 'certain offices which were not considered as exclusively appropriated to the Civil Service'. These included the offices of Custom Master, Registrar of Lands, Judges, Fiscals and Registrars of Courts, and the offices of Master Attendant, Civil Engineer and Surveyor General. As Kannangara (1966:134)

1. Letter to the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies at their House in Leadenhall Street, London, 5 October 1799. In North, Frederick, 5th Earl of Guilford, 1766-1827. Letters... 1798-1805.Ms.

wrote,

The result of these developments was the creation of a 'species' of establishment distinguished both from the Civil and Clerical Services. It consisted mostly of local recruits performing civil functions, as important as those performed by the Junior Civil Servants, but drawing lower emoluments and not considered as belonging to the Civil Service or entitled to any of its privileges.

This special 'species of establishment' in the government service which was created by North to provide employment for the Dutch, had far reaching effects on the position of future Dutch Burghers. It set the stage for the specialization of the Burghers in government service, where particular areas became almost exclusively their preserve. I discuss this in more detail in the next chapter. What is important to note here is that, by employing Dutch Burghers in the colonial service as social and political brokers between the Government and the Ceylonese people, the British fostered the emergence of a privileged group of Burghers which would later define itself as a separate ethnic group.

2.4 British Policy Toward Dutch Religion and Education.

The British undertook, by the Capitulation of Colombo, to continue the Dutch clergy in their offices and to grant them small pensions. Thus an official connection was maintained for some time with the Dutch Reformed Church particularly as there was a lack of clergymen from the Church of England in these early years. However, as more British clergymen arrived on the island, and because many of the Dutch clergy had refused to swear allegiance to the British Crown, the Dutch Reformed Church lost State support. Services continued to be held, but many of the next generation of Dutch Burghers, educated in British run schools, came instead to practise in the Church of England.

There appears to have been a set back in the Dutch school system

after British takeover (Ruberu, 1962 :44-57). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the VOC had been obliged to maintain in Ceylon, schools for the children of their employees and the Burghers, equal in standard to those in the Netherlands. A system of free vernacular or 'parish schools' had also been created. Part of the schoolmaster's duties at these schools was to keep the Thombos (parish registers) up to date. These schools were regularly inspected by a Scholarchal Commission which had been set up in Colombo with representative committees in Galle and Jaffna. Thus as de Silva (1953 :243) wrote,

The Dutch bequeathed to the British a very complete religious and educational system.

The Madras administration did not do much to maintain the system of 'parish schools'. However, Governor North realized it was necessary to rehabilitate the school system on the island, and using the Dutch system as a working basis, he encouraged the Dutch clergy to continue their work in these schools.

In 1797 the Reverend James Cordiner arrived on the island to be Chaplain to the Garrison in Colombo. He was invited by North to become 'Superintendent of Schools'. The 'parish schools' were mainly for the rural population and teaching was in the vernacular. North also established three 'Higher Grade Schools', as they came to be known, in Colombo, for the education of Burghers and high caste Sinhalese and Tamil children respectively. These were supposed to provide a 'rudimentary English education' and were also referred to as 'Preparatory Schools' as they were meant to prepare scholars for the Academy which was to be the apex of the school system.

Boys entered these schools at the age of eight and attended for eight years, in preparation for possible government service or continuing education at the Academy. According to Ruberu (1962 : 66-7), the Academy also consisted of three separate schools, namely, a Sinhalese, a Tamil and a European school exclusively for Burghers. One function of the Academy was to prepare youths for the higher grades of the public service. It was initially intended to be a free boarding school. However, as expenditure proved to be too heavy, fee-paying day pupils were admitted as well as the chosen free boarders. The Academy progressed rapidly and according to Ruberu (1962 :71), there were 85 students in 1802, 35 of whom were in the European school. This suggests that many of the pupils would not have first attended the full eight years required at the Preparatory Schools, but were really carry-overs from the Dutch School system.

The Dutch Orphan-Houses were also maintained by North for the children of 'lower classes of Burghers of both sexes, and for foundlings'¹. Unfortunately, this state of affairs did not continue for long. The Home Government considered that North was overspending on education and ordered him to cut expenses. The Orphan-Houses were the first to go and to cut costs of running the Academy, the Sinhalese and Tamil schools were incorporated into one with the European school remaining separate under Sargeant Thomas Supple. After the death of Supple in January 1804, these two schools were combined into the 'Native School at Hulfdorp' which was accommodated in Government House where no rent was required.

1. Quoted in Ruberu (1962:71) from a Letter by North to the Court of Directors, British East India Company, 18th February 1801.

It is clear that in spite of this early reluctance on the part of the British to provide the funds necessary to run an efficient school system, the establishment of a 'Higher Grade' English school exclusively for 'upper classes' of Burghers, had created a base which favoured the class and career interests of future generations of these people. Moreover, Missionary societies soon took up the educational responsibilities which the colonial government avoided. In 1927 the Cotta Christian Institution was set up by the Church Mission Society. According to Gooneratne (1968:7),

... the higher education offered before 1832 in missionary schools was particularly directed at the Burghers.

She cites a letter written by the missionary, Stead, to the Methodist Missionary Society Committee, Trincomalee, 9 August 1820,

'The Missionary... must collect and combine all the energies of young men of European extraction - born in the country - inured to the climate and acquainted with the languages. From amongst these he will meet his first assistants.

Partly because of Burgher requests for an English School (Gooneratne, 1968 :49, note 3), Joseph Marsh of the Church Missionary Society set up an Academy in Colombo in 1836. The Colombo Academy taught the Protestant principles of the Church of England and enjoyed the patronage of the government. It eventually came to develop some of the social exclusiveness characteristic of an English public school. Gooneratne (1968 :22) noted that of the twenty pupils at Marsh's Academy in 1835, sixteen bear European names, including the Burgher names of Stewart, Morgan, Vanderwall, Gratiaen, Wambeek, Cocq, Kelaart, Oorloff, Maartensz and Ondaatje.

It appears that it was the deliberate policy of the British to create a dual structure in education. English schooling was reserved for a small Western-oriented elite which included Sinhalese and Tamils as well as Burghers. The rest of the population had to be content with a vernacular education. According to Gooneratne (1968 :15),

When Academy fees were raised in the 1840's the School Commission expressed a hope that some parents would prefer paying slightly higher fees to letting their children mix with the lower orders.

I include further discussion on the effects of British education policy on the social and economic position of the Burghers during the middle and the late nineteenth century, in the next chapter.

2.5 The Dutch Language

Dutch appears to have fallen into disuse very rapidly after the British takeover. Regular services in Dutch continued to be held at the Wolvendaal Dutch Reformed Church, Colombo, until shortly after 1849.¹ The Baptismal record of Charles Ambrose Lorenz was written in Dutch in 1829, for example, thirty-three years after British takeover. Blaze (1948 :6) quoted,

Het Kind geboren den 8 te Juli
te worden genoemd Charles Ambrose Lionel
De Ouders zijn
Johan Frederik Lorenz en Anna Petronella Smith, echtelieden.
De Doop-Getuigen zijn
Robert Charles Roosmalecocq
Maria Theresa de Leeuw, weduwe Elsenhanz
en Anna Sophia Carolina Lorenz.

1. Personal communication, Reverend Dunstan Thuring, Wolvendaal Church, Colombo.

Yet Lorenz was brought up English speaking and, although he could also speak Dutch, he acquired that facility in later years. Most of his generation of Dutch Burghers had little knowledge of the language.

A number of Burghers have ventured opinions as to why Dutch fell into such rapid disuse after British takeover (e.g. Anthonisz, 1908; Toussaint, 1942). Toussaint (1942 :42) lists the following causes,

(a) Portuguese was the medium of conversation between rulers and ruled when the Dutch arrived on the island; (b) it was the language spoken by the Portuguese women with whom the Dutch intermarried, and also by the slaves kept by them; (c) the perpetuation of the Dutch language was not regarded with favour by the British; (d) the Dutch found it impossible to maintain Dutch schools and to obtain Dutch literature; (e) a knowledge of English was indispensable for employment under the British; (f) the absence of facilities in later years for reviving a study of Dutch.

It must be added here that during the VOC period, the Dutch language was spoken mostly in the upper circles of the community. Many of the Company Servants, especially in the lower ranks and the soldiery were not Dutch by origin but spoke other European languages as their mother tongue. Portuguese Creole therefore became the lingua franca even among the Company Servants. Since, as Toussaint noted, many of these married women of Portuguese descent, their children would have grown up with Portuguese Creole as their first language, reinforced by the fact that most Burgher households kept slaves who spoke Creole and into whose care the children were generally given. Van Goor (1978 :93) noted that the Dutch school authorities faced great problems in the education of Burgher children because Dutch was not spoken in their homes.

When the British took over the Maritime Provinces, it appears that creolized Portuguese was the mother tongue of most Burghers. Percival (1803 :90) wrote,

The language spoken most universally both by the Europeans and Asiatics who resort in Colombo, is the Portuguese of India, a base corrupt dialect, altogether different from that spoken in Portugal... On Ceylon it is particularly useful to be understood and indeed without it, a person finds it impossible to maintain any conversation with the Dutch ladies, as they seldom address one in any other.

De Zilwa (1967 :5), himself a Dutch Burgher, reminisces about his grandmother, born in 1795¹,

She spoke Indo-Portuguese and Sinhalese and a few words of English. She had no occasion to speak Dutch, but I think she must have known the language, as she had been a Dutch subject for twenty years, and was a member of the Wolvendahl Church, where services would have been in Dutch. Probably the Indo-Portuguese dialect, although a corrupt patois, being easier and more euphonious than the guttural Dutch was preferred by Burgher ladies to the language of their ancestors.

Both these quotations refer to women who would have had little need for Dutch in their daily lives. The men on the other hand, especially those who went to work for the Company, would have used the language daily during their working hours and in an official capacity. Today neither Portuguese Creole nor Dutch is spoken among the Dutch Burghers although Portuguese Creole continues to be spoken among some of the Portuguese Burghers.² Portuguese Creole appears to have been spoken among the Dutch Burghers up to the late nineteenth century. For example, in a letter to his mother (no date, approximately 1856-60), Alfred Drieberg, a Dutch Burgher boy attending King's College in London, wrote regarding another Ceylonese he had met there,

I like Aserappa very much. He is a very nice young man. He went home in the same omnibus with me and commenced some Portuguese conversation.

Similarly, he mentions in another letter to his mother dated May 1860, that his cousin Walter Drieberg, who had recently arrived in London

1. De Zilwa's grandmother had actually only been a Dutch subject for one year, not twenty as De Zilwa states.
2. See study by I.R. Smith. Sri Lanka creole Portuguese phonology. Int. J. Dravid Ling 1978, 7(2):248-406.

to attend the same school and was being teased about his clothes, had asked him in Portuguese why the English boys were laughing at him. In contrast, during the same period, Alfred Drieberg wrote to his grandfather,¹

I am sorry I did not take some lessons in Dutch from you, which I remember you commenced teaching me - only I never got beyond the first three letters!

The only traces of Dutch to be found in Sri Lanka today, apart from names for places and culinary delights, are loan words into Sinhalese and particularly into Portuguese Creole.

Hesseling (1979: 25-9) lists a number of examples which mostly represent concepts which are part of officialese. As Hesseling suggests,

These terms were certainly not borrowed from a marginal language, but rather via association with persons of stature. I recall the words druk, drukker, volmacht, juffrou, grad, handschoen, notaris, horloge, regel, zegel, advokaat, boek, etc. Next there occur familiar words, but vulgar expressions and terms of abuse are lacking. This is fully in accord with the status of a 'Sunday language' that Dutch had in Ceylon.

A list of Dutch loans given by Sannasgala in his study Sinhala Vocables of Dutch Origin (1976 :67-86) seems to support Hesseling's argument. Most of these terms are connected with the work of Dutch administration and the legacy of Roman-Dutch law. For example,

<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Dutch</u>	
būdala-ya	boedel	personal estate
kantōru-va	kantoor	office
kuvitānsi-ya	kwitantie	receipt
perakalasi-ya	procuratie	power of attorney

1. These letters are to be published in People in-between: an anthology of literature and letters relating to the Burghers in mid-nineteenth century Sri-Lanka, edited by Percy Colin-Thomé, Ismeth Raheem and Michael Roberts. I was kindly given access to the manuscript by Michael Roberts.

Other words relate mainly to household goods, utensils, clothing, personal ornaments, some tools of trade, and building terms.

For example,

<u>Sinhala</u>	<u>Dutch</u>	
balka	balk	beam
rāmu-va	raam	frame
arukku-va	ark	arch

Since Portuguese creole was the home-language of most Burghers during the Dutch period, what should be of interest here is not so much the position of Dutch and why it ceased to be spoken so soon after the British takeover, which is what concerned the Dutch Burghers when they tried to revive the language in the early twentieth century, but the position of Portuguese Creole. What is significant is that Creole ceased to be spoken among some of the Burghers while others continued to use it up to the present day. I suggest that this reflects the division of labour between these two groups of Burghers in Colonial society. The more advantaged Dutch Burghers required a high standard of literacy in English to occupy the employment opportunities available to them, i.e. in the Clerical Service and in the legal and medical professions. Internal class structure of the Burghers thus came to be reflected in the use/non-use of Portuguese Creole.

2.6 The Semantics of Ethnic Classification: Naming Propensities and the Formative Role of Language.

As I mentioned in my introduction, at the time of British takeover, there was no identifiable ethnic group called the 'Burghers'.

Originally, 'Burgher' was merely a civic title given to those Europeans who had opted to settle in the Maritime Provinces as free citizens, not under contract with the VOC. Europeans working for the VOC were

known as 'Company Servants'. 'Burgher' was a title of citizenship granted by the Company itself to free settlers who included mainly European ex-Company Servants. Later the title came to be accorded to all those who were of European descent, including Portuguese, or who behaved as Europeans even though they were of indigenous origin.

I argue that it was under the British that the title of 'Burgher' became an imputed ethnic/racial label. It could no longer have meaning under British rule as a title of citizenship. Instead, the British started to use it as a synonym for 'half-caste' or Eurasian, whether of Dutch, Portuguese, or later, British descent. People who had never categorized themselves together in these terms thus became trapped in the conceptual categories that lay at the core of British hegemonic ideology.

The relationship between Britain and its colonies was a relationship of power, of domination, which was expressed through a discourse based upon a broad ontological and epistemological distinction between European and non-European. Said (1978) identified this discourse as Orientalism and he noted (p.6) that,

Orientalism is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations there has been a considerable material investment.

I see Orientalism as but one expression of the wider discourse of ethnicity. In Ceylon as in other colonies, the category 'non-European' was further divided into categories based on purported racial and cultural origin, i.e. Sinhalese, Tamil, Moor, Burgher. Although the name 'Ceylonese' was used by the British as early as 1801 to cover all these

categories¹, it does not appear to have come into vogue until after 1850. The significance of this will be discussed in the next chapter. What is important to note here is that what Said (1978 :231) wrote about the category 'Semitic' could also be written about any of the categories of 'non-European' in Ceylon, including 'Burgher'. Such a category could

... be employed not only as a simple description or designation, it could be applied to any complex of historical and political events in order to pare them down to a nucleus both antecedent to and inherent in them. "Semitic", therefore, was a transtemporal, transindividual category, purporting to predict every discrete act of "Semitic" behaviour on the basis of some pre-existing "Semitic" essence, and aiming as well to interpret all aspects of human life and activity in terms of some common "Semitic" element.

During the early period (1796-1802) of rule by the British in Ceylon, they numbered a few hundred officials who considered themselves the top level of local society. Both the Dutch Company Servants and the Burghers were officially their prisoners of war. The distinction the Dutch had made between Company Servants and Burghers continued in British times as an ethnic or racial categorization rather than a civic classification. European Company Servants came to be referred to as 'Dutch Inhabitants'. After 1807 most of these departed for Batavia. Those who remained were generally married to mestizo or native women and were few in number. However, it is clear that they adopted British usage and continued to distinguish themselves from the Burghers. For example, a number of independent addresses made to Sir Alexander Johnstone on his retirement from the office of Chief Justice in 1817 began as follows (JDBU 1957, 47(2 & 3):33-9),

1. North refers to 'Ceylonese Soldiers' in a letter to Wellesley, 22 February, 1801. In North op. cit.

We the undersigned Dutch Inhabitants and Burghers of Colombo...

We the undersigned Dutch Inhabitants, and Burghers of the Province of Jaffanapatam...

The very nigh approaching period of your Lordship's departure to your native country call upon us the undersigned; Europeans, Descendants of Europeans, and Burghers residing in the district of Galle ...

Clearly the signatories considered themselves to be either 'Dutch Inhabitants' or 'Burghers'. Since the term 'Burgher' in British usage had shifted in meaning to become synonymous with 'half-caste' or Eurasian, any Dutch or other European Company Servants who remained behind after the British takeover, continued to distinguish themselves from the Burghers, even though they were now also, in Dutch terms, free settlers. It seems reasonable to suppose that even those Europeans who had accepted the title of 'Burgher' under the Dutch, would no longer accept it under the British, signing themselves 'Dutch Inhabitants' or 'Europeans' instead.

In the case of the Address made to Sir Alexander Johnstone from Galle, a three way distinction is drawn between 'Europeans' 'Descendants of Europeans' and 'Burghers'. An anonymous contributor to the DBU Journal (1957, 47 (2 & 3) :41-2), suggests that this tripartite classification points to an adherence to the old Dutch distinction, which was actually taken from Portuguese, between Reinols (those born in Europe), Castizos (born in the Indies of European parents), and Mestizos.

The use of the term Burgher by the British to name what they considered a racial/ethnic group was a way of objectifying these new subjects. The British were in a position of power which as Parkin (1982:xlvi)

put it, rested on,

... unequal access to semantic creativity, including the capacity to nominate others as equal or unequal, animate or inanimate, memorable or abject, discussor or discussed.

We see here the objectification of one people by another as a form of social and political control. That there was much resistance to this classification among those classed as Burghers themselves, is obvious from the debate about the use of the term in the literature, and their attempts at self-definition. Once the name 'Burgher' was produced as a label for a particular social space, new meaning was created within it. Since the name implied to the British a 'half-caste' or Eurasian, it automatically included, or rather assumed, established British stereotypes of these categories. That is, the name 'Burgher' took on the surplus meaning present in the names 'half-caste' and Eurasian. With this stereotyped cluster of meaning, the category of Burgher provided for the British, a standard for judging their own behaviour. This was essential in order for them to maintain their own separate collective identity and position of power. The British needed to make use of the expertise of the Dutch Burghers without allowing them to become a threat to their status as 'possessors' of the island.

By their cognitive organization of these people into one ethnic group along with people who were considered socially and economically subordinate, the British were able to provide the boundary necessary to maintain their own exclusive position.

In the next section I go on to discuss British stereotypes of Burghers and ideas of their racial and cultural inferiority, which may have also been held during the VOC period, by the Dutch of the Mestizos, particularly those of Portuguese descent. They certainly came to be held by the English speaking Dutch Burghers, providing the justification

for their attempt to create a separate social space for themselves, by calling themselves Dutch Burghers as opposed to Portuguese or other Burghers. As Barth (1969:132) wrote of the Pathan,

Ethnic identities function as categories of inclusion/exclusion and of interaction, about which both ego and alter must agree if their behaviour is to be meaningful. Signals and acceptance that one belongs to the Pathan category imply that one will be judged by a set of values which are characteristic or characteristically weighted.

We see in the case of the Dutch Burghers a situation of cognitive dissonance between the identity socially accorded by the British and that subjectively claimed by the Dutch Burghers themselves. Although intermarriage and the fact that the Dutch Burghers spoke Portuguese Creole well into the nineteenth century suggests close social and cultural ties between the Dutch and Portuguese Burghers, these were not accommodated in twentieth century Dutch Burgher ethnicity. The Dutch Burghers felt they had been placed in a category which included others with whom they had previously had no common identity except in terms of shared citizenship. After all, it was the Portuguese from whom the Dutch had taken over the Maritime Provinces, although the VOC's early mistrust of the Portuguese Mestizos had later given way to an acceptance of them as citizens. As mentioned above, at first only Europeans had been granted the title of Burgher. In later years and especially after Schreuder (Governor of Ceylon, 1756-1761) abolished the criterion of having to pay a certain sum of money to acquire the right of citizenship, Portuguese Mestizos were also included on the roll of Burghers (Van Goor, 1978 :17). According to Van Goor (1978 :17) who cites the Kolonial Archief¹ Papers 2906, fol. 2028, and K.A. 3507, a Resolution of the Council of Colombo, 14 August, 1781 defined a Burgher as a Christian, not on the payroll

1. Archives of the VOC to be found at the General State Archives in The Hague.

of the Company who wore European dress. At Galle, Sinhalese were entered on the roll of Burghers (K.A. 2903, fol. 19) Clearly Burgher was not an ethnic category, and the Burghers did not consider themselves a single historical community or ethnic group at the time of British takeover. It must be remembered that even the employees of the VOC came from all over Europe and were not all Netherlanders. Those who were granted citizenship and became Burghers did not then identify as a single historical community. For example, Johann Friederich Lorenz, a Prussian who had worked for the VOC and had later been appointed to the Fiscal's office in Colombo under the British, wrote¹ to his son Charles Ambrose Lorenz, who was attending the Colombo Academy, on 29 November 1842,

I perceive that in the inclosed Circular you are registered as Master C. Lourensz. For heaven's sake beg your good Brother John to have that abominable error rectified and your name properly inserted. Your name is Lorenz - not Lourensz. The latter is a Dutch but the former is a German name, and for the whole Island of Ceylon I would not be mistaken for a Dutchman.

It seems likely that during the VOC period, the Burghers or freemen, thought of themselves as Prussian Burghers, French Burghers etc. depending on their place of origin.

The Burghers were constituted as an ethnic group after British takeover and this was a product of the social and economic relations of British colonial society. Burgher became the convenient label for anybody who could not be classed in the two main categories of colonial society - European and Native. After 1844, when slavery was finally abolished in Ceylon, even emancipated slaves were classed as Burghers (Digby, 1879 :7; Wickremeratne,

1. In a letter to be published in Colin-Thomé, et. al. eds op. cit.

1973 :167). According to Brink (1904:65), a Boer, who had been a prisoner of war in Ceylon between 1900 and 1902,

... very often the illegitimate children of the Europeans on the island are sent to the world as Burghers, and everybody whose birth is somewhat doubtful, or hidden in mystery, calls himself a Burgher.

2.7 The British Image of the Burghers: From Heterogeneity to Homogeneity

British stereotypes of 'half-castes' and Eurasians which had been developed in other colonies became the basis for the identity they thrust upon the Burghers when they took over the Maritime Provinces. By categorizing them as 'half-caste' the British were able to create a homogeneous image of an otherwise heterogeneous group of people who did not then consider themselves a single historical community.

Since my argument rests on the idea that meaning is located outside a specific author's own intentionality, I do not include an exhaustive coverage of British texts of the period. I quote a number of British writers only in order to illustrate the existence of a particular ideological discourse. For example, there is some doubt about whether one of the writers, Sirr, had actually even been to Ceylon. However, I believe this is immaterial. The existence of his argument concerning the Burghers is not random. It is also important to note that his book appears to have been widely read among the Burghers and that they were well aware of what he had written about them.

In one of the first published accounts of Ceylon after British takeover, a British army officer, Percival (1803: 110) wrote, with regard to the 'Portuguese descendants',¹,

1. Percival does not actually use the term Burgher in his work and I do not believe that it actually came into vogue as meaning 'half-caste' until a few years later. Certainly it was being used in that sense by 1817 (see Bertolacci, 1817).

Complexions of all sorts are indeed found among this mongrel race, from a jetty black to a sickly yellow, or tawny hue... They are lazy, treacherous, effeminate, and passionate to excess... They have no regular cast (sic), and are usually esteemed the worst race of people in India. Originally a spurious and outcast brood, they retain only the blemishes which tarnished the characters of their ancestors; and they combine all the vices of the Europeans and Indians, without any of their virtues.

We see here clearly expressed, the belief that 'mixed-blood' people are less moral, less intelligent and physically weaker than either their European or native 'pure-blood' kinsmen and therefore of an inferior order. Similar ideas were expressed in later British literature. For example, Sirr (1850, 2:40) wrote,

The half castes of Ceylon, or Burghers, as they are called in the island, adopt the European costume... The male half castes are far below the Cingalese both in physical power, stature, personal appearance, and mental capabilities; their complexions are less clear, their features ill formed, and the expression of their countenances is heavy and sensual, being as deficient in corporeal attractions as they are destitute of moral rectitude and probity...

It is most extraordinary, but all those who have been in the East frankly admit that among the half castes is to be found every vice that disgraces humanity, and nowhere is this axiom more strikingly exemplified than in the male and female Burghers of Ceylon.

and Digby (1879 :46) noted,

As a rule, the Burghers generally are not robust, and not a few of the young men grow up narrow-chested and consumptive and die before reaching their twenty-third year, whilst it must be confessed, others are very fine specimens of the genus homo. The best among them, however, easily succumb to fever, not in a sickness unto death, but sufficient to lead to enforced idleness for a short period; while it does not seem to require much extra-exertion to induce a complaint of 'side-pain',.....

By the turn of the century the term 'burgherish' was commonly used among the British to refer to any behaviour they considered in 'bad taste'. Brink (1904 :65-6) the Boer prisoner of war, had this to say about the Burghers and British attitude towards them,

They are treated with scorn by the English and everything mean and low is called "burgherish", ...

During our many conversations with English people, we have seldom heard them speak with any appreciation of the Burghers either as a class or as individuals,...

The basic opposition in colonial society between European and native was ideologically rationalized by means of an evolutionary mode of explanation which differentiated and ranked humanity according to certain values. These were biological and genetic as well as cultural. In the case of the Burghers, a special intermediate category had to be created which defined them as neither European nor native. As Kuper (1974: 20) noted,

... clearly the creation of a special category had ideological implications, serving to maintain existing categories of thought and values.

As 'half-castes' the Burghers were thought to be both biologically and culturally inferior. In any case what is important to note is that in this discourse, as Rex (1983 :159) put it,

... the connection between membership of a particular group... and the possession of evaluated qualities [were seen] as completely deterministic. It doesn't really matter whether this is because of men's genes, because of the history to which their ancestors have been exposed, because of the nature of their culture or because of divine decree. Whichever is the case, it might be argued that this man is an X and that, being an X he is bound to have particular undesirable qualities.

It was only through such an image that the Burghers could be constituted as a separate and subordinate racial or ethnic group, providing ideological justification for British dominance. Ricoeur (1981 :225) wrote that the ideological phenomenon 'is linked to the necessity for a social group to give itself an image of itself, to represent and realise itself, in the theatrical sense of the word'.

In order to 'realise' themselves as possessors of the Maritime Provinces, the British needed to keep their audience well away from the stage. They achieved this by ordering this audience into a set of ethnic categories. The concept of the ethnic implies a system of classification based on a belief in the common origin of members of a category. The Burghers themselves at the time of British takeover had no such idea of a common origin. As Ricoeur (1981 :225) noted, a role of ideology is 'to sustain a relation between a historical community and the founding act which established it'. In order to constitute the Burghers as an ethnic group, or historical community, a common origin or 'founding act' was needed. For the British the 'founding act' of the Burghers was miscegenation and British ideology sustained the relationship, miscegenation = half-caste = Burgher.

The idea that miscegenation produced an inferior order of people was of course not confined to the British. The Dutch had long been concerned with the problem of intermarriage, in spite of Governor Maetsuyker's recommendations. For example the Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India (1656 :65-6) state that care must be taken,

... as far as possible that those who now marry native women, for want of any other, do educate their children well, so that in future their daughters may be married to Netherlanders, and that our race may degenerate as little as possible...

As suggested in the last chapter, it appears that among the Burghers were a group who did indeed exercise control over the marriages of their daughters and who, identifying as European, objected strongly to being categorised as racial hybrids. They felt slighted by what they considered to be social rejection by the British.

2.8 Dutch Burgher Rejection of British Categories

Comments by Burghers on derogatory references to them in published British works exemplifies their resentment of British stereotypes and their attempt to escape the identity trap created for them by the British. For example, regarding Percival's (1803 :105) description of the 'Ceylon Dutchman', Toussaint (1935 :46) wrote,

These unkind, not to say malicious remarks caused the Dutch considerable resentment...

After a lengthy description of their daily lives, Percival had written,

This mode of living cannot fail to make them lazy and indolent, which indeed they generally are to a proverb. As they make no effort to increase their knowledge, and even appear to have no curiosity, nor enjoyment in any thing, beyond the common insipid routine I have described, they are of course ignorant and stupid, without capacity, and without desire of excelling by exertion.

and of the women he wrote (p.106),

Their minds are still less cultivated than their bodies; and they are nearly as ignorant on their wedding day as in their infancy. Those charms of polite conversation, and that knowledge of useful subjects, which render the society of our fair countrywomen at once so delightful and improving, are utterly unknown among the ladies of Ceylon.

The Burghers were also upset by what they considered an insult to them by Governor Torrington¹. His letter to Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 4 May 1848, states,

The Burgher class which exists here, is perhaps strictly speaking not to found in any other British Colony - they are the half caste or white-brown descendents (as they have been called) of the old Dutch and Portuguese rulers. They have neither European or Cingalese feelings - No principle

1. Governor of Ceylon, 1847-1850; Letter from Torrington to Grey, 4 May 1848. In Grey, H.G. Grey 3rd earl. 1802-1894. The Earl Grey Papers, 3rd Bart 1836 - 1868. Ms.

of nationality whatever; their minds are consequently not filled with enlarged views in general, and the peculiarity of their position engenders an uneasiness of feeling which is not traceable in their minds to any distinct appreciable cause - but the Establishment of Newspapers and the low personalities of one of them the (Colombo) Observer gives food for their querulousness.

According to Digby (1879, 1: 26-7) after holding a public meeting, the Burghers sent a memorial to Earl Grey regarding Torrington's comments, in which they wrote,

In one of his despatches to Your Lordship the burghers are described without the least necessity for the description, as "the half-bred descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese inhabitants". Not ashamed of the condition in which some of your memorialists (for to many of the burghers the expression is inapplicable) have been placed by their Maker, still, surely, the unnecessary and ungracious allusion to the natural condition of some of your memorialists which is implied by the term "half-bred", must be repugnant to the fine and manly feelings of Englishmen.

Sirr's comments on the Burghers, quoted in the previous section, apparently received a similar reception among Burghers.

A scathing attack on his book was made by the Burgher editor of Young Ceylon in a review published in that same journal. Nell (1851, 2(2):40) wrote,

The Dutch and Dutch descendants then are called Burghers in Ceylon, but they have never yet been distinguished as half-castes, ... But the term half caste is peculiarly objectionable here, and this perhaps may account for Mr. Sirr's predilection for it. It is simply association which has rendered the term objectionable, for we cannot see why it should be more applicable to the people of mixed blood in Ceylon than in England, as there very many instances occur, in all probability of far greater mixture of blood, of British, Saxon, Danish and Norman for instance. In this light we really do not see why Mr. Sirr and minds kindred to his should not adopt the term, which is just as applicable in England as here, and the degrading objectionableness of which, so significant of narrow mindedness and illiberality, would render it peculiarly appropriate.

After the rise of Dutch Burgher ethnicity in the early twentieth century, the debate about the definition of 'Burgher' intensified.

Those 'more European' (sometimes also referred to as 'blue-eyed Burghers') who could claim actual descent from Europeans of the Dutch period, came to believe they had sole right to the name. They objected to being classed with the Eurasians who were considered the 'mostly illegitimate' offspring of the British. As I show in the next chapter, they came to qualify the name Burgher, calling themselves Dutch Burghers and they stressed the distinction between themselves and the Portuguese and other 'non-Dutch' Burghers. A Dutch Burgher writing under the pseudonym of Arthur N. Ohnimesz devotes a chapter on this subject in his booklet The Lees of Lanka which was printed in 1934 for private circulation to assist in the 'social and political re-awakening of the Burgher community'. He was particularly disturbed by references to Burghers being 'half-castes' and wrote for example (p.16),

Anthony Trollope obviously made no effort to verify information apparently received from some malicious or ignorant colonial when he wrote: 'they are generally called Burghers, though I have been informed that they do not themselves like the name. They are of European progenitors, with some admixture of native blood, either Sinhalese or Tamil. Their condition in that respect is the same as that of the mulatto in the West Indies, though probably they are nearer to their European parents than are the Mulattoes.

The following are a number of quotations, in chronological order, illustrating Dutch Burgher protest at the use of the name Burgher, and their attempt to define the criteria for membership of their group. Arunachalam (1907 :343) quotes a Burgher as observing,

'It is not an uncommon experience for every nondescript who affects a pair of trousers and cannot speak with any right to be classed under any particular category to call himself a 'Burgher' and to take refuge under that very convenient term.

Grenier (1923 :7) writing of his old schoolmaster,

He belonged to one of our best Burgher families - the term 'Burgher' having quite a different meaning then from what it has now; and his personal appearance and carriage were those of a well-born and well-bred Dutchman with no

stain of black blood in his veins, a fact of which he was very proud.

Blaze (1942:55),

The word 'burgher' is a Dutch word, of Dutch origin, but otherwise it is not an indication of race, and it has taken, or has been given a much wider application than it had in Dutch times. It has been appropriated by very many who are not of Dutch origin, and most of whom do not bear Dutch names.

De Zilwa (1967 :1),

The term Burgher is strictly applicable only to the legitimate descendants of the Dutch Settlers, but the word is now debased, and many Eurasians without a particle of Dutch blood in them call themselves Burghers.

And finally, a Dutch Burgher told me during an interview in Sri Lanka in 1981,

Anybody of doubtful origin calls himself a Burgher these days. That is what DBU stands for, not Dutch Burgher Union, but Doubtful Burgher Union.

This last quotation refers to the fact that although the DBU still exists today, being a Dutch Burgher is no longer an advantage. This is discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

In this Chapter I have explored semantic shifts in the name Burgher that occurred after British takeover. I argued that it was by naming and defining the Burghers as a single racial/ethnic category, that the British were able to reinforce their own image in their new environment and hence justify and legitimate their position of dominance. British ideology imposed a particular structure of ethnic categories. These categories ordered people according to what were believed to be immutable origins and associated endogamous characteristics. As I shall show in the following Chapters, the Dutch Burghers, in order to realize their own interests, and their attempt to affirm a separate identity, came to operate within this same discourse.

CHAPTER 3THE DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF CEYLON:RECONSTRUCTION AND INSTITUTIONALISATION OF AN IDENTITY CATEGORY3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I explored semantic shifts which the name Burgher underwent during the changeover from Dutch to British rule. My purpose was to show how the idea of racial diversity was articulated in colonial Ceylon. I argued that after the British established their authority in 1796 they legitimated the resulting power structure by an ideology that domination and subordination are racially determined. Burgher, which had under the Dutch been a mere title of citizenship, a civic category, became a bounded yet anomalous racial category.

In this Chapter, I examine how the Dutch Burghers invoked this very same ideology, in an effort to construct semantically an identity which separated them from non-Dutch Burghers. This identity was institutionalised in the form of the Dutch Burgher Union in 1908 and an analysis of the Union's Journal reveals much about Dutch Burgher ethnicity as a discourse. Firstly however, I explore some of the historical and structural conditions that led up to the formation of the DBU, since, as Foucault put it (1972:164),

.... the autonomy of discourse and its specificity nevertheless do not give it the status of pure ideality and total historical independence.....

3.2 Historical and Structural Conditions

As the previous Chapter showed, a group of Dutch descendants had been favoured by the VOC in educational and employment opportunities. Their advantaged position was maintained by the British. Having

had access to education under the Dutch, and early opportunities for learning English after British takeover, they found ready employment in the British administrative structure. As Digby (1879:17) wrote,

The first forty years of the present century formed a halycon period for the Burghers of Ceylon. As soon as British rule became consolidated it was found that in the civilized, fairly-educated European descendants, the authorities had to their hand material which could be manipulated for the thousand and one inferior offices rendered necessary by modern system of Government.

It was especially Sir Alexander Johnstone, Chief-Justice of Ceylon and President of the Advisory Council to the Governor, retired in 1817, who had supported such employment of the Burghers. He wrote in a letter to a Mr. John W. Ricketts of Calcutta (quoted in Digby, 1877: 182-3) in which he suggested to the Government that it would,

...far from diminishing its popularity and endangering its authority, increase the former and affirm the latter by exalting the character and consolidating the affections of all the native Burghers who are settled in different parts of the island; who from circumstances of their birth, are thoroughly acquainted with the language, habits, manner, usages and prejudices of the natives, and who from the circumstances of their descent, their features, their names, their religion, their laws, their education, and their language, must if wisely protected, feel themselves bound by every tie and affection and interest to adhere at all times to the British Government, and to consider their importance, if not their existence in society, as depending upon continuance and struggle of British authority in India.

These words were written with great foresight, as an examination of the Journal of the DBU shows. Many Dutch Burghers came to believe that the continued existence of their separate community did indeed depend on continued British rule in Ceylon. According to Johnstone, upon his recommendation, Burghers were appointed to the offices of registrar, keeper of records, advocates, proctors, notaries of the Supreme Court, members of the landsaads, secretaries of the provincial courts, sitting magistrates, justices of the peace,

superintendents of the police and so on. However, as mentioned in the last chapter, most of these offices were considered to be outside the Civil Service proper and had been originally set up as such by Governor North to furnish employment for the Dutch inhabitants. They were mainly technical and professional offices and eventually came to provide avenues of employment for the westernized Ceylonese elite in general. This included Sinhalese and Tamils as well as Burghers. Although some of these people reached very high positions under the British, and even became members of the Executive Council of Ceylon¹, in general the prestigious positions in the Civil Service remained in the hands of the British. The main source of employment for Dutch Burghers was the Clerical Service.

Under the British, the Ceylon constitutional structure up to 1832 provided for a Governor and his Advisory Council. In 1823 the Commission of Enquiry into Eastern Colonies was set up, and Commissioners Colebrooke and Cameron conducted an inquiry in Ceylon between 1829 and 1831, into the general administration of the Government, including the extent of the Governor's civil, military and financial powers, the state of religion and education, the administration of criminal and civil justice, and state of the Civil Service. Mendis (1956) in his introduction to the Enquiry's report acknowledges that Colebooke and Cameron were influenced by individualist philosophies and ideas on humanitarianism and equality, prevalent in the early nineteenth century in Britain and given expression to by such radicals of the day as Adam Smith, James Stewart Mill and religious leaders like William

1. For example James Stewart and Richard Morgan served as Queen's Advocates.

Wilberforce. As Mendis wrote (p.xxxv),

Imbued with the new conceptions of the day and impelled by a desire to change radically the conditions of the Island, Colebrooke and Cameron could not be satisfied with the system of government in Ceylon, its general spirit or its tendencies... With their ideas of utility as a criterion of assessment, and their disregard for tradition, their belief in democracy, in free enterprise and in free trade, they could not approve of ancient institutions out of harmony with their ideas, or commercial practices suitable to a mercantilist age... With their new conceptions of Empire and ideas of equality they could not support a civil service limited to the British or distinctions among European and Ceylonese or among Ceylonese themselves.

In accordance with Colebrooke's recommendations, a Legislative Council was established in 1833, consisting of nine official and six unofficial members, the latter being nominated by the Governor. Nomination was made on an ethnic basis from among the European colonists, the Burghers, Sinhalese and Tamils. It is clear that although Colebrooke made his recommendations with the idea of removing inequalities and distinctions based on race, these distinctions actually remained very much part of the structure of the Colonial order. Colebrooke had recommended that the Civil Service should be thrown open to all Ceylonese, and to make this possible a wider access to English education be made available. In practice however, the Civil Service remained British. In fact, according to Tambiah (1955: 117) even up to the late 1920's the Civil Service was a monopoly of the British with very few Ceylonese gaining entry. Ceylonese had to be content with whatever opportunities the clerical section of the administrative services had to offer.

We see here an expression of the tension between two main currents of thought in nineteenth century Britain - that is, the philosophy of individualism, and the idea of racial diversity, of human social groups as separate by nature (to borrow Guillaumin's phrase). For example, in response to a question by Colebrooke during his Inquiry,

on 10 September 1830,¹ Barnes, Governor of Ceylon said,

Whatever Utopian ideas Theorists may cherish of universal fraternity without regard to Colour, Religion or Civilization, or whatever notions Levellers may wish to see adopted I am decidedly of opinion that this people cannot nor ought to have under existing circumstances any greater share in the Government than they have at present.

I am not one of those persons who think that black and white people can ever be amalgamated in the situations of society, so as to do away with those distinctions which at present exist all over the world.

Apart from the Clerical Service, two more prestigious careers open to Burghers were in Law or Medicine. This was partly because education in these two fields was made available to Burghers from a very early date. As early as 1839 for example arrangements were made to send students to Calcutta to complete their technical education in Medicine. A medical college was established in Colombo itself in 1870. Hence, when more opportunity for employment in the Civil Service was given to Ceylonese, it was in the more profession oriented departments such as the Medical, Education and Public Works Departments and in the Judicial Service where the highest concentration of Burghers could be found. According to Tambiah (1955: 128), in 1870 there were 36 doctors employed in the Civil Medical Department, 23 of whom were Ceylonese. He noted,

The Civil Medical Department could have been characterized as a preserve of the Burghers. In 1870 of the 23 Ceylonese Colonial Surgeons and Assistant Colonial Surgeons, 21 were Burghers.

The concentration of Ceylonese in the technical and professional side of the Service was consistent with the British held belief

1. Sir Edward Barnes' answers to the Commissioner of Inquiry Mt. Lavinia. Sep. 10, 1830. In Mendis (1956, 2:25).

that the technical expert is subordinate in the administrative structure. According to Collins (1966: 445).

As in India, the average entrant to the service was what has become known technically as a 'generalist' (i.e. a non-specialist), whose value in the service was based largely on the theory (whether held consciously or subconsciously) that a thorough grounding in the humanities was the best and safest basis for the evolution of the administration.

In general the Burgher community was over-represented in the Civil and Clerical Services and in the legal and medical professions in proportion to their numbers in the total population. As shown in Table 1, in 1921, 30.4% of all Burghers and Eurasians were involved with public administration and the professions compared with only 3.1% of the rest of the population. Since the Burghers were on the whole not a landed group, the professions and the administrative services offered the only opportunities for prestigious careers. These career interests were favoured by British education policy during the nineteenth century. Employment in the professions and in the administrative services required an English education, the opportunities for which were limited for most Ceylonese. As mentioned in the last chapter and as Jayaweera (1973:465) also noted,

A dualistic structure of schools based on linguistic differentiation had been created by nineteenth century policies directed towards creating a small western-oriented elite.

The English schools were mainly situated in the larger towns and were fee-levying, whereas the vernacular schools were not. English education was thus restricted to those Ceylonese who were in a position to pay fees, or else who were granted scholarships. The small group of Burghers who had been given employment in the British administrative structure were among this group. They were also advantaged in that they were urban dwellers and thus

TABLE 1

Occupational Profile of the Burghers and Eurasians - 1921 Census

Occupational Classes Taken from the 1921 Census	Numbers and Percentages of Earners and their Dependents		
	Burghers & Eurasians	Others	Total
A. Production of Raw Materials (Agriculture; Mining)	3,814 (12.9%)	2,898,866 (64.9%)	2,902,680 (64.5%)
B. Preparation and Supply of Material Substances (Industry; Transport; Trade)	14,059 (47.8%)	1,027,598 (23.0%)	1,041,657 (23.2%)
C. Public Administration and Liberal Arts (Public Force; Administration; Professions)	8,947 (30.4%)	141,226 (3.1%)	150,173 (3.3%)
D. Miscellaneous (Domestic Service; Insufficiently described occupations; unproductive)	2,619 (8.9%)	401,476 (9.0%)	404,095 (9.0%)
	29,439 (100%)	4,469,166 (100%)	4,498,605 (100%)

had ready access to the English schools. In 1824 for example, 70.8% of all Burghers lived in the Colombo district. Figures from the Census years 1824 to 1946 (Table 2, p.67) show the continued residential preference of Burghers and Eurasians for districts with major urban centres (Colombo, Galle, Kandy). According to the 1921 Census the total urban rural ratio was 1:6.7, i.e. only 14.9% of the total population of Ceylon were urban dwellers. In contrast, 76% of all Burghers and Eurasians were urban dwellers. Figures for English literacy from the 1921 Census (Table 3, p.68) show that 71% of all Burghers and Eurasians were literate in English compared to only 3.2% of the total population.

British education and employment policies reinforced class divisions among the Ceylonese and especially divisions in the internal class structure of the Burghers. The Burghers were divided along class lines into a middle class consisting mainly of professionals, who were thought of as Dutch Burghers, and a working class who were identified as Portuguese Burghers.

3.3 British Cultural Hegemony

Although it was the material rewards offered by the British which initially attracted many Ceylonese, and in particular the Dutch Burghers, to an English education, this eventually gave way to an enthusiasm for such an education for its own sake. An English education not only taught that Western civilization was superior, but it actually represented that civilization itself. It is clear from the writings of a number of Dutch Burghers in mid-nineteenth century Ceylon, that to them the ideology of cultural difference and the idea of European superiority, had been very persuasive. One of these Burghers was Charles Ambrose Lorenz. For example, Lorenz wrote to his kinsman, Harry Ernst, in a letter¹ dated 21 April 1870,

TABLE 2

Regional Distribution of Burghers and Eurasians Compared for
the Census Years, 1824, 1881, 1901, 1921, 1946

	1821	1881	1901	1921	1946
Total B&E pop.	6,420	17,886	23,482	29,403 ^a	41,926
<u>Revenue District</u>					
Colombo	70.8%	54.3%	57.9%	62.7%	68.0%
Galle	10.2%	8.4%	5.1%	3.3%	1.8%
Matara	3.7%	2.7%	2.7%	2.0%	1.2%
Hambantota					
Chilaw	4.5%		1.2%	.7%	.5%
Batticaloa	3.4%	4.2%	4.2%	3.6%	2.8%
Jaffna	7.4%	3.4%	2.0%	1.7%	.9%
Kalutara		2.7%	2.2%	2.3%	1.6%
Kandy		12.4%	11.1%	10.7%	9.0%
Matale		1.3%	1.3%	1.1%	1.1%
Nuwara Eliya		1.2%	2.5%	2.4%	2.2%
Mannar		.7%	.4%	.3%	.1%
Vavuniya		.4%	.4%	.4%	.2%
Trincomalee		2.0%	1.5%	1.1%	2.8%
Kurunegala		1.4%	1.6%	1.7%	1.7%
Puttalam		1.8%	.5%	.4%	.2%
Anuradhapura		.2%	.4%	.6%	.5%
Badulla		1.5%	2.7%	2.2%	2.7%
Ratnapura		.7%	1.1%	1.4%	1.3%
Kegalla		.5%	1.2%	1.6%	1.0%
	100%	99.8%	100%	100.2%	99.6% ^b

a. Exclusive of a miscellaneous population of 36.

b. Percentages rounded out to one decimal point.

TABLE 3Educational Profile of the Burghers - 1921 Census

	Burghers & Eurasians	Others	Total
Literate in English	20,926 (71.1%)	123,583 (2.8%)	144,509 (3.2%)
Not Literate in English	8,513 (28.9%)	4,345,583 (97.2%)	4,354,096 (96.8%)
Total	29,439 (100%)	4,469,166 (100%)	4,498,605 (100%)

You will at once see that, somehow or another, there is something in an English education, in the contact with Englishmen in England (as distinguished from the so-called Englishmen in Ceylon), and in the association with English ideas and institutions, which elevates one's thoughts and even one's nature above all that the best education in Ceylon can do.

Lorenz could be considered a culture hero not only among the Burghers but also the Ceylonese in general. Born in Matara in 1828, he was sent at the age of thirteen to live with his sister and brother-in-law, John Drieberg, in order to attend the Colombo Academy. Drieberg himself was a Proctor and Notary, and after his education at the Academy was completed, Lorenz was apprenticed to him as a law student.

Lorenz was enrolled as a Proctor of the Supreme Court in 1849. In 1850 Lorenz and a few other young Burghers started the journal

Young Ceylon, under the editorship of G.F. Nell. That same year he went to England to study for his admittance as a Barrister.

During the three years he was there he visited Holland frequently in order to study Dutch law and his letters to friends in Ceylon

express his identification with what he considered to be the land of his forefathers.² On his return to Ceylon in 1855 he

was offered the Acting District Judgeship of Chilaw and a few months later was nominated for the Burgher seat in the Legislative Council.

In 1859 he acquired part ownership in the 'Ceylon Examiner'. This paper was used as an organ to advance Ceylonese interests in political and social life and in particular came to be thought of as the Burgher newspaper. Articles in the paper opposed the categorisation of Ceylonese in terms of race. For example, Digby (1876:188)

noted that,

1. Letter to be published in Colin-Thomé, et. al. op. cit.
2. This is particularly interesting since, as I noted in the last chapter, his own father did not identify as Dutch but rather as Prussian.

...the Burgher newspaper, the Examiner, looks upon itself as the champion of the natives, as well as of the class to which its Editor and conductors belong. Correspondence has recently found a place in its columns in which it was proposed that distinctive names - such as Burgher, Sinhalese, Tamil, etc. - should be dropped, and the term Ceylonese be adopted by all. Intermarriages, it is argued take place, and the sooner race-names drop from the lips, the better the well-being of the whole community.

However, even though Lorenz rejected the idea that political domination based on race was justifiable, he did believe some cultures were more advanced than others. He was influenced by the notion of the superiority of Western civilisation and the British right to rule because of their state of social and scientific advancement. What made British ideology particularly persuasive to Lorenz, and others like him, was that the acquisition of Western civilization was conceived of as being accessible to all, merely through learning. For example, Lorenz's old schoolfriend and brother-in-law, G.F. Nell, wrote in an article in Young Ceylon, entitled 'The Social Improvement of the Ceylonese' (1850, 1(3):51),

Looking into the records of European civilization, we cannot but hope that, however barbarous are the customs and manners of the Natives, or even the European descendants in Ceylon, there are hopes, that they too will one day rise from their present insignificance and occupy a higher rank among civilized nations. The reading part of our Countrymen must know that all Europe was once equally barbarous in their habits of life as the indigenous tribes of Ceylon.

Similarly, Lorenz wrote in his article entitled 'The Ceylonese' (1850, 1(6):135-6),

The English, it may be said, have attained their present state of perfection in the arts and sciences, because they have always been a curious, and enquiring people: they were always more alive to their wants and defects which were many, - and more anxious to supply them, wherever any were found: they have accordingly exercised their minds in the arts and sciences, and have brought them to bear upon their wants: so that they have made vast discoveries, and are at present considered a great and learned nation. The civilization of a nation, therefore, may be said to be rather the consequence than the cause of their habits and dispositions; and the indolent habits or selfish disposition of a nation

are rather the cause than the effect of their present state of uncivilization. On the other hand these habits and dispositions themselves cannot be attributed to an original want of faculties or mental power; for it is, we believe, a fact generally admitted, that all men are born with almost equal capabilities of improvement; and that the mind of any person, however great be the state of ignorance peculiar to the nation to which he belongs, may, when properly trained, be brought to a state of culture equal to that of a man in the most civilized country.

The above quote is clearly an expression of Lorenz's individualist philosophy and the idea of the essential unity of mankind. Lorenz emphasized the importance of learning and rejected theories which related differences in culture to postulated biological differences. Rather, he saw cultural differences as being attributable to environmental differences. He wrote (p. 136)

But the characteristic indolence and carelessness of the Native may, we presume, be very justly traced to the peculiar circumstances under which he has been placed - in a land where scarcely any bodily exertion is necessary for support, and where no extraordinary effort of ingenuity or reason is requisite to satisfy the simple demands of Nature.

Another Dutch Burgher who was especially influenced by this philosophy of individualism and British rationalism, but with whom it was expressed more radically, was Alfred Ernst Buultjens. The following information is taken from his unpublished resumé which I quote in full in Appendix 2 since, apart from his conversion to Buddhism, it is a good example of the careers of a number of Dutch Burghers of this period. In particular Buultjens' career coincides with the radical changes which were taking place in Ceylon, and with which the formation of the Dutch Burgher Union can be linked, i.e. the religious revival movement and the rise of Sinhalese nationalism.

Buultjens was born in Matara in 1865. His father, John Buultjens¹, was a Proctor of the Supreme Court, and at one time Acting District Judge at Tangalle. Buultjens attended an English School at Matara until the age of thirteen, when he was sent to boarding school in Colombo under the Reverend J. Stevenson Lyle, and then on to St. Thomas' College. After studying there for six years he won a University Scholarship and in 1884 entered St. John's College, Cambridge to graduate as Bachelor of Arts with honours in the Historical Tripos. Subjects he passed included Constitutional Law, Constitutional History, International Law, Jurisprudence, History of the Roman Empire, Medieval History, Modern European History, Political Economy.

On his return to Ceylon, Buultjens became involved with the Buddhist revival movement, renounced Christianity and converted to Buddhism. This scandalized the Christian Community including his own family, and the authorities at his old school, St. Thomas' College, had his name erased from the school's panel of honour. In a lecture delivered on 25 March, 1899 to the Colombo Young Men's Buddhist Association², Buultjens himself said (Daily News, 1984, 7 Aug.)

As long as I was a Freethinker, I had been tolerated in Christian Society which merely regarded me as eccentric, but when in 1888 I became an avowed Buddhist, I was looked upon as worse than a lunatic. And this was not strange, for Christianity was respectability and Buddhism was the religion of the 'ignorant natives'.

Buultjens had been influenced by the European Orientalist Scholars of his day who, as Said (1978:79) put it,

1. See Appendix 2 for the Buultjens genealogy.
2. Entitled Why I became a Buddhist, originally published in booklet form by C.A. Wijesekera and reprinted in 4 parts in the Sri Lanka Daily News, 3, 4, 6, 7 August, 1984.

Faced with the obvious decrepitude and political impotence of the modern Oriental,... found it his duty to rescue some portion of a lost, past classical oriental grandeur in order to 'facilitate ameliorations' in the present Oriental.

By focusing on, and contrasting the ideas of Lorenz and Buultjens we can learn something about the transformation in the way Orientalism as a discourse was appropriated during the second half of the nineteenth century in Ceylon. Lorenz and other English educated Ceylonese of his generation advocated the abolition of racial categories yet they remained cultural determinists in their conviction about the superior nature of European civilization. What little they knew about the cultural richness of Ceylon itself was learnt from European Orientalists who studied 'Oriental facts and artefacts' within a historicist framework which focussed on their origins.

They believed that Ceylon would inevitably evolve toward a more European-style civilization through the cultural and intellectual improvement of its people. Buultjens, on the other hand, while influenced by this same orientalist discourse, was led by his rationalism to reject Christianity and the idea of the superiority of Western civilization. The influence of British rationalism on Buultjen's thought is expressed in the following quote from his lecture Why I Became a Buddhist (Daily News, 1984, 6 & 7 Aug.),

Buddhism agreed with Science in that force and matter are eternal and indestructible and taught law and order without a God, and transformation without creation... Buddhism is analytic and philosophical while being humanitarian... Buddhism besides being a moral, is in its higher aspect essentially a mental and spiritual philosophy.

The Orientalist concern with, and focus on, the origins of 'Oriental culture' was taken up by Buultjens and others involved in the Buddhist revival movement, not as an assertion of the superior nature of European civilization, but as a way for the Sinhalese to realize their own existence in colonial Ceylon.

The religious revival in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ceylon, can be seen as an ethnic movement in which the different communities, by reaffirming the ideological structure of race/ethnicity, could legitimately agitate for political power and economic gains. Even though, as a Burgher who had adopted Buddhism, Buultjens seemed to have rejected the idea of cultural determinism, his identification with the Buddhist revival movement was actually an inadvertant support of ethnic division.

3.4 Revivalism and Ethnicity

As a Burgher, Buultjens was a-typical in his support of the Buddhist revival movement. Few Burghers, other than Buultjens, actively involved themselves in resistance to the impact of British rule. It has been generally considered that most Dutch Burghers had too much at stake under the British and, in order to retain British confidence, remained indifferent to the nationalist campaigns which took the form of religious revival and incipient trade union activity. It is possible that it was partly in response to Sinhalese nationalism and the Buddhist revival that a group of Dutch Burghers, under the leadership of Anthonisz¹, formed 'Het Hollandsch Gezelschap van Ceylon' in 1899, to promote the study of Dutch language, history and culture in Ceylon. This fellowship, and the Dutch Burgher Union to which it gave birth in 1908, could be seen as a form of self defence against Sinhalese nationalism. On the other hand, I see the Dutch Burgher Union itself as the institutionalisation of a revival movement of the same order as the religious revival. In other words, Dutch Burgher ethnicity and the Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim revivals could be considered to be all manifestations of a more general ethnic revival movement. What they all have in common

1. Richard Gerald Anthonisz, I.S.O; Government Archivist and Librarian; founder of the Dutch Burgher Union and its President, 1916-1930.

is their creative reconstruction of the present in terms of their pasts, confined within and in opposition to (at one level) the structure of British hegemonic ideology. They were part of an ethnic movement in which different cultural attributes came to be used primordially as a charter for membership according to their relative effectiveness. In the case of the Buddhist and other religious revival movements, of course, it was religion which became primordialized. In the case of the Dutch Burgher Union on the other hand it was race, since religion could not effectively differentiate them from either the British or other 'non-Dutch' Burghers in spite of the broad Catholic/Protestant division between the Portuguese and Dutch Burghers. Here I am following Nagata's (1981: 111-12) idea of the ethnic when she wrote,

...the sole unique feature about the 'ethnic' as a concept, category, or group, by which it can be distinguished from all other concepts (e.g. class) involves the nature of the charter of membership and in the ethnic case this is primordial. Charters of identity that draw on a (putative) notion of common blood, origin, descent, or kinship connection as a reason for being or acting may be labeled ethnic. It matters little that such charters may be fabricated or manipulated, for it is the message they carry that counts. Further, different cultural attributes may variously play a primordial role. Sometimes race is used primordially, sometimes not. Religion may acquire in the folk view an association with blood and primary group ties that confers on it a primordial power, the power of the ethnic boundary. Otherwise religion is just another incidental cultural attribute, and not a crucial underpinning of ethnic identity.

What then were the social factors that led to such an ethnic revival movement in late nineteenth/early twentieth century Ceylon? This is a complex question which is difficult to answer in full. However, it is clear that the late nineteenth century was a period of accelerated economic change in the island. There

was a transformation from an agricultural subsistence economy to a plantation market economy with concomitant urban economic growth and development of transport facilities. As Jayawardena (1972:4) noted,

The rapid expansion in the economy between 1885 and 1915 is reflected in the value of the total exports of the country which rose from about Rs 34 million in 1885 to Rs 266 million in 1915 (1 pound was equal to Rs 13)..

These economic changes led to the rise of a new middle class of entrepreneurs and professionals who provided competition for the established Dutch Burghers. As Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims, their challenge to British rule took the form of religious revival. In each case they were asserting their own cultural identity, both in opposition to the British and to each other. Similarly, the Dutch Burgher Union was a form of challenge to the British as well as a defence against the rise of this new middle class. The Dutch Burghers were emphasising not just their 'Europeaness', but especially their 'Dutchness'. They were challenging established British stereotypes and attempting to appropriate a share of British power. In other words, ethnicity not only became the main form of action taken against British dominance in late nineteenth/early twentieth century Ceylon, but also became a means of acting out the struggle for political and economic power amongst the Ceylonese themselves. As Kapferer (1983:21, 24) argues for the Buddhist revival, and which I believe can be argued for the revival movement in general, including Dutch Burgher ethnicity,

The Buddhist revival gained its impetus and took its ideological form within the dynamic of class relations and in the attendant social and political struggles among the Sinhalese themselves and between the Sinhalese and their colonial rulers... The force behind Sinhalese nationalism was a class force committed to the capitalist principles of colonial society yet opposed to British domination.

The class force behind Dutch Burgher ethnicity can be detected in the struggle between them and the new Ceylonese middle class, as well as in the opposition between the Dutch and Portuguese Burghers and the attempt by the DBU to reinforce class boundaries by emphasising racial division.

3.5 The Boer War

Apart from these wider social and economic conditions leading to the revival movement and the formation of the DBU, it is also possible that the South African Boer War had some influence on Dutch Burgher interest in themselves as a separate community. Boer prisoners-of-war were sent to Ceylon in 1900 and 1901. There were actually over 5,000 interned in the island (Brohier, 1946:5). Many of these were eventually permitted to mix freely with the Ceylonese and even to take up employment. As Brohier (1946:45), a Dutch Burgher, wrote,

Neither is it entirely surprising that the initiative for extending hospitality to them when many of the men were in due course permitted the privileges of a leisured resident or visitor, should have largely fallen on the local community of Dutch Burghers. In that freemasonry of recognition of a common stock dating from the olden days of power and conquest which have established Dutch names, Dutch houses and Dutch traditions in this tropical Island, where still the name "Burgher" can be correctly applied in an ethnological sense it was mutual courtesy, although sometimes ironically misrepresented as pro-Boer; and no reflection whatever on the other communities, that the weight of entertaining the Boer prisoners-of-war was borne by them.

There were also a number of marriages between the prisoners-of-war and Burgher women. For example Lieut. Andries Johannes Belardies Van Rooyen married Miss Adeline Van Rooyen of Colombo, in the Dutch Reformed Church, Bambalapitiya, 12 May, 1902; Lieut Hendrikus George de Rooy married Miss Ella Strantenberg in Jaffna, 27 August

1902; Louis Sauer married Miss Grace Theresa Felsinger in the Dutch Reformed Church, Bambalapitiya, 28 January, 1903.

On the 31 May, 1902 the terms of peace were signed at Pretoria and the Boer prisoners-of-war were released subject to a declaration of allegiance to the British Crown. Most of the Boers then left the island. The only ones to remain were those who had married locals and a few who had refused to swear allegiance.

A Burgher¹ wrote in 1903, in a letter published in an unidentifiable local newspaper (quoted in 'The Burghers of Ceylon' JDBU, 1957, 47(1): 25),

The War in South Africa has kindled an interest in the Burghers of Ceylon. I propose briefly to refer to the origin, conditions, aims and aspirations of the community from the point of view of a member of the community addressing his own kith and kin... The Boer mother has never ceased to remind her children that they are a separate people. We require this reminder. The Dutch have two grand national mottoes. One is Luctor et emergo. "I Struggle and Rise" - a motto derived from the dip and rise of a ship. The other motto is Endragt maakt magt. "Union is strength". I would urge the community to rise to the spirit of these beautiful mottoes of their fathers. During the past century we have struggled. Let us now rise. If we are to rise, let us unite. We have very nearly forgotten the virtues of our forefathers. It is necessary above all things that the Burghers should be steady and sober, keepers of the Sabbath....

3.6 The Dutch Burgher Union

It was mainly through the efforts of Anthonisz that a meeting of members of the Dutch Burgher Community was called on 12 November, 1907, to consider whether a Union should be formed. This resulted in the first General Meeting of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon on 18 January, 1908.² As noted in the first issue of the DBU Journal, (1908, 1(1):1) by Anthonisz,

1. I suspect R.G. Anthonisz.
2. At 31 December 1908 there were 327 members of the Union. Membership peaked at 597 in 1943.

... it was felt that the time had come to associate together for the purpose; first of distinguishing themselves from those who, although classed with them under one general term, were of different origin from, and had little or nothing in common with them; and secondly, of taking measures to promote the moral and social well-being of their class.

The DBU sought to revive some of the customs of the early Dutch settlers in Sri Lanka and to promote the study of the Dutch language. I see this as not so much an attempt to cling to the past or to revive it, as to actually construct it. As discussed in the last chapter, even during Dutch control, the Dutch language was not spoken in most Burgher homes. Portuguese Creole had been their mother-tongue with Dutch used only in an official capacity. The DBU sought to create a cultural base on which to establish the distinctiveness of the Dutch Burghers. This had to be done because the actual distinction to be drawn was between the Dutch Burghers and other 'non-Dutch' Burghers. That is, boundary conditions had to be established within the Burgher identity domain itself. The DBU had to present the symbolic basis for a separate Dutch Burgher identity. To put it hermeneutically, in order to constitute themselves as a separate historical community, the Dutch Burghers needed to 'retell the text of their past'. As I argued in Chapter 2, according to British ideology the 'founding act' which established the Burghers as a separate historical community was miscegenation. In order to distinguish themselves from other Burghers the Dutch Burghers needed to replace this 'founding act' with a different idea of their origins. A study of the DBU Journal shows how the Dutch Burghers creatively attempted to appropriate the past in order to reconstruct their

present. In this sense the DBU did not simply maintain divisions already existing in society, as has been argued for other associations of the same type (e.g. as King (1976:173) wrote of the 'English Club'), but actually attempted to reconstruct an identity category. Here I am influenced by David's (1977:463-4) definition of an identity category,

... not as a thing in itself, but relationally as a symbolic unit among other categories that partition a domain... An identity is a distinctive kind of cultural sign because there is the possibility that the individual will class himself, rather than the external objects, events etc., into a category...

and David's discussion of the different dimensions of an identity category operating as a 'polysemic symbol'. These include explicit ideas and beliefs for defining inclusion/exclusion in an identity category, the past and present structural position of the group. However, this 'polysemic symbol' has power and achieves significance only because it exists in a dialectical relationship with social and political reality.

3.7 The Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union

The DBU journal, issued as a quarterly (with a few gaps) from 1908 onwards,¹ is a rich source of material on Dutch Burgher ethnicity as discourse. Publication of the journal was the responsibility of the DBU Sub-Committee for Ethical and Literary Purposes². It must be read as a text, not merely semiotically, in order to discover the inner logic or sense of Dutch Burgher ethnicity, but also semantically in order to discover its referential side. This distinction is based on a reading of Ricoeur, who attempted to mediate the semiotic and semantic levels of language in a concept of discourse which embraces both in a dialectical relationship, the referential level having a status which is ontologically prior.

1. The latest volume published was 1983, 61(1-4).

2. See Appendix 3 for full details on the duties of this sub-Committee.

According to Ricoeur (1981:199) it is in literary texts that such discourse finds its full manifestation, because it 'frees us from the visibility and limitation of situations by opening up a world for us, that is, new dimensions of our being-in-the-world' Ricoeur contends that discourse displays a sense as well as a reference. That is, it possesses an internal structure as well as projecting potentialities of human existence within social and political reality.

According to the DBU Constitution, the Journal was to contain 'papers, illustrations, notes, genealogies, and letters and a summary of the principal news of the quarter relating to the objects of the Union,¹. A typical issue included: (a) an obituary to a leading Dutch Burgher, (b) an article on the history of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon, (c) an article on European colonisation during the Dutch period, (d) genealogies of a number of Dutch Burgher families, (e) a description of, and guide to, the Wolvendaal Dutch Reformed Church, and (f) Summary of Proceedings of the DBU General Committee and report on DBU social events. In the following section and the next chapter, I examine Dutch Burgher ethnicity as it manifested itself in the DBU Journal.

3.8 Inclusion/Exclusion in Dutch Burgher Identity: the 'Chosen Past' Image Presented in the Journal

In the first issue of the Journal (1908) is published the full Constitution and By-laws of the Union. The rules for defining inclusion in Dutch Burgher identity are explicitly stated,

1. See Appendix 3 for the DBU Constitution

Any Dutch descendant of full age and of respectable standing in the community, shall be eligible as a member of the Union.

The term 'Dutch descendant' shall include the descendants in the male line of all those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon, and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans.

The last part of this rule is revealing. It seems that although inclusion in the Dutch Burgher identity category was based on patrification, children of Dutch Burgher women by marriage with Europeans were acceptable. This was because it was their European origin that they were anyway celebrating. Thus Dutch Burgher women were expected to marry either Dutch Burgher men or Europeans, but not Sinhalese or Tamils and especially not Portuguese Burghers. Religious factors may have come into play here too with the Dutch Burghers being mainly Protestant and the Portuguese Burghers Catholic. At any rate the European connection was considered so important that the DBU even later ruled (at a Special General Meeting on 18 August, 1939) that 'lady members' be expelled on marriage with a person not eligible for membership unless marriage was with a European (JDBU, 1939, 29(2): 77-9)¹.

The DBU can be seen as an institutionalisation of family alliances, a means of separating and drawing boundaries between these families and the rest of society, especially other Burghers. Much time and energy went into genealogical research and the right family connection had to be established before membership was allowed. These family genealogies were published in the DBU Journal ² and became, as Barnes (1967: 103) put it,

1. This rule was repealed on 20 November, 1981, by unanimous vote at a Special General Meeting of the DBU.
2. See Appendix 4 for copy of membership form and Appendices 1 and 5 for examples of genealogies published.

... a tool used by the actors who operate, not merely observe, kinship systems.

In its attempt to maintain the boundaries of a defined identity category, the DBU 'operated' within an ideology of patrification. A Standing Committee for Purposes of Genealogical Research was established by ammendment of the Constitution in 1909, through which every application for membership in the Union was transmitted. This Committee kept a Register giving particulars of the family history of each member of the Union and members were required to notify the Secretary of any new births, deaths and marriages in the family to be added to the Register.

The DBU hoped that all people eligible according to their definition of Dutch Burgher would eventually become members of the Union. At a membership rally held in 1933, twenty-five years after the formation of the Union, Vanderwall attempted to shame those who had not joined with these words, later published in the Journal (1933, 23(2): 85),

It is not enough then to be a Dutch Burgher but public opinion requires one to be a member of the Dutch Burgher Union. If you are not a member, the inference is either that you are ineligible for election, or that you are one of the soured persons who shun the society of your fellow men, a rogue elephant in human shape.

The Dutch Burghers 'chosen past' was European. They defined their past structural position in terms of their European, especially Dutch, heritage. The DBU set up classes to learn the Dutch language¹. The Sub-Committee for Ethical and Literary Purposes

1. These classes were run intermittently. In 1909 classes were started in Wolvendaal and in Galle. These were suspended in 1910 due to poor attendance, but a class for adult men was set up in 1911. There is no further mention of this class in later DBU annual reports. However, in 1916 classes were started again at the Union Hall. These were also later suspended.

TABLE 4

Religious Affiliation Among the Burghers and Eurasians - 1921 Census

	<u>Burghers & Eurasians</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Christians	29,073 (98.8%)	414,327 (9.3%)	443,400 (9.9%)
Non-Christians	366 (1.2%)	4,054,839 (90.7%)	4,055,205 (90.1%)
<hr/>			
Total	29,439(100%)	4,469,166(100%)	4,498,605(100%)
<hr/>			

TABLE 5

Christian Burghers and Eurasians by Sect - 1921 Census

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Roman Catholic	14,821	51%
Church of England	9,327	32.1%
Presbyterian (Dutch Reformed)	2,547	8.8%
Wesleyan Methodist	1,842	6.3%
Baptist	307	1%
Congregationalist	3	
Salvationist	34	.1%
Other	192	.7%
	<u>29,073</u>	<u>100%</u>

held an examination in Dutch history in November 1913 for Dutch Burgher children. The DBU Journal published articles on the history of the Dutch in Ceylon, Dutch furniture and other items of material culture, and recipes handed down from the early Dutch settlers. Many articles describe Holland and the life-style and customs of its people, drawing upon as many comparisons as can be found between them and those of the Dutch Burghers. Special services were held in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, celebrating this sense of shared history and connection with the official religion of the Dutch East India Company, even if many Burghers were not actually Church members¹. Traditional Dutch occasions such as Queen Wilhelmina's birthday were celebrated. Above all, it was the Dutch Burgher yearly celebration of St. Nicholaas Eve on 5 December which became the main expression of their Dutch connection. This generally took the form of a fete, the highlight of which would be a visit from 'St. Nicholaas', bearing gifts for the children. In 1948 the DBU adopted the following paraphrase by R.G. Anthonisz of the patriotic Dutch song Wien Neerlandsch Bloed, as its 'anthem',

HET LIEVE VANDERLAND
(The Dear Fatherland)

We in whose veins Dutch blood doth flow,
A warm and swelling stream,
Whose hearts with filial ardour glow,
Join in this sacred theme.
With voice and heart from fear removed,
United hand in hand,
We hail thee, land our fathers loved,
Het Lieve Vaderland!

Fair realm, they from the ocean won,
The cradle of our race,
Where all their noblest deeds were done,
The theme of song and praise -
We subjects of great England's King,

1. Tables 4 and 5 show Religious affiliation among the Burghers and Eurasians at the 1921 Census. It is not possible to make a division between Dutch and Portuguese Burghers since they were not distinguished as separate in the Census.

From Ceylon's distant strand,
To thee our loving tribute bring,
Het Lieve Vaderland!

May we who here, mid toil and strife,
With diverse class and creed,
Need courage in our race of life,
Our father's virtues heed.
They, when by sore oppression tried,
True to themselves remained:
Their watchword still may be our guide-
Het Lieve Vaderland!

True to our race let us abide,
Striving with all our might,
In all estates, what e'er betide,
Always to do the right.
To guard our fame, maintain our pride,
United let us stand:
Our inspiration and our guide,
Het Lieve Vaderland!

Dutch Burgher concern with their 'chosen past' image was also reflected in the establishment of a Standing Committee for Purposes Connected with Historical Monuments and Manuscripts. This was set up by the Union, by Amendment of the Constitution in 1940 (JDBU, 1940, 29(4):149). One of the aims of this committee was 'to safeguard the objects of the Union in so far as they concern:-

- (3) The publicity given to misleading information regarding historical monuments and Dutch history in general; and to serve as a medium for taking steps, where it is considered necessary, to correct such information in the interests of truth and accuracy.'

The Standing Committee especially concerned itself with information on Dutch rule and Dutch colonists in school texts. They achieved some success here when the Director of Education decreed in 1936 that unless certain passages regarded as objectionable by the DBU were removed from a history book, approval for its use in schools would be withdrawn. Steps were also taken by the Standing Committee regarding a radio broadcast in the National Service programme of Radio Ceylon in 1955. The Authorities

concerned were informed by the Committee that this broadcast was 'derogatory to the racial distinctiveness, manners and customs of the Dutch Burgher Community of Ceylon' (JDBU 1955, 45(2 & 3) :79).

Above all, many Dutch Burghers expressed concern about the image of sexual morality presented of their ancestors. This was based on the idea that the legitimacy of a community rests on its legitimate origins. Since the Dutch Burghers had to establish that the 'founding act' of their community was not miscegenation, the DBU Journal published lists of marriages between European men and women during the Dutch period to prove that European women did indeed voyage out to the island and that the men were not 'reduced' to marrying native women or resorting to illegitimate unions.¹ One Dutch Burgher (JDBU 1960, 59 (3 & 4) :107), criticised both Wriggins (1960) and Ryan (1953) for 'perpetrating inaccuracies regarding the origin of the Dutch Burgher Community' by writing that they are descendants of European-Sinhalese mixture. He then stressed that the attitude of the Dutch Burghers,

... is not due to any mistaken feeling that the presence of a slight Asian strain in their racial make-up takes away from their respectability, but for the ignorant or malicious to allege that the Dutch Burghers started and continued as a Eurasian Community tends to foster even the derogatory suspicion that they are a random association of people whose ancestors had no regard for morality when they founded families in Ceylon, whereas they had on the contrary, a reputable origin and continued to develop as a self-respecting Community with positive social ideals and objectives.

Much of the debate on the definition of the term 'Burgher' and who should have the right to the name, is based on this concern with redefining their past image and establishing

1. See for example: Anthonisz R.G. comp. Some Early Marriages in Colombo: A.D. 1671 - 1699, JDBU, 1909 2(4): 171-6.

'legitimate' origins. I see this as a response not only to British race ideology, but also to Sinhalese and Tamil caste ideology. In terms of race, it was pure untainted British blood which gave the British their position of dominance. Thus intermarriage was considered dangerous. The Burghers, who were thought of as 'mixed-bloods' by the British, were considered a threat in that they occupied a dangerous intermediate position both racially and culturally. They provided a challenge to the idea which had grown up in the Western World in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that a human social group is a 'natural formation'. As Guillaumin (1980 :40) put it,

Such social theories tend to show us as being heterogenous in principle and separate by nature, but linked together in an everlasting higher order, the order of hierarchy, of groups arising out of relationship. Social agents, those who embody social relationships, are brought forth fully armed by the transcendent universe of Nature.

Caste ideology already existing in Ceylon reinforced these ideas, since it also is based on a notion of society as segmentary and holistic. The Burghers violated the boundaries between categories, leaving themselves vulnerable to the type of attitude expressed by a Sinhalese Maha Mudaliyar¹ in 1831, recorded in a letter by Governor Horton and quoted in Kannangara (1966: 209). An invitation by the Chief Justice to the Mudaliyar to serve on the Grand Jury, resulted in the reply that if he was likely "to meet any Burgher who had a 'taint of low caste blood in him' as a fellow juryman, he wished to decline as he could not make up his mind to such a degradation".

To escape their intermediate position, the Dutch Burghers stressed the importance of patrification. When a person's position in society

1. Maha Mudaliyar - Chief Headman - appointed by the Governor.

is considered to be a matter of Nature, of 'blood', as is the case according to both race and caste ideology, then inheritance from the past becomes important. It was through the unilateral principle that the Dutch Burghers sought to establish a 'respectable' origin and heritage. As Stirrat (1982: 20) wrote of caste, but which I think could equally be said of race,

The past, through caste, becomes a moral construct used to pass judgement on the present.

To improve their present the Dutch Burghers needed to improve their past and establish firm links with it. They did this by defining the boundaries of their category in terms of their Dutch, or European ancestry. On the DBU's first St. Nicolaas Eve celebration of 1908, Leembruggen gave an address which was later published in the Journal (1908, 1(4): 221) and quoted a number of times in later issues,

... we are told by some that it is too late in the day for this movement or that ours is a hopeless task. I say it is quite in keeping with our traditions. I would point to the dykes of Holland for our inspiration. The history of Holland is the history of 'Reclamation'... In the same way let us do the work of 'Reclamation' - reclaiming from oblivion those customs and traditions that will help us, reclaiming to general use the lost art of our language and our literature, and bringing together our people, till we have established in Ceylon a Holland of men and women...

By focussing on their 'Dutchness' the Dutch Burghers were able to set themselves up in a category distinct from, yet equal with the British. The elaboration of their 'Europeaness' was a Burgher attempt to appropriate a share of the symbols of British power, i.e. European blood and Western civilization. Thus the DBU's attempt to symbolically construct a separate identity actually legitimized British rule by affirming the idea that power and economic success are both genetically and culturally determined.

Yet, at the same time, their emphasis on their 'Dutchness' distanced them from the British. They were prior to the British and had chosen to make Ceylon their home. They were asserting that they belonged in Ceylon in a way that the British did not. However, their emphasis on their 'Dutchness' served first and foremost to draw boundaries within the Burgher domain itself. In this way they challenged accepted British categories.

CHAPTER 4

DUTCH BURGHER ETHNICITY: AWARENESS OF STRATEGIC INTERESTS

4.1 Introduction

In an examination of ethnogenesis and identity formation in West Malaysia, Nagata (1981:92) wrote,

It is my contention that the distinctiveness of ethnicity and that which separates it from other types of social identity and organization lies in the way in which elements of primordiality and other (non-primordial) cultural attributes and awareness of strategic interests (the für sich) quality are combined and used.

In Chapter 2, I argued that the ideology of race and the concept of a plurality of ethnicities, served British interests by legitimizing their position of dominance. In Chapter 3, I described the semantic reconstruction of Burgher identity by the Dutch Burgher Union, and the elements of primordiality it used in order to establish boundaries and appropriate the symbols of power. I argued that the DBU was operating within the same ideological structure as the British. It defined the boundaries of Dutch Burgher identity in terms of race, i.e. race was primordialized. By emphasizing patrification and focusing on their Dutch connection, the Dutch Burghers were able to constitute themselves as a separate historical community, equal to the British by virtue of their 'Europeaness', yet distanced from them by virtue of their 'Dutchness'. In this chapter, I focus on the strategic element in Dutch Burgher ethnicity, through an examination of the DBU Journal, 1908-1962. Items published in the Journal, particularly the Presidential Addresses given at the Annual General Meetings of the DBU reveal much about Dutch Burgher awareness of their changing interests and strategies adopted by the DBU to further these interests.

4.2 DBU Evaluation of the Structural Position of the Burghers

One of the main reasons given for the formation of the Union was a feeling of need to protect the separate position of the Dutch Burghers in relation to other Burghers. Kriekenbeek (JDBU, 1914, 7(4) :133) wrote,

The very pressing danger which has ever been threatening the Burghers, that is, the submergence of their entity among the surrounding communities, could only be arrested by founding an Union for welding into a common whole, for the purposes of united action and reciprocal influence, all of those "who may justly claim the name of Burgher".

The Dutch Burghers, who had always been relatively advantaged, saw it as detrimental that their identity had come to be connected with or 'submerged in' the relatively deprived and politically insignificant identities of 'Eurasian' and Portuguese Burgher. As a minority group, the Dutch Burghers had two choices. Firstly, they could emphasize their Ceylonese identity, which would have made them politically invisible with regard to the major Sinhalese and Tamil communities, or secondly, they could stress their unique minority status, which, if it did not make them any more powerful, at least would make them more visible.

In the early years of the twentieth century, there was much agitation for a more popular form of representation. As described in Chapter 2, a Legislative Council had been established in Ceylon in 1833, but representation was nominated on an ethnic basis, by convention - three Europeans, one Sinhalese, one Tamil and one Burgher. Many Dutch Burghers however, were reluctant to have the elective principle introduced. If franchise was granted to the Burghers, who would be on the Burgher electorate? The definition of Burgher became

of great concern. For example, Grenier (1923: 58) himself a Dutch Burgher, wrote,

In 1867, when I left Jaffna for Colombo, there were in residence in this town, which was a typical Dutch one, a large number of the Dutch Burgher Community having these names...

There were others, with Dutch or European names, who were not regarded as Burghers. The Burghers owned slaves before the British occupation and after, and it was common practice with them to give names to the slaves. I know of two cases at least, where the descendants of slaves prided themselves on having Dutch names. I believe some of them are on the Burgher electorate.

In 1912 the Legislative Council was indeed reconstituted with the practice of nomination for the Burghers abolished and provision made for an elected seat. The Council Reform Commission recommended the adoption of the following definition of the term Burgher for registration of voters in the Burgher electorate.¹

- (a) The descendants in the male line of those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon at the time of the capitulation, and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans; and
- (b) All other persons of legitimate birth claiming to be registered as Burghers who can trace descent in the female line from ancestors who came within the above definition, such persons being able to read, write and speak the English language.

This definition was officially accepted (Ordinance 13 of 1910) in spite of protests from among the Dutch Burghers. Clearly part (a) of the definition was no problem since it was taken from the DBU Constitution itself (rule 3 on membership). It was part (b) of the definition which was cause for objection. The fact was that government in Ceylon was still organised along ethnic lines, whether it be nominated or elected, but the Dutch Burghers were no longer certain of having one of their own members represent them. The

1. See Ceylon Legislative Council: Papers relating to the Constitutional history of Ceylon, 1908-1924. (1927: 55-67).

Burgher electorate included those 'disadvantaged others' with whom the Dutch Burghers did not want to be identified. Identification with these other Burghers posed a threat to what they clearly saw was their more advantaged structural position. Because they were operating within an ideology of race, the Dutch Burghers believed that the reason for this more advantaged position was due to their European blood and resulting 'right' or proper cultural values, rather than due to historical, economic and other structural factors. Yet at the same time they were aware that this advantaged position could be threatened by forces which had nothing to do with race and cultural attributes, but were indeed structural. This is revealed in the memorial members of the Dutch Burgher community sent to the Secretary of State, dated 30th May 1910¹, objecting to the inclusion of Burghers as defined in part (b), in the Burgher electorate. In paragraph 8 of the memorial they wrote,

8. Memorialists would beg leave to press it upon Your Lordship that their objection to the proposed extension is not the creature of fancy or sentiment, but is grounded upon the most substantial and practical considerations. The result of the extension will be something very much more than the introduction into a very well-defined class of persons who have no sort of claim to come under that class. It will in its practical effect and operation, mean a curtailment of the right of the already existing and recognized class, for the more the number of voters added to it, the smaller will be the weight of each individual vote. The admission, under an artificial definition, of those who are not Burghers to a right to vote among the Burgher class will proportionately diminish the value of the votes of the Burgher class. There is, again, the evil, and the injustice, that a great many of those whom it is proposed to make Burghers by part (ii) will be people who will be foisted on to the list of Burgher voters by reason of their inability, for want of educational qualifications, to enter to the Ceylonese list. Worse still, one of this class, now created by part (ii), may possibly be chosen, in consequence of the artificial enlargement proposed, the "Burgher member", and there will thus arise the anomaly and the humiliation of an ancient and honourable community, the right to vote for the election of whose representative

1. See Ceylon Legislative Council op. cit. pp53-5 for full text of the memorial also reproduced here in Appendix 6.

is expressly declared to be based "purely upon racial qualifications", being represented in Council by a member who, judged by the racial test, is entirely outside that community. Nor will Your Lordship think memorialists to blame when they plead that it is repugnant to their feelings that an element should be introduced into their community which they have not only never acknowledged, but have always steadfastly and consistently repudiated, for the voters coming under part (ii) fail to satisfy the two requirements considered as fundamental and essential to constitute a member of the memorialists' community, namely European paternity and unbroken legitimacy.

We indeed see here expressed what Nagata (1981:91) pointed out is distinctive of ethnicity, i.e. the unique combination of 'elements of primordiality' with awareness of strategic interests. The memorialists based their objection to the inclusion of 'other' Burghers in the Burgher electorate, upon race - race here being an 'element of primordiality' defined in terms of 'European paternity and unbroken legitimacy'. Yet they also noted that the inclusion of these 'others' in the Burgher electorate would have certain practical effects, not in Dutch Burgher interest, such as altering the weight of their individual votes.

During the early twentieth century, the Dutch Burghers found themselves in increasing competition with the emerging Sinhalese and Tamil middle-class. As Roberts (1979:196) wrote,

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, it would be no exaggeration to say that the Ceylonese sector of the legal and Western-trained medical professions was overwhelmingly Burgher. By the 1910's and 1920's their dominance in these spheres had declined as more and more Ceylon Tamils and Sinhalese took to these occupations.

It is clear that the Burghers began to feel their position was being threatened due to this competition in occupational fields that they had previously considered almost exclusively theirs. I have argued

that this was one of the underlying reasons for the formation of the DBU in 1908, although not openly expressed at the time. However, by 1928 at least, many Dutch Burghers were openly expressing their fears regarding their future. For example, the Secretary of the Young Dutch Burgher Comrades¹, said in an article published in the DBU Journal (1928, 18(1) :44),

It is needless to repeat how necessary is such a Revival Movement as ours. The country is at present at a critical stage of its development; all other communities are pressing forward and progressing rapidly, as they deserve to progress who strive, while ours alone seems to be in imminent peril of losing its former status. Even the abolishment of Communal Representation has been threatened by some political extremists! Our military corps is bidden to open its doors to non-Burghers, objections have been raised against supposed preferment of Burghers in the Customs Department: our community is being steadily denationalized by the influx of people who claim to take their nationality from their mother's side; these are but a few of the dangers that beset us.

Similarly in 1933 at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of the Union, the President, Leembruggon said in his speech published in the Journal (1933, 22(3): 91-5),

While it is true that our small Community has in the past 130 years produced from its ranks numbers of men to fill positions of the highest trust and authority, and has contributed more than its quota of public men, poets and painters, doctors and lawyers, and a long generation of men who as minor officials have been the backbone of the Public Services, we must realize that we no longer have the advantages possessed by members of our Community in the early days of the British occupation and up to a generation ago.

Circumstances have changed with the spread of secondary education among a large proportion of the major communities of the Island and it is only by fostering the traditional traits of character that our Community can hold its own against the weight of numbers and increasing literacy among the major communities in the Island.

1. The Young Dutch Burgher Comrades was an association formed on the 8 November, 1926 for Dutch Burghers between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five. It met at the DBU Hall and had access to DBU sporting facilities. There were 130 members in 1928.

Leembruggen suggests that it is 'traditional traits of character' which determine a group's social and economic position. Ethnicity as a discourse of primordialization is expressed here in the concept of 'tradition'. Whatever the character traits were that Leembruggen was referring to, they had been primordialized, despatched back to their origins.

4.3 DBU Strategy and Action Regarding Dutch Burgher Interests

Leembruggen went on in his anniversary speech to describe some of the strategies available to the Burghers, regarding their socio-economic interests. These were the aims of the Union itself as formulated in 1908 and expressed in the Union motto, 'Eendracht maakt macht'. They hoped that the existence and success of a Union would bring them recognition and political and economic visibility as a unique minority group. As Leembruggen continued,

We can only "make strength" by pooling all our resources in men and material, by endeavouring to support the weaker brethren, and by rousing and stimulating the laggard and purblind, those lacking in foresight and forethought. The strength of a chain is in its weakest link; let us strengthen our weakest links, in these times of great stress and difficulty.

We must realise that it is only by strength of character and by the sum of the capacities of our individual members firmly bound together by a common loyalty and purpose, that we can continue to hold our place in the body politic. A disunited community will only fritter away its talents with no common direction or aim.

Dutch Burgher action regarding the maintenance of their privileges generally took the form of a memorandum to the relevant party. They always worked within legitimate bureaucratic channels.

At the time of its establishment in 1908, the DBU disclaimed any involvement with politics and its constitution was supposed to prevent it from any such interference. It was to be concerned

only with the 'social and moral well-being' of the Community.

In fact, as already shown in the last chapter, the DBU did take action regarding political issues directly affecting the Burghers.

Moreover, on 18 January, 1919, a Special General Meeting was held regarding representation of Burghers in the Legislative Council. The President, Anthonisz (JDBU, 1918, 11(3 & 4):74) addressed the meeting,

One right which we as a Community have enjoyed for three quarters of a century of British rule, is that of being represented in the Legislative Council by a member of our own Community. This has been a recognition by the Government that we are a distinct Community, with interests of our own, arising from those conditions of birth, habits of life and thought, and other qualities by which races and classes of people are distinguished from one another. It is easy to conceive what it would be to have this representation taken away from us. It will be a loss of all social and political prestige and must lead eventually to our being blotted out as a separate community. The social well-being of the Community, which the Dutch Burgher Union has been formed to promote, must depend upon our political existence. The two are so closely intertwined that the loss of the one must affect the other. How can we carry out the primary object of the Union if our separate political existence is not recognized.

The Dutch Burghers were concerned about the Ceylon Reform League's¹ proposal that unofficial members of the Legislative Council should be elected on a territorial basis rather than a racial one. A resolution that adequate representation of the Burghers in the Legislative Council be conserved, was then submitted to the Government by the DBU. Further action was taken regarding constitutional changes in 1945 when the DBU sent a memorandum to the Soulbury Commission on Constitutional Reform. I shall discuss the implications of this below.

1. The Ceylon Reform League was first formed in 1864 to agitate for Constitutional reform. Its chief object was to strive to secure an equality of votes in Council for Ceylonese, and it included British colonists as well as Burghers, Sinhalese and Tamils.

The importance the Dutch Burghers placed on an English education as the key to maintaining their position is reflected in the operations of the DBU Standing Committee for Social Service. Much of the funds collected by this Committee were spent on assisting in the education of poor Burgher children. A number of separate Scholarship Funds were also set up exclusively to provide assistance for the sons and daughters of members of the DBU. These included the Dr. de Hoedt Medical Scholarship Fund, started in 1920, the Speldewinde Trust Fund, used for education of the children of poor widows in the Community, the Schneider Scholarships awarded to Dutch Burgher boys attending St. Thomas' College in Colombo, and the Vocation Fund set up in 1939 'to assist promising boys and girls of the Community of good character and outstanding ability, to qualify themselves for a profession or vocation for which their talents are best adapted'. The DBU also set up a separate Standing Committee for the purposes of Education in 1942.

Various items published in the DBU Journal during the first half of the twentieth century express Dutch Burgher concern with their perceived loss of 'place and power'.

From about 1936 onward, there appear many references to the younger generation and its degeneracy. Clearly some Burghers saw the causes for their loss of 'position' as coming from within the Community itself. Just as they believed that their more advantaged position in the past had been due to their 'right' cultural values, so also they now felt it was cultural and not structural conditions that were leading to their demise. Youth was blamed for not looking to the future, but for living

for the moment at their parents' expense. As I argued in Chapter 3, the formation of the Union itself was an expression of this idea, and what Steinberg (1981: 77) describes as the 'New Darwinism', i.e. that socio-economic success depends upon the cultural values of a community. As Steinberg wrote,

... the underlying premise of the New Darwinism is that "good" things come to those with the "right" cultural values, whereas dishonor and a host of social problems befall those groups that are culturally aberrant.

4.4 The Coming of Ceylon Independence and the Decline of Dutch Burgher Ethnicity.

Ceylon Independence in 1946 marked the final passing away of a colonial environment which had provided the Dutch Burgher with security and status. As I have shown, this was in no way a cataclysmic change. The Dutch Burghers had begun to feel the challenge to their hitherto privileged position already in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century with the rise of Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism. The political influence of the Burghers had declined progressively since the turn of the century with the many Constitutional changes that occurred between 1910 and 1947.

In 1927, a Commission led by Lord Donoughmore was appointed to examine the question of Constitutional reform. According to de Silva (1973: 492), this led to an exacerbation of ethnic tension in the island. The question of universal suffrage became an important issue; with the minorities, including the Dutch Burghers, standing in opposition to it, since they realised it would result in the permanent Sinhalese domination of politics. The Donoughmore Commission was opposed to communal electorates such as the Burgher Electorate. Under the new Constitution the Burghers could only get into Council through nomination to one of the eight seats reserved for those interests not already represented by elected members. Further

Constitutional changes came after the appointment of the Soulbury Commission in 1944. The Soulbury Commission advocated abolishing ethnic representation altogether, but agreed that,¹

... in view of the virtual impossibility of fitting the European or Burgher Communities into the electoral scheme of S.P. XIV, we think that, as at present, the representation of these two Communities should be secured by nomination.

Burgher concern about the proposed reforms led to a Special Meeting of the DBU General Committee on 8 December, 1944. As mentioned earlier, a memorandum was then sent to the Soulbury Commission on behalf of the DBU on 23 January, 1945.² What is significant about this memorandum is that it requested the creation of a Burgher electorate similar to the one of 1910, rather than nominated representation, i.e. the very opposite of what the Dutch Burghers had requested in their 1910 memorial to the Secretary of State, when they had written,

7. Memorialists would here ask leave, when expressing their grateful sense of the privilege that has been granted them, humbly to submit that their community did not ask for franchise, or take part in the agitation that produced the Reform memorials. They were quite satisfied with the nominations made from time to time by the Governor of the Colony, and they would be perfectly content to leave to him now the selection of the member who is to represent them.

What is revealed by this about-turn by the Dutch Burghers, is their awareness of their changing position in Ceylon with the prospect of Independence from Britain. Examination of issues of the DBU Journal from around this period show less of an emphasis by the Dutch Burghers on their separate 'Dutch' identity, and a closer collaboration with other Burghers. For example,

1. Quoted in : The reform of the Constitution. JDBU 1946, 35 (3): 84-8, p.84.

2. Published in JDBU, 1945, 34(4):97-101.

Toussaint¹ (JDBU, 1939, 28(3 & 4):183) said in his Presidential Address to the DBU General Meeting of 1939,

I know you all realize that we are passing through very exceptional times. Every Community is fighting for its own hand. Advantages of birth and breeding are no longer of any avail. Henceforward the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong. Already some of the other Communities have outstripped us in the race for place and power. We must therefore equip ourselves at every point to meet the new situation that has arisen. This we can only do by sinking petty differences and by pooling all our resources so as to present a united front.

Here again, is expressed an awareness of the structural relations affecting the position of the Burghers. Items in the DBU Journals of this period show less public emphasis by the Dutch Burghers on their European connection and more emphasis on their being Ceylonese. For example, in his reply to the toast of the Union by S.W. Dassenaike, MSC, during its twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations, Leembruggen (JDBU, 1933, 22 (3 & 4) :158) said,

Coming now to the British occupation, the history of the Burghers for the past 130 years has been one of public service to the whole island. We have been Ceylonese out and out... Our roots have gone deep and have stayed there. We have no other home.

Similarly, de Kretser² (JDBU, 1946, 35 (3 & 4) :95) remarked at the opening of the DBU Founders Day celebrations,

We are today passing through critical times, and at no period in the history of the Community has it been so necessary for us to keep together and maintain our identity. Just as an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Sinhalese or a Tamil is proud of his identity and holds it sacred, so is a Dutch-Burgher. We are proud of the tradition and culture left to us as our heritage by our forebears the Dutch. There is, however, one important difference between the Europeans who live here and ourselves, and that is to us Ceylon is the land of our adoption; i.e. our home, and therefore, although we are Dutch Burghers, we are not unmindful of the fact that we are also Ceylonese.

In spite of this stress on belonging to the country, on being Ceylonese, there were some Burghers who identified so strongly

1. James Reginald Toussaint, Ceylon Civil Service, President of the DBU 1938-1942.
2. Herbert Kenneth de Kretser, Director of Public Works and Civil Aviation, President of the DBU 1942-1946.

as European that they were beginning to feel there was no longer a place for them in Ceylon. Talk of emigration began as far back as the early 1930's. In a letter to the Editor (JDBU, 1931, 21(2):103-4), Ernst¹, a Burgher who had migrated to South Africa, wrote,

If England, Germany and Holland have their emigration schemes, and give serious thought to this all important question of finding suitable homes and occupations in other lands, where competition is not so great for their sons, then there is still more cogent reason for the Dutch Burghers of Ceylon to seriously organize and produce a scheme to assist those of the younger generation of this community who, through no fault of their own, are faced even with the loss of their European heritage and are desirous of founding new homes in a more suitable environment...

During my last visit to Ceylon I was forcibly struck by the utterly colourless and hopeless outlook for the future which so many young men of our community have to face... These young men have been brought up according to the ideals of a great European race. These ideals we value, and it is for their preservation and growth that the Dutch Burgher Union was primarily intended. Are we to see these young men gradually slip away from the community and its traditions and merge with the illiterate Eastern masses?

In spite of talk of being Ceylonese, it seems that many Burghers continued to evaluate their socio-economic position in Ceylon according to ethnic criteria. For example, Ohnimesz (1934:76) wrote,

It is right and fitting that the Burghers should remember that they are Ceylonese. But it is ridiculous to attempt to goad themselves into thinking they can forget that they are Burghers.

Even should the impossible succeed, they would only find themselves in a group again, but minus even a name. The inhabitants of Ceylon would

1. A.H. Ernst. Ernst's emphasis on the 'great European race' suggests that his letter must also be read and located in time within the context of the emerging fascist discourse of the World War II era in Europe.

come to consist of (1) Sinhalese (2) Tamils (3) Europeans (4) Muslims and (5) a group of Pariahs, self-styled cosmopolitans, perhaps called cosmopolitans for want of a special name to distinguish this patriotic group of hangers-on and hybrids who glory in the name of Ceylonese.

Even after Independence from the British the Burghers continued to operate within a discourse of ethnicity which primordialized race. Why did they still do so, when it was apparently no longer in their interest? As Fernando (1972:77) wrote,

Under British rule the Burghers were looked up to and emulated by other communities in Ceylon. After all, they were 'Europeans' like the ruling race and were closer to the British people than any other local group. Their conspicuous facility with the English language, apart from giving them better jobs, made the Burghers seem different and superior in the eyes of Sinhalese and Tamils. Not so today. The increasing reaction against Western influence in Ceylon has meant that there is no longer any special advantage in being a Burgher, either for social status or employment. On the contrary, their fair skin color and Westernized life style are now a hindrance, for they enable other communities to see the Burghers as an alien people with an alien subculture.

At first glance it seems incongruous that the Burghers continued to stress their 'Europeaness' rather than to emphasize a Ceylonese identity. However, I suggest that Dutch Burgher ethnicity can only be understood within the wider framework of the plurality of ethnicities operating in Ceylon. With the rise of Sinhalese - Buddhist nationalism, the identity category of 'Ceylonese' became superfluous. According

to 'Sinhala-Only' ideology, there would be no such category. In such a political climate there was no point in the Burghers stressing a Ceylonese identity, although many individuals indeed continued to do so, along with other members of the Westernized elite. As pointed out in Chapter 3, Burghers, such as Lorenz, had actually been among those most active in developing the idea of 'Ceylonese' nationality as opposed to ethnic categories such as Sinhalese, Tamil, Moor, Burgher etc. According to 'Sinhala-Only' ideology however, anybody who was not a Sinhalese Buddhist could be made to feel 'outcaste'. This applied particularly to the Burghers. Roberts (1984) in a paper entitled Transformation of the Burghers of Sri Lanka: from 'Ceylonese' to Outcaste, 1850's - 1970's¹ outlined links between the language of Sinhala nationalism and the 'outcasting' of the Burghers. He discussed the meaning of a number of Sinhala terms to show how the Burghers were subjected to disparagement as 'alien and contaminated beings'. As Roberts noted (p.6).

In being subject to such denunciation and being increasingly marginalised within the political domain as the twentieth century progressed, the Burghers were confronted with a new situation, a transformation of their scene. Their indigenusness was being denied.

That the Burghers were sensitive to this process of 'outcasting' through naming propensities is revealed in the following copy of part of a letter sent to the Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Official Languages Commission in 1953, and published in the DBU Journal (1953, 43(4):193-4),

Sir,

Fourth Interim Report of the Official Languages Commission. Use of Parangiyar to refer to Burghers.

1. Paper prepared for the Second International Conference on Indian Ocean Studies held in Perth, Western Australia 5-12 December, 1984.

On behalf of the Members of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon, I have the honour to invite your attention to the use of the word "Parangiyar" to refer to members of the Burgher Community, on page ten of the Tamil version of the Fourth Interim Report of the Official Languages Commission

In Ceylon the term "Parangiyar" has acquired a derogatory significance in common speech. The Members of the Dutch Burgher Union are sure that no slight or insult to their Community was intended by the use of this term in the Commission's report, but it has given great offence to members of the Burgher Community....

Yours faithfully,
Sgd.

R.L. Brohier
President

According to Roberts (1984:2-3) the Sinhala term parangi, originally a descriptive synonym for the Portuguese, etymologically also refers to an 'unsightly and disfiguring skin disease' (yaws) and that the 'perjorative associations encoded in the term parangi' could be implicitly extended to all Burghers.

4.5 Sinhalese-Buddhist Nationalism and Emigration of the Burghers

The upsurge of Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism in the 1950's eventually led to the wholesale emigration of the Dutch Burghers. As Roberts (1969/70) has argued, this upsurge had its roots in the Buddhist revival movement of the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. I have already suggested that this earlier revival movement was linked to the formation of the DBU and the rise of Dutch Burgher ethnicity. From this time onwards, a gradual decline can be traced in the economic and political fortunes of the Burghers. As Roberts (1978:173) noted,

... every Burgher who contested an election in 1931 or 1936 (and only four were so foolish) got less than one-third as many votes as the successful candidate. (This) trend was a consequence of the Burgher's cultural distinctiveness and lack of numbers, their adherence to a set of values which restricted them from nursing their constituency in the style that became increasingly popular, and the limitations of patron-client networks. Besides the situation

and demographic distribution were such that, even before 1931, most members of the Burgher elite were led into defensive paths; faced with the extension of status and power by newly-emerging interest groups....

The DBU journal is a rich source of information on Burgher disquietitude over Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism during the 1950's and the movement to make Sinhala the official language. The Journal records action taken by the Burghers regarding their perceived loss of 'place and power'. This always followed legitimate bureaucratic channels. For example, in 1954 a deputation led by the President of the DBU gave oral evidence before the Commission on Higher Education in the National Languages. The deputation pointed out that Burghers would be handicapped by the introduction of higher education in Sinhalese and Tamil as English was their home language. However, it was not until after the 1956 elections, when S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) came into power that Burgher fears regarding their economic and political future were actually realized. As Horowitz (1980:69-75) has shown, the 1956 election eventually had 'quite tangible' results, especially regarding the appointment of Sinhalese to the bureaucracy, to the exclusion of Burghers, who had previously been over-represented, far out of proportion to their numbers in the population. For example, the changes that took place in the composition of the army are shown in the following tables (6-8) taken from Horowitz (1980: 69-71).

TABLE 6

Commissions Awarded, Ceylon Light Infantry

Regular Force, 1949-74 (by ethnicity; in percentages)

	1949-51 (N=44)	1956-60 (N=25)	1963-69 (N=27)	1972-74 (N=16)
Sinhalese	55	44	96	88
Tamil	18	32	4	12
Burgher ^a	20	8	0	0
Muslim	7	12	0	0
Unknown	0	4	0	0
Totals	100	100	100	100

TABLE 7

Commissions Awarded Ceylon Artillery,

Regular Force, 1949-60 (by ethnicity; in percentages)

	1949-55 (N=29)	1956-60 (N=9)
Sinhalese	52	56
Tamil	21	44
Burgher ^a	21	0
Muslim ^b	0	0
Other ^b	7	0
Totals	101 ^c	100

TABLE 8

Ceylonese Cadets at Sandhurst, 1956-67
(by ethnicity; in percentages)

	1950-55 (N=51)	1957-67 (N=32)
Sinhalese	61	84
Tamil	20	9
Burgher	14	0
Muslim ^a	4	6
Other ^b	2	0
Totals	101 ^c	99 ^c

a. Malays and Moors have been combined for purposes of the table.

b. Eurasian

c. Totals do not equal 100 due to rounding.

On 15 June, 1956, the Official Language Act ("Sinhala Only Bill") was passed by the House of Representatives and later by the Senate. A number of meetings were held by members of the DBU Standing Committee for the Purpose of Education, The Burgher Association, The Burgher Education Fund, and the Burgher Recreation Club, to discuss the 'social and economic implications of these proposals on the Burghers'. The President of the Union, Poulier¹, led a deputation to the Prime Minister and also placed the views of the Burghers with regard to the English language before the Senate and before the Education Curriculum Committee. A conference of all

1. Reginald Sydney Vernon Poulier, CBE: Member of Parliament; President of the DBU, 1955-1957.

Burghers was held on 29 September, 1956, at the Milgiriya School Hall, also to discuss the position of Burghers in their changing environment. The Burghers Welfare Association was formed at this meeting with its constitution adopted on 23 February, 1957. It appears that during this period there was a breakdown of the divisions and boundaries in the Burgher identity domain. All Burghers, Dutch, Portuguese or others, saw the need to work together in self-defence against Sinhalese nationalism. Yet many Burghers felt that there was no solution to their changing status in the island other than emigration. Poulier (JDBU, 1956, 46(2 & 3): 94) in his address at the DBU Annual General Meeting of 1956, summed up the position of the Burghers and the conditions prompting so many to leave Ceylon,

Although their political significance properly falls outside our jurisdiction, most important of the events to us both socially and economically are the language changes; the first of these (early in 1955) were the government pronouncement that with certain exceptions firstly, the Senior School Certificate Examination would from 1957, be held in Sinhalese and in Tamil and secondly that from 1962 the Government Clerical Service examination would not be held in English....

The effect of these changes (and those contemplated in the new "Sinhalese only" policy) will require many hours to go over covering such aspects as:-

- (a) The effects on Burgher education.
- (b) The resultant effect on Burgher employment.
- (c) Is migration to Australia the only remedy?
- (d) What of the future of those who stay behind?
- (e) Should we not actively participate in the Government in order to try to modify proposals to some extent?
- (f) What should be our attitude towards the Tamil reaction on the "Sinhalese only" policy?

Over the next decade the majority of Dutch Burghers did indeed migrate to Australia, although some also went to Canada and others to Britain. This 'escape' of the Burghers served for a short time to redraw boundaries within the Burgher identity domain,

since immigration to Australia was confined at this time to those Burghers who were able to fulfil the requirements of the White Australia Policy, i.e. the Dutch Burghers. Here the genealogies required for membership in the DBU became useful. The DBU was able to supply published genealogies to Burghers wishing to migrate to Australia. During the 1950's and 60's, membership of the DBU gradually diminished as more and more Burghers left Ceylon. A Dutch Burgher who was not able to leave early on due to the illness of his father, remembers that this was particularly noticeable at Union dances.¹ Year after year fewer young people attended. As Brohier² mentioned during a resolution put to the General Meeting of the DBU in 1962 (JDBU, 1962, 52(3 & 4) :30),

The probability facing us then, is that this building will never see again the crowds which thronged its spacious halls up and downstairs in the past on festive occasions. The foreseeable possibility is that with the restlessness which has gained momentum in the community - to go West or go 'down under' - we shall have to reconcile ourselves to a drop in even the 314 members we now count on our roll.

In 1981 when I visited the DBU in Colombo, there were 140 full members and 80 associate members. The associate members were from other Ceylonese ethnic groups. In September 1985 there were 171 full members and 74 associates.

In this chapter I have focussed on the construction and manipulation of group identity by the Dutch Burghers and the strategies of

1. Personal communication from Dr. Bede Muller.
2. Dr. Richard Leslie Brohier, then editor of the Journal; also served as President of the DBU, 1953-55.

the DBU in response to changing political structures, practices and ideology in Ceylon. I discussed Dutch Burgher evaluation of their political and economic interests. These interests were evaluated and acted upon within a discourse of ethnicity which primordialized race. Blaze (1934:1) described the Dutch Burghers as,

... a young and new race, a western plant growing in eastern soil, a tulip in lotus-land.

Unable to switch from a Dutch to a Ceylonese identity, the tulip became uprooted as more and more Dutch Burghers chose to emigrate.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have attempted, through the historical study of the rise and decline of an ethnic movement, to outline an approach to ethnicity which gives it new status and validity for anthropological research. Ethnicity is seen as an ideological discourse, having both a sense and a reference. In the case of the Dutch Burghers its sense, or inner logic, is the image the Burghers developed of themselves as a unique historical community, and its reference are the historical and social conditions in which this community was able to 'realize' itself. Ethnicity develops within the context of social and political reality and operates with it in a dialectical relationship.

Nagata (1981) has argued that what is unique about ethnicity is that the 'charter of membership' of an ethnic group, or historical community, is primordial. Different 'cultural attributes' can be 'primordialized' according to the social and political context in which such primordialization is taking place. What distinguishes ethnicity then from other types of discourse is that it is primordializing. A group of people can constitute themselves as a separate historical community and attempt to create a new 'being-in-the-world' for themselves, through the primordialization of culture.

In this study, I have discussed some of the historical and social conditions that constituted the context of such primordialization among the Dutch Burghers. I examined the history of Portuguese and Dutch (VOC) rule in Ceylon. I argued that during the period of VOC control of the Maritime Provinces, the name Burgher itself

did not stand for a particular racial or ethnic group, but was a civic title referring to the citizenry, and included people divided variously according to a combination of ideas based on descent, class and race. The idea of race had developed out of the concept of 'purity of blood' from a class point of view, as it existed in seigneurial society. After the British took over the island, the ideology of race became hegemonic and overrode any distinctions based on descent or class. The Burghers were categorized as a single ethnic group. Ethnicity, as a discourse, developed out of this ideology of race. It was then taken up by the Dutch Burghers in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century in an attempt to create boundaries between themselves and the rest of the Burghers and to construct a separate identity. This identity was institutionalised in 1908 in the form of the Dutch Burgher Union.

I examined the Union's Journal as a text in which Dutch Burgher ethnicity, as discourse, was manifested. The Dutch Burgher's 'chosen past' image and the primordialization of various cultural attributes, which became the foundation of their separate historical community, are revealed in this text. The Journal is also a rich source of information on Dutch Burgher awareness of their changing status in Ceylon and the strategies they adopted in response to social, political and economic change in the island. I argued that Dutch Burgher ethnicity in the early twentieth century was a response to their declining political and economic fortunes in the island. It was a way to achieve 'place and power' within

the British Colonial structure. With the granting of Independence in 1946 it appeared that it would be more appropriate to stress a Ceylonese identity than a separate ethnic Dutch identity. However, the rise of Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism made the category 'Ceylonese' redundant and eventually led to the wholesale emigration of the Dutch Burghers.

APPENDIX 1 (Appears as an Appendix in the Memoir of Ryckloff

Van Goens, 1663).

Original Resolutions of Council for Regulating the Burgery and
Trade Guilds, Passed on the 10th. June at Colombo

Thursday, June 10, 1659

Having deliberated in this Council regarding the well being and increase of the Dutch and native Burgery, for which it has hitherto been possible to find only moderate means of livelihood due chiefly (God amend it!) to the ingrained indolence of our own people and the fact that the Moors and Gentoos have hitherto appropriated the profits rightly belonging to the Burghers, in respect of which and in order to remedy this state of things in the best way possible, as ordered by Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Council of India, and to provide the Burghers with all possible means of livelihood, it was proposed by the Lord Admiral that to cure them of the sickness of indolence only active and vigilant persons should be appointed as Officers over the Burgery, who should set them an example not only in all permitted trade but chiefly in agriculture and other respectable callings, to which end it has already been suggested to appoint as Captain the present Captain of the Cinnamon Department, George Blume, a man of proved industry and diligence, who has acquired experience and a thorough knowledge of this Island, and who with the approval of His Excellency the Governor of this Island has also been promised that he would be allowed to retain his rank as Captain of the Cinnamon Department and draw his salary monthly therefor for the present or till such time as through his private activities he shall be able to

earn the same, with the further concession that if he acquits himself to the satisfaction of the Company, and if in due course Their Excellencies the Governor General and Council of India should decide to appoint a Sheriff, his claims would be considered in preference to all others' for the appointment, with the approval of their said Excellencies, and that the Hon: Company would further be of assistance to him according to its ability and circumstances. Consideration having accordingly been paid to the said promise and the necessity for the appointment, it was unanimously resolved to appoint the said Blume, who had already signified his consent and readiness to accept the said post, with the honourable rank of Captain, and that he should continue to draw his salary as Captain of the Cinnamon Department and perform the duties of that post. As regards the post of Lieutenant, it was decided to continue the services of Hans Steevens, a man of honourable conversation and present Elder of God's church at Colombo; and whereas the present Ensign is a servant of the Company, it was resolved for the greater honour and reputation of the Burgery to discontinue him and to appoint in his place a respectable and zealous Burgher. Accordingly the selection was made of Benjamin Bellyn, who is loved by the Burghers and who is desirous of accepting the said post. And seeing that the Burghers' Council as constituted at present consists of 3 Burghers and 5 servants of the Company, it has been decided to adopt the practice at Batavia and to appoint to the council of Burghers 4(sic) Burghers and 3 servants of the Company (of whom nevertheless one shall act as President), and accordingly to add to those already appointed the names of Willem Thomasz and Dr. Cornelis van Muur, both persons of honourable character, the corresponding number of servants of the Company being discontinued, viz, the Lieutenant Marten Scholten and the Cashier Laurens Pyl. It has been further resolved that the Burgher's Court-martial shall conduct itself according to the Batavian

ordinance, but that before the same be formed it should be constituted according to the circumstances of this place and after revision by Their Excellencies the Superintendent and the Governor. The Magistrates' Beadle owing to the nature of his duties should necessarily be a freeman, and accordingly he is disallowed both salary and table-money from the Company after the lapse of the current month, but he shall be paid monthly from the perquisites of the Chamber what he received from the Company, table-money excepted. Whereas various servants of the Company as well as Burghers have undertaken the baking of bread and no fixed regulations have been issued there-
 anent, Their Excellencies and the Council desiring to take cognisance of the matter, hereby prohibit in future the baking of bread for sale by all Company's servants, allowing them however to continue till such time as they have used up all the wheat which they had already procured for the purpose, and vest the privilege of baking bread entirely in the Burghers here, with the express stipulation that they shall sell their bread well baked in the following weights, viz:-

The whitest bread, 8 ounces,

Medium brown bread, 12 ounces

Brown bread baked with bran, 16 ounces:

for which they shall be paid 2 stivers the loaf, on the understanding that these prices shall be current so long as wheat costs 11 schellings the parra. And in order that all this may be duly supervised, there have been selected as Supervisors, Assayers, and Guild-masters the Lieutenant Hans Steevens and Ensign Joost Zeegenauer who should take

their oaths before the Bench of Magistrates of this city and deposit them in the hands of the Secretary, following in every respect the procedure laid down at Batavia. They shall accompany the Fiscal on his appointed rounds and cast all defaulters in such fines as they may be liable to pay without any connivance whatsoever.

The bakers who have received special permission are the following
Netherlanders, viz:-

Claes Jans de Kooningh
Joost Willems
Jan Pens de Jonge
Jan Duccum van Dulme

Adriaen Back
Cornelis Firens
Angelot Pigelot
Nicholaas Bartels

and the following Blacks, viz:-

Gonsalve d'Almeyde
Joanna de Guivar
Francisco de Silva
Anthonao de Soisa

Joanna Peneira
Anthonica de Sosa
Cosmo de la Faitar
Manuel Caldera

and the Captain of the Burgery, George Bloem, has been ordered to make enquiries among the native Christians as to whether any of them are employed as bakers, in order that the privilege may be accorded according to their merits and denied to others, the Council also laying down further that no native Christian shall be allowed to participate in this business unless he attended church at the ordinary hours in order to serve God in our faith.

The tailors of this city being free burghers have presented a request to His Excellency the Superintendent for the due maintenance of their trade, and it has been resolved in respect thereof that from now onwards all Moor tailors shall be prohibited from keeping private or public places of business or otherwise interfering in the trade, but that if they are willing to earn their livelihood with the needle, they must work under a licenced master-tailor in order to serve him as workmen and thereby earn their wages. And the tailors shall charge for an ordinary suit, $3/4$ Real; for ditto according to circumstances,

1 Real; for a medium suit, $1\frac{1}{4}$ Reals, for one out of the ordinary, 3 Reals; for a woman's gown according to circumstances, from 3 to 5 Reals; and for the rest, in accordance with the above rates and the labour and sewing involved.

Supervisors and Assayers are hereby ordered to select from among themselves 4 Magistrates, and to appoint 2 of that number (in rotation).

Neither native Christians nor Tupasses shall be admitted into the tailors' guild unless they prove their eligibility by diligent church attendance, and which shall also be understood to apply to the licensing of shoemakers among the free burghers, only Hollanders have permission to open shops and natives who make themselves eligible by diligent church attendance.

Shoemakers shall not charge more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ base Reals for a pair of shoes.

The necessary provision being also desired in respect of the slaughter of cattle, Paulus Wolfrom, an Austrian, who is a master-butcher by trade, has been selected as Supervisor and Inspector of cattle, and without his previous inspection no cattle shall be slaughtered. He is allowed to draw fees as follows, viz., for a full-grown ox, 6 stivers, and 2 stivers a head for all small cattle such as sheep, pigs, calves, etc.

Natives shall not be permitted to set up as butchers unless they afford public proof of church-going; and it has been further resolved that a place shall forthwith be selected and set apart for use as

a butchers' hall or flesh mart, and that no flesh shall be sold elsewhere on penalty of the confiscation of the flesh and a fine. No one shall also be permitted to hack or cut the flesh that is sold there in smaller portions than an ox, in 4 quarters, but carcasses of sheep, pigs and other small cattle shall be brought there whole with entrails, head and feet trimmed and well cleaned. Due consideration having also been paid to the importance of cattle-breeding, it has been decided to prohibit (without consent having previously been obtained) the slaughter of milch-cows, heifers, goats, ewes, sows and all other cattle of sufficient maturity for breeding. On representations being made by the Magistrates regarding the regulations for the Assayer, it was approved that he should regulate himself according to the Batavian ordinances passed in that respect, and that the said Assayer should be sworn in before the bench of Magistrates.

Hans Steevens, Lieutenant of the Burgery, has been authorised by this Council to practice as Auctioneer. His scale of fees and the rules for his guidance are indicated by the Batavian Statutes. For the greater welfare of the Burgery of this city, all Company's servants of both high and low degree are in future again specifically interdicted and prohibited from all private trade in coarse or fine wares, viz., rice, wheat and coarse cloth goods, directly or indirectly, with no exception whatsoever, nor shall they share or participate in the traffic thereof with the freemen, the necessities only excepted for their own housekeeping, Company's servants being permitted only the lending of money at interest to the freemen. Similarly it is resolved that from now henceforth no Moors shall keep any shops or openly sell any goods, only free burghers and native Christians being accorded that privilege, provided the latter devoutly attend church at the appointed hours.

Free burghers are also hereby allowed to undertake voyages to the

Coromandel Coast and Orissa, permission to sail to Bengal being deferred till the receipt of a reply from Their Excellencies who have already been addressed on the subject.

No Moorish vessels may also in future engage in any voyages unless the Netherlands of the Burgery take part in the same.

The following have been nominated and requested to serve as Directors of the Women's House of Correction, viz., Lieutenant Hans Steevens and Joost Seegenauer, Ensign, and as Stewardesses, the wives of the Fiscal Montainer and Leenert Roos.

As Surveyor of Lands and Buildings is appointed Adriaen de Leeuw, who has been made freeman and Burgher. He shall continue to draw his salary and tablemoney till such time as his emoluments are secured by the practice of his duties.

And seeing that the services of an efficient Notary and Attorney are required in this city, to serve before the Magistrates and elsewhere, Their Excellencies and the Council have decided to consider the appointment as such of Theodorus Baukema, Soldier, who states that he is a qualified Advocate, and with that object in view have ordered the Captain Petur Wasch to make enquiries regarding his qualifications and character in order to dispose of the matter later after receipt of his report.

As regards Night Watchmen or Rattle-Watchmen, Captain Petur Wasch

has been ordered to select 4 of the slowest and most heavily built married soldiers who will draw their salaries, without table-money, and keep watch, two in the city and the other two in the newly separated portion.

Owing to the protracted illness of the Koopman Gerrit Dam, it has been decided by the Council to entrust provisionally the garrison books of Ceylon to the Koopman Abraham Carter, in order that he may balance them, make adjustments where necessary, and further do whatever maybe duly required in that matter, His Excellency the Governor undertaking at the same time to authorize the said Carter this afternoon to select and appoint the clerks and other assistants for the Payoffice. The Captain and Lieutenant of the Burgery are requested in all friendliness by the Lord Admiral to take to heart the good conversation and living of the Burgery, and that they by their virtuous example will lead them and admonish them in all sobriety and honesty, and which they have promised to do; and that everyone, according to his natural inclination, may not betake himself to tavern and inn-keeping and that good order and measure may be maintained, this Council has seen good to license 4 persons in this city to act as tavernkeepers, and to prohibit all others from setting up as such, those selected being Hans Hendix van Groenenveldt, Hans Sykes, Jan van Beveren, and Christoffel Cornelissen, being those persons who had already been nominated on the 3rd June, the date of the farming out of rents.

And for the accommodation of travellers of quality and other respectable residents, consent has been given for Willem Thomassen to keep an inn in the newly separated portion of the city, and with

that object in view he has been given a suitable place to entertain his guests in a fitting manner, it being our chief intention to altogether suppress and remove all smugglers' taverns.

And regarding the further convenience of the Burgery, in order that they may be able to provide themselves with all necessaries in such small quantities as may suit them best, a Burgher has been appointed who shall stock for sale wine, butter, oil, vinegar and all other goods and sell them at such prices as shall be fixed therefor, with which object there shall in future be issued from the Company's magazine no smaller quantity at one and the same time than $\frac{1}{2}$ a cask of wine, not less than $\frac{1}{2}$ a last of wheat, and not less than a last of rice, paddy, salt, etc.

Thus resolved and approved in the fortified city of Colombo on the day and year as aforesaid. (Signed) Rycloff van Goens, Adriaen van der Meyden, Petur Wasch, Jacob Borchorst, G. Blume, F. Montanier, Hans Stevensz (by his Mark), and Lucas van Weerden, Secretary.

APPENDIX 2ALFRED ERNST BUULTJENS

- (a) Resume of A.E. Buultjens (Original in the possession of his daughter Vera Aldons).

Alfred Ernst Buultjens was born at Matara on November 6th. 1865. His father John Buultjens was the leading lawyer of the town, and at one time Acting District Judge at Tangalle. He traces his descent on his father's side from William Buultjens of Notreboom, Cleefslan, who arrived in Ceylon in 1770, (vol. III 1888-1889 p.344*) and on his mother's side from George Nicolaas Ernst of Naystaadan de Iys, (Vol. IV 1889-1890 p.101*) who came to the Island in 1771.

Early Education

Till the age of twelve he attended the Government Girl's English School at Matara, where Mrs. R.H. Leembruggen was head mistress. In 1877 he joined the Government English School at Matara under that distinguished Educationalist and disciplinarian Mr. R.H. Leembruggen, who is now the Government Inspector of Schools for the Northern and Eastern Provinces. His first initiation into Latin and Euclid and Algebra was under the private tuition of Mr. Leembruggen, who perceived in the boy a natural inclination for study, and strongly advised that he should be sent to a College in Colombo. As a first step he was sent to the Boarding School at Weligama under the Rev. J. Stevenson Lyle B.A., in 1878, and then entered St. Thomas' College in 1879, during the Wardenship of the Rev. J.F. Faulkner M.A. There he remained for six years, and became one of the most distinguished pupils of Warden E.F. Miller M.A. During his public school career he passed the following Examinations:

1879 Government Examination Standard VII
 1880 Government Examination Standard VIII
 1880 Cambridge Junior Local Honors Class D. He was the first student from this College who passed the junior
 1881 Calcutta Entrance Examination Class I.
 1882 Cambridge Senior Local Honours Class III. Mark of Distinction in English.
 1883 Cambridge Senior Local Class I Mark of Distinction in Physical Geography. He obtained the first place among Ceylon Candidates, and was awarded the University Scholarship of 150 pounds a year for four years by His Excellency Sir Arthur Gordon. At this examination he passed in the following subjects:-

Languages	(1. English
	(2. Latin
	(3. Greek
	(4. German
Mathematics	(1. Euclid and Algebra
	(2. Trigonometry & Conic Sections
	(3. Mechanics
Science	(1. Statics, Dynamics, Hydrostatics
	(2. Physical Geography

During his career at St. Thomas' College besides the annual Class Prizes, he won the Rajapakse Prize for Classics of Rs. 100 in 1883 and in 1884, and the Bishops annual Prizes for Divinity for two successive years.

University Education

1884. Entered St. John's College, Cambridge University and passed the Previous Examination.

1885. Obtained Class II in the May Examination for first year students for the Mathematical Tripos.

1885-1887. Attended Lectures by Professors Seehey, Marshall, Prothers, Chreighton, Prof: J.R. Tanner for the Historical Tripos.

1887. Graduated B.A. with Honors in the Historical Tripos.

Subjects he passed in:

1. Constitutional Law
 2. Constitutional History
- Text Books Stubbs: Hallam: Erskine May

3. International Law
4. Jurisprudence: Austin etc.
5. History of the Roman Empire. Merivale etc.
6. Mediaeval History: History of Papacy
7. Modern European History.
8. Political Economy.

1887 Coached for two months for the competitive Examination for Eastern Cadetships, passed in the preliminary, but failed in the final for three vacancies.

1888. Returned to Ceylon and upon memorial to Secretary of State for the Colonies, was informed by Colonial Secretary that his name was noted for employment in the public service.

Principal, Ananda College

1889. He accepted the Principalship of this College, then known as the Colombo Buddhist English School, Pettah, and the results achieved in a few years raised the amount of fees from Rs. 7⁴ a month in 1889 to Rs. 500/- a month in 1898, and the number of scholars from 100 in 1889 to 300 in 1898 to such an extent that the Buddhist Public granted four acres of land in Maradana and erected the Ananda College in 1893. The following is a record of boys who were educated under the Principal and passed public examinations:-

Cambridge Junior

J.G.R. Wirasuriya
 D.J. Wimalasurendra
 D. ? Mettasena
 C.C. Piyatissa
 C.W. Goonewardena
 S. Samarasingha
 C. de Silva
 Gunesekere
 Abeysekere
 W.D. Jayetunge
 Munasingha
 Chas. Silva

Cambridge Senior Local

D.J. Wimalasurenda
 H. Peris
 Munasinghe
 C.C. Piyatissa
 S. Samarasinghe

London Matriculation

D.J. Wimalasurendra

H. Peris

Clerical Examination

J.G. Wirasuriya

Metthasena

G.W. Goonewardena

Railway Probationers Examination

G. Karunaratna

Zoysa

General Manager of Grant in aid Schools

1892. Appointed General Manager of Buddhist Schools, which post he holds up to date. The increase of grant in aid schools during this period, through his organization and efforts have been as follows:-

	No. of Schools	No. of Scholars
1892	12	1,457
1893	22	2,263
1894	28	2,749
1895	38	3,182
1896	46	4,602
1897	60	6,911
1897	79	9,280

1893. Upon his representation by memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a concession was obtained in regard to the operation of the quarter mile clause of the Education Code.

1896. Elected Member of the Standing Committee of the Ceylon Educational Association. He was re-elected in 1897 and 1898.

Literary Efforts

1883. Appointed Committee Member of the St. Thomas' College Magazine.

1884. Editor of the College Magazine.

1885-1887. Signed articles in the Ceylon Examiner on Civil Service Reform, Dutch Names, English News etc., and an article in St. John's College Magazine, Cambridge.

1886-7. Signed articles in the Orientalist (1) Portuguese and Dutch words in the Sinhalese Language (2) Translations from the Dutch

of Valentyn's Beschryving van Ceylon.

1887. Series of articles in the Literary Register on the Wellesley Manuscripts at the British Museum.

1888. Member of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and subsequently Life Member.

1890-5. Editor of the "Buddhist" vol. II, IV and V

1895. Translations from the Pali of Visuddhimagga - this effort has been noticed by Professors Rhys Davids and Max Muller.

1896. Member of the Pali Text Society.

1898. Paper read before the C.B.R.A. Society on Don Jeronimo de Azevedo Governor of Ceylon 1594-1611.

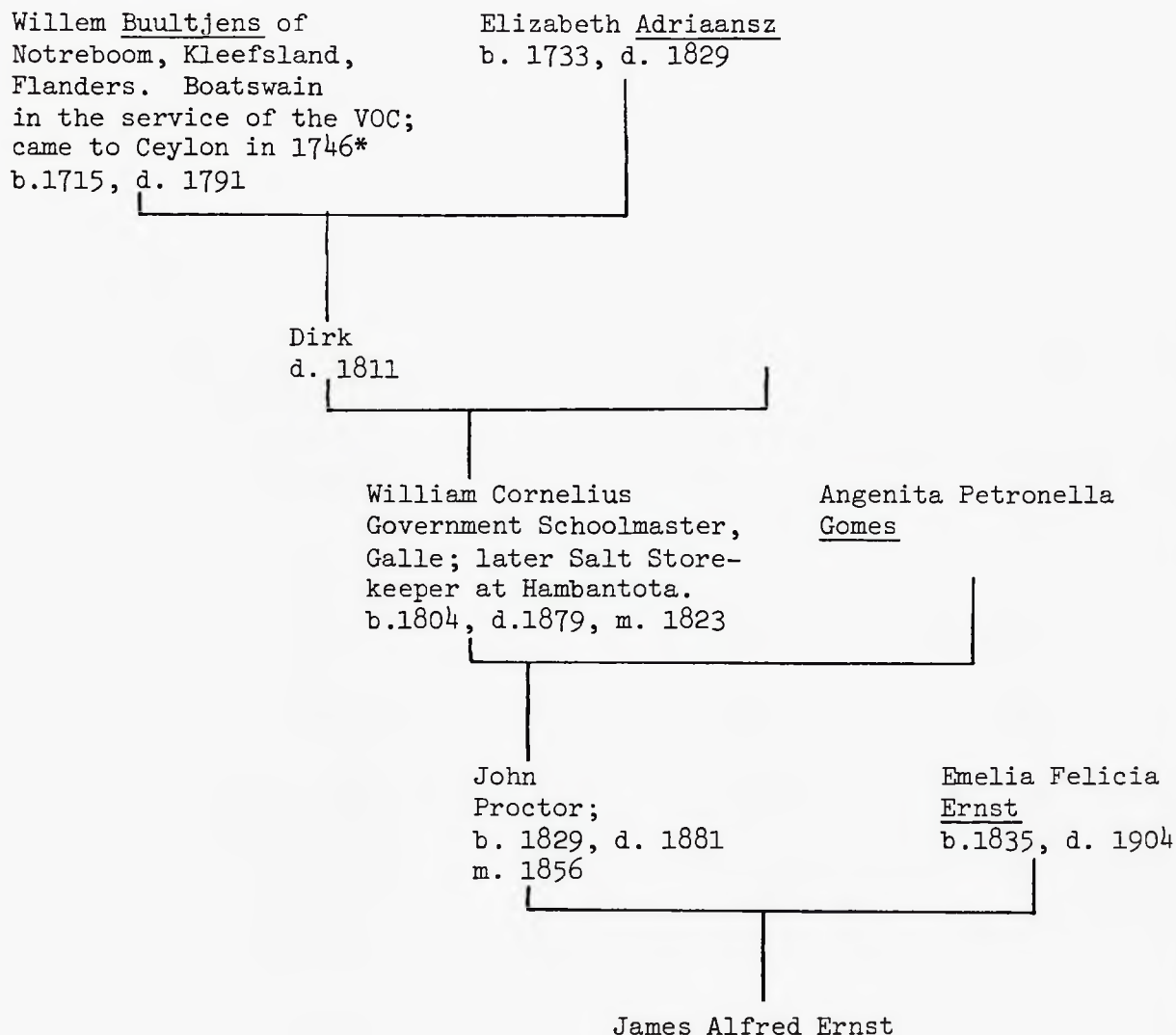
1898. Paper on the Expedition to Kandy by Lubbert Jan Baron Van Eck Governor of Ceylon - accepted by the C.B.R.A.S.

1895-8. A History of Ceylon B.C. 543-1505 AD which is awaiting publication.

Volunteering

1884-7. He joined the Cambridge University Volunteer Corps and attended annually the Colchester Camp of Exercise and the Easter Monday Reviews at Brighton and Hastings. He was appointed Lance Corporal and Corporal of his Company.

1892-5. He was enrolled a Cyclist Volunteer and served as Corporal.

(b) Genealogy of A.E. Buultjens

* N.B. There is a discrepancy in the date Willem Buultjens arrived in Ceylon.

The J.D.B.U. records it as 1746, while Buultjens' resume gives the date 1770, taken from the Ceylon Literary Register, vol. III, 1888-9, p.344.

GENEALOGY OF THE BUULTJENS FAMILY

(Compiled by Mr. D.V. Altendorff and published in JDBU)

I

Willem Buultjens of Notreboom in Kleefslan, Flanders, Boatswain in the Service of the Dutch East India Company, came to Ceylon in 1746 in the ship "Sara Jacoba", born 1715, died 3rd January 1791, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, Elizabeth Adriaansz, born 1733, died 22nd May 1829. He had by her:-

1. Johanna, died 7th February 1832, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 30th June 1782, Roelof Daniel Roelofz.
2. Maria, born 28th March 1764, died 7th May 1824, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle:-
 - (a) 16th April 1786, Gerrit Meurling, baptised 12th September 1760, son of Johannes Meurling and Maria Joosten.
 - (b) 21st February 1805, Johannes Hendrik Brechman, died 18th October 1824 (DBU Journal, Vol XIV. page 51.)
3. Dirk, who follows under II.
4. Hendrik, who follows under III.

II

Dirk Buultjens died, 24th March 1811, married , and had by her:-

1. William Cornelius, who follows under IV.
2. Pieter, Secretary, District Court, Matara, in 1836.

III

Hendrik Buultjens, born 27th March, 1770, died 15th November 1817, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 12th October 1788, Dorothea Elizabeth Schryver of Bibilipatnam, born 2nd February 1770, died 24th May 1816. He had by her:-

1. Helena, died 10th July 1853, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 2nd April 1809, Pieter Hendrik Reyhardt. (DBU Journal, Vol XV, page 51, and Vol. XXI page 154).
2. Wilhelmus Martinus, baptised 14th October 1792.
3. Cornelius Henricus, who follows under V.
4. Abraham, who follows under VI.

IV

William Cornelius Buultjens, Government School Master at Galle, and later Salt Storekeeper at Hambantota, born 1804, died 14th May 1879 married at Galle, Angenita Petronella Gomes (Licence issued on 7th March 1823). He had by her:-

1. William Richard, who follows under VII.
2. Mary Caroline, born 21st January 1828, married 19th October 1848, Selestinus Adrian Jansen. (DBU Journal Vol. XXIX, Page 63).
3. John, who follows under VIII.
4. Mary Eliza, married:-
 - (a) John Bernard Boucher, died 23rd February 1866.
 - (b) Carolus William de Zilva.
5. Frederick Adolphus, who follows under IX.
6. John Edward who follows under X.
7. Sophia.
8. Maria.
9. Susan.
10. Samuel, married Julia Frida.
11. Harriet, married Gregory Andrew Jansz.
12. Charles William, Head Clerk, Kachcheri, Matara.

V

Cornelius Henricus Buultjens, baptised 10th June 1794, died 17th July 1863, married:-

- (a) 3rd April 1821, by the Reverend R. Mayor, Church Missionary,
Johanna Elisabeth Steynholster, born 15th March
1802, died 30th January 1842.
- (b) 19th April 1843, by the Reverend Venkman, Justina Christiaan,
born 1815, died 13th June 1863.

Of the first marriage, he had:-

- 1. John Alfred, born 14th September 1822, died 13th June 1824.
- 2. Priscilla, born 6th January 1824, died 13th December 1913,
married by the District Judge of Tangalle, (J.H. Rabenal, Esq.)
10th March 1841, Charles Hay Andree, Proctor, born 10th March
1809, died 28th January 1894, son of Willem Hendrik Andree and Clara
Elisabeth Van Hoven (DBU Journal, Vol X, page 14).
- 3. Charlotte, born 13th September 1825, married 1st January
1847... .. Smith, died, 14th August 1858.
- 4. Dorothea, born 29th December 1826, died 24th September 1828.
- 5. Jonathan Henry, born 24th January 1829, died 1st. January 1831.
- 6. Henricus, born 8th April 1832.
- 7. John Richard, who follows under XI.
- 8. Sophia, born 31st May 1835, died 26th December 1866.
- 9. Arthur Jonathan, born 12th August 1837.
- 10. Matilda Lucy, born 9th April 1840, died 18th August 1858.
- 11. Caroline, born 9th October 1841, died 17th. January 1843.

Of the second marriage, he had:-

12. William Edwin, who follows under XII.
13. Gilbert, born 5th June 1845, died 28th October 1845.
14. Jane, born 5th June 1847, died 24th August 1847.
15. Jemima Georgiana, born 9th January 1854, died 19th May 1893.
16. Dora Agnes, born 9th January 1854.

VI

Abraham Buultjens, married:-

- (a) Anna Henrietta de Zilva (licence issued on 28th October 1822).
- (b) Anna Henrietta Van Geyzel.

Of the second marriage he had:-

1. Helena Dorothea, born 27th July 1829.
2. Johannes Fredericus, baptised 9th January 1835.
3. Carlina Henrietta, born 1st June 1837.

VII

William Richard Buultjens, born 28th February 1826, married 20th July 1855, Paulina Prudentia de Zilva. He had by her:-

1. Benjamin Bernard, died 28th March 1866, aged 7 years and 3 months.
2. Gerald Brixius born, 1860, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 14th December 1882, Ersina Fredericka de Zilva. He had issue.
3. William
4. Matilda
5. Angelina.

VIII

John Buultjens, Proctor, born 23rd June 1829, died 1st October 1881, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Matara, 4th December 1856, Emelia Felicia Ernst, born 19th November 1835, died 19th May 1904, daughter of George Edward Ernst and Petronella Gerardina Vollenhoven. (DBU Journal, Vol XXIII, pages 90 and 98). He had by her:-

1. Emelia Felicia, born 14th October 1857, died 7th September 1938, married:-
 - (a) In St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 29th November 1883, Celestinus Bernard Boucher, son of John Bernard Boucher and Mary Eliza Buultjens (vide IV, 4, supra).
 - (b) In St. Paul's Church, Milagriya, Colombo, 2nd February 1902, Alfred Charles Buultjens, who follows under IX, 3.
2. Ellen Adelaide, born 2nd May 1861, died 21st September 1905, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 24th August 1884, Samuel John Williams, born 6th April 1862, died 10th December 1916, son of John Bernard Williams and Harriet Cornelia Metzeling.
3. Edward Justin Ambrose, who follows under XIII.
4. James Alfred Ernst, who follows under XIV.
5. Evelyn Beatrice, born 4th November 1867, married in the Methodist Church, Matara, 26th December 1889, Gerard Henry Keuneman, Head Clerk, Kachcheri, Batticaloa, born 1st July 1865, died 29th January 1908, son of Jurgen David Bartholomeus Keuneman and Maria Elizabeth Ludekens. (DBU Journal, Vol. XXIII, pages 107 and 201).
6. Wilfred Henry Leopold, born 29th November 1869.
7. Edith Maud, born 28th May 1872.

8. Eleanor Agnes, born 13th December 1876, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Matara, 11th January 1900, Charles Llewellyn Bogaars, son of Charles Llewellyn Bogaars and Charlotte Emelia de Zilva.
9. Estelle Grace, born 4th May 1878.
10. Eugenie Lillian, born 3rd July 1880, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Matara, 30th July 1903, Hugh Victor Ernst, Surveyor, born 31st July 1880, son of George Edward (Charles) Ernst and Catherine Sela. (DBU Journal, Vol. XXIII, page 92).

IX

Frederick Adolphus Buultjens, born 18th February 1833, died 23rd February 1896, married at Hambantota, 8th July 1868, Sophia Betsy de Zilva, born 1834, died 20th November 1897, daughter of Wilhelmus Adolphus de Zilva and Booy. He had by her:-

1. John William, who follows under XV.
2. Gregory Frederick, who follows under XVI.
3. Alfred Charles, Assistant Master, St. Thomas' School, Matara, born 28th August 1872, married in St. Paul's Church, Milagriya, Colombo, 2nd February 1902, Emelia Felicia Boucher nee Buultjens. (vide VIII. 1, supra).
4. Mary Evangeline, died unmarried.

X

John Edward Buultjens, married in All Saints' Church, Galle, Lavinia Blanche Andree, born 6th August 1855, daughter of Richard Edward Andree and Caroline Amelia Ephraums. (DBU Journal Vol X, page 17, and Vol. XXIV, page 105). He had by her:-

1. Llewellyn Edward.
2. Alwyn Edward.
3. Evangeline Blanche, born 11th November 1880, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 22nd January 1904, James Richard Buultjens, who follows under XVII.
4. Wilfred Edward.
5. Roland Edward, married in St. Mary's Church, Matara, Mary Vanderput.
6. Stella Emelia, born 14th December 1883, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 3rd May 1907, Frederick William Kemps.
7. Lilla Lavinia, born 14th December 1883.
8. Oswald Edward, born 21st April 1887, died 26th January 1921.
9. Edith, born 4th April 1891, died 9th April 1891.
10. Maud Catherine, born 11th April 1892.

XI

John Richard Buultjens, born 31st July 1833, died 28th April 1891, married at the Registrar's Office, Tangalle, 10th December 1873, Jane Laura Gersse, born 20th July 1853, died 20th June 1888.

He had by her:-

1. Annesta Laura, died 12th February 1901, married in Christ Church, Tangalle, 28th September 1899, Owen Luke Jansz.
2. James Richard who follows under XVII.
3. Jeannette Beatrice, born 10th April 1878, married in the Registrar General's Office, Colombo 19th February 1902, Peter Fernando.

4. Mabel Florence, born 23rd October 1879, died 5th February 1929, married in Christ Church, Tangalle, 26th May 1904, Alfred Reginald Andree, born 26th October 1867, son of Charles Hay Andree and Priscilla Buultjens. (Vide V, 2, supra).
5. Winifred Louisa, born 16th April 1882, married in Christ Church, Tangalle, 20th November 1901, John William Buultjens, who follows under XV.
6. Frederick Andrew, born 30th November 1883, died 8th February 1913.
7. James William, born 12th February 1886.

XII

William Edwin Buultjens, born 8th February 1844, married in Christ Church, Tangalle, 7th January 1890, Letitia Margaret Gersse, born 16th. May 1856. He had by her:-

1. Estelle Sibylla, born 23rd March 1891, married in Christ Church, Tangalle, 27th June 1921, Lionel Hilton Nicolle, born 26th November 1887, son of Richard Emanuel Nicolle and Letitia Wyrewenaden.
2. Florida Letitia, born 6th April 1893.

XIII

Edward Justin Ambrose Buultjens, Proctor, born 21st September 1863, married in All Saints' Church, Galle, 18th June 1891, Lorenza van Alken Ludovici, born 12th July 1871, died 24th December 1905, daughter of James Rudolph Ludovici and Emma Ebert (DBU Journal, Vol III page 61 and Vol. VI, page 81). He had by her:-

1. Edward Henry Lorenz, born 15th March 1892.
2. Arthur Samuel, Proctor, born 13th March 1893.
2. Muriel, born 11th June 1894, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Matara, 7th January 1920, Arthur Lionel Basil Ferdinand, C.C.S. born 6th April 1888, son of George Hinde Ferdinand, Chief Clerk, Kachcheri, Matara, and Jane Julia Ebert (DBU Journal, Vol XXV, page 76).
4. Irene, born 14th September 1895.
5. Charles Edward, born 15th October 1896.
6. Noel Ernest, born 26th November 1897.
7. Bertram George, born 9th August 1899.
8. Enid Lorenza, born 21st September 1900.
9. Alethea Mabel, born 30th July 1902.
10. Alfred Ernst, who follows under XVIII.

XIV

James Alfred Ernst Buultjens, B.A. (Cantab), Advocate, born 6th November 1865, died 12th April 1916, married in the Registrar General's Office, Colombo, 5th April 1897, Sylvia Blanche Andree, born 25th August 1870, widow of Percy Kellar and daughter of Henry Dionysius (Daniel) Andree and Mary Ann Morris. (DBU Journal, Vol. II, page 144, and Vol. X, page 16). He had by her:-

1. Aileen Ernst, born 17th March 1898, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 23rd September 1918, Oswald Ivan Lutersz.
2. Alma Enid, born 26th June 1899, died 5th March 1921, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 12th June 1918, Alfred Hilton Reimers, born 15th July 1892, died 21st May 1921, son of Alfred Edward Reimers and Matilda Winifred Steynholster.

3. Amelia Ernst, born 19th November 1900, married in St. Thomas' Church Matara, 30th September 1920, Charles Austin Solomons, Proctor.
4. Sylvia Beryl, born 31st January 1902, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 23rd June 1923, Charles Lancelot Foenander, born 23rd February 1900, son of Charles Justin Foenander and Avice Lydia Ludekens. (DBU Journal Vol. XXIII, page 172).
5. Ione Esmeralda, born 23rd July 1904, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 17th April 1922, Jan Frederick Harold Drieberg, son of Christopher Drieberg, B.A. (Calcutta), F.H.A.S., Secretary of the Agricultural Society, and Florence Barber.
6. Vera Zaidee, born 22nd June 1907, married in the Church of the Ascension, Matara, 3rd September 1938, John Christopher Aldons, born 19th March 1904, son of Lloyd Theodore Aldons and Florence Emily Greve. (DBU Journal Vol XXVI, page 78).
7. Una Merle, born 3rd October 1909.
8. Alfred John, born 2nd March 1912.

XV

John William Buultjens, J.P., Head Master, St. Thomas' School, Matara, born 9th March 1870, married in Christ Church. Tangalle, 20th November 1901, Winifred Louisa Buultjens (vide XI, 5, supra). He had by her:-

1. Phyllis Winifred born, 12th August 1902, married in the Methodist Church, Kollupitiya, Colombo, 16th January 1936, Dudley James Bartholomeusz, Minister of the Methodist Church.
2. Philip Augustus, who follows under XIX.
3. John Frederick Adolphus, born 30th April 1906, married in the Church of the Ascension, Matara, 25th June 1938, Mavis Olga Livera, born 18th May 1917, daughter of James

Archibald Livera and Agnita Nellie Olivia Ferdinand.

(DBU Journal, Vol. XXV, page 76).

4. Gwendoline Winifred, born 1st August 1908.
5. Edward Wilhelm Adolphus, born 18th February 1913.
6. Malcolm Cornelius, born 22nd June 1915.
7. Winifred Louisa, born 23rd June 1916.
8. Monica Winifred, born 16th September 1918, died 22nd April 1919.

XVI

Gregory Frederick Buultjens, District Engineer, Public Works Department, and later Superintendent of Works, Municipal Council, Kandy, born 13th April 1871, married in St. Paul's Church, Pettah, Colombo, 23rd November 1898, Alice Margaret de Silva, born 14th September 1873, died 15th March 1913, daughter of Charles Philip de Silva and Georgiana Mortier. He had by her:-

1. Esme Ellice, born 1st September 1899, married in St. Anthony's Cathedral, Kandy, 14th May 1927, Dexter Pius Jansen, born 11th July 1897, son of Peter Arthur Jansen and Helen Maud Van Sanden.
2. Freda, born 29th September 1900.
3. Lena Maie, born 3rd April 1902, married in St. Paul's Church, Kandy, 27th December 1933, Wilfred Lionel Van Sanden, born 18th September 1904, son of Thomas Owen Van Sanden and Eugenie Grace Ephraums. (DBU Journal, Vol. XXIV, page 107).
4. Frederick Ivor, who follows under XX.
5. Reginald David, born 1st July 1904.
6. Douglas Chappell, Proctor, born 11th October 1905, married in

St. Paul's Church, Kandy, 21st December 1938, Iris

Marjorie Koelmeyer, born 14th December 1908, daughter
of Cyril Arthur Koelmeyer and Lucy Winifred Soyza.

7. Clifford Alexander, born 8th June 1907.
8. Gusta, born 31st May 1908.
9. May Audrey, born 25th May 1911.
10. Alice Margaret, born 14th January 1913, died 12th December 1913.

XVII

James Richard Buultjens, Forest Department, born 17th December, 1874, married:-

- (a) In St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 22nd January 1904,
Evangeline Blanche Buultjens (vide X, 3 supra).
- (b) In St. John's Church, Jaffna, 23rd June 1909, Ethel
Grace Toussaint, born 23rd December 1887, daughter of
George Wallace Toussaint and Alexandrina Grace Maartensz
(DBU Journal, Vol. IV, page 42).

Of the second marriage he had:-

1. James Wallace, born 14th March 1926.

XVIII

Alfred Ernest Buultjens, Proctor and Notary Public, born 25th
September 1905, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Bambalapitiya,
30th December 1935, Vivienne Ruth Schokman, born 13th February 1915,
daughter of Herbert Eric Schokman, L.M.S. (Ceylon), L.R.C.P. & S.
(Edin), L.F.P. & S. (Glas.), Civil Medical Department, and Ruth
Estelle Kelaart. (DBU Journal Vol XXV, page 121). He had by her:-

1. Edward Ralph, born 1st December 1936.

XIX

Philip Augustus Buultjens, born 21st March 1904, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 28th December 1938, Marion Christobel Raffel, born 3rd July 1915, daughter of Percival Christopher Raffel and Mary Maude de Kretser. He had by her:-

1. Mary Ann Christobel, born 28th December 1939.

XX

Frederick Ivor Buultjens, Proctor, born 16th June 1903, married in St. Lucia's Cathedral, Colombo, 30th December 1936, Annette St. Claie de Fry, born 29th February 1912, daughter of Clarence Norbert de Fry and Mary Catherine Pronk. He had by her:-

1. Frederick Anthony Ashford Devereaux, born 24th September 1937.

NOTE: The Civil, Political and Commercial Servants of the Dutch Government, resident at Galle in 1796, were required to subscribe to an undertaking of loyalty to the British, and Hendrik Buultjens, referred to under III, supra, was one of the signatories. (DBU Journal, Vol XIV, page 51).

APPENDIX 3

THE
DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF
CEYLON

(HOLLANDSCHE BURGER VEREENIGING VAN CEYLON)

CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS,
OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

Eendracht maakt Macht.

JANUARY, 1908

Colombo:

Printed at the "Ceylon Examiner" Press

1908

OFFICERS

President:

The Hon. F.C. Loos, M.L.C.,
Roseneath, Darley Road, Colombo

Secretary:

Mr. R.G. Anthonisz
Pleasance, Havelock Town, Colombo

Treasurer:

Mr. Sam De Heer,
Nevlyn, Barber Street, Colombo

Committee:

Mr. C. Albrecht	...	Colombo
Mr. C.H.B. Altendorff	...	Matara
Mr. A. Alvis	...	Colombo
Mr. A.W. Anthonisz	...	Tangalle
Mr. F.R. Bartholomeusz	...	Colombo
Mr. H.P. Beling	...	Colombo
Dr. Alice De Boer	...	Colombo
Mr. R.A. Brohier Jr.	...	Colombo
Mr. J.E. Christoffelsz	...	Colombo
Mr. W.S. Christoffelsz, I.S.O.	...	Colombo
Mr. Hector vanCuylenburg	...	Colombo
Miss Aline vanDort	...	Colombo
Mr. Evan vanDort	...	Madampe
Dr. W.G. vanDort	...	Colombo
Mr. Allan Drieberg	...	Colombo
Mr. P.H. Ebell	...	Colombo
Rev. G. RoosmaleCocq Francke	...	Galle
Mr. Edwin Joseph	...	Colombo
Mr. G.E. Keuneman	...	Matara
Mr. F.H.B. Koch	...	Colombo
Mr. Sam Koch	...	Nuwara Eliya
Mr. J. Koertz	...	Negombo
Mr. E. deKretser, I.S.O.	...	Colombo
Mr. H.E. deKretser	...	Colombo
Mr. Colin Kriekenbeek	...	Colombo
Mr. G.E. Leembruggen	...	Colombo
Mr. R.H. Leembruggen	...	Jaffna
Mr. L. Maartensz	...	Colombo
Mr. C.L. Meurling	...	Matara
Mr. Frank Modder	...	Kurunegala
Dr. A. Nell	...	Colombo
Mr. George Prins	...	Jaffna
Dr. L.A. Prins	...	Galle
Mr. W.E.V. deRooy	...	Colombo
Mr. E.H. Schokman	...	Colombo

Mr. P.D. Siebel	...	Colombo
Mr. Charles Speldewinde	...	Colombo
Mr. A.E. vanderStraaten	...	Pallai
Mr. E.A. vanderStraaten	...	Colombo
Mr. Lionel vanderStraaten	...	Kandy
Mr. J.R. Toussaint	...	Colombo
Mr. W.B. Toussaint	...	Colombo
Mr. F.H. de Vos	...	Galle
Mr. J.P. deVos	...	Colombo
Mr. E.H. vanderWall	...	Kandy

THE DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF CEYLON

Constitution (Adopted 18th January 1908)

Name: 1. This Union shall be called 'THE DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF CEYLON'

Object: 2. The object of the Union shall be:

(a) To promote the moral, intellectual, and social wellbeing of the Dutch descendants in Ceylon.

(b) To inculcate in the minds of the youth of the community principles of self-help, self-reliance, and thrift; to foster and encourage by financial aid, when necessary, talent and industry in those who are deserving; and to relieve, by charitable help, distress and want among those of the community who may be in destitute circumstances.

(c) To revive and conserve some of the useful and beneficial customs of the Dutch ancestors of its members; and to promote the study of the Dutch language among them.

(d) To promote and foster a feeling of fellowship among its members, and to draw their families into closer association with each other.

- (e) To gather by degrees a library for the use of the Union composed of all obtainable books and papers relating to the Dutch occupation of Ceylon, and standard works in Dutch literature.
- (f) To cause to be prepared and read at meetings of its members, or printed and published, papers, essays, etc., on questions relating to the history and origin of the Dutch Burghers of Ceylon, and to publish the genealogies of Dutch families now in Ceylon.
- (g) To prepare and publish a memorial history of the Dutch in Ceylon descriptive of their social life and customs, their methods of administration, and the influence of these upon existing institutions in the island.
- (h) To consider and discuss any other matters kindred to the above enumerated objects which may commend themselves to the Union.

Members: 3. Any Dutch descendant of full age, and of respectable standing in the community, shall be eligible as a member of the Union. The term "Dutch descendant" shall include the descendants in the male line of all those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon, and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans.

Officers: 4. A President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer shall be chosen by the vote of the majority of the members present at each Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are appointed. These and 45 other members, who shall be similarly chosen at the same time, and of whom at least 15 shall, if available, be members non-resident in Colombo,

shall form the Committee.

Powers and Duties of Officers 5. (a) The President, or in his absence any member who may be elected by those present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Union. The Chairman shall have, in addition to his vote as a member, a casting vote in case of an equality of votes. He shall exercise the usual functions of a presiding officer; and, in all cases of dispute, doubt, or difficulty arising out of matters of procedure or order, the decision of the Chairman shall be final and conclusive.

(b) The Secretary shall notify each member of the Committee of the meetings of the Committee, and the members of the Union of every meeting of the Union, issue all other authorised notices to members, make and keep a true record of all meetings and of all standing committees, have custody of its constitution, by-laws, and seal, and conduct its correspondence. He shall also act as Librarian, and have the keeping of all books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and articles pertaining to the Union.

(c) The Treasurer shall collect all monies, defray all authorised charges out of the funds of the Union, and keep regular accounts thereof, which shall be subject to the examination of the President and members. He shall submit at each Annual Meeting a statement thereof, duly audited by an auditor appointed at the previous Annual Meeting.

(d) The Committee shall have general charge of the affairs, funds, and property of the Union.

(e) The Committee shall have power to fill any vacancy which may occur among the officers (other than President) and committee members for the unexpired term of office vacated.

(f) The Committee shall cause to be prepared annually a detailed statement of the financial condition of the Union, showing its receipts and expenditure for the current year, the number of members, and other matters of general interest to the Union, to be read at the Annual Meeting.

(g) The Committee shall, from time to time, make by-laws for the carrying out of the objects of the Union, provided they are not inconsistent with the rules herein contained, and shall appoint from among themselves sub-committees for (1) Ethnical and Literary purposes, (2) Purposes of Social Service, and (3) Purposes of Entertainment and Sport. Each Sub-Committee shall consist of at least ten members, four to form a quorum, who shall report to the General Committee the work done during each month.

Membership. 6. (a) Members shall be elected by ballot of the Committee only. Candidates for admission must be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and the member proposing a candidate shall state in writing the name of the person proposed, his occupation, place of residence, and his qualifications for membership in the form hereto annexed, copies whereof shall be supplied by the Secretary.

(b) The name of every candidate, with those of his proposer and seconder, shall be sent to the Secretary at least 15 days, and

by him submitted to the Committee at least 10 days, before he is ballotted for. No candidate shall be elected unless he receives an affirmative vote of at least six-sevenths of those present.

(c) The admission fee shall be Re.1, and the subscription not less than Rs.5 per annum, payable in advance on or before the 31st. March of each year, or, if preferred, in twelve monthly instalments of not less than 50 cents, payable on or before the 10th. day of each month.

(d) The Committee shall have power by a vote of at least two-thirds of their number to suspend or forfeit the membership of any member for conduct on his part likely in their opinion to endanger the welfare, interest, or character of the Union an opportunity being first given such member to be heard before a meeting in his defence.

(e) Any person who shall cease to be a member of the Union shall forfeit all right or interest in the property of the Union.

Meetings. 7. (a) The Annual Meeting of the Union shall be held in the month of February.

(b) No Special Meeting of the Union shall be called at any time except by order of the President, with the approval of the members of the Committee, or by the Secretary whenever the President shall be thereunto requested in writing by 12 members setting forth the purpose of such meeting. At any such Special Meeting no business other than that specified in the call shall be considered. At least 15 days' notice shall be given to the members of all

meetings of the Union.

(c) The General Meeting of the Union shall be held in Colombo.

(d) The Committee shall meet at least once a month, seven members to form a quorum.

(e) If on the day fixed for any Special General Meeting there shall be less than 50 members present, no business shall be transacted, and the meeting shall stand adjourned to such date as those present shall decide upon, and notice thereof shall be given by the Secretary to the members of the Union.

Notices. 8. All notices shall be sent to such address as shall be left with the Secretary. If no address be so given, such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the member at his last known place of residence or place of business.

Amendments to the Constitution 9. The rules herein contained, save and except Rules 1 and 3, which shall not be subject to amendment, may be amended by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members present at the Annual or any Special General Meeting, but no amendment shall be considered except on the recommendation of the Committee or upon the written request of at least 12 members of the Union, and after notice of any proposed amendment at least 15 days before the meeting at which it is intended to be considered.

Dissolution. 10. The Union shall not be dissolved except by a vote of nine-tenths of all the members of the Union then resident in the Island.

(FORM A)

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

1. Full name of applicant:

2. Date and place of birth:

3. Profession or occupation:

4. Name of father:

5. Name and maiden name of mother
and date of marriage of parents:

6. Descent:*

* Here furnish the name of grandparents, and where available, other information of a genealogical nature relating to them and to remoter ancestors.

Date of Application

Signature

Residence or

Postal Address

Proposed by _____

Seconded by _____

BY-LAWS OF THE
DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF CEYLON

I. Order of Business

At all meetings of the Union the order of business shall be as follows:-

- (1) Reading the minutes of the previous meeting.
- (2) Reports of officers.
- (3) Election of officers.
- (4) Reports of Committees
- (5) Miscellaneous business.
- (6) Adjournment

II. Meetings of Committee.

The Committee shall hold stated meetings on the first Saturday of each month, unless otherwise notified.

Special meetings of the Committee may be called by order of the President, or in his absence, by the Secretary.

III. Proof of Descent.

Before being voted upon for membership each candidate shall furnish satisfactory proof of his pedigree in the form provided under Rule 6 of the Constitution; and the Committee shall cause proper enquiry to be made thereinto, and shall, if necessary, obtain such further information on the subject as would enable them to decide the question of eligibility. All references in regard to this subject shall be deemed to be of a confidential nature.

IV. Records.

The following records shall be kept:-

1. An Alphabetical Index giving the full name, occupation, residence, and date of enrolment of each member.
2. A Register giving particulars relating to the birth, family, and descent of each member, under the following heads:-
 - (1) Date and place of birth.
 - (2) Name and occupation of father.
 - (3) Name and maiden name of mother.
 - (4) Date of marriage of parents.
 - (5) Names of paternal and maternal grandparents.
 - (6) A genealogy of the family as far as it can be traced.
 - (7) Date of marriage and name and maiden name of wife, or, in the case of a married lady, her maiden name and the name of her husband.
 - (8) Names and dates of birth of children.
 - (9) Marriage of children.
 - (10) Other particulars.

Each member of the Union is required to notify to the Honorary Secretary, for the purpose of being recorded in the foregoing Register, the occurrence of every birth, marriage, and death in the family.

Certified extracts from the Records of the Union shall be furnished to members upon application on payment of a reasonable fee to be decided by the Committee.

V. Annual Meetings.

The annual meeting of the Union shall be held in the month of

February, on a day to be fixed by the Committee, at such place and hour as the President shall appoint; and at least ten days' notice thereof shall be given in one or more of the local newspapers.

VI. Sub-Committees and Appointment.

All Sub-Committees shall be appointed by the General Committee; unless specially named in the resolution creating the Committee; and each Sub-Committee shall choose its own Chairman. The Sub-Committees shall be for:-

- (1) Ethical and Literary Purposes.
- (2) Purposes of Social Service.
- (3) Purposes of Entertainment and Sport.

VII. Sub-Committee for Ethical and Literary Purposes.

The Duties of the Sub-Committee for Ethical and Literary Purposes shall consist of the following:-

- (1) To cause to be prepared and read at meetings of the members papers, essays, etc., on subjects bearing upon the objects of the Union. Seven days previous notice of such meeting, with the subject of the paper to be read, the name of the lecturer, etc., shall be given to each member, such meetings being restricted to members and their families only.
- (2) To publish a Quarterly Journal, containing papers, illustrations, notes, genealogies, and letters, and a summary of the principal news of the quarter relating to the objects of the Union.

One of the members of the Sub-Committee shall be Editor of the Journal.

The Journal shall be sent post free to each member of the Union for a yearly payment to be fixed by the Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee may present copies of the Journal to learned or kindred societies and distinguished individuals.

The rate of subscription to non-members shall be double the rate fixed for members.

- (3) To organize classes for the study of the Dutch language
 - (a) Among adult members desirous of pursuing its study, and
 - (b) among the children of members; and to provide the necessary books and publications upon payment of their cost.

There shall be two separate classes for children, viz., an elementary class open to children under 12 years of age, and an advanced class for those preparing for the Cambridge Local Examination.

The Committee may also place facilities in the way of individual members who may be desirous of acquiring the language by self-study.

VIII. Sub-Committee for Purposes of Social Service.

- (1) The Sub-Committee for Purposes of Social Service shall devote their attention chiefly to the amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes of the community - their moral even more than their material condition - by the employment of such agencies and

the instrumentality of such means as will tend to foster habits of industry, thrift, and self-reliance, and thus enable them, and their children especially, to help themselves, and ultimately to help others.

(2) To enable the Sub-Committee to be in touch with these classes, and to establish for their assistance and relief a properly organized scheme of social service, a Register shall be kept of the names of such families as may be recommended to the Sub-Committee by any of the members as being deserving of special relief, and it shall be the duty of the Sub-Committee to appoint visitors from among the members to enquire into the circumstances of each case.

(3) A fund shall be specially created-to be called the 'Special Social Service Fund' - for the realization of the objects of this branch of the Union, viz., the physical, mental and moral training of the younger children of these families, and the education of the adult members in various arts and crafts, which would help them to procure remunerative employment, and, at the same time, by means of practical lessons in domestic economy, cookery, nursing, hygiene, first aid in accidents and emergencies, etc., to render both young and old more useful as members of society, and more helpful to each other in the various duties of home life, by providing against wasteful, reckless, and improvident habits, which are the main sources of the destitution and misery which prevail among these classes.

(4) The management of this fund shall be in the hands of a special Sub-Committee to be appointed by the General

Committee from among the members of the Social Service Sub-Committee, of which Sub-Committee the President, Secretary, and Treasurer shall be ex officio members.

IX. Sub-Committee for Purposes of Entertainment and Sport.

It shall be the duty of the Sub-Committee for Purposes of Entertainment and Sport to make arrangements for the holding of social functions and periodical entertainments, and also to provide for the celebration of annual festivals.

DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF CEYLON

LIST OF MEMBERS

Albrecht, C.E.	...	Colombo
Albrecht, Ernst	...	Colombo
Aldons, R.C., Jnr.	...	"
Altendorff, C.H.B.	...	Matara
Alvis, Arthur	...	Colombo
Alvis, Charles	...	"
Andree, A.L.	...	"
Andree, A.P.	...	"
Andree, A.W.	...	"
Andree, P.G.	...	"
Anthonisz, A.W.	...	Tangalle
Anthonisz, G.E.	...	Colombo
Anthonisz, H.C.R.	...	"
Anthonisz, H.E.	...	Galle
Anthonisz, J.E.	...	"
Anthonisz, M.M.	...	Colombo
Anthonisz, R.G.	...	"
Anthonisz, Mrs. R.G.	...	"
Anthonisz, W.E.	...	"
Anthonisz, W.H.	...	Ragama
Arndt, C.	...	Colombo
Arndt, V.	...	"
Bartholomeusz, A.E.	...	"
Bartholomeusz, A.R.	...	"
Bartholomeusz, F.R.	...	"
Bartholomeusz, G.F.	...	Badulla
Beekmeyer, Very Revd. D.B.	...	Kandy
Beling, A.C.	...	Colombo
Beling, C.D.	...	"
Beling, H.P.	...	"
Beling, J.H.	...	"
Beling, W.W.	...	"
Blaze, J.T.	...	"
Blaze, L.E.	...	Kandy
Boer, Dr. Alice de	...	Colombo
Brohier, Alfred B.	...	"
Brohier, Charles	...	"
Brohier, H.L.	...	"
Brohier, R.A.	...	"
Brohier, R.A., Jnr.	...	"
Brohier, Mrs. R.A. Jnr.	...	"
Buuren, A.E. van	...	Matara
Caspersz, D.J.	...	Colombo
Christoffelsz, Dr. H.S.	...	Colombo
Christoffelsz, J.E.	...	"
Christoffelsz, W.S. I.S.O.	...	"
Christoffelsz (<u>nee</u> Fretz) Mrs. W.S.	...	"
Collette, H.A.	...	"
Collette, H.A. Jnr.	...	"
Collette, T.W.	...	"
Conderlag, W.M.	...	"
Cuylenburg, A.C. van	...	"

Cuylenburg, Hector van	...	Colombo
Cuylenburg, H.R.H. van	...	"
Cuylenburg, Walter van	...	"
Deutrom, A.E.	...	Wellawatte
Deutrom, Mrs. Alice D. (nee Woutersz)..	...	Colombo
Duetrom, H.A.	...	Peradeniya
Deutrom, J.V.	...	Galkissa
Deutrom, P.L.A.	...	"
Deutrom, Walter	...	Colombo
Dort, Miss Aline van	...	"
Dort, C.O. van	...	"
Dort, Ernest van	...	"
Dort, Evan van	...	Madampe
Dort, Dr. H.A. van	...	Galle
Dort, Dr. W.G. van	...	Colombo
Drieberg, Allan	...	"
Drieberg, C.	...	"
Drieberg, J.G.	...	Negombo
Drieberg, W.D.	...	Colombo
Driesen, H. van den	...	"
Ebell, Basil	...	"
Ebell, P.H.	...	"
Ebert, C.A.C.	...	"
Ebert, F.W.	...	"
Ebert, J.O.	...	"
Ephraums, A.E.	...	"
Ernst, C.H.	...	Matara
Felsinger, E.O.	...	Colombo
Felsinger, S.O.	...	Colombo
Foenander, Cyril	...	"
Foenander, E.W.	...	"
Foenander, F.F.T.	...	"
Foenander, Dr. F.V.	...	Maskeliya
Francke, Rev. G. RoosmaleCocq	...	Galle
Fryer Julian	...	Colombo
Fryer, Mrs. Julian	...	"
Garvin, Dr. T.F.	...	"
Garvin, T.F. Jnr.	...	"
Geyzel, A. van	...	"
Geyzel, Dr. C.W. van	...	"
Geyzel, W. van	...	"
Gratiaen, E.G.	...	"
Gratiaen, W.E.	...	"
Grenier, Alfred	...	"
Grenier, Garret, I.S.O.	...	"
Grenier, H.E.	...	"
Grenier, J.R.	...	"
Grenier, W.E.	...	"
Gucht, T. van der	...	"
Heer, Sam. de	...	"
Herft, W.	...	"
Heyn, G.	...	"
Heynsberg, Dr. C.	...	"
Hoedt, George de	...	"
Hoedt, Dr. J.W. de	...	Ratnapura
Hoffman, A.P.	...	Colombo
Hoffman, A.P.R.	...	"

Houten, F.P. van	...	Colombo
Houten, James van	...	"
Huybertsz, Dr. H.	...	"
Jansz, B.D.	...	"
Jansz, C.A.	...	Panadura
Jansz, G.W.	...	Wellawatte
Jansz, John C.	...	Colombo
Jansz, Karl	...	Badulla
Jansz, P.P.	...	Colombo
Jong, Michael de	...	"
Jong, W.J. de	...	"
Jonklaas, E.G.	...	Gampola
Jonklaas, R.W.	...	Kandy
Joseph, Cyril	...	Colombo
Joseph, Edwin	...	"
Joseph, Mrs. Edwin	...	"
Joseph, E.G.	...	"
Joseph, Eric	...	"
Joseph G.A.	...	"
Joseph, J.	...	"
Joseph, Dr. S.P.	...	Bogawantalawa
Joseph, W.	...	Colombo
Kalenberg, Dr. Allan	...	Matale
Kalenberg, F.N.	...	Kandy
Keegel, Dennis	...	Colombo
Kelaart, Colvin	...	"
Kelaart, T.	...	"
Kelaart, W.B.	...	"
Keuneman, A.H.	...	"
Keuneman, Eric	...	in Europe
Keuneman, G.E.	...	Matara
Keuneman, G.P.	...	"
Koch, A.F.	...	Colombo
Koch, A.R.	...	"
Koch, C.E.	...	"
Koch, Cyrus	...	"
Koch, Denzil	...	Heneratgoda
Koch, Ellis G.	...	Colombo
Koch, E.T.	...	"
Koch, F.H.B.	...	"
Koch, Louis	...	Dehiwala
Koch, Sam	...	Nuwara Eliya
Koertz, J.	...	Negombo
Kretser, C.H. de	...	Colombo
Kretser, Colvin de	...	"
Kretser, E. de, I.S.O.	...	"
Kretser, Dr. Edgar de	...	Ratnapura
Kretser, Ernest de	...	Colombo
Kretser, H.E. de	...	"
Kretser, H. Egerton de	...	Anuradhapura
Kretser, John de	...	Colombo
Kretser, Kenneth de	...	Mihintale
Kretser, L.B. de	...	Colombo
Kretser, Lloyd de	...	"
Kretser, Oswald de	...	Awisawella

Kretser P.E. de	...	Colombo
Kretser, P. de	...	"
Kretser, S. de	...	"
Kretser, Dr. T. de	...	"
Kretser, Walter de	...	"
Kretser, W. de	...	"
Kriekenbeek, C.H.	...	"
Kriekenbeek, Colin	...	"
Kriekenbeek, Eric	...	"
La Brooy, Cyril	...	"
La Brooy, Dr. R.F.	...	"
Langenberg, A.V. van	...	Gampola
Langenberg, James van	...	Colombo
Langenberg, J.D. van	...	"
Leembruggen, G.H.P.	...	Matale
Leembruggen, C.T.	...	Galle
Leembruggen, G.E.	...	Wellawatte
Leembruggen, G.H.P.	...	Hatton
Leembruggen, C.A.	...	Tissimaharama
Leembruggen, Dr. H.U.	...	Pussellawa
Leembruggen, P.C.	...	Jaffna
Leembruggen, R.H.	...	"
Leembruggen, Dr. W.E.	...	Negombo
Lemphers, F.T.	...	Colombo
Lemphers, P.S.	...	"
Loos, Hon. F.C.	...	"
Loos, Mrs. F.C.	...	"
Loos, F.C. Jnr.	...	"
Loos, H.A.	...	"
Loos, P.R.	...	"
Maartensz, A.G.	...	"
Maartensz, L.	...	"
Maartensz, Mrs. L.	...	"
Mack, T.D.	...	"
Martensz, J.A.	...	"
Meier, Dr. W.H.	...	"
Metzeling, A.W.	...	Colombo
Meurling, C.L.	...	Matara
Meurling, R.O.	...	Rambukkana
Modder, Dr. E.	...	Kalutara
Modder, Frank	...	Kurunegala
Modder, H.L.	...	Colombo
Mottau, W.F.	...	"
Nell, Dr. Andreas	...	"
Nell, Dr. Winifred	...	"
Niese, T.A. de	...	"
Niese, W. de	...	"
Ohlmus, A.W.	...	"
Ohlmus, B.H.	...	"
Ohlmus, Dr. E.	...	"
Ohlmus, G.L.F.	...	"
Ohlmus, J.W.	...	"
Parys, V.E.	...	Kalutara
Paulusz, J.G.	...	Colombo
Pieters, Miss S.	...	"
Pompeus, W.C.	...	Mahara

Potger, B.L.	...	Badulla
Potger, Malcolm	...	"
Potger, P.L.	...	Colombo
Poulier, H.E.	...	"
Poulier, J.A.	...	"
Poulier, G.A.	...	"
Prins, F.A.	...	Matale
Prins, F.A. Jnr.	...	Colombo
Prins, George	...	Jaffna
Prins, F.N.H.D.	...	Colombo
Prins, Dr. L.A.	...	"
Prins, Mrs. L.A.	...	"
Raffel, A.W.	...	"
Raux, J.B.	...	"
Rode, J.E.	...	"
Rooy, H.G. de	...	Kandy
Rooy, S.E. de	...	Colombo
Rooy, W.E.V. de	...	"
Rooyen, Dr. C.E. van	...	Dikoya
Rooyen, Dr. G.S. van	...	Badulla
Schokman, E.H.	...	Colombo
Schokman, H.A.	...	Colombo
Schokman, J.	...	Kandy
Schokman, W.H.	...	Matara
Schumacher, C.W.	...	Colombo
Siebel, C.O.	...	"
Siebel, E.D.W.	...	Kandy
Siebel, L.E.	...	Colombo
Siebel, P.D.	...	"
Siebel, Walter	...	"
Smagt, Justin van der	...	"
Spaar, Dr. E.C.	...	Colombo
Spaar, Rev. J.A.	...	Kandy
Spaar, R.O.	...	Wellawatte
Speldewinde, Charles	...	Colombo
Speldewinde, Cecil	...	Jaffna
Spittel, George	...	Colombo
Spittel, Dr. F.G.	...	Jaffna
Straaten, A.M. van der	...	Kandy
Straaten, E.A. van der	...	Colombo
Straaten, Edgar van der	...	"
Straaten, J.W. van der	...	"
Straaten, Mrs. J.L. van der	...	"
Straaten, Lionel van der	...	Kandy
Straaten, M. van der	...	Colombo
Straaten, P.D. van der	...	"
Straaten, W.P.D. van der	...	"
Thomasz, Dr. George	...	"
Thomasz, L.	...	"
Toussaint, Colin	...	Wellawatte
Toussaint, F.G.	...	Colombo
Toussaint, Fred	...	"
Toussaint, J.G.	...	"
Toussaint, J.R.	...	"

Toussaint, H.A.	...	Colombo
Toussaint, M.	...	Dehiwala
Toussaint, Sam.	...	Jaffna
Toussaint, W.B.	...	Colombo
Twest, E.W. van	...	Nuwara Eliya
Twest, Dr. G.W. van	...	Colombo
Vollenhoven, L.S.	...	Colombo
Vos, C.E. de	...	Galle
Vos, F.H. de	...	"
Vos, H.W. de	...	Kandy
Vos, J.P. de	...	Colombo
Vos, Mrs. J.P. de	...	"
Vos, P.J. de	...	"
Vos, W.A.S. de	...	"
Wagenvoort, M.	...	Batavia
Wall, Charles van der	...	Kandy
Wall, E.H. van der	...	"
Wall, Francis van der	...	"
Wambeek, C.L.	...	Colombo
Wambeek, J.F.	...	"
Weinman, J.J.	...	"
Weinman, J.R.	...	"
Weinman, L.L.	...	"
Werkmeester, W.A.	...	"
Woutersz, A.J.	...	"
Woutersz, H.J.	...	Chilaw
Wright, A.C.	...	Colombo
Wright, Dr. V.O.	...	"
Zilva, Allan de	...	Matara
Zilwa, W.P. de	...	Colombo

APPENDIX 4THE DUTCH BURGER UNION OF CEYLONAPPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

(Any Dutch descendant of full age, and of respectable standing in the community shall be eligible as a member of the Union. The term "Dutch descendant" shall include the descendants in the male line of all those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company of Ceylon and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans - Constitution Rule 3).

(The admission fee of Rs. 2/- and the subscription of not less than Rs. 5/00 per month for a Colombo member and Re. 1/50 per month for an Outstation member are payable in advance prior to election. Ladies may become members in their own right. Subscription Re. 1/- per month - Constitution Rule (6c)).

1. Full Name of Applicant :

2. Date and place of Birth :

3. Profession or occupation:

4. Name of Father :

5. Name and maiden name
of Mother and date of
Marriage of parents :

6. Descent: Here furnish the names of grandparents, and where available, other information of a genealogical nature relating to them and to remote ancestors.)

7. Name of closest relatives
who are already members :

Signature

Residence or
Postal Address

Date of Application

Proposed by

Seconded by

(please see overleaf)

N.B. - It is particularly requested that information be furnished regarding the original European settler in the Island or, at least, the paternal ancestor living in Ceylon at the date of the arrival of the British in 1796, and the descent traced from him. Give reference to DBU Journal if possible.

FORM OF GENEALOGY TO BE FILLED IN AS FAR AS POSSIBLE BY APPLICANTS.

- I. Full name of paternal ancestor living in)
 Ceylon prior to 1st. January, 1796, from)
 whom the applicant claims descent)
- Name and maiden name of his wife and date
 of marriage.
- II. Their son (full name)
 Born (or baptised) at on
 Married at on
 (full name).
- III. Their son (full name)
 Born (or baptised) at on
 Married at on
 (full name)
- IV. Their son (full name)
 Born (or baptised) at on
 Married at on
 (full name)
- V. Their son (full name)
 Born (or baptised) at on
 Married at on
 (full name)
- VI. Their son (full name)
 Born (or baptised) at on
 Married at on
 (full name)

Genealogies Published in the DBU Journal

"Index to family genealogies: published in the journals of the Dutch Burgher Union" JDBU 1960, 50 (1-2): 9-13.

NAME OF FAMILY

Arndt	De Jong	Kelaart
Austin	De Vos	Loftus
Andree	Ebert	Lorenz
Altendorff	Erfson	Ludovici
Anthonisz	Edema	Leembruggen
Aldons	Ernst	Lourensz
Anderson	Ephraums	Loos
Auwardt	Ebell	Ludekens
Albrecht	Eaton	Lemphers
Armstrong	Fretz	Landsberger
Alvis	Fryer	La Brooy
Bogaars	Francke	Martensz
Beling	Fybrandsz	Mooyaart
Barbut	Foenander	Mottau
Beekmeyer	Ferdinands	Morgan
Buultjens	Felsinger	Meier
Brohier	Grauder	Meynert
Blaze	Giessler	Martensteyn
Beven	Gratiaen	Misso
Bilsborough	Grenier	Modder
Bartholomeusz	Grogerly	Meurling
Conradi	Garvin	Maartensz
Christoffelsz	Gilles	Moldrich
Cordiner	Heyn	Martin
Conderlag	Hulft	Mack
Carron	Heyzer	Nicholas
Collette	Hepponstall	Nagel
Claessen	Hasselmeyer	Nell
Crozier	Hughes	Oppenheimer
Colomb	Hoffmann	Oorloff
Crowe	Herft	Ohlmus
Demmer	Honter	Paulusz
Dornhorst	Heynsbergh	Piachaud
De Bruin	Hesse	Prigge
Drieberg	Joseph	Potger
Dickman	Jonklaas	Poulier
De Boer	Jansz	Perkins
Da Silva	Jennings	Poppenbeek
De Niese	Kerfbye	Prins
De Neys	Kriekenbeek	Pompeus
De Rooy	Kellar	Runtsdorff
De Moor	Koch	Redlich
De Kretser	Keuneman	Roosmalecocq
Daniels	Kalenberg	Rode
Deutrom	Keegel	Rose
De La Harpe	Keith	Reimiers

Raffel	Schumacher	Van Buuren
Schroter	Staples	Van Geyzel
Schrader	Sansoni	Von Hagt
Stock	Toussaint	Van Houten
Scharff	Thuring	Van der Straaten
Schneider	Thiedeman	Van Langenberg
Smith	Uhlenbeck	Wendt
Scharenguivel	Van der Wall	Woutersz
Schokman	Van der Wert	Wambeck
Spaar	Van Twest	Wallbeoff
Spittel	Vollenhoven	Wright,
Swan	Van der Smagt	Wille
Sproule	Van Ranzow	Willenberg
Speldewinde	Van Cuylenberg	Werkmeister
Sela	Van den Driesen	Williams
Siebel	Von Drieberg	Wittensleger
Sisouw	Van Dort	

An Example of a Genealogy Published in the DBU Journal

(1945, 34(3):78-80)

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF DE BOER OF

CEYLON

(Compiled by Mr. D.V. Altendorff)

I

Lourens de Boer, born in 1776 at Amsterdam, arrived in Ceylon Circa 1796, DBU Journal, Vol. I, page 38) Book-keeper in the Paymaster General's Office and Clerk of the Civil Fund Committee, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal:-

- (a) 14th December 1800, Clara Gertruyda Schoorman, baptised 9th February 1783, daughter of Frans Schoorman and Catharina Carolina Wolters.
- (b) 24th March 1805, Engelbertina Sophia Jansz, baptised 21st December 1783, daughter of Johannes Christoffel Jansz and Petronella Magdalena Stekelsdorf.

Of the first marriage, he had:-

1. Amelia Hermina, born 2nd July 1802, married in the Dutch Reformed Church Wolvendaal, 11th June 1827, Jacobus Marinu's Ludekens, born 24th September 1803, son of Jan Balthazar Ludekens and Magdalena Florentia Leijdner (DBU Journal, Vol. XXIII, pages 168 and 169).
2. Petronella Gerhardina, died 3rd April 1851, married in St. Peter's Church, Colombo, 19th November 1832, Johannes Cornelis Oorloff, baptised 2nd October 1803, died 4th December 1853, widower of Anna Christina Ginger and son of Jan Hendrik Oorloff and Johanna Jacoba Conderlag. (DBU Journal, Vol XXVIII, page 36)

Of the second marriage, he had:-

3. Hendrik Barend, born 15th September 1807.
4. Alexander Frederic, who follows under II.

II

Alexander Frederic de Boer, born 19th November 1810, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 15th June 1835, Roberta Helena Kriekenbeek, born 29th November 1813, daughter of Johannes Arnoldus Kriekenbeek, and Sara Jacomina Louisa Carolina Zezilles. (DBU Journal, Vol. V, page 70), He had by her:-

1. Henry Arnold, who follows under III.
2. Sophia Geraldina, born 10th August 1837, died 15th July 1911, married Charles Henry Brechman.
3. Charlotte Antonetta, born 12th March 1840, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 10th May 1860, Joseph Swan born 16th April 1931, son of Joseph Swan and Arnoldina

Frederica Gertruida Eberhardie (DBU Journal Vol. XXVI, pages 66 and 68).

4. Sarah Frederica, born 28th June 1842.

III

Henry Arnold de Boer, born 29th September 1836, died 20th October 1903, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 18th December 1861, Eliza Joselina Van Geyzel, born 16th March 1842, died 19th June 1911, daughter of Johannes Justinus Van Geyzel and Sophia Wilhelmina Van Geyzel (DBU Journal. Vol X page 73). He had by her:-

1. Rosa Frederica, born 25th June 1863, died 10th March 1935, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 11th October 1882, Charles Gerard Speldewinde, born 24th August 1855, died 24th October 1921, son of Simon Johan Speldewinde and Frances Ann Riberg. (DBU Journal Vol XXXIII, pages 74 and 76).
2. Eliza Henrietta, born 1st October 1864, died 4th May 1901, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal:-
 - (a) 1885, Frederick Leembruggen, born 3rd March 1859, died 26th June 1889, son of Peter Henry Leembruggen and Charlotte Sophia Francke. (DBU Journal, Vol IV, page 25 and Vol. VIII, page 9).
 - (b) 2nd. May 1893, John Oliver Bartholomeusz, L.M.S. (Ceylon), L.R.C.P. and S. (Edin), L.F.P. and S. (Glas.) Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Civil Medical Department, born 29th September 1856, died 4th May 1901, widower

of Jemima Ernestina Felsing, (DBU Journal, Vol. XXVIII, page 125) and son of Agnew Edward Bartholomeusz and Jane Elisabeth Williamson.

3. Sophia Charlotte born 13th October 1866, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 18th December 1895, Percival Dick Siebel, born 31st May 1868, died 5th August 1925, son of Samuel William Siebel and Sophia Eleanor Baillie.
4. Marian Almeera, born 13th September 1869, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 7th October 1891, Richard Annesley Brohier, V.D., Assistant Post Master General, Honorary Major in the Ceylon Light Infantry, born 13th November 1863, died 19th November 1912 (DBU Journal, Vol. V, page 100) son or Richard Annesley Brohier, Justice of the Peace for the Island, Assistant Auditor-General, and Harriet Ann Koch. (DBU Journal, Vol X, page 129, and Vol. XXXI, pages 199 and 203).
5. Alice Delcia, L.M.S. (Ceylon), L.R.C.P. and S. (Edin), L.F.P. and S. (Glas), Officer in Charge of the Lady Havelock Hospital, Colombo, born 22nd. February 1872.

Notes:-

- (1) This family is now extinct, but the name is being perpetuated by Dr. Henry Speldewinde de Boer, referred to in DBU Journal, Vol XXXIII, pages 79 and 84.
- (2) Engelbertina Sophia Jansz, as widow of Lourens de Boer referred to under I, married in the Dutch Reformed Church Wolvendaal, 3rd September 1817, Huybert Jacobus Doebbratz.
- (3) Dr. and Mrs. John Oliver Bartholomeusz, referred to under III, 2 were drowned while bathing in the Tissaweve Tank

in Anuradhapura on 4th May 1901. They were buried in the Churchyard at Matale, where a tombstone has been erected.

- (4) Alice Delcia de Boer, referred to under III, 5, left Ceylon in 1919 on retirement from Government Service and took up residence in the United Kingdom.

In: Ceylon Legislative Council: Papers relating to the Constitutional history of Ceylon 1908-1924. Colombo, H.R. Cottle, 1927: 53-5.

Enclosure in No. 1

Memorial of the Burgher Community of the Island of Ceylon to the
Right Hon. the Earl of Crewe, K.G.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP, - The memorialists from that part of His Majesty's subjects in Ceylon that is known under the denomination of "Burghers". They beg leave to approach Your Lordship for relief in the following circumstances of urgent hardship, embarrassment and disquietude.

2. It is in regard of a Commission, dated February 13, 1910 issued by His Excellency the Governor "to inquire into and report upon the measures which should be taken in order to give effect to the scheme embodied in the despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, No. 664 of December 24, 1909, for altering the constitution of the Legislative Council", and, in special, of a recommendation made by the Commission so appointed, and set forth in paragraph 17 of its report of April 7, 1910, declaring that, "for the purposes of the Franchise Bill, the persons entitled to be enrolled upon the register of voters for the election of a member chosen to represent the Burgher community upon the Legislative Council shall be those who come within the following definition:-

"(i) The descendants in the male line of those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon at the time of the capitulation, and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans; and

"(ii) All other persons of legitimate birth claiming to be registered as Burghers who can trace descent in the female line from ancestors who came within the above definition, such persons being able to read, write, and speak the English language".

3. Memorialists complain of the extension of the term "Burgher," which term is correctly defined in part (i) of the paragraph above cited, so as to comprehend within the definition the class of persons described in part (ii), a class which does not, and at no time did, belong to the Burgher community. They humbly submit that the proposed extension brings them a very real and a very serious grievance, that it is unsound in principle, is in violation of established usage, opposed to historical fact, and is wholly unwarranted by the evidence taken at the proceedings of the Commission.

4. In illustration and support of what they urge, the memorialists beg leave most respectfully to submit to Your Lordship the following considerations.

5. They submit that a glance at the history of the representation of Burghers in the Legislative Council of Ceylon is sufficient to show the truth and the force of their position. When the Council was established, in or about the year 1833, and a nominated representative was granted to the Burgher community, that community was, as to its composition, one perfectly well defined and unmistakable. For, just before the creation of a Legislative Council, a Commission had been appointed by Government to take evidence upon and to make report with regard to various matters upon which the

Government required information for the purposes of the Charter which was then in contemplation, and which was subsequently (in 1833) granted to the inhabitants of Ceylon; and on being examined before that Commission, Sir Richard Ottley, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Island, having regard to the conditions, then prevailing, gave the following definition, one which has ever since been accepted as authoritative:-

"The name Burgher belongs to the descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese and other Europeans born in Ceylon, and the right to this distinction must be decided by the country from which the father or paternal ancestors came. To whatever the number of generations through which the family has passed in this Island, if the male ancestors were Dutch, Portuguese, or other Europeans, who ever may have been the female parents, if the parents were married, the offspring would be Burghers. If the parents were not married, the country of the mother would decide the question. If the right to be denominated Burgher be once lost, by the legitimate father being a Sinhalese or other Indian, it cannot be recovered."

6. It may be stated in explanation of this definition that the Dutch community in Ceylon prior to the British occupation (to whom the above-named definition refers) consisted of two divisions of people: the Company's servants and the Burghers, the latter division comprising those Europeans who were not in the direct service of the Dutch East India Company. Upon the cession of the Island to the British the Dutch Company's servants lost their employment, the distinction between Company's servants and ordinary European citizens ceased, and both were merged under the common appellation of Burghers. They

formed, in fact, one community, and of that community memorialists are the sole present-day representatives. It is that community which the Burgher Member represented at the inception of the Legislative Council; it is that community, and that community alone, which all his successors have represented; and all the change that was contemplated by Your Lordship, memorialists take to be, was that in future the member to represent that community should be elected by them instead of being nominated by the Governor.

7. Memorialists would here ask leave, while expressing their grateful sense of the privilege that has been granted them, humbly to submit that their community did not ask for the franchise, or take part in the agitation that produced the Reform memorials. They were quite satisfied with the nominations made from time to time by the Governor of the Colony, and they would be perfectly content to leave to him now the selection of the member who is to represent them. This being so, they respectfully submit that it is a real hardship that the change should be so ordered as to bring upon them injury instead of advantage. The very creation of the new class described in part (ii) is proof, they submit, that those coming under it do not and never did belong to the class in part (i), to which the memorialists, and they alone, have always being recognized as belonging. Nor can they think it was Your Lordship's purpose thus to force on their community those who are outsiders to it. Rather, as they gather, Your Lordship's sole intention was to give them leave to choose their member instead of having him named by the Governor, Your Lordship's despatch meant, in their view of it, no more than to substitute election for nomination, and not to alter the composition of the constituency. Yet the latter is what the recommendation they complain of would do if it should be adopted.

8. Memorialists would beg leave to press it upon Your Lordship that their objection to the proposed extension is not the creature of fancy or sentiment, but is grounded upon the most substantial and practical considerations. The result of the extension will be something very much more than the introduction into a very well-defined class of persons who have no sort of claim to come under that class. It will, in its practical effect the operation, mean a curtailment of the right of the already existing and recognized class, for the more the number of voters added to it, the smaller will be the weight of each individual vote. The admission, under an artificial definition, of those who are not Burghers to a right to vote among the Burgher class will proportionately diminish the value of the votes of the Burgher class. There is, again, the evil, and the injustice, that a great many of those whom it is proposed to make Burghers by part (ii) will be people who will be foisted on to the list of Burgher voters by reason of their inability, for want of educational qualifications, to enter to the Ceylonese list. Worse still, one of this class, now created by part (ii), may possibly be chosen, in consequence of the artificial enlargement proposed, the "Burgher member", and there will thus arise the anomaly and the humiliation of an ancient and honourable community, the right to vote for the election of whose representative is expressly declared to be based "purely upon racial qualifications", being represented in Council by a member who, judged by the racial test, is entirely outside that community. Nor will Your Lordship think memorialists to blame when they plead that it is repugnant to their feelings that an element should be introduced into their community which they have not only never acknowledged, but have always steadfastly and consistently repudiated, for the voters

coming under part (ii) fail to satisfy the two requirements considered as fundamental and essential to constitute a member of memorialists' community, namely, European paternity and unbroken legitimacy.

9. Memorialists would bring it under Your Lordship's notice that the proposed inclusion is not only opposed to the traditional feeling of the Burgher community (which they have herein ventured briefly to describe and to vindicate), but is opposed also to the expressed views of by far the larger part of the witnesses examined by the Commission. It will be noticed that of twenty-four witnesses who claimed to be Burghers, and who were desired by the Commission to define the term no less than seventeen - and these all of them "witnesses who belonged unquestionably to the Burgher community", to use the words of Sir Hugh Clifford, the respected Chairman "were unanimous in defining a Burgher as a descendant in the male line unbroken from the time of the capitulation," etc., and objected to any extension of the definition given by them and adopted by the Commission as the first part of its definition. Of the remaining seven, it is to be remarked that four, while favouring an extension of the definition, could not agree among themselves as to the length they should go, that one witness gave no decided opinion, and that only two were in favour of part (ii). It may well be submitted in view of this situation that part (ii) of the definition was practically based upon the evidence of only two out of the twenty-four witnesses, and that, thus, the weight of the evidence taken is overwhelmingly against the proposal to extend a definition which has the sanction at once of history, high authority, established recognition, and long acceptance.

10. While referring to the examinations before the Commission, memorialists may be permitted to express their regret that

information regarding the Burgher community was elicited from witnesses who themselves professed not to belong to the community. With all respect for the three gentlemen (Messrs. Pereira, Samarawickreme, and Jayewardene) who gave that information, memorialists must ask leave to submit that they are not by any means competent to speak upon such a question, their incompetency arising partly from their want of knowledge and partly from their prejudice and pre-posessions against that community, of which latter disqualification it may be added their recorded evidence contains abundant and unmistakable indications. It must have been by some unhappy accident or inadvertence that their opinion came to be asked at all, for in the list of questions which had been printed and circulated beforehand for the guidance of witnesses, it had expressly been provided that question 14 (pages 1 and 2 of the report) was to be put "to witnesses belonging to the Burgher community only," in the same way as question 12 was to be put, and was in fact entirely restricted, "to witnesses belonging to the European community only". Howsoever these questions came to be put to these three witnesses, memorialists submit with all deference that their opinion on the points asked of them cannot well count in any serious estimate of the position.

11. Most earnestly would your memorialists in this connection press upon Your Lordship the evident want of accord between Your Lordship's intention, as expressed in paragraph 8 of Your Lordship's despatch No. 664 of December 24, 1909, and the recommendation of the Commission which has given occasion for this humble complaint. In section 18 of their report it will be observed that the Commission recommends that those coming within part (ii) of their definition who desire to be included in the Ceylonese register - that is to say, a register separate from that of the Europeans on the one hand

and Burghers on the other - should not be denied that privilege; whereas Your Lordship has in the paragraph above quoted distinctly laid down that the Ceylonese register shall be restricted to those who on account of their nationality were not entitled to be placed on the register of European or Burgher voters - strong proof this variation, the memorialists would humbly submit, both that Your Lordship in your despatch had formed a clear, definite, and, they would respectfully add, correct conception of the identity of the class Burgher to which the memorialists, and they alone, belong, and of the doubt and hesitation in the minds of the Commissioners as to the propriety of bringing within that well-defined class an element not hitherto recognized as belonging to it. From this position of embarrassment the Commission has evidently sought to free itself by the creation of another class designated in part (ii) of their definition.

12. Memorialists need scarcely assure Your Lordship that it is no unfriendly or illiberal spirit that has dictated this humble representation. In laying their grievance before you they have only sought to maintain their just rights, and to safeguard institutions and interests which to them have a very real and permanent value.

13. Nor, as they conceive, is there any need whatever that their traditions, should be violated and their interests put in danger, in order to procure for others benefits and privileges, by doing violence to memorialists' most cherished sentiments. Those who belong to part (ii) may, in accordance with the arrangements foreshadowed in the report, readily find a place among one or

other of the classes to which they properly belong. The issue of a native father and a European woman, for example, will naturally find a place in the community to which the father belongs, Sinhalese or Tamil or Moor, as the case may be. The application of this well-recognized rule will provide for a number of them without the necessity of resorting to the creation of the artificial class which part (ii) proposes to do. Some, again, with the requisite educational qualification may vote among the Ceylonese class. A remnant may be left of Eurasian origin, and for these, should their number and importance come to justify it in the future, special provision may be made. And all may be accomplished without giving offence to the feelings or endangering the reputation or interests of the community on whose behalf memorialists put forth this humble prayer.

14. Your memorialists form a large and important section of the population of this Island, a community from the ranks of which have been filled for a long time past, and to the present day are being filled, some of the highest and most responsible offices under the Government. They form also a large and important part of the professional and educated classes throughout this Island. They are strongly united in point of social views and interests. They are a community entirely separate and distinct from the others, and are among the most loyal and faithful of His Majesty's subjects - features all these of their position, which they humbly hope will prove them not undeserving in Your Lordship's eyes of the grant of the prayer they now humbly make.

15. Wherefore the memorialists, through their representative in the Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. F.C. Loos, C.M.G., who has for the last twelve years represented them therein, humbly

pray that it may please Your Lordship either to permit them to continue to be represented in Council by a member nominated by the Governor of the Colony - an arrangement which all through the history of their representation they have found to be entirely suitable and satisfactory - or, if Your Lordship deem that undesirable, graciously to cause the proposal contained in part (ii) of paragraph 17 of the report of the Commission to be abandoned, and the definition of the term "Burgher" to be restricted, as it heretofore has been, to those coming within the part (i) of the definition.

And for this consideration and justice the memorialists will ever pray.

For and on behalf of the Burgher community of Ceylon.

Colombo, Ceylon, May 30, 1910

F.C. LOOS.

NO. 2

The Right Hon. the Earl of Crewe, K.G., to Governor Sir H.E. McCallum,
G.C.M.G.

Ceylon - No. 323

Downing Street, July 12 1910

Sir, - I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 347 of June 15, in which you forwarded a memorial signed by Mr. F.C. Loos, C.M.G., requesting that the right of voting for the Burgher member of the Legislative Council should be confined to persons who come within the first part of the definition which has been adopted by the Legislative Council Reform Commission, i.e., to "descendants in the male line of those of European nationality

who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon at the time of the capitulation, and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans".

2. I regret that I am unable to accept the views put forward in this memorial. In the past the Burgher member of Council has been regarded by His Majesty's Government as representing the wider class of persons to whom the name "Burgher" is commonly applied, whether, considered historically, it is properly applicable to them or not. It seems reasonably clear that this view has also been held in Ceylon, for, as you point out, two recent Burgher members of Council have not been "Burghers" in the strict sense of the word, and I am not aware that any objection was raised to the appointment of either of them to represent the Burgher community in the Legislature.

3. My despatch No. 664 of December 24 last was written on this understanding, and I could not consent to allowing the Burgher register to be restricted to those persons who can prove an indisputable historical right to the name. If that view were adopted, the Burgher register would apparently contain not more than 1,000 names, and it would be impossible for His Majesty's Government to agree to the appointment of a separate member to represent so small a constituency.

4. The definition adopted by the Reform Commission represents a reasonable compromise between two extreme views - one that put forward in the present memorial, and the other that the term "Burgher" should be regarded as including all those persons who are

grouped together in the Census returns as "Burghers and Eurasians" - and for the purpose of the franchise the definition of the Commission should be accepted.

I have, etc.,

CREWE.

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