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A BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTE ON THE MALAY MIGRATION TO SRI LANKA

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Kerantau Madang dihulu
berbuah berbunga belum
merantau bujang dahulu
di rumah berguna belum

(A Minangkabau *pantun)*

Meaning: Because a young man has yet no value in his own village and therefore not recognised by his own community, he must seek out (pastures) in the outside world.

The migratory movements of the Malay-speaking people both within and outside the *Nusantara* region have been going on from time immemorial. As early as the Christian era, their ancestors has reached Madagascar to become a dominant race there.[1] On their west-bound sea-journeys Malay seafarers in the ancient times were almost certain to have come across the little island of Sri Lanka, for it is a main next landing base in the Indian Ocean should one sail away from the North-West of Sumatra. Further more, Sri Lanka, variously known as *Taprobane, Serandib, Sailan,* Ceylon from ancient to modern times, has been strategically placed in the Indian Ocean commanding the entrances to the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal. As such Sri Lanka had played an important role as a trade emporium for the East-West traders for quite long time in history.

The nature and extent of relationship which existed between Sri Lanka and the Malay Peninsular and Indonesian Archipelago especially in the ancient and medieval period is yet to be fully explored. A well known Sri Lanka epigraphist and scholar, the late

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1 See Wolters, O.W. *The Fall of Sri Vijaya in Malay History,* Ithaca, 1970, p. 154. and Balsam. A.L. in his introduction to Sirisena W.M., *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia: Political, Religious and Cultural Relations from A.D. 1000 to 1500.* Leiden, 1978. "That this was the case is virtually certain from the fact that prehistoric relations between Indonesia and Madagascar are proved without question, by linguistic and other evidence. Such relations must have been made by sea and it would be impossible for sailing ships of the type used by the early Indonesians to find their way to Madagascar without stopping in Sri Lanka or South India."

Professor Paranavitana has once assigned a significant role to a 'Malaysian' ruling group as the founders of the *Kalinga* dynasty which ruled Sri Lanka from the Capital of Polonnaruwa in the medieval period.[2]

Earlier, Scholars have suggested that the Malay seafarers has frequented the southern ports of Sri Lanka, as ports of call such as Hambantota, which could have derived from the Malay word *Sampan,* (as phonemec *sa* and *ha* can interchange in the Sinhala language). Recently Prof. K.W. Goonevardena of the University of Peradeniya in Sri Lanka, during his address in Peradeniya to the Malaysian delegates who attended to the 2nd Malay World Symposium in Sri Lanka delineated various areas of contacts between the Malay-speaking world and Sri Lanka during ancient and medieval periods.[3] On the whole, the underlying assumption on the part of those scholars tracing such relationship is that the early population in Sri Lanka, had included certain 'Malay' elements which were in the course of time were absorbed into the indigenous population. Thus it could have been fairly easy for the followers of Buddhist King of Nakhon Si Dhammarat in the Isthmus of Kra in the peninsular, Chandrabhanu who invaded Sri Lanka during the eleventh year of Parakramabahu II (1236-1270 A.D.) to be merged with the local Buddhist population.

This paper is concerned with some aspects of the immigration of a small minority of 'Malays' who are a distinctly identifiable population group in the island living in a multi-ethnic environment. They are all Muslims by religion, with a strong consciousness of a self-identity as members of Malay race. It must be remembered here that people enumerated in the official documents as 'Malays' are also found in South Africa, sharing perhaps the same origins as a section of the Sri Lankan Malays. However, the latter has a much stronger claim to be called Malays than their counterparts

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Paranavitana, S. *Ceylon and Malaysia,* Colombo, 1966. The crux of Paranivitana's theory is that not only Chandrabhanu, the King of Nakhon Si Dhammarat, but also the *Kalinga* dynasty which ruled Sri Lanka from the Capital of Polonnaruwa from 1184 to 1235 A.D. had originated from Malaysia. His theory, however, later did not stand against much scholarly criticism especially from, Gunawardena, R.A.L.H., "Ceylon and Malaysia", A Study of Professor S. Paranavitana's research on relations between the two regions, *University of Ceylon Review,* V. XXV. Nos. 1 and 2, 1967, pp. 1-64.

3
Goonewardane, K.W. Professor and head of the Department of History of the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, delivered this address before a group of Malaysian delegates who were on a visit to the University sponsored by Seminar for Asian Studies on the 7th August 1985. The text of the Speech is yet to be published.

in South Africa, owing to the fact the Malay speech is still continued in Sri Lanka though in a creolized form, whereas the South African Malays have long ceased to speak their own language.[4]

The first arrival of the ancestors of the present day Malay community was conterminous with the founding of European colonial rule in Sri Lanka. The Portugese first set foot in the island 1505/1506 A.D. and four years later they reached Malacca where they succeeded in establishing their control. During the period of Portugese control, it may be possible that some traffiking of Malays from Malacca to Sri Lanka might have taken place, and vice versa, although there is no positive evidence to prove substantial Malay settlement in Sri Lanka during this period.

It is safe to conclude that the nucleus of the present day Malay population in Sri Lanka arrived only after the establishment of the Dutch rule in the middle of the seventeenth century. Archival material left behind by the Dutch in Sri Lanka, Netherlands and Indonesia about with references to such early Malay arrivals, of course from the areas of the present Indonesia which was under their control.

The Malays brought to Sri Lanka by the Dutch government can be broadly divided into two categories. The first group consisted of Indonesian political exiles (usually referred to as 'Staatsbannelingen' in the Dutch documents) as well as other sections of deportees banished here by the Batavian government. The other group consisted of all other classes of 'Malays' who came here to serve the Dutch in various fields, especially in the military establishment.

It had been a Dutch practice to banish from the Netherlands East Indies rebellious rulers and princes as well as as other recalcitrant chiefs and dignitaries if they posed a threat to their authority in the East. Outside the archipelago Sri Lanka and The Cape of Good Hope were the principal centres of banishment. Sri lanka, however, seems to have been preferred by the Dutch authorities due to its proximity to the Indonesian archipelago, which meant of course that the cost of transporting the exiles could be kept down, and also that they could be speedily returned to their homeland should the Batavian government so desire. Being appreciably further away, The Cape of Good Hope seemed a more satisfactory haven for the more dangerous of those deportees. Indeed, when some of the Indonesian political exiles sent to Sri Lanka caused

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4 See Hussainmiya, B.A. "A Preliminary Observation on the Malay Creole in Sri Lanka". *SARI* (U.K.M.), No. 8, 1986, December, (forthcoming).

security problems, they were despatched to the Cape.[5]

Some of the earliest political exiles came from the Moluccas and other lesser Sunda islands where Dutch influence in the East had first taken root.[6] As a result of their involvement in the wars of succession which began in the late 17th century, several Javanese princes were exiled to Ceylon. The first batch included Pangeran Adipati Amangkurat III, known in the Javanese history as 'Susan Mas' who along with his family and retinue was banished in 1708.[7] In 1722/23 another group of Javanese princes who had risen in rebellion against the reigning Susuhnan in Mataram were captured and sent into the exile, among them the sons of rebel Surapti.[8] In 1728 Arya Mangkunegara, a brother of the king Pakubuwana was banished to the island to be joined in 1723 by Danuraja, a chief Minister. A decade later his successsor Natakusuma followed him.

Besides these Javanese nobles, many other Eastern kings, princes and aristocrats spent their time as exiles in Ceylon. Some idea of the wide-ranging provenance of these princely exiles can be obtained from a Dutch document dated 1788.[9] (The spelling of names is that of the original).

1. Selliya, Widow of the Temengong Sawangalie Sosoronogora
2. Raja Bagoes Abdoella, Prince of Bantam
3. Raja Oesman, King of Gowa
4. Pengerang Menan Ratoe Maharaja Moeda, the Crown Prince of Tidor
5. Dinajoe Slaje, Widow of Pangerang Boeminate (of Java)
6. Temengong Sosora Widjojo (of Java)
7. Raden Ariappen Pan oelar, Prince of Madura
8. Raden Pantje Soerinata (a brother-in-law of the above)
9. Temengong Soetanagara, son of the 1st Regent of Palembang
10. Raden Pantje Wiera Diningrad (Java)
11. Pater alam (Sultan of Tidor)
12. Prince Major Ratjan Sadoe Alam, Prince of Bacan
13. Poegoe Kitjil Naimoedin, 2nd Prince of Bacan
14. Carol Boni, King of Kupang
15. Pangerang Soerija die Koesoema (of Java)

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5 Some cases are mentioned in *Dagh Register*, dated 5th and 6th October 1691.

6 *Dagh Register*, 30th August 1682 and 25th November 1682.

7 See de Graaf (1949), pp. 238-241 for these events in Javanese History.

8 Crawford (1920), Vol. II, pp. 493-4

9 S.L.N.A., 1/200, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 8th March 1788.

16. Panglima Raja Johansa, King of Padang
17. Pangerang Adipati Mangkoerat (of Java)
18. Widow of the Regent Ranka Marta Widjojo (of Java)

Most of the above had members of their families living with them in the island. They had either accompanied the main exiles or had joined them later. A number of the younger members of their families had been born in the island. It appears that there must have been at least 200 members of this Eastern nobility resident here in the later part of the 18th century, a significant number, taking into account that the whole 'Malay' population in Sri Lanka at the time did not amount to much more than 2,000.[10]

Not much is known about the life led by the exiles. Most of them lived in the four main coastal towns under the jurisdiction of the Dutch namely Colombo, Galle, Trincomalee and Jaffna. In Colombo, the part of Hulftsdort where they used to live is still known among the Malays as Kampung Pangeran, where the Dutch Dissava of Colombo had his residence.[11] In the other towns for obvious security reasons their residence were normally inside the Dutch Forts. The more important exiles had armed sentries guarding their homes,[12] e.g. Sunan Mas, whose bodyguard of an ensign, a sergeant , and 24 soldiers were provided by the Dutch government for his residence in Galle.[13]

There also other security measures taken by the Dutch concerning these political prisoners. The Dutch political Council in Ceylon stipulated (in accordance with a decision taken on 15th Nov. 1747) that all Javanese princes, when going out of their residence, must be followed by soldiers.[14] This decision seems to have been taken as a sequel to the escape of one Surapati (probably a son of the renowned Balinese rebel of this name who came to the island in 1722/23) from Trincomalee into the enemy king's territory in the Kandyan hills.[15] Furthermore, the exiles were debarred from corresponding freely with their colleagues. In 1727 the Dutch

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10 See infra p. 25.

11 Father S.G. Perera, 1939, pp. 36-38.

12 S.L.N.A. 1/69, Minutes of the D.P.C. Colombo, 14th Nov. 1733.

13 "Lives of the Dutch Governor-General of Netherlands India J. Maatzuiker," CLR, 1 (21), December, p. 166.

14 S.L.N.A. 1/102, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 15th Nov. 1747.

15 S.L.N.A. 1/95, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 5th Nov. 1748.

authorities discovered an illicit correspondence between Sunan Mas's sons then resident in Jaffna and the newly arrived exile, Sura di Laga from Java who was kept in confinement in Trincomalee.[16]

Such restriction by the Dutch government in Sri Lanka could not have been intended to place a total restraint on the exiles from associating or getting closer to each other. A policy of that kind would have required extra vigilance, especially in the case of those who were allotted to live in a particular locality. The overall impression one gets, especially towards the end of this period is that the exiles were interacting closely with each other. Marriages had been contracted among them while in the island. For example, Batara Gowa Amas Madina II, the former king of Gowa (in Macassar) who was exiled here in 1767, married one Habiba, a 'Malay' lady of Noble birth, and their daughter Sitti Hawang was given in marriage to a Javanese prince Pangeran Adipati Mangkurat.[17] It is almost certain that social events within the exiled community such as births and deaths requiring group participation must have brought its members into close contact with one another on various occasions. Furthermore, some exiles were in the paid employment of the company, having been given command of Eastern soldiers serving in the island[18] and thereby enjoyed more freedom to move about within the community. It must also be mentioned here that the status of a political prisoner seems to have been imposed only on the main exile of each family. Thus, for example when Pengeran Purbaya was permitted to be accompanied by his bride, the Dutch authorities made a point of instructing that she was not to be treated as a political prisoner.[19] This means that, unlike the important political prisoners, the other members of their families must have been at liberty to associate with each other.

In any case the Dutch had little to fear from the exiles; their experience showed that the once-feared national rebels from Indonesia when sent into exile became subdued and weak. In fact, the Batavian government received from time to time pathetic let-

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16 S.L.N.A. 1/16, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 13th June 1727.

17 Patunru (1969) p. 86. But a contemporary document states that it was one Sitti Babiba's sister who was married to Pangeran Adipati Mangkurat, and the other sister was married to Sadur Alam, Prince of Bacan, another important exile living in the island at that time. S.L.N.A., 7/20, North's Mily., diary, 19th December 1803.

18 Pangeran Singarasi of Java was one such exile who commanded a unit of Native Malay troops serving the Dutch in 1767. Raven Hart (ed.), 1964, p. 44

19 S.L.N.A., 1/37, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 7th December 1761.

ters from some of the exiles, in which they even expressed their willingness 'to wet the feet of the Dutch Governor General with tears', imploring him to use his right of pardon and to allow them to return to their homeland.[20] Batara Gowa Amas Madina II sent as many letters as possible to his brother Madiuddin, his successor to the throne of Gowa, to mediate for his release with the Dutch authorities in Batavia. Sultan Madiuddin's many attempts to seek the release of his brother never materialised, and he ultimately relinquished his throne in despair.[21] The unfortunate King of Gowa was left to die in Ceylon in 1795 after thirty years of life in exile.[22]

The life in banishment became excessively burdensome due to the poor living conditions to which these aristocratic political prisoners were subjected to while in the island. For their subsistence, the Dutch Government had provided monthly allowances of cash in rix dollars and some provisions which included rice, pepper and dried fish. The amount allotted to each exile was determined according to his rank, importance and the size of the family.[23] Some were granted lands to maintain themselves.

The numerous and incessant complaints received by the Dutch authorities from the exiles regarding the meagreness of their allowances demonstrate that they were undergoing immense difficulties in coping with their basic daily needs and appear to have often been in distress. Most exiles had to support large families living with them in the island as well as to pay for a number servants from the paltry income received from the government. Unable to support themselves with this income, some are known to have had recourse at times to other desperate means to raise funds for their survival. Thus in 1724 it was reported that several ladies of the exiled Javanese Noble families had sold their personal belongings and jewellery to some local people in order to maintain their families.[24] When the exiled king of Gowa died in the island in 1795, his wife Habiba had to borrow extensively to meet his funeral expenses.[25] The destitute nature of these exiles could be seen further

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20 See *Dagh Register*, 24th November 1682.

21 Patunru, 1969, p. 85.

22 De Graaf, 1949, p. 241.

23 The details allowances paid to the exiles can be seen from S.L.N.A., 1/200, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 8th March 1788.

24 S.L.N.A., 1/58, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 8th March 1788.

25 S.L.N.A., 7/20, North's Mily. Diary, 19th December 1803.

from the fact that when the British government took over the Dutch possessions in Sri Lanka, the payments to them came to be administered under the Department of Orphans and charitable funds.[26]

Despite all the hardships they had to face the political exiles in Sri Lanka were better off at least in one respect. Unlike their counterparts who ended up in the Cape of Good Hope, the former did not have have to live in total isolation in the island. They had the good fortune of being able to fraternise with the community of 'Moors',[27] which had been in existence in Sri Lanka for well over eight hundred years in the past. Although the details of the nature of mutual contacts between these people cannot be documented, it is almost certain that the presence of such a strong Muslim community in the island made the life of the Indonesian Muslim political prisoners easier, especially in their religious and cultural pursuits.

According to Ricklefs,[28] who collected a large amount of information on these political prisoners, there is evidence to identify the existence in Sri Lanka of a sophisticated Javanese colony of aristocratic exiles at this period.[29] It is he who points out that the exiles when returned to Java had enhanced prestige, particularly in Islamic religious affairs. Thus Radin Adipati Natakusuma who was banished to Ceylon in 1743, when returned later to Java in 1758, was made chief of the religious officials in the court of Jogyakarta.[30] Likewise, one Wirakusuma who was born in Sri Lanka to a Javanese exile became the leader of religious group in 1781 and was also appointed as an advisor to the Prince of Jogyakarta.[31] It is difficult not to assume that such religious leadership by the exiles in their own country was as least partly due to their competent training in Islamic theology during their time in Sri Lanka. Indeed, there is evidence that at one time the Indonesian exiles had become spiritual

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de Silva, Colvin R., 1953, p. 241.

27
'Moor' is the generic term by which it was customary at one time in Europe to describe a Muslim from whatever country he came. The epithet was borrowed by the Portuguese who bestowed it indiscriminately upon the Arabs and their descendants, whom in the 16th century they found established as traders in almost every part of the Asian and African coast.

28
See Ricklefs, 1974, p. 102-8 for information on the political activities of the exiles in the Javanese Kingdom.

29
Ricklefs, personal communication, 10th November 1976.

30
Ricklefs, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

31
Ricklefs, personal communications 10th November 1976.

pupils to two Islamic teachers in the 18th century Sri Lanka whose names are given in *Babad Giyanti* as Sayyid Musa Ngidrus, and Ibrahim Asmara.[32] The above Javanese chronicle also gives an account of the wife of Pengeran Natakusuma describing her husband's religious experiences in Ceylon. She told King Pakubuwana III that the exiles became students of the above named teachers whose magical powers achieved wonderous things,[33] where, for example, at the great recitations of the Quran each Friday, Javanese fruits and delicacies were 'magically transported to Sri Lanka'. She also related how the merchants and ship captains from such places as Surat, the Bengal coast and Selangor had visited these teachers. Despite the legendary nature of these tales, it is clear that such religious meetings did take place in the local Muslim community. It appears that these meetings were often held secretly for fear of prosecution by the Dutch government in Ceylon which had gone out of its way to ban such public Islamic religious ceremonies in the Maritime territories forbidding 'Yogis' and 'heathen mendicants' from leading such gatherings.[34]

Because of such close contacts between these two groups of of Muslims in the island Ricklefs is perhaps right in questioning whether the Dutch, who were constantly worried about the anti-European potential of Islam, were wise to have selected Sri Lanka as a place of exile for these Indonesian political prisoners.[35] Indeed, the local Dutch authorities seem to have been concerned about this fact when the Moors were suspected of assisting some top Javanese prisoners to carry out secret correspondence among themselves.[36] Moreover, the island was situated directly on the main pilgrimage route from Indonesia to Mecca, as well as on the well-established trade route favoured by the Muslim traders who came to Sri Lanka for business. Whatever the case may be, the Dutch, due to the peaceful nature of the local Muslim population, need not have worried much about any possible military threat or sabotage to their

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32 Ricklefs, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

33 *Ibid.*

34 "... dat geem S jogys ofte Hedense Lantlopers of Ceylon in 5 Comp' landen geoogt worden, nogh oock dat de Mooren eenige publyque Mahomataenese Godsdienst nomen te Pleegen alsoo 't selve op hoge paens yerboden is." Memoirs of Ryckloff van Goens, p. 25.

35 Ricklefs, 1974, p. 103.

36 S.L.N.A., 1/61, Minutes of the Political Council in Ceylon, 13th June 1727.

authority arising from the combination of these two sections of Muslims living in the island.

Apart from the princely exiles, a host of others from all ranks of life including lesser 'Malay' chiefs, petty officials and commoners, had been deported by the Batavian government to Sri Lanka.[37] Most of them had been convicted on criminal charges and their treatment and status in the island seem to have been determined by the severity of crimes committed by them at home. Those convicted of violent crimes were usually kept in chains and had to do hard labour during the period of their punishment.[38] A section of the deportees, not kept in chains, but committed to prison cells, performed hard-labour in the service of the Company. Others were allowed to remain free and earn their living either by performing services to the company or engaging themselves in some form of handicraft. [39] Sometimes, these 'criminal' deportees were recruited to serve in the native army.[40]

It is difficult to assess the number of such 'criminals', but throughout the period of the Dutch rule in Sri Lanka there was a steady inflow of this class of deportees from the Eastern islands. In 1731 alone there were 131 of these convicts serving the Company in Sri Lanka,[41] not to mention the others who served in the military and those who were set free and remained in the island.

It is almost certain that the deported 'convicts' formed part of the early Malay population in the island. In 1782, for example, the Dutch government decreed that those deportees who had been taken the service of the Company must remain in Ceylon.[42] Further, in same year it was decided that, except the branded criminals, other

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A number of such cases are mentioned in *Realia*, Eerste Deel, 1881, p. 236, 258, 259 and 260.

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These include not only criminals but also men such as Said Muhammad, the Islamic preacher from Batavia who in 1880s was banished and committed to chains in the island for his suspected anti-Dutch activities in Batavia and Bantam. See de Jonge (1884), Vol. 12, p. 138.

39
Dagh Register, 30th August 1682.

40
Realia, Vol. 1, p. 87, (5th July 1782). In anticipation of war with the Kandyans the Dutch made plans to strengthen their military in 1763. An extra Malay company was formed in that year by including about 120 deportees. S.I..N.A., 1/4864, Minutes of the Secret War Committee, 9th September 1963.

41
Memoirs of Van Gollenese, p. 92.

42
Realia, Vol. 1, p. 87, 19th March 1782.

deportees could be enlisted into the native army.[43] Thus, a good part of these convicts had the chance to mix up with their fellow Easterners in the island. Those who were set free had the opportunity to raise families here and settle down permanently. In this sense, the 'Malay' community of Sri Lanka can be said to owe its origins partly to these 'Malay' convict settlers, a fact which has not been mentioned in the general statements on the origins of the island Malays, whose ancestry has always been attributed to either the 'Malay Princes' or the 'soldiers'.[44]

The largest numerical group in the early Malay population was however, the soldiers who made up the bulk of the Dutch garrison on the island throughout the period. The Batavian government despatched yearly contingents of troops apart from the reinforcements sent in times of emergencies and wars.[45]

From as early as the middle of the 17th century when the Dutch began attacks upon the Portuguese fortifications on the island the 'Malay' troops are said to have been present in the Dutch army. These troops took part at the storming of Galle by Admiral Coster in 1640 and during the siege of Colombo in 1655/56 the Malays were given the pride of place at the storming of the Ford.[46] In 1657, a force of Malays under their own Captain Raja Talella accompanied Rycklof van Goens in the Dutch expedition against the Portuguese stations on the Malabar Coast and subsequently took part in the capture of Mannar and Jaffna in 1658.[47] Malay soldiers are frequently mentioned in the Dutch wars against Kandy.[48]

Many Eastern national groups were represented among these 'Malay' soldiers. We find references to Amboinese, Bandanese,[49] Balinese, Bugis, Javanese, Madurese, Sumanepers and Malays. During the early attacks upon the Portuguese, Amboinese and

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43 *Ibid.*, 5th July 1782.

44 Jayah, 1969, p. 74 attributes their origins to the exiled Princes, while K.M. de Silva Ed., 1973, p. 300 refers only to the East Indian Troops.

45 Such reinforcements of Eastern troops were received in the island in 1737, 1761 and 1782.

46 Reimers, 1924, p. 3

47 *Ibid.*

48 *Ibid.*

49 Peiris, 1929, p. 190 states during the Dutch attack on the Fort of Colombo in 1656, "Bandanese" did good work in their pursuit with their sharp swords at one blow they struck off the heads of their adversaries (Portuguese)

Javanese soldiers had been used by the Dutch authorities. According to Christopher Schwitser, a Swiss traveller who visited the island in the 1680, Amboinese soldiers were kept in the Dutch garrison at the fort of Sitawaka.[50] In 1737 three companies of Balinese troops were despatched from Batavia to Ceylon on the request of the Governor van Imhoff to prepare for war against the Kandyans.[51] Malays and Buginese were sent to reinforce native troops in Ceylon in 1761,[52] and in 1788, Madurese and Sumanepers were sent to garrison Mullaitivu in the Eastern Coast.[53] Thus it can be seen that almost all the major ethnic groups form the region of the Eastern Archipelago were represented among the soldiers whom we have chosen to refer to by the general term 'Malays', an appellation which will be discussed in more detail later.

Little is known about the life and other activities of these soldiers apart from Christopher Schwitser's description of a group of Amboinese soldiers who were stationed at the Dutch camp of Sitawaka[54] in 1680. His description deserves to be quoted in full, as it throw light on several important aspects of the early 'Malay' soldiery in the island.

1680, 9th February.

... We went to relieve the company that was at Sittawack ... It is situated upon a rocky ground; near to this over the river, stood heretofore the King of Sittawack's palace, ruined since by the Portuguese. The Fort is about four hundred paces in circuit ... Here is also continually kept a company of Amboinese in the Dutch service. Their lieutenant was called Alons, and was of Royal blood. By day they lie out of fort in a whole street together, their wives with them: But at nights they are as oblighed to be in the fort as many of us. They are very nimble and active at leaping and fencing. They never have but little beards, and behind in their necks they have a growth like a wen. Their pay is, for a lieutenant 24 rix dollars a month, an ensign 16, a Cornet 8, and a Private soldier 5 all paid in money. The Cingulayans are mightily afraid of the Amboinese, far more than of the Europeans; For they are in part of the true cannibal sort. They wear musquets and short swords. Besides their own language, they generally speak Malaysh, Cingulaish, Portuguese and

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50 Raven-Hart ed., 1959, p. 69/70.

51 Rusconi, 1939, p. 19.

52 S.L.N.A., 1/490, Annex to minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 22nd January 1761.

53 S.L.N.A., 1/1793, Annex to minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 18th January 1738.

54 *Memoirs of Ryckloff van Geoens*, p. 13 mentions "that the post highest in elevation belonging to Colombo is the excellent stone redoubt at Sitawaka, ten hours journey from Colombo. (an hours journey is equal to about 3½ mules).

Dutch. They love dice and card playing excessively, and Sundays they spend in cock-fighting, so that many become poor by gaming. When they have lost all their money they make from thin rotting all sorts of lovely baskets, and such. When their monthly pay comes into their hands again, each pays first his debts, and what is left they put to the venture by dice and cards, and so continue till one of them has all the money to himself. Also it is much if the wife be not stripped of her ornaments of gold, silver and silks. The wives, which in part are Amboinese, in part Singulayans, and Malabarians may say nothing against this, but when the man games away their little property, they must nourish him and his children as well as they can through the mouth and await his better fortune at gaming.[55]

Reading the above description of the Amboinese soldiers, one can see that many important facts are clustered together in it. In fact, it may also be taken as a general reference applicable in the case of the other Malay soldiers as well, who were serving with the Dutch army during this period.

Firstly, it is stated that the Lieutenant of the Amboinese was of Royal blood. It is difficult to trace the identity of this person who was called Alon, but the Dutch had employed some political exiles of the Malay Royal families as unit leaders of the Malay army in the island. In 1764, Pangeran Singasarie, who belonged to the family of exiled Sunan Mas, the Javanese King Mataram, was stated to have been in charge of a regular army unit for some time.[56] Temengong Sasara Negara, another Royal political exile, had been appointed as the Commander of the Company of the Free Javanese which was formed in 1763.[57] The military leadership of the Royal exiles seems to have ensured better discipline and loyalty on the part of their Malay soldiers.

Secondly, Schwitser relates that the wives of these soldiers lived together with their husbands in the vicinity of Sitawaka garrison but outside the fort, where the latter had to return during night time like the rest of the European troops. It is not common for soldiers in the garrisons to have their wives along with them, but it is of interest to note that these wives of the Easterners used to follow their husbands even to the battle front. This had created endless problems to the Dutch authorities who rarely succeeded in refraining these women from accompanying their husbands who had to leave their stations to fight the enemy. Invariably during the Dutch Kandyan wars, and the period of inland rebellions, it was not uncommon to see the whole families of the Malay soldiers

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55 Raven-Hart (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 70.

56 Raven-Hart, 1964, p. 21.

57 S.L.N.A., 1/4864, Minutes of the Secret War Committee, 9th September 1963.

become mobile, so much so that a Dutch commander lamented in 1764 that "the trouble is that the Javanese have such a large train of women and gear, I have told them that they must leave these behind, or pay coolies, but most of them act as coolies themselves instead of bearing arms."[58]

Thirdly, regarding the fact that the Sinhalese were afraid more of the Amboinese than the European troops. While it may not be totally correct, it can be taken as a reflection of the fighting disposition of these men and also an indication of the frequent encounters between these men and the local Sinhalese during times of rebellion and the Kandyan wars. The Eastern troops were of course well acclimatized to the tropical conditions of the island as they came from countries with similar climatic and geographical conditions.

It was quite easy for these troops to penetrate through the jungles to meet the Sinhalese armies, and even to engage in personal combat with the enemy troops with their traditional mode of warfare, using krisses and short-swords.[59] The Kandyans are known to have generally employed a guerilla-type of warfare, which was more suitable to the local terrain. Perhaps this was one of the reasons for as to why they were not subdued by either the Portuguese of the Dutch powers. The details of the tactics adopted by the Dutch in combatting the Kandyans are little known, but it is possible that the Malay troops were in the forefront of the Dutch army during their attacks upon the Sinhalese troops of Kandy, and thus with their ferocity they struck terror in the hearts of the local people.

Fourthly, there is an important point about the language spoken by the Amboinese as given by Schwitser. This can be taken as an authentic proof of the linguistic situation of the early period. However, this aspect is too important to be commented upon here, and is therefore to be included in a special research paper on the language of the Sri Lankan Malays.

Fifthly, it is mentioned that the Amboinese were very fond of gambling and as a result they were eternally in debt. This habit of gambling among the Eastern soldiers caused the Dutch authorities some problems. It was brought to the notice of the government that the soldiers used to borrow money from respective captains of their companies and when they were unable to settle their debts deserted

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58 Raven Hart (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 64.

59 See Schrieke, 1975, Vol. 2, p. 122-127 for a discussion on the Javanese methods of warfare and the arms used.

their ranks and disappeared in the Sinhalese countryside.[60] As a result, the Dutch government had to prohibit the practice of money lending to the soldiers.[61] Schwitser also refers in this regard that when soldiers had become poor by gaming they had made all sorts of lovely baskets from this rotting. Clearly, this is the earliest reference to the rattan-weaving which had remained another traditional occupation among the Sri Lankan Malays in the past.[62]

Finally, Schwitser's reference to the wives of the Amboinese soldiers is interesting, as it shows in the first place that the Eastern soldiers, when embarked for Ceylon, brought their womenfolk along with them. It is not known in what proportion such women from the East-Indies came to the island during the Dutch period. Later on the British authorities actively encouraged the foreign Malay recruits to bring along their families to settle down in Ceylon in order to build up a strong Malay colony so that a steady supply of recruits can be obtained locally. Further investigation is necessary to confirm whether the Dutch also had been following a similar policy. In any case, as the number of women arriving from the East Indies was limited, a good proportion of 'Malay' soldiers had to find their wives among the local women from the Sinhalese, Tamil or Moor communities.[63] It appears that the Malay Muslims preferred to marry the local Moor women because of their common religious background. A number of such cases of inter-marriage between the Malays and the Moors is reported in the *Tombos*,[64] compiled by the Dutch.[65]

60
One Rahman, a Malay Captain is said to have exorted 6 shillings for a debt of 3 Rix dollars or 50% per annum. S.L.N.A., 1/4865, Minutes of the Secret War Committee, 11th August 1764.

61
The Dutch authorities prohibited loan of more than half a rupee to the Malay soldiers, *Ibid.*

62
See Christie David, 1958, p. 7. Says "The original cane workers here were Malays and the trade was plied in Slave Island... ".

63
Schwitser did not mention about the religious background of the Amboinese, and it may be that they were not followers of Islam, which explains partly why only Sinhalese and Malabari (Tamil) wives are mentioned in this case. Or it may be that the 'moorish' women were included in the racial term of 'Malabaris'

64
Tombo (Sinhalese Thombuwa) is a system of registration introduced to Ceylon by the Portuguese which they borrowed from the Sinhalese. The Dutch perfected this system in the 1760s by recording details of persons, and properties in their districts or administrations.

65
S.L.N.A., 1/3758, *Head Tombo*, p. 63 and p. 71.

Apart from the convict settlers, soldiers and political exiles, the early Malay population also owes its origin, albeit in a small way, to slaves sent now and then by the Batavian government. Most of them originated from the Moluccas, the lesser Sunda islands etc., and were forced to serve for their life-time in the Dutch government establishments. Some rich private individuals also owned slaves from the Eastern island.[66] Furthermore, a number of slaves served the Indonesian political exiles in Ceylon. There were occasions when slaves owned by the Dutch government gained their freedom by joining the native army. In 1763 a 'Malay Company was formed out of deportees and 31 slaves who earned their freedom.[67] Similarly, when van de Graaf made secret preparations to invade the Kandyan kingdom in 1781, many slaves were set free on condition that they would join the expedition.[68] It is almost certain that as free men they raised families like the other Easterners, settled in the island, and merged into the early Malay community.

As time went on there grew up a sizeable population of Free Malays, or as the Dutch preferred to call it, the Free Javanese, particularly after the middle of the 18th century. These 'Free Javanese' were in part former soldiers who, upon their discharge had settled in the island and others who engaged themselves in non-government occupations. The later category included also many descendants of the political exiles. Although evidence relating to the non-military occupation of the early Malays is hard to come by there were certain fields, i.e., such as gardening, rattan weaving, etc. in which Malays are known to have specialised in as indicated in the early British reports.[69] According to Bertolacci, some Malays were engaged in petty trade by collecting and selling arecanuts in the inland areas.[70] Perhaps the donor of land in Wekande (in Colombo) to build a mosque in the year of 1783, who was called

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66
Chrikstoffel de Saram, alias Atapattu Mudaliyar owned two Eastern slaves namely Troena de Wangsa and Amber. S.L.N.A., 1/4740, Criminal files on Individuals.

67
S.L.N.A., 1/4864, Minutes of the Secret War Committees, 9th September 1763, Also in 1786, Eastern slaves were freed to be formed into a Company of Militia. S.L.N.A., 1/193, The D.P.C., 26th April 1786.

68
S.L.N.A., 1/591, Annex to the minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 21st October 1781.

69
For example in 1803 Robert Percibal a British military officer speaks highly of Malay gardeners, Percival; 1805, p. 174.

70
Bertollaci, 1817, p. 18.

Pandan Balie, a free 'Javanese' must have been one of these small traders who are able to earn enough to make gift of land to his community.[71] At the lower level, a number of Malays were employed as domestic servants.

The civil status of the 'Free Javanese' under the Dutch rule in the island was the same as that of the Moors and Chetties who, as members of foreign communities, were compelled to perform Uliyam services for the government.[72] However, the political exiles and the Malay soldiers were exempted from such service,[73] the former because of their Royal dignity, the latter because of their position as servants of the Company. Since the number of the Free Javanese was small at the beginning there was no special organization that seemed to form them into guild to extract this Uliyam service, and a Moor chieftain was appointed to look after their affairs. However, in 1769, as their number increased, the Free Javanese were organized into a separate unit and this time a Royal Javanese exile, Sosoro Wijoyo was appointed as their Captain.[74]

Having discussed the various groups which formed the early Malay population in Ceylon, a population count must be taken in the island, but only towards the end of the Dutch Rule it is possible to arrive at an approximate figure concerning the number of Malays resident in the island. Perhaps one of the plausible means of calculating their population during the period is to take into account the number of Malay soldiers who were present in the island since they formed in the bulk of the community.

The total number of soldiers of course varied according to the military needs of the Dutch authorities. Thus in 1764, in anticipation of war with the Kandyan king they had to build up their military reserve by recruiting men by all possible means. The number of Eastern soldiers shot up from about 800 to 2,500 in that year, presumably this was their highest total ever to be reached in the

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71 Jayah, 1971, p. 8.

72 Uliyam (Tamil) is orginally the compulsory manual labour which the foreign communities such as Moors and Chetties performed in the Kandyan kingdom. The Dutch too followed this system but the British found it obnoxious and abolished it in 1808.

73 S.L.N.A., 1/88, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 30th September 1743. However the descendants of exiles had to perform Uliyam like the rest of the Malays. S.L.N.A., 1/87, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo 6th July 1743.

74 S.L.N.A., 1/2556, Appointment of local Chieftains, 13th 1769.

Dutch Army serving in the island.[75] It appears that under normal conditions, the total number of Malays in the Dutch army fluctuated around 800 divided into 10 companies.[76] As mentioned earlier, new batches of recruits were sent now and then from Batavia to replace discharged soldiers. All these discharged soldiers did not stay back in the island after their period of service. Some were sent back to Batavia, but it is not clear on what basis this was done.[77] It must have been difficult for them to leave the island after having lived here for so long and especially after having built up family ties in the local community.

A more definite figure of the Malay soldiers in the Dutch service is available for the years 1795/96, when the British began attacks upon the Dutch fortifications in Sri Lanka. According to the figures quoted by Colonel Stuart, the British Commander who led the main attacks, there were probably around 1,400 Malays serving with the Dutch army. Colonel Stuart gave the numbers of the Dutch troops who surrendered to the British in Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Colombo. Thus in Trincomalee, there were 373 Malays (284 in Fort Frederick, and 89 in Fort Ostenberg) who surrendered to the British and in Colombo there were two battalions of Malays consisting of 880 men.[78] In Batticaloa, Colonel Stuart was informed that there had been 133 Malays, but most of them had escaped to inland areas on the even of the British arrival at that Fort.[79] However, it must be borne in mind that all these Malay soldiers did not belong to the regular army. Anticipating the British attacks, the Dutch had mobilised a number of civilians to their army units in the important coastal towns of Colombo, Galle and Trincomalee etc. The Malays seemed to have been their major target, and in fact, in 1785 the Dutch had decided to disband the regiment of Free Moors, and in their place recruited the local Malay civilians.[80] Thus, on the figures given by the English Colonel, it is possible to estimate

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75 The total number in the Dutch army as on 15th May 1764 consisted of 3,909 Europeans, 2,458 Easterners and 1,242 Sipanis. Raven-Hart, 1964, p. 56.

76 Before the above increase took place these were 10 Companies of Malays totalling 791 men. *op. cit.*, p. 21.

77 S.L.N.A., 1/736, Annexes to the minutes of the "Militaire department", 15th April 1794.

78 W.O., 1/362, Stuart to Dandas, 30th August 1795, and enclosured for the garrison, Capitulation etc.

79 W.O., 1/362, Stuart to Dandas, 10th October 1795 and enclosures.

80 S.L.N.A., 1/179, Minutes of the D.P.C., Colombo, 24th June 1785.

approximately the total number of Malay population at the tail-end of the Dutch period.

Thus, going by the number of Malays given in Stuart's despatch, i.e. 1,400, we may on the safe assumption that at least half of them had their families with them, arrive at an approximate figure of 2,200 as the number of Malays resident in Ceylon at the end of the 18th century. This does not, however, include another 200 or more members of the exiled Royal families.

Having analysed the composition of the early Malay population, it remains to be seen at what stage a real Sri Lankan Malay community emerged from an ethnic mosaic of this heterogeneous group of Easterners and what factors contributed in the formation of such a community within the Dutch period. By the time the British had arrived in the island in 1795, the Malays appeared to have been on a firm footing in the islands, so much so that the English administrators, with very few exceptions identified and referred to them only as Malays. Some British officials had even come to regard the locally born Malays as a group much superior to the new immigrants who were recruited to the regiment from the Eastern Islands.[81]

In the first place, officially as far as the Dutchs are concerned a common recognition was accorded to the early Malays on the basis of the fact that all of them came from the East, hence the term 'Oosterlingen' which 'is frequently used' in the Dutch documents to refer to them collectively. A modern Dutch author defines this term as referring to those people who originally came from the coastal regions of the Eastern Sea.[82] C.R. Boxer states that this term stands for those Indonesian from the Moluccas, and the lesser Sunda islands etc., known collectively as the Great East.[83] It appears that in the Sri Lankan context, the Dutch usage of the term 'Oosterlingen' has been applied to any person from the Malay Indonesian archipelago including the Javanese.

Next to 'Oosterlingen', another collective term used in the Dutch sources, particularly after the middle of the 18th century to refer to these Eastern communities, was 'Javaans' (Javanese).

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81 For eg. Colonel I. Fletcher, who served the Malay Regiment in Ceylon for more than 20 years wrote about "the Ceylon Malays" in 1831 as follows: "The free Malays of the island are a superior race of people, possessing more Intelligence.... The Ceylon Malay is generally of honest and respectable parentage inheriting a pride of family reputation etc". S.L.N.A., 6/1308, A.M.S. to C.S., 5th October 1831.

82 de Hullu, 1914, p. 343.

83 Boxer, 1975, p. 118.

Orginally, it seems to have been applied only to the ethnic Javanese who were only one of the different groups of Easterners which included Amboinese and Bandanese and others. Does this mean that the Javanese population had outnumbered the other Eastern element by this time? In one sense, this shift of emphasis from the 'Oosterlingen' to 'Javaans' can be taken as a significant pointer to the direction in which the early Malay community had developed during the Dutch period. One gets the impression that the rest of the Eastern groups had been absorbed by the ethnic Javanese community at the close of the 18th century. But who were these 'Javanese'? Why then did the British keep on referring to these people as 'Malays' when they first came across them in 1795?

The diverse National groups of Eastern soldiers such as the Amboinese, Bandanese, Bugis, Javanese and others, who came to do military service in the island, were in the main former residents of Batavia and did not come directly from the different geographic regions of the Archipelago as their names suggest.[84] Since the founding of the Dutch fort city of Batavia in 1619, a number of such Nationalities are known to have settled in the outskirts of Batavia.[85] De Haan shows in his Oud Batavia that they were separate 'Kampungs' for each of these Nationalities with their own social set-up and organizations, religious places of worship, headed by their own chieftains.[86] These settlements had taken place without much interference from the Dutch government in Batavia. However, when it came to the gestion of finding men for their native army, the inhabitants of Batavia proved to be an ideal recruiting ground for the Dutch. It is known that when mass recruitment of soldiers did take place during the protracted Dutch wars in central Java in 1750, on the Malabar coast in 1717, and in Sri Lanka in 1763, these outer Kampungs of Batavia became almost depopulated.[87]

Thus it seems likely that the majority of the early Malays brought here to serve in the native army had Batavia as their point of origin. If this theory is accepted, it is also to be granted that from the very beginning of their arrival in the island they had a common group identity among themselves as a result of assimilation known to have already taken place among the various ethnic nationalities from the archipelago which had settled in Batavia.

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84 de Haan, 1922, p. 473.

85 de Haan, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-484.

86 *Ibid.*

87 *Ibid.*

One of the main factors which assisted the residents of Batavia to gain a distant group identity was the simplified Malay language, alias 'Batavian Malay' which they adopted as their main medium of communication. Viekke rightly points out that:

> Gradually this heterogeneous population developed into a new Indonesia National group, distinct from the Sundanese of the West and the Javanese of the East Java and with a simplified Malay language the lingua franca of the Archipelago as their Native tongue.[88]

So it is these 'Neo-Indonesians' who formed the nucleus of the orginal Malay population in Sri Lanka. Their group identity must have received an added boast once they came to live among alien people and in strange surroundings.

Thus in every case, the formative period for the locally rooted society can be said to have begun when immigrants settled in Ceylon, formed alliance with indigenous women (in addition to the 'Eastern' womenfolk brought to the island) and reared children who were taught to identify themselves as 'Malays'. Marrige among these mixed-blood descendants of immigrants led eventually to the development of a fairly stable society. This process must have begun with the first few generations of 'Eastern Settlers' in Ceylon, and the culture of the resultant society was stabilized well before the end of the Dutch rule in the island. Once this stabilization of a local Malay culture and society was achieved it became possible for the other Eastern nationalities like the Madurese and Sumanapers, who joined the community later around 1782 to merge into the community of "Ceylon Malays" without much difficulty.

The difference between the terms 'Javanese' and 'Malays' as used by the Dutch and the British respectively to refer to this community can be explained now. The former indicated, in the first place, the geographical identity of the early Malays. Batavia from where many of them had originated, was situated in the island of Java and hence they were commonly called by the genetic term 'Javanese'. On the other hand, it may be the case that the actual ethnic Javanese might have been the dominant group among the original Eastern population and therefore the whole community came to known after this leading group. This line of argument is further borne out by the fact that in 1764 the free Javanese Company was named as such precisely because of the conspicuously large number of the Javanese residents in the island. At the same time, the Dutch officials had included other minor groups of Easterners in this Company. Thus, for instance, when two soldiers

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88 Viekke, 1945, p. 174.

by the names of Dicko (or Bicko?) and Abdullah applied for discharge from the company in 1763 they are specifically referred to as Malay soldiers.[89] But labelling this community as 'Javanese' in the way the Dutch did was not without its shortcomings. After 1780, a number of Madurese and Sumanapers also joined this community and therefore the term Javanese, if used with an ethnic connotation, would not be proper if any newcomers belonging to other races from the East were to be included in this community.

The term Malays as introduced by the British was an all embracing one, which emphasised the linguistic unity of these people rather than their ethnic or racial origins. What the British saw in the island at the tail-end of the 18th century was a fairly stabilized and distinctly identifiable group of people, whose ethnic differences had greatly disappeared and had developed as self-identity as members of a Malay-speaking community. This term obviously had its merits, because labelling this community on the basis of its language reflected the real nature of the local Malays as they had evolved as a distinct population group through the adoption of a common Lingua Franca, i.e. the Malay. On the other hand, this term became more meaningful later, particularly when the ethnic Malays from the Malay Peninsular settled here during the 19th century and were integrated into the already well established community of Malays in Sri Lanka.

In addition to the language factor, the religion of Islam too provided a basis for group identity among the Malays of the island. In Dutch times, not all the Easterners who came to Sri Lanka were the followers of Islam. It is particularly difficult to establish the religious background of the Amboinese Balinese, and even Javanese, because among the first group there were a considerable number of Christians, while most of the Balinese belonged to Hindu or Buddhist religion. Some Javanese had embraced Christianity in 1660 and received benefits from the Dutch government.[90] Nevertheless, it is quite clear that a large majority of the early Malays were followers of Islam, and in the process of the evolution of the Sri Lankan Malay Community all the non-muslim Easterners dropped out. Thus, at last the term 'Malays' besides its linguistic connotation came to mean only the Muslim 'Malays'.

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89 S.L.N.A., 1/1555, 11th October 1783.

90 Reimers (1924), p. 3. He quotes from a Dutch document dated 8th September 1660. "Where the Javanese soldiers 28 in number, have now for some time past suffered to be instructed in the Christian doctrine have made public profession there of, accepted Holy Baptism, and have solemly married according to Christian rite..."

With the establishment of the British rule in the maritime region in the Sri Lanka since 1796, a new wave of migration from the Straits Settlements in the Malayan Peninsula began to take place. In accordance with the terms of Capitulation of Colombo agreed between the outgoing Dutch government, and the British conquerers in 1796, the Malay/Javanese soldiers and their families already in service under the Dutch were to be sent back to Java.[91] However, the British authorities quickly saw the advantages of retaining the services of the Sri Lankan Malay troops on their side, and therefore added their own clause by hinting at possible recruitment of Malay troops in the East Indian company's service.

Frederick North, (1796-1805) the first British Governor of Sri Lanka took some concrete steps to place the Ceylon Malay Regiment on a respectable footing on par with the Sepoy troops serving in India. Moreover, he seemed to have had a great personal liking towards the community, which he wanted to strengthen and develop, also with a view to making it a nursery for future military recruits to serve in the Malay Regiment. In his bid to inject new blood to the community he despatched a couple of missions overseas to attract new Malay settlers to Sri Lanka. In one of his despatches to home office in 1802, he stated his intention to induce "the (Malay) recruits to come over to Ceylon with their families in the colonies which I am forming at Hambantata and Tangalle, which I hope will in time to produce a pure and constant supply of that hard people to perpetuate the Corps.'"[92] This he wrote after setting up a recruiting agency in the Prince of Wales island, (then Penang) in 1800. This was in fact the beginning of the arrival of 'Malays' from the Peninsular proper, unlike during Dutch time when the Malay recruits were drafted for service from mainly the present Indonesian archipelago, especially from the Javanese dominated areas.

It would be interesting to note that terms were offered by the British government for the Malays to settle in Sri Lanka. The prospectus for settlers were translated in Malay in a pamphlet form and distributed widely in Penang and the adjoining areas, and also whenever the recruiting party from Ceylon travelled further in the Easterd seas to coax Malays.[93]

1. The sum of Spanish dollars 21 pice 34 will be immediately paid to each man as a bounty on entering the service, and from that date he will receive the monthly pay of 3 dollars 74 pice, besides

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91 S.L.N.A. 7/2343, Terms of the Capitulation of Colombo, 1896. Article no. 12.

92 S.L.N.A., 1/5, North to Hobart, 10th September, 1802.

93 S.L.N.A., 7/18, North's Mily. Diary, 28th May 1802.

a reasonable allowance of opium.

2. That men so entering into this Corps will be permitted to take their wives and families with them free from all expense, and every man who may be rendered unfit for active service by wounds or age will be placed on the invalid establishment and thus be assured of a comfortable maintenance during the remainder of his life, and that such as may fall in battle will have their families placed under protection of the Government.

3. Every man taking his wife with him will be entitled to Spanish dollars 8 and pice 51 in addition to the bounty given to him and 43 pice per month for her subsistance. Their son will also receive Spanish dollars 4 pice 25 each on accompanying their fathers and the same monthly pay as now given to the establishment of boys attached to this Corps.

4. Men of family or influence who may be disposed to enter this service and bring with them their dependents as followers will be received with every possible respect and attention to their religious prejudices and obtain commands in proportion to the number of followers they may bring with them.

In early 1803, Lieutenant Rofsi, who headed a second recruiting mission to the East reported that he was sending back from Penang 82 recruits and 4 boys along with their families, followed by another 9 recruits.[94] He was proceeding to Malacca at that stage to look for more recruits. It seems that Sultan of Kedah offered several of his subjects to the then Lieutenant Governor in the Prince of Wales island to serve in Ceylon Malay Regiment. It is however, difficult to estimate the precise number of arrivals from the Malay Peninsular to Sri Lanka during North's period of governorship.

North's successor Governor Maitland (1805-1811) was not well disposed towards the Malay Regiment, partly because he was keen on reversing several of his predecessor's policies and actions. He even went to the extent of abolishing the regiment and instead in its place sought to promote the *Kaffirs*[95] to fill their ranks. But the Malay Regiment was far more difficult to be dismantled at this stage. In any case, Maitland succeeded in evicting a most important, if not the cream of Malay population from the island.[96] These are the Malay/Indonesian princely exiles left behind by the previous Dutch government. According to Maitland, these exiles had become "a

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94 S.L.N.A., 7/22, North's Mily. Diary, Rofsi to C.S. 19th April 1805.

95 *Kaffirs* or *Caffres*, Black troops originated from the Mozambioque area in Africa

96 S.L.N.A., 5/4, Maitland to Castlereagh, Enclosed in 28th February 1808.

great pecuniary burden to the colonial revenue", besides being a danger to the British interests in the island. On the other hand, earlier Governor North had thought up of a grand scheme to use these noble exiles to provide the leadership to the local Malay population; for instance, he managed to persuade some exiles to open up a new Malay colony in the Hambatota area. For some or other reason the Dutch authorities in Batavia did not show any keeness to take back their exiles, until after a threat from Maitland that he would forcibly "send them in one of his Majesty's cruizes to the Eastward to be landed among these island."[97] Only then did the Dutch responded. Thus departed forever to their homeland a most important element of the original Malay population in the island.

A few members of the exiled Royal families seemed to have stayed behind, especially those who married local women. Muhammad Balankaya, whose father was the Aid de Camp to Sultan Batara Gowa Amas Madina II exiled here in 1767 was one among them, having been married to a Moor lady from Kandy. However, the often-claimed princely ancestry of many later day Sri Lankan Malays cannot be substantiated with any credibility.

Between 1810-1820 the local Malay Community received a further boost in numbers by the arrival of a fairly large number of men and women from the island of Madura and Jawa. The then British Governor in Sri Lanka Sir Robert Brownrigg, (1812-20) who completed the conquest of whole Ceylon, arranged to bring them from Indonesia, using a brief interlude of the British control over the Dutch possession in Java from 1811-1816. Thus in 1813, more than 400 Madurese men accompanied by their women and children embarked from the port of Surabaya to join the Ceylon Malay Regiment, followed by a batch of about 228 in 1816. Javanese soldiers and their families, mostly recruited from the North-Coast cities of Semarang and Gresik in Java. No recruits come from Indonesia aftr 1816, since the Dutch authorities never allowed their subjects to join the military establishment of another rival power in the East.

Subsequently, the British authorities had to depend only one one alternative to crimp Malays to Sri Lanka, i.e. from the British controlled Straits Settlements areas of Malacca, Singapore and Penang. But the Malays did not flock to Sri Lanka as they anticipated. Several missions sent abroad failed miserably in their bid to bring meaningful number of Malay recruits. In 1830, for example, the mission by Captain Thomas Skinner to the East became

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97 S.L.N.A., 5/4, Maitland to Castlereagh, Enclosed in 8th February 1808, (Maitland to William Windham).

a very expensive affair as he could not obtain more than about 10 recruits in all. As a result, it was decided to try the luck by sending abroad Sri Lankan Malay officials to head the recruiting Missions. This proved a success initially, as Subedar (Captain) Boreham, a Sri Lankan born Malay, as the head of the recruiting mission in Penang was able to find 100 Malay recruits in 1834.[98]

The recruiting office in Penang, was shifted to Singapore, in 1840 as the latter was made the administrative capital of Straits Settlements.[99] The number of Malays coming forward to migrate to Sri Lanka and join the regiment was not, however, was encouraging as the following table will show:[100]

TABLE 1. The numbers of Malays coming forward to migrate to Sri Lanka.

1833	None
1834	100
1835	64
1836	50
1837	37
1838	29
1839	37
1840	32
1841	33

By the year 1842, the recruiting Mission in Singapore was abandoned since it was felt uneconomical to fetch foreign recruits.[101] In 1845, again the Mission was opened with the hope that a European subaltern officer in command can produce better results. 73 Malay were recruited in Singapore and the Strait of Malacca between the period of 1st Oct. 1845 to 31st January 1846,[102] but that was all and again the Mission was closed down in 1848. Despite the renewal of fewelforts by sending recruiting Missions to the East little success followed. In 1856-57, Captain Tranchell, travelled extensively in the Eastern Seas which included stop overs in Brunei, Labuan, Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan, but all in all he succeed-

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98 S.L.N.A., 4/22, Enclosed in Glenely to Horton, 88/18th January, 1836.

99 S.L.N.A., 7/536, C.S. to A.M.S. 14/10th January 1840.

100 The figures for the years 1833-38 are taken from S.L.N.A., 10/163, I. Fletcher's Memorandum enclosed in 8th August 1839.

101 S.L.N.A., 6/1775, I. Fletcher's Memorandum 9th February, 1845 enclosed in Campbell to Stanley, Mily, 2/12th February, 1845.

102 W.O. 1/453, Campbell to Gladstone, Mily, 6th March, 1846.

ed in bringing back only 7 Malays,[103] which prompted a contemporary British officer to cast a pungent remark on the Mission.

"The expedition and the expenditure as compared with the proceeds of it, must show these four or five (Malay recruits) to be about the most expensive in the British army."[104]

After 1860, rarely any foreign Malay recruits joined Ceylon Rifle-Regiment, which was finally disbanded in 1873.

Not all the Malay migrants who arrived in Sri Lanka for military service stayed here permanently. Some are known to have returned home at the expiry of the stipulated service. This happened when the foreign Malay recruits were given the concession in 1833 (G.O. 1st March, 1833) to return to the land of their origins at the expiring of 15 years of military service. The actual number of people who opted to go back however, remained small. For example, in 1837,[105] only 9 of them left for Singapore, and after a decade during the period beginning from 1847 to 1841 only 11 Malays are known to have gone back to resettle their families in Singapore and Penang.[106] Figures after this date are not readily available, but presumably several must have returned back.

Many Malays opted to stay back since they had raised families in Sri Lanka, the kinship ties were not easily to be broken off. Interesting enough, even some of them who had sought passage to return to Malaya were known to have "changed their minds on the very hour of the embarkation and determined to stay on the island".[107]

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103 S.L.N.A., 6/2454, Captain Tranchell's Memorandum 31st May, 1858, enclosed in A.M.S. to C.S. 24th June, 1858.

104 Cowen, 1960, p. 326. He wrote that every one of these was subsequently set at liberty, being physically unfit for 'fighting', when they arrived at head quarters.

105 S.L.N.A., 6/1502, A.M.S. to C.S., 12/17th January, 1837.

106 W.O. 1/456, George Anderson to Early Grey. Enclosed 20 of Mily. 179/21st November, 1851.

107 Same as note 105 above.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

AMS	Assistant Military Secretary
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise de'Extreme Orient
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde
CEMRO	Ceylon Malay Research Organization
C.I.R.	Ceylon Literary Review
CS	Colonial Secretary
D.P.C.	Dutch Political Council
G.O.	General Order
JMBRAS	Journal of Malayan Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
Mily	Military
S.L.N.A.	Sri Langka National Archives
U.C.R.	University of Ceylon Review
W.O.	War Office (London)