A FOOTNOTE TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

The “Little East” in the first half of the nineteenth century[1]

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PREFACE. 3
1 THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. 3
1.1 Location and population. 3
1.2 Fishing and Trade. 4
1.3 Wealth and prosperity. 5
1.4 But appearances were deceptive. 6
2 THE LITTLE EAST IN A WIDER CONTEXT. 8
2.1 Administrative vacuum. 8
2.2 The return of the Dutch to the East Indies. 9
2.3 East Timor at the beginning of the 19th century. 9
3 THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO. 11
3.1 The British-Dutch Treaties of 1814 and 1824. 11
3.2 In practice. 12
4 THE LITTLE EAST. 15
4.1 Van Yperen, Reinwardt and Kam. 15
4.2 A.J. Bik . 16
4.3 Governor P. Merkus, "a man of liberal principles and enlightened mind" . 16
4.4 Kolff and Kam. 18
4.5 Kam's activities. 21
4.6 Churches and schools; isolation. 22
5 THE DUTCH ADMINISTRATION. 27
5.1 Governing from a distance. 27
5.2 The chiefs. 28
5.3 The "stranger-kings" (Dutch text needs correction). 29
5.4 The officials of the colonial government . 31
5.5 Colonial violence. 33
6 THE DUTCH EAST INDIES IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. 35
6.1 Raffles and after. 35
6.2 Strict rules in the East Indies. 36
6.3 38
6.4 A 19th century Dutch East India Company. 38
6.5 British reactions. 39
7 NEW BRITISH SETTLEMENTS. 41
7.1 Singapore, Port Cockburn and Fort Wellington. 41
7.2 Port Essington. Emma Roberts.. 44
7.3 The British claim to the north coast of Australia. 47
7.4 Emporium Port Essington (1838-1849). 48
7.5 Port Essington and the Little East. 49
7.6 Shadrach Philippus. 51
7.7 Dunmore Lang. 52
8 THE AFTERMATH: THE END OF PORT ESSINGTON. DARWIN. 54
9 EPILOGUE. 56
Literature. 58

PREFACE

Until the downfall of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC) towards the end of the 18th century, the “Little East” (“Kleine Oost”), the vast archipelago in the southern Moluccas between Timor and New Guinea (present day Papua, also known as West Papua), was no more than a footnote in history books. From about 1820, after half a century of de facto freedom and independence, it was once more annexed by the Dutch and included in the newly formed colony of the Dutch East Indies. But there was competition. The British and the Portuguese were suspected of casting envious eyes on the enormous riches in natural resources of this distant and thinly populated part of the East Indies archipelago.
This essay will endeavour to place the integration of the Little East into the Dutch East Indies in a wider context than merely that of the internal administration.

1 THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

1.1 Location and population

The Little East consists of a large group of large and small islands in a vast ocean, which in earlier times were called the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands. A number is of volcanic origin, of which a few were still active in the recent past, such as Pulau Gunung Api, to the north of Wetar. Other islands are no more than a rock sticking up out of the water, sometimes surrounded by coral reefs.
The westernmost island of the Southwestern group of islands was Wetar, an inhabited island to the north of East Timor. To the east of this were the also inhabited islands of Kisar, Roma, Leti, Moa and Babar. Lakor, Damar, Luang, Sermata, Teun, Nila, or the Sulphur Mountain, and Seru were smaller inhabited islands. At the start of the 19th century the total population of the Southwestern Islands was estimated to be around 19,000.[2]
To the east of these lay the Southeastern islands, which consisted of the Tanimbar Archipelago, with about 20,000 inhabitants, according to a very rough estimate, and to the north of this the Kei Archipelago[3] with approximately 8,000 to 10,000 people, and the Aru or Pearl Archipelago with a population of approximately 15,000. The latter archipelago lies between Big-Kei and, what in 1700 was still seen as “the easternmost known shore of the world”, i.e. the southwest coast of New Guinea. Some writers include in the Southeastern Islands the islands between Ceram and the Kei Archipelago, and the eastern part of Ceram itself, which belonged to the Residence of Banda,[4] but these islands will not be considered here.

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2 J.B. Dielwart, “Rapporten van Aroe, Tenimber en Verdere Zuid Ooster en Zuid Wester Eilanden 1825”, INA, AAS b337/s101, Bt. 27/10/1826, nr 10.

3 The names “Kei”, “Kai” or “Kay” were used by migrants and Europeans. According to Rosenberg, *Reize*, 70, the indigenous names were (19th century) Evar (the entire Kei Archipelago), Ioet (Big Kei) and Noçhoçroa (Little Kei),

4 Cf. Van de Graaff, “Rapport over de Molukkos”, 192; and “Bijdrage tot de kennis der Zuid-Wester-eilanden, door eenen Zendeling”.

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The inhabited islands of the Little East were just as many separate worlds, each with its own non-Malay language or languages, clans, history, economy and (primary oral) culture, of which, until after 1850, few or no details were known to the outside world.[5] Pioneering research into the origins of the indigenous population and their languages has been carried out in the last decades. 19th Century travellers suspected that, in spite of differences, most languages had the same origin. Modern research has in broad outlines confirmed this hypothesis. The current point of view is that the ancestors of the indigenous people on the islands, referred to as Austronesians, came from Southeast China. From about 3000 BC they left the country of their birth in several waves, and spread out over the oceanic areas between the east coast of Africa and the islands to the east of New Guinea. In the Big (and Little) East the immigration reached its peak between 2500 and 1500 BC.[6]

As far as the eastern part of the archipelago is concerned, both legends and history point to the Buginese and the Macassarese from South Celebes as the first and most important colonisers of the modern era. On a number of islands they established trading posts, which in turn attracted all kinds of traders, migrants, labourers and fortune hunters who came from all corners of Southeast Asia. It was among these predominantly Malay-speaking coastal groups that Islam found its adherents.[7] Generally speaking, as a result of this migration the delicate equilibrium which had existed for many centuries between the different indigenous island populations regarding social and trade relations, was rudely disturbed and replaced by a system of cohabitation in which the colonisers and their descendants were the dominant party.

1.2 Fishing and Trade

Going from west to east in the Little East, the economic importance of agriculture, industry and cottage industries decreased, and the importance of sea-based activities increased, in particular the fishing for tripang and diving for pearls. Several kinds of tripang (also known as sea cucumber and bêche-de-mer) existed, which varied in value in the market. They could be found all over the Big East and the Philippines, but were most abundant in the shallow waters near the coasts of Luang, Teun, Lakor, the Tanimbar group and the east coast of the Aru Archipelago. Together with tortoise-shell, birds of paradise, mother-of-pearl, sago, beeswax, shark fins and birds' nests, tripang went chiefly to China and Cochin-China (the middle and south of Vietnam).[8] Trade between the islands of the Little East included poultry, fish, rice, cane sugar, salt, resins for lamps and torches, coconut oil, nutmeg, and its by-product mace, tubers (*ubi* in Malay), sago, peas, corn, beans, mangoes, coconuts, betel nuts and big and smaller prahus, pottery, rattan, woven mats and hats,

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5 Van Engelenhoven, "Van Proto Malayo-Polynesisch naar Proto Luangisch-Kisarisch"; McKinnon, *From a shattered sun*; [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 111; De Josselin de Jong, *Studies in Indonesian culture I: Oirata, a Timorese settlement on Kisar*; Van Eijbergen, "Korte woordenlijst".

6 Bellwood, "The origins", 25-38.

7 Azra, "The race"; Adelaar, "Where does Malay come from?"; Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, II, chapt. 3, spec. 135.

8 Olivier, *Reizen*, II, 336; Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, 432; Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 172-173. The trade between the Sulu Islands and China/Japan at the end of the 18th century, is discussed in: Forrest, *Voyage*, chapt. xiv; for the wider picture, cf. Hamashita, *China, East Asia and the global economy*.

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honey and beeswax, fishing lines, pigs, goats, cattle, poultry and hides. Tedious as such enumerations may be, they give an impression of the enormous variety of the products and goods traded.

1.3 Wealth and prosperity

Although some islands in the Southwestern Archipelago looked barren from the sea, in many spots the soil was fertile and the inhabitants industrious.[9] Except for Wetar, where, because of long drawn-out conflicts "dire misery and poverty were visible everywhere",[10] the population of islands such as Kisar and Leti was fairly well-off, and some were even rich. At any rate this was the impression of a visitor in 1821.[11] This was confirmed bij Geerlof Heijmering, a missionary who staid on Leti from 1828 until 1832, adding that the farmers had to work hard to make a living.[12] George Windsor Earl (1813-1865), a British explorer who knew the East Indies well, and who visited Kisar in 1838, was also struck by the neatness and hygiene of the houses and villages, the rich and well-maintained gardens and the numerous herds of buffalo, goats and sheep. Insofar as there were social evils and poverty among the population, these were, in his opinion, due to the Dutch. In his view the island population was well aware of this "and now look up to us as they formerly did to the Dutch; indeed from us they have received nothing but benefits, while from other quarters they have only met with extortion."[13] According to another visitor, in early 1839, the population of Kisar was the most intelligent of the Little East.[14] Owen Stanley, a British captain who was, amongst other things, charged with the charting of the seas between the north of Australia and the East Indies archipelago, could also not speak highly enough of the population of Kisar for its neatness and industriousness in 1841.[15] This propaganda did not fail to have an impact in Europe. In 1853 it enticed a British historian to describe the Southwestern Islands and their population in the most lyrical of terms and to depict the Dutch as barbarians.[16]

Not only foreigners, but also the Dutch were struck by the growing prosperity on some of the islands.[17] Tombra on the north coast of Leti, which at the beginning of the 19th century was a dirty village of 25 small and shabby huts,[18] half a century later had grown into a large, prosperous settlement of 140 well-built houses, where pinisi's and paduakans, large prahus with sails of up to 100 tons, from macassar, Bone, Surabaya and Bonerate (an island to the southeast of South Celebes) came to trade. The same was true of the village of Luhulele on Leti. This was prosperous and possessed great riches in herds of cattle.[19] The road on which in 1864 the Governor of the Moluccas travelled along the north coast of Leti ran "under an abundance of fruit trees (chiefly the

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9 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 350.
10 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 131.
11 De Vriese, *Reis*, 371-373.
12 "Uittreksel uit het dagverhaal van G. Heimering, Zendeling bij het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap op het eiland Letij, van de maand Julij 1829 tot April 1830", AMB 1102-1/1403, sub nov./dec.
13 [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 110.
14 "Port Essington" (April 1840), 372.
15 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 349.
16 St. John, *The Indian Archipelago*, 87-88.
17 Bosscher, "Statistieke schets der Zuidwester-eilanden", 420-421.
18 Kolff, *Reize*, 63-64.
19 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 153, 157.

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breadfruit tree) along and through the paddy fields and corn gardens of the natives." From his sedan chair he saw that the gardens were "turned over with great care, ready for seeding as soon as there is rain, such a well-ordered digging up of the soil as I saw here, is rare in the East Indies; the soil, generally heavy grey clay mixed with sand, appeared to be very fertile."[20]

Paduakan from South Celebes, http://www.forumms.com/traditional_boats.htm

1.4 But appearances were deceptive

Although growing imports testify to the increasing material prosperity, not only in the Southwestern Islands but also in the Aru Archipelago and elsewhere in the Big East,[21] individual wealth was relative. The common man usually had some weapons, some cattle and some copper, brass and gold jewellery, and sometimes one or two slaves, but his existence was insecure. A phenomenon which runs as a common thread through the history of the Little (and Big) East was the forceful manner of trading by the merchants of the large prahus, especially the Macassarese and the Buginese from South Celebes. Farmers and fishermen bought from them on credit and consequently were constantly in debt. Sometimes the prahu merchants was heavy-handed when they demanded payment, but often the debtors were hardly given an opportunity to pay off their debts.[22] When the payment of a debt was more than one monsoon overdue, a partial repayment was considered merely as interest on the sum owing, and not deducted from the principal.[23] The law of the

20 H.A. Andrée Wiltens, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden op eene inspectie reis naar de zuid Wester- Key- en Aroe-Eilanden in de maand November 1864", 20/12/1864 INA, AA 1600.

21 Bosscher, "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent de Aroe-eilanden", 375-378.

22 Brumund, "Aanteekeningen", 264-267, describes the financial problems which in 1843 existed between the inhabitants of Workai in the Aru Archipelago and Buginese traders.

23 Kolff, *Reize*, 49.

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jungle was prevalent here. A significant part of the population in fact lived in a more or less permanent state of slavery, which could easily lead to murder, manslaughter or outbursts of popular fury.[24]

If the population of the islands did not fall victim to the unfairness and greed of the prahu merchants, it was always possible that a long-lasting drought, a destructive *alang-alang* fire or bushfire, a plague of insects, a war between villages or islands, or a raid by pirates or slave-hunters destroyed a harvest or made it impossible for the village to work.[25] Infectious diseases, hurricanes and drought could decimate a population. In the early 1820s in the Aru Archipelago the village of Wokam was reduced from 600 to 60 people by smallpox, and the village of Maikoor (Meijkor) from 700 to 70. There were so many victims in the whole of the Aru Archipelago at that time "that this time is recalled by every elderly person as a time of general catastrophe", a visitor noted in 1864.[26] Something similar happened on Leti in 1833-1835, and in 1849 cholera killed more than 3000 people in the Aru Archipelago.[27] On Roma in 1855, 1800 people, more than half the population, succumbed to smallpox, introduced by a prahu from Macassar.[28] Such diseases and disasters, combined with the abundant consumption of cheap liquor, were also the most important causes of the fact that the population of the Little East was for a long period more or less stationary. However in the course of the century this changed, in part because of the placement of several indigenous doctors (*Dokter Jawa*), the introduction of vaccination against smallpox on a sufficiently large scale and general improvement of medical care. Also trade picked up. As a result the population increased in size. In 1852 the number of inhabitants of the Southwestern Islands alone was estimated at about 46,000 people, which was more than double the amount of 1825. Although this figure was probably too high, it seems a more than reasonable assumption that when the middle of the century approached population growth was well on its way.[29]

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24 Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maanden April en Mei 1864", 324-325.

25 About 1845 nearly all villages on Larat and Fordate islands were ransacked by pirates. Those of the inhabitants who fled in time took refuge on neighboring islands. Van Doren, "De Tenimber-eilanden, ten zuidwesten van de Keij-eilanden", 101.

26 Letter H.C. van Eijbergen to GM, 21/5/1864, INA, AA 1574.

27 Bosscher, "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent de Aroe-eilanden", 354.

28 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 138.

29 Bosscher, "Statistieke schets der Zuidwester-eilanden", 435; cf. Reid, "Low Population Growth".

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2 THE LITTLE EAST IN A WIDER CONTEXT

2.1 Administrative vacuum

Victory in the battles of Plassey (Bengal, 1757) and Buxar (Bihar, 1764) delivered the British hegemony over significant parts of South and Southeast Asia. At the same time the Dutch East India Company began to decline, which was the more far-reaching in its consequences, because it had not only the characteristics of a trading company, but also those of sovereign.[30] This combination proved fatal. In the archipelago posts were abolished, ships taken out of service or deployed elsewhere, and the number of troops was reduced. Great Britain was on the threshold of its industrial Golden Age in which factories, shipyards, spinning and weaving mills were working at full blast. Overproduction threatened, new markets were needed. Unemployment, impoverishment and social tensions increased, and overcrowded prisons and poorhouses required new colonies. Albion's overseas ambitions were unstoppable.

From the second half of the 16th century British merchant vessels had occasionally conducted trade in the East Indies archipelago (among others with Timor, Ternate, Bantam, Banjermassin, Bencoolen, Aceh, Macassar, Ambon, Banda and Mindanao), to the extent that the Dutch East India Company left them room to do so. Their activities increased during the second half of the 18th century. Alluding to the East Indies archipelago, Alexander Dalrymple, author of *A Plan for Extending the Commerce of this Kingdom, and of the East-India-Company,*[31] in 1769 in another book put it as follows: "Although the extension of the British East India Company's trade by opening an intercourse with the eastern parts of India, has always been a favourite object of every wise administration, there never was a time when [– – –] this matter was of such importance as at the present."[32] London loved hearing this. While the British East India Company extended its power and influence on the Indian sub-continent, Alexander Dalrymple (1759-1764), Philip Carteret (1767),[33] James Cook (1770),[34] Thomas Forrest (1774-1776)[35] and other "empire builders" penetrated virtually unimpeded deep into territories held by the Dutch East India Company and there opened up new markets.

In these years the Dutch administration in the East Indies was chaotic and patchy. The East Indies no longer returned a profit, but instead cost money. The Moluccas in particular had become a financial burden. The British successfully exacted several concessions. In 1795 Malacca and Padang were lost to the British. Five years later the latter blocked the port of Batavia, which led to food shortages in the city. Not long after this the Dutch war fleet was swept away and military facilities and other equipment were destroyed. British merchants had a free hand in the archipelago and had, or gained, exclusive access to indigenous port-towns on Sumatra (Aceh), Borneo, Sulu, Bunwoot (Mindanao) and in Dore (New Guinea) and in some places built temporary trading posts

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30 Van Goor, *De Nederlandse Koloniën*, chapt. 5.

31 London: Printed for the author; and sold by J. Nourse, and T. Payne, 1769.

32 [Dalrymple], *An account*, 2-3; about him: Cook, "Alexander Dalrymple's *A Collection of Plans of Ports in the East Indies (1774-1775)*".

33 Henry, *An historical account*, III, 152-159; Prior, *All the voyages*, 291-292.

34 *The voyages of Captain James Cook*, I, chapt. 8-12.

35 Forrest, *A Voyage.*

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where they exchanged cotton, wool, copper, bronze, iron, steel and tools from Europe and British India for products from the eastern part of the archipelago and China.[36] In 1819 the British effort at consolidation was followed by the foundation of modern Singapore, despite protests from Batavia, which considered this a violation of a treaty between the Dutch East India Company and the Sultan of Johor, a vassal of (then Dutch) Malacca, in whose jurisdiction Singapore was located.[37]

2.2 The return of the Dutch to the East Indies

After the end of the Napoleonic wars the Netherlands had to defend its interests in Southeast Asia on two fronts: on the domestic front in the East Indies and on the international one. With respect to the interior it is sufficient to refer to the rebellions and riots which erupted against the Dutch in various places, such as Ambon (the Pattimura rebellion of 1817), Palembang (1817-1825), West Borneo (Kalimantan, 1820, 1823-1824), West Sumatra (the Padri war, 1819-1838), South Celebes (1821-1824) and East Java (1818, 1825-1830). None of these resistance movements and rebellions, which were often very bloody, produced the desired result for the insurgents.
With respect to the international front the Netherlands in 1814, a year after it had regained its position as an independent nation, concluded an important treaty with Great Britain. Both parties agreed that, with a few exceptions, the Netherlands would get back those possessions in America, Africa and Asia which it had owned on the 1st of January 1803, but which had been occupied by the British during the Napoleonic wars.[38]
With regard to the southern Moluccan Islands it briefly seemed as if there was yet another party the Dutch could not afford to lose sight of: the Portuguese on East Timor.

2.3 East Timor at the beginning of the 19th century

The Portuguese on East Timor, or Timor-Dili, who had been left in peace by the Dutch as unimportant after the Dutch East India Company had occupied Kupang (West Timor) in the 17th century, were poverty-stricken at the beginning of the 19th century.[39] The territory was governed from Goa (India). The Portuguese possessions on Timor-Dili consisted of a number of poor villages along the north coast and their immediate surroundings. The handful of Timorese converted to Roman Catholicism also lived there; the small states and princedoms in the mountainous interior were subjected by the Portuguese in name, but in practice did not take much notice of them. The Governor lived in a shabby little hut in the village of Dili.[40] According to a visitor in 1803 he was the only Portuguese person on Timor-Dili. When receiving guests he had to borrow chairs and crockery. The Governor, every military man and every civil servant was at the same time a merchant.

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36 “British manufactures exported to Asia”, 500; Berg, “Britain’s Asian Century”, 133-134.

37 “Singapore” (1820), 92; “Dutch encroachment. Singapore”, 319-320; “Historical sketch”, 25. Objections to the founding of Singapore were also raised by Penang (Prince of Wales Island) and Malacca. Both feared the competition of a new free port. “Singapore” (1827), 541-542.

38 Hoek, *Herstel*, chapt. I, II.

39 The uneasy relation between the Dutch and Portuguese on Timor is discussed in: Fox, *Out of the ashes*, chapt. 1.

40 Flinders, *A voyage to Terra Australis*, II, 254-255.

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The export of slaves was a significant source of income.[41] The exported slaves, consisting of prisoners of war, convicts, and kidnapped men, women and children, as well as people who could not pay off their debts, came mostly from Timor, Solor, Flores and other nearby islands. As a consequence of the prohibition on the trade in slaves proclaimed by the Dutch, under pressure from the British, for their subjects on the 15th of June 1814 (only starting in 1860 was slavery or serfdom itself partially abolished)[42] the export of slaves did decline, but did not completely disappear. In the middle of the 19th century the Buginese sold around 100 slaves annually in the Southeastern and Southwestern Islands, while others went to Celebes, Borneo (Kalimantan), Aceh, the Sulu Archipelago and Siam where they were exchanged for elephant tusks. In addition the export from Timor-Dili included wheat, beeswax, wax candles, sandalwood, buffalo and horses.[43] Imports consisted of cotton and silk textiles, firearms, scimitars, pottery and similar articles from Europe, British India, Java, Siam, Burma, Manila and China. The supply of provisions to European and American whaling ships, merchant vessels and explorers also generated income. The total amount of goods and services offered in Timor-Dili in the first half of the 19th century was as yet too small to create prosperity of any significance, but economic activity was on the increase.
The Dutch initially felt somewhat apprehensive that the Portuguese, forced by the miserable economic situation of Timor-Dili, and as compensation for the decline of their colonial empire elsewhere, would seek to resume their attempts to increase their territories to the north and east, which up till then had been unsuccessful. Moreover, the relations between Dili and Kupang were strained. Rumours were circulating that Batavia wanted to transfer various islands, among which were Solor, Savu, Roti and even Timor-Kupang, to the Portuguese. In the beginning of 1817, when West Timor was returned to the Dutch by the British, it turned out that the Portuguese not only had forced several Timorese kings to fly the Portuguese flag, but had actually occupied a part of Timor-Kupang, where they had appointed chiefs and levied taxes.[44] The Portuguese also exerted some influence over their fellow Roman Catholics on Solor, East Flores and other islands to the north-west of Timor and stirred up anti Dutch sentiments among them. The Dutch feared that this would lead to more Portuguese territorial claims, as the Portuguese might feel encouraged by the example of the former British governor Raffles, who tried to maintain British influence in the Indies. However, this fear turned out to be groundless. The Portuguese had neither the resources, nor the enterprise, nor the courage to develop initiatives and did not show up in the Little East.[45]

41 The role of American traders in Asia is discussed in: “American Export Trade to China”.
42 “Decree” .
43 K[ruseman], “Beschrijving van Timor” , 8; Letter of J. Finn to Board DMS, 18/9/1841, AMB 1102-1/1432.
44 Farram, “Jacobus Arnoldus Hazaart”, 471.
45 Kolff, *Reize,* 38-41; Heyman, *De Timor tractaten (1859 en 1893)*, 14-18.

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3 THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO

3.1 The British-Dutch Treaties of 1814 and 1824

Whereas a number of British pioneers and buccaneers had used the decline of the Dutch East India Company energetically to expand their trading activities in maritime Southeast Asia, the British had shown little interest in the eastern part of the archipelago during their short interim rule of the Moluccas (1796-1803, 1810-1817) and West Timor (1797, 1810-1811, 1812-1817). Insofar as they had any interest at all in the welfare, religious life and education of the indigenous population, this was restricted to Ambon and Banda.[46] The contacts of the inhabitants of the Little East with the European outside world were as sporadic as before, and it was rare for a government official or merchant vessel to visit the islands. Consequently few islanders were aware that the Dutch had abandoned Batavia and Ambon to the British, or what dramas were unfolding in Europe. The British rulers had, it is true, distributed a number of national flags, but only a few village chiefs had preserved one. They did not flutter in the wind anywhere.

The occupation of parts of the East Indies by the British was not permanent, but formed the temporary response to the French annexation of the Netherlands. The return of Java to the Dutch was implemented on the 16th of August 1816; the Moluccas were handed over on the 25th of March 1817. This happened on the basis of the Treaty of London of the 13th of August 1814.[47] In the Treaty of the 17th of March 1824 between London and The Hague[48] a number of items from the Treaty of 1814 were regulated in greater detail and some remaining problems were solved. The British consented to the exception of the Moluccas (Ambon, Banda and Ternate and dependencies) from the general stipulation for freedom of trade until further notice (Article 7). For the rest, the subjects of both nations traded in each other's Asiatic possessions on the basis of "most favoured nation" status (Article 1).The levies imposed on the other nation's cargos and ships were not to be more than twice those which were imposed on the nation's own ships (Article 2). The Dutch conceded that the indigenous prahu merchants would not be prevented from visiting ports in the British possessions (Article 4). The question whether the Dutch and the British would be allowed to establish new settlements in "the Eastern Seas" and, if so, where and under what conditions, was a matter which was to be decided in Europe (Article 6). Article 8 determined that the Dutch would vacate their possessions in British India and transfer them to the British East India Company. All British settlements on Sumatra were to be handed over to the Dutch. Among them was Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen), once an important centre for the export of spices which had been in British hands for more than a century. In return the Dutch ceded Malacca (Articles 9 and 10).[49] The Dutch claim on the territory of Singapore was exchanged for that of the British on the tin-island of Biliton and other small islands immediately south of Singapore (Articles 11 and 12). An important provision stated that if either of the two nations were to relinquish one or more of the posses-

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46 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk in de Midden-Molukken 1803-1900*, vol. I, docs. 7-12.

47 Text in Hoek, *Herstel*, 50-53; "Convention between Great Britain and the United Netherlands"; "Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands".

48 "Treaty between Great Britain and the Netherlands".

49 Malacca was Dutch since 1641; 1795-1818 it was British; 1818-1825 again Dutch; from 1825 again British.

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sions under its rule, these were not to be transferred to a third power, but that the other party to the Treaty gained the automatic right to occupy these lands (Article 15).
It would have been contrary to the letter and the spirit of both treaties if the British would have kept or established a settlement, marine port or trading post in the East Indies archipelago, leave alone given assistance to insurgents. This did not alter the fact that Singapore and Penang (Prince of Wales Island), a small British island off the west coast of the Malayan peninsula, looked askance at the Dutch advances on Sumatra and Borneo. Their trade interests in the region were at stake.[50]
In the early 1830s rumours circulated that the British intended to interfere in the Padri war on Sumatra on the side of the insurgents.[51] What is certain is that several nations in Mid-Sumatra, which had treaties of friendship and alliance with the British that went back to the days when Sir T.S. Raffles was Governor of Bencoolen (1817-1824), called on the assistance of the British in Singapore.[52] These refused the request; their hands were tied by the Treaty of 1824, in which they had pledged that no treaty should be concluded by them with any native prince or state on that island.[53]
This applied with the necessary changes to the Dutch as well. The treaties and the explanatory notes did not explicitly address the possibility that they might settle in Australia. They could have done so, for instance on Bathurst Island and Melville Island, where, in 1705, they had set foot ashore[54] and to which they still might lay claim. But after the Treaty of 1824 The Hague abandoned all claims to all Australian territory. On the basis of the principle of reciprocity London and The Hague kept each other, politely but firmly, in check with regard to their territorial expansionism in this part of the world.[55]

3.2 In practice

Although relations between London and The Hague were good, as both were core players in the Protestant struggle against Catholic Europe, in Southeast Asia they were characterised by rivalry, envy, distrust and, at times, mutual violence. This had been the case for centuries.[56] No sooner had

50 "Dutch India" (Dec. 1839), 304. In 1826 Singapore, Malacca and Penang (which was British since 1786 and included the Province of Wellesley, a coastal strip on the Malaysian mainland) were united in a Government (or Presidency). In 1830 this entity was abolished after which the three settlement were ruled directly from Calcutta.
51 These rumors were the direct cause of the transfer in 1833 of Diponegoro, a leader of the resistence against the Dutch during the Java War (1825-1830), from Fort Amsterdam in Manado, where he was kept prisoner, to Fort Rotterdam in Macassar which was considered much safer. The Dutch wanted to prevent him being freed by the British and brought back to Java. "Netherlands India" (Nov. 1833), 182.
52 "Dutch India" (Febr. 1839), 115; "Dutch India" (Dec. 1839), 304.
53 Art. 9, Treaty of 1824, in: "Treaty between Great Britain and the Netherlands".
54 Swaardecroon, "Verslag eener reis naar de noordkust van Nieuw-Holland, in 1705".
55 "Miscellaneous" (Febr. 1825), 212; "Dutch Treaty of 1824", 54. Strictly speaking the founding of Sarawak (North Borneo) in 1839 by James Brooke was an infringement upon Art. 6 of the Treaty of 1824. But The Hague, which almost directly governed the Indies bypassing Batavia and did not want to antagonize London, did not respond.
56 Many British could not repeat often enough their version of what they called "massacre of Amboyna". In February 1623 a number of English traders on Ambon and their Japanese personnel were tried and hanged for treason. This affair has overshadowed the relations between both nations for many years. In 1651 there

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the British withdrawn from the East Indies (1816/1817) or some merchants, journalists and politicians warned that they should not lose sight of their political and commercial interests in the region. While London and The Hague were regulating their future relations for the region to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, is was advised that the area under Dutch rule in Southeast Asia should be restricted to the enclaves previously under the authority of the Dutch East India Company, and that the freedom and independence of the indigenous principalities and nations which had remained outside Dutch control, or which had meanwhile declared their independence, should be respected. Sultanates on Borneo and Sumatra were often mentioned as an example. This would create an opportunity for the British to continue trading in the archipelago without involving the Dutch and to keep open the shipping routes between British India, Australia and China in the event of an armed conflict between the Netherlands and Great Britain. The founding of Singapore in 1819 as British trading and naval post and the demand of the transfer of Malacca into British hands in 1824 are in part to be seen in this light. Malacca and Singapore were situated halfway between British India and China and controlled the Strait of Malacca, even then already one of the busiest shipping routes in the world, and gave excellent access to the East Indies archipelago.

After the British Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, Sir Thomas Raffles (1811-1816), had pleaded for retention of Java by the British,[57] a pamphlet appeared in London in 1819, from the hand of Charles C. Assey (1780-1821), first Government Secretary under Raffles and Secretary to the Commission which had organised the transfer of Java to the Dutch. In the spirit of Raffles, Assey argued that free access to the markets of the archipelago was of great importance both for the British economy and for the indigenous population. He feared that in the negotiations between London and The Hague insufficient attention had been paid to this, because geopolitical considerations had there predominated.[58] The appearance of this pamphlet, which was warmly received by British free traders and the liberal British press, was a powerful incentive for Batavia and The Hague to proceed with their efforts to oust the British from all corners of the new colony and make sure they did not gain or regain a foothold.

Objections and wishes such as those of Raffles and Assey fell in London and Calcutta on deaf ears. Only the founding of Singapore was agreed to, as the Malacca Straits was considered more important than the Sunda Strait, the narrow waterway between Java and Sumatra. On the basis of the treaties of 1814 and 1824 the whole archipelago to the south of the Malay peninsula and the Philippines was incorporated in the union of the colony.[59] The question now facing the Dutch was

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appeared *A true Relation of the late Unjust, Cruel, and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna in the East-Indies, by the Neatherlanders there, upon a forged Pretence of a Conspiracy of the said English*. This pamphlet was published by the British East India Company and dedicated to Oliver Cromwell. To rekindle anti-Dutch sentiments parts of this pamphlet were republished in 1821 as “Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna, in 1622”; cf. “Dutch encroachment. Singapore”. (NB Febr. 1622 according to the British calendar = Febr. 1623 according to the Continental calendar).

57 Hall, *A history of South-East Asia*, 487; [Raffles], *Memoir*, “Letter to Sir Hugh Inglis”, 13/2/1814; *Ibidem*, “Letter to Wm. Marsden”, 6/8/1815.

58 Charles Assey, *On the Trade to China and the Indian Archipelago: With Observations on the Insecurity of the British Interests in that Quarter*. London: Printed for Rodwell and Martin, 1819. About Assey, cf. “Biographical Memoir of Mr. Charles Chaston Assey”.

59 “Dutch India” (Dec. 1839), 304.

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how they could set up an effective administration. The British doubted that the Dutch would have the resources for this, and did not consider them capable of educating and civilising the population in the manner they themselves had in mind. To prevent this creating an administrative “no man’s land” of which the French, the Danes, slave traders and others could take advantage, Article 15 was included in the Treaty of London (1824).

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4 THE LITTLE EAST

4.1 Van Yperen, Reinwardt and Kam

The British were proved wrong, however, at least insofar as the administrative and military capabilities of the Dutch were concerned. In spite of severe difficulties and a chronic lack of money, they succeeded in setting up an administrative system which encompassed virtually the whole archipelago, even though in some cases, like large parts of New Guinea, Borneo, Sumatra and Celebes, this took almost a century to accomplish and exacted great sacrifices of people, money and goods.

But not so in the Little East. There was no question of a long-lasting and, at times, bloody resistance against the Dutch, such as occurred, for instance, on Sumatra and Java. The last person in charge of the Southwestern Islands was Josua van Yperen, who was based on Kisar. However, at the start of the second British interim rule of the Moluccas (1810-1817) he had retreated to Ambon, after which the position was abolished and the region left to its own devices. A few of his predecessors were said to have been poisoned and it was feared a similar fate might be in store for him. Only the presence of his numerous descendants on the island reminded in the first decades of the 19th century of the once very strong ties with the Dutch.[60]

The first person to visit the Little East after the return of the East Indies to Dutch rule (1816/1817) was a scientist, i.e. C.G.C. Reinwardt, professor at the Athenaeum Illustre of the City of Amsterdam and Director of the National Cabinet of Natural History. In 1821, two years after a British scientific expedition to the Moluccas,[61] he travelled to Ambon via Kisar. His task was to give a description of the region and its people and to put together a survey of its geological condition, its flora and fauna, and to investigate the possibilities for the mining of mineral resources and other treasures in the soil. Two accounts of his visit have survived, one written by himself and one by J.Th. Bik, who accompanied him on the trip as artist. Reinwardt observed that Kisar, although "frequently" afflicted by drought and famine, had an abundance of pigs, poultry and vegetables, and that the population possessed "very good" houses, which were better than those on the islands in the vicinity, as far as he could see from sailing past them.[62]

In March 1823 Joseph Kam, since 1815 a missionary on Ambon, briefly visited Leti and Kisar, where most of the (one-time) Christians lived. He did this at the same time that another Dutch missionary, Reint le Bruijn from West Timor,[63] was for a brief period active on Moa, Kisar and the south of Wetar. By conducting church services, baptising of some hundreds of islanders and religious solemnisation of a number of marriages they hoped to give new impetus to the groups of Christians who had had no visit from the church for half a century, and to stimulate latent feelings of loyalty and affection towards the Dutch. They also attempted (in vain) to placate a conflict between Leti and Wetar, which had erupted in 1820 when the people of Leti had taken revenge for the attack on a few of their prahus off the coast of Wetar by burning a number of houses in the kampong of Ilwaki, as well as the church and the blockhouse, and by chasing away the inhabitants.

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60 Van der Crab, *De Moluksche eilanden*, 97; De Vriese, *Reis*, 370.
61 "Natural History of the Moluccas", 75.
62 De Vriese, *Reis*, 369-373; Bik, "Aanteekeningen", 140.
63 Reijnt le Bruijn; b. 1799; 1820-1829 missionary at Kupang.

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This bloody conflict, during which both sides engaged in murder and robbery and which, from time to time, brought trade from Leti to Wetar and Timor to a standstill, dragged on till 1859, when a government official managed to restore peace.[64]

4.2 A.J. Bik

The next expedition to the Little East took place in the months of March, April and May of 1824. Under the leadership of A.J. Bik (brother of J.Th. Bik) the colonial schooners Daphne and Pollux visited the islands of Keffing and Goram, to the east of Ceram, and the Kei and Aru Archipelagos to the south of Banda. By order of Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. Baron van der Capellen (1819-1826) he showed the Dutch flag to the islanders and made their acquaintance. His orders were to investigate how the languishing trade and economy of the region could be stimulated and integrated into that of the Dutch East Indies as a whole. This formed part of the (unrealised) plan of the Governor-General to abolish the monopoly on spices in the Moluccas.[65] During his visit to the Aru Archipelago Bik installed several schoolmasters and also succeeded in bringing to a satisfactory ending a damaging and costly conflict.[66]

4.3 Governor P. Merkus, "a man of liberal principles and enlightened mind"[67]

As a follow-up to Bik's mission the armed brig of war Dourga under Captain D.H. Kolff visited the most important islands of the Little East in the months of May to October 1825. According to Merkus, Governor of Ambon (1822-1828), this trip had become urgent because of the establishment by the British of a trading post on the north coast of Australia in 1824. It is true that the Big East was off limits for British ships according to the treaties of 1814 and 1824, but Governor Merkus was uneasy about compliance with this arrangement by individual British merchant vessels. Kolff's orders were the same as Bik's: restoration of Dutch authority.[68] Where necessary he had to nominate or officially appoint chiefs, and settle all other administrative affairs, resolve conflicts, gauge the size of the population, chart the inter-island trade, as well as industry, agriculture and other economic activities, and make proposals to enhance the security and prosperity of the islanders. He also had to instruct them not to do business with British merchants. And finally he had to ascertain what remained of the groups of Reformed Christians which had originated under Dutch rule in the Southwestern Islands and the Aru Archipelago and, insofar as any remained, how they could be supported and their number increased. With this last purpose in mind Joseph Kam made the journey of the Dourga with him.[69] Indigenous Christians were fairly generally considered more trustworthy subjects (for the Dutch) than Muslims and the pagan (i.e. non-Muslim and non-Christian) population. It was abhorrent to the Government to think of the possibil-

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64 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 133-134, 145-147.

65 [Van der Capellen], "Het journaal van den baron Van der Capellen op zijne reis door de Molukko's", 284-288; Letter G.A.G.Ph. Baron van der Capellen to CD, 2/2/1825, nr 46, NAN, ACD, inv. nr 474; Spengler, *De Nederlandsche Oost-Indische bezittingen*, I, 85-89; Tijdeman, *De Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij*, 108.

66 Bik, *Dagverhaal*, 43-52; Kolff, *Reize*, 197.

67 "Eastern Seas", 593.

68 Letter GM to Lt. GGDEI, 15/5/1826, nr 51, INA, AAS b337/s101, Bt. 27/10/1826, nr 10.

69 De Jong, "Verslag".

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ity that the largely Islamic migrants and seafarers would proselytise among the indigenous population of the southern Moluccas or that Christian villages would convert to Islam under their influence. If this were to happen on a large scale this would mean, as viewed by the Dutch, that this would add regions which were difficult to govern, similar to South Celebes or the Kei Archipelago. Merkus warned Batavia that:

> *if they were to succeed in their aims, which is only too likely, one can be certain that the Government in the converted people will find enemies instead of friends, as it is an absolute fact that Muslims make intolerance a virtue, and also are only tolerant as long as they are forced to be so.*[70]

The Dutch policy regarding "the state of peace and contentment" was very closely linked to the colonial policy with regard to religion. This meant that (re)Christianisation of the islands required urgent attention. Merkus was of the opinion that the integration of the Little East into the union of the Dutch East Indies implied simultaneously the education and civilisation (in a Western sense) of the population. In a letter to L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies, who from 1826 to 1830 was Royal Commissioner-General for the Dutch East Indies, he stated that if "the indigenous population were to conform to the customs, traditions and, if possible, the religion of the European rulers, this must, in my opinion, bring with it only the most desirable consequences."[71] This objective in his view could be achieved more easily, and perhaps more quickly, with the light touch of Christian teachers and preachers than with the harsh methods of soldiers. In his view the moral authority of the former was greater than that of colonial government officials and the military, and they aroused less aversion than a military occupation, which of course did not alter the fact that it must be possible to intervene with a firm hand when necessary. Not only did this kind of arrangement cost the state next to nothing, but also, if combined with promotion of trade and security at sea, it would benefit all those involved.

With respect to the practical implementation of this policy Merkus had allocated an important role to Ambonese schoolteachers. The number of seven who, at the time of Kolff's voyage in 1825, worked in the Little East (three in the Aru Archipelago, and one each on Roma, Kisar, Damar and Leti) he wanted to expand significantly to eighteen. That he preferred Ambonese schoolteachers to European missionaries was because he felt they would be better able to cope with the isolated and primitive existence on the islands than Europeans. The available European missionaries he preferred to see in North Celebes. But Merkus was unable to stop the arrival of a number of European missionaries on the Southwestern Islands, although he was proved right about their unsuitability. In spite of the great personal sacrifices they suffered, they were unable to last long there.[72]

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70 Letter GM to Lt. GGDEI, 15/5/1826, nr 51, INA, AAS b337/s101, Bt. 27/10/1826, nr 10. The hatred felt by many Muslims against Europeans and Christians had before been noticed by the British when they took possession of the Moluccas in 1796, Lennon, *Journal*, 292.

71 Letter GM to Commissioner General, 31/3/1827, nr La B, NAN, ACD 606, Vb 14/3/1828, nr 61.

72 Letter GM to Lt. GGDEI, 15/5/1826, nr 51, INA, AAS b337/s101, Bt. 27/10/1826, nr 10.

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4.4 Kolff and Kam

During their 1825 voyage the first visit Kolff and Kam paid was to the Portuguese in East Timor. When they arrived, a merchant vessel bound for Macao (a Portuguese island-colony near Canton) lay at anchor off Dili. From Timor they crossed to South Wetar, the westernmost of the Southwestern Islands, and from there proceeded in an easterly direction. The reception on most islands was "cordial", even if sometimes this required some pressure from armed sailors of the Dourga. On Moa (1825: 4000 inhabitants), where the partially dilapidated small Dutch fortress De Haan ("The Rooster") had been empty for half a century, the population even regarded their visit as an occasion for a "national celebration".[73] Luang was a small island to the east of Moa, with 1250 inhabitants who called themselves *nasarani* (Christians), but only a few elderly persons could remember that their distant ancestors had once been baptised. In spite of this Luang beat the other islands in festive spirit, helpfulness and gratitude for the visit. Nowhere did Kolff and Kam meet with "more unity, contentment, tolerance, mutual assistance and helpfulness, domestic happiness and peace, hospitality and humanity" than in Luang.[74] The reality was that the population of Luang consisted of pirates and headhunters, who, from time to time, raided passing ships and neighbouring islands to carry out their bloody handiwork and to kidnap people for the slave trade.[75]

The reception was also cordial in the village of Durjela on Wamar, an island in the northwest of the Aru Archipelago. The *orang kaya* was an ardent supporter of modern education in Malay, and had requested a number of schoolteachers from Kam, which Bik had brought with him in 1824.[76] During the VOC period a large stone church had been erected here, of 30 by 13 metres, which was still well maintained by the population, and where on Sundays the teacher conducted church services.[77]

This cordiality was in most cases anything but disinterested, for no one had forgotten that the old ties with the Dutch were written in blood. The chiefs were well aware that the return of the Dutch could mean the undermining of their position, which was based on the *adat*, and the more so because Ambon wanted to reorganise local administration, and, where necessary and possible, to join several villages under one chief. The most important motivation of the islanders to accept, if necessary, government officials and soldiers or to resign themselves to their coming, was the expectation that these would take care of peace and security and put an end to the raids of pirates and the evil trade practices of the crews of large prahus, and on the other hand their sheer fear of "the Company". Most of them had the feeling they had no choice. In this respect Kam and Kolff appear not to have realised that, in the eyes of the population, they embodied a large, foreign, and at times frightening economic and military power, for which the islanders were no match. Although the colonial administration had after 1800 openly distanced itself from the atrocities and coercion of the past, and impressed upon the population that it first and foremost aspired to secure its happiness and well-being, the inhabitants remained suspicious. A chief on Fordate (Tanimbar

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73 Kolff, *Reize*, 91, 247.
74 *Ibidem*, 139-140.
75 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 153, 161, 175.
76 [Van der Capellen], "Het journaal van den baron Van der Capellen op zijne reis door de Molukko's", 289.
77 Bosscher, "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent de Aroe-eilanden", 366.

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Archipelago) warned Kolff not to set too much store by the agreements entered into with the islanders, and promises made by them.[78]

The reception of Kolff and Kam was not equally pleasant everywhere. In many places the wish for the Dutch to return was totally lacking, particularly in places where the lack of (Dutch) order and security offered a chance of significant earnings. Anti-Dutch sentiments were present on Solor, parts of Wetar and other islands to the north of Timor, on most of the islands of the Kei and Tanimbar Archipelagos, and in migrant villages on Damar and along the east coast of Babar.[79] The people living on the northern beach of Wetar were, according to Kolff, of a "wild, rapacious nature". They were not subservient to the Christians, as was the case on Kisar and Leti, but had preserved their independence. Just before his arrival they robbed some passing prahus[80] – and they continued to do this. They had no interest in Dutch control of the seas or in paying Dutch taxes.[81]

During the period of the Dutch East India Company there had been a church, a guardhouse and a teacher's house in Tepa, on Babar's west coast. However, in the 1770s all pro-Dutch chiefs were murdered and the teacher, merchants and soldiers driven from the island. After this the Dutch abandoned Babar, a fact that did not aid their prestige.[82] Sometimes the villages along Babar's east coast (1825: a total of 1400 inhabitants) "disturbed" Wetan(g), a small island off the west coast of Babar, where the people from west Babar had their gardens. A short time before Kolff arrived on Babar in August 1825, some inhabitants of Alutur, one of these east Babar villages, had raided and set fire to the British brig *Linson*, which had just exchanged a load of firearms and ammunition for cattle, tortoise-shell and drinking water. All who sailed in her were murdered. The same fate, and in the same spot, had a short time before befallen a prahu from Banda. In this case two crew members had survived the raid. When one of them got married to the daughter of one of the pirates, both crew members were immediately suspected of complicity. Because of inadequate resources and lack of time, Kolff here regretfully had to abandon the task of "maintaining Dutch authority".[83]

By contrast their neighbours in Tepa and other west coast villages on Babar, in 1825 a total of about 1200 people, with whom the people of east Babar lived in a virtually continuous state of conflict, were well-disposed towards the Dutch. They looked for colonial protection and agreed to the posting of a missionary or schoolteacher to their island. However, this wish was not granted because the place was considered too dangerous,[84] after which Christianity became a thing of the past and the ancestral religion reclaimed its position. The pro-Dutch attitude of the village population however did not change.[85]

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78 Kolff, *Reize*, 278.

79 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 351; Bosscher, "Statistieke schets der Zuidwester-eilanden", 421. At the end of the century the reputation of the inhabitants of Wetar was as bad as it was at the beginning, *The Times* (30/1/1884), 7.

80 Kolff, *Reize*, 45-46.

81 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 133.

82 Van der Crab, *De Moluksche eilanden*, 97.

83 Kolff, *Reize*, 155-156.

84 *Ibidem,* 158-159; De Jong,"Verslag".

85 "Reis naar *Banda*", 224; H. Knottnerus, "Extract verslag van een kerkelijke dienstreis naar de Minahasa en Ambon, gemaakt gedurende de maanden Augustus en September 1881", 15/11/1882, nr 10, NA, AMvK 3581.

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Some inhabitants of Leti (1825: a population of 2500), and the inhabitants of the village of Kaliobor (1825: a population of 1200) on Larat also ignored, insulted or chased away Kolff and his party; those of Fordate (or Vordate; 1825: a population of 4240; 1863: a population of 2500) received the visitors armed to the teeth and adorned for war, while they performed a threatening war dance; the people on Roma (1825: a population of 530; 1864: six villages in total, with a population of around 1500) were friendly, but avoided Kam's church services.[86] At the time of Kolff's visit to Kaliobor on Larat, women and children had fled into the forest, a sign that the villagers prepared for the worst, including an armed encounter and kidnapping.[87] On Jamdena (or: Timorlaut) in the Tanimbar Archipelago his crew were met by a hail of arrows while they landed, which took the life of the Dutch sailor J. Moll. An attempt by Kolff to negotiate freedom for a British sailor who was held prisoner there, was unsuccessful and the promises by the chiefs of Larat and Sera to make an effort to achieve this were not kept.[88]

The village of Oliliet on the southeast coast of Jamdena, Lort Stokes, *Discoveries*, I, 458-459

86 De Jong, "Verslag".

87 Kolff, *Reize*, 279-280.

88 *The Times* (22/4/1939), 5; (20/12/1839), 4; (22/4/1940), 5; (7/4/1841), 7; (30/9/1841), 4; Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, I, 473, 475-478, and "Een Engelschman", relate the fate of a British ship from Port Cockburn which was highjacked and destroyed near the village of Oliliet upon the southeast coast of Jamdena island in Febr. 1825. The crew were murdered except for two members, Joseph Forbes ("Timor Joe" in Australian press reports) and John Edwards. Both were kept as slaves in the village of Laouran on Jamdena. Edwards died within a few months, Forbes was liberated in 1839 and was given a hero's welcome in London. This matter is also touched upon in a note of J.E. Bernard, magistrate on Ambon, 2/6/1827, INA, AA 1062; Kolff, *Reize*, 242-244, 250-254, 290-291, 295, 297, 305;"Port Essington" (April 1840), 372; Roberts, "Notice", 5, and, though not quite accurately, in: *The Sydney Monitor* (NSW), (30/4/1836), 3. A similar fate befell another British ship from Port Cockburn a year later off Babar Island. In this case nobody survived. Campbell, "Geographical Memoir of Melville Island and Port Essington", 132-133.

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Relations of the population of Pengambil, Samang and Ujir, the three most important Islamic villages in the northwest of the Aru Archipelago, with the Dutch were reasonably good. Ujir, the oldest of the three, had been converted to Christianity in the second half of the 17th century, but later, under pressure from Buginese traders and migrants, had changed over to Islam. This did not alter the fact that the people of Ujir during a rebellion against the Dutch in 1808 had rescued the occupants of the fortress in Wokam, which only recently had been re-occupied by the Dutch after an absence of almost half a century, and taken them to safety in Banda.[89] The fortress was not re-occupied and Kolff found it empty and decaying.[90]
In September 1825 the Dourga was, when dropping anchor off Ujir, received with the required salutes and other honours and ceremonies. Several chiefs requested the establishment of a new Dutch government and military post. This was to enforce trade regulations and put an end to the frequent conflicts between villages and islands, raids from the sea, and extortion by traders and pirates.[91] This post was, however, not established, even though the request was later repeated several times.[92]

4.5 Kam's activities

Wherever the reception of the Dourga was the most cordial, the interest in Kam's mission was also the most evident. Kam had the task of explaining to the islanders that the Dutch were not merely concerned about their material well-being, but also about their spiritual interests. During generally well-attended church services he confirmed dozens of marriages and baptised approximately 900 people, big and small. The total number of Christians in the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands therefore increased to 2560, according to Kam, of whom 750 were adults. About 40% lived on Kisar, and the rest on the islands of Roma, Leti and Moa in the Southwestern Islands, and in the villages of Wokam, Wangil, Durjela and Maikoor in the Aru Archipelago.[93] Kam did not celebrate the Lord's Supper anywhere, because the population's knowledge of Christianity was insufficient for this. He accepted a simple profession of faith from those who were to be baptised, but he did require them to attend the schoolteacher's instruction in the Christian doctrine. In addition all statues and other "public idols" were to be removed from the village. If this could not be done at once, he accepted the promise that they would do this in due course. Kam's concern was the *wish* to become Christian. He inspected the schools and the schoolteachers and noted down complaints and requests. He supplied the schoolteachers and others who could read and understood Malay, and perhaps a little Dutch, with New Testaments, Heidelberg Catechisms and the Books of Questions

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89 Von Rosenberg, *Reis*, 11.
90 Van Doren, *Fragmenten uit de Reizen in den Indische Archipel*, I, 385.
91 Kolff, *Reize*, 225-227; Ver-Huell, "Verslag van eenen kruistocht", 306; Brumund, "Aanteekeningen", 78; Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maand Junij 1862", 239.
92 De Boudyck-Bastiaanse, *Voyages*, 42-43.
93 De Jong, "Verslag". The numbers given are uncertain. After his visit to Kisar in 1838 G.W. Earl reported that the number of Christians on the island amounted to 1700 on a total population of between 7000 and 8000, [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 111. According to Bosscher, "Statistieke schets der Zuidwester-eilanden", 442, in 1852 there were 1008 Christians on Kisar. In the whole of the Southwestern Archipelago he counted 2282 Christians. Among them were 377 persons admitted to the Lord's Supper (198 women, 179 men). A total of 575 adult Christians and 268 children of Christians were preparing for baptism.

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which went with it, parts of the Old Testament and various treatises.[94] A number of these had been printed on his printing press in Ambon, while others had been sent to him from the Netherlands, Singapore and elsewhere.

In some places Kam's visit led to fierce debates. By no means all (former) Christians were prepared to accede to his wishes and to rid church life from the ancestral customs and practices. The objections which were raised were the chance of hostile actions from neighbouring islands or villages, the possible loss of profitable trade contacts, and the required forced labour for the (re)construction and maintenance of the schoolteacher's dwelling, the church and the school. There were also people who considered themselves too old to be initiated (again) in a new or adapted religion and who preferred to maintain the status quo. Finally one has to add to this that many chiefs belonged to long lines of priests or that their families, whether Christian or not, supplied the priests of the traditional religion. In places where a chief refused to become a Christian or to adapt his religious life to the wishes of the Europeans, the population's willingness to take this step was also slight.

4.6 Churches and schools; isolation

Something which seemed to facilitate Kam's mission was Kolff's promise that the Colonial Government would introduce orderly administration. For many islanders this would mean that wars and conflicts would diminish, if not disappear altogether, because of which the inter-island trade would flourish and famine would be something of the past. Contrary to the initial expectation it was no simple matter to get the island population to accept one or more missionaries in its midst. In 1828 a visiting missionary had tremendous difficulty in convincing the islanders of Moa and Leti that "the Brothers came to them to establish something positive".[95] But eventually these efforts were successful. Between 1825 and 1841 eight missionaries from the Dutch Missionary Society (*Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap*) carried out work there.[96] They led church services, accepted the sons of chiefs as foster children to give them a Christian education, trained assistant-missionaries and church elders, together with the schoolteachers instructed the population in the catechism, confirmed marriages, baptised, visited nearby villages and islands, helped the sick and injured, and arbitrated in conflicts.[97]

To support the missionary work Kam had a ship built which was to visit them regularly. The costs were to have been defrayed by the trade the vessel conducted at the same time, but on its maiden voyage in May 1829 the *Amboyna* was shipwrecked on the merciless coast of Kisar.[98] In the

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94 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk in de Midden-Molukken 1803-1900*, vol. I, doc. 7, footnote 23.

95 Letter G. Heijmering to "Waarde Heer en Vriend", nr 4, 4/3/1840, AMB 1102-1/1404.

96 1. J.J. Bär sr. (1786-1851) 1825-1840 Kisar; 2. A. Dommers (1797?-1841) 1828-1829 Kisar, 1829-1834 Damar, 1834-1841 Moa; 3. H.A.F. Wieenkötter (Wiënkötter), (1792?-1828) 1828 Leti; 4. G. Heijmering (1792-1867) 1828-1832 Leti; 5. F.W. Holtz (1799-1843) 1832-1841 Leti; 6. J.E. Höveker (1798-1873) 1828-1833 Moa; 7. W. Luijke (1798-1886) 1828-1829 Moa, 1829-1841 Leti; 8. J. Verhaag (1803?- ?) 1827-1829 Moa.

97 Letter J.C. Mackaij to CD, 13/7/1837, NAN, ACD 1113; H.A. Andrée Wiltens, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden op eene inspectie reis naar de zuid Wester- Key- en Aroe-Eilanden in de maand November 1864", 20/12/1864 INA, AA 1600.

98 Enklaar, *Joseph Kam*, 141-144.

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following years missionaries from West Timor, Banda en Ambon occasionally visited their colleagues on these remote islands.[99]
From a missionary point of view all this effort was not very fruitful. This applied both to the Southwestern Islands and to the Aru Archipelago, where no Dutch missionaries worked during the 19th century, but where the religious congregations and schools were looked after by Ambonese schoolmasters.[100]
Both missionaries and teachers were almost entirely unprepared for their new surroundings. They were confronted with all kinds of practical problems related to the isolation of the islands and their, at times, hostile environment. In 1859 the schoolteacher in Maikoor, in the Aru Archipelago, was murdered,[101] and his Wokam colleague was chased away by the village chief in 1867.[102] However, the principal reason for the missionaries' failure was their inadequate view, and the poor organisation, of their work. This showed itself in their tendency to concentrate exclusively on the expansion of European Christendom and the fragmentation of their work over various islands and time periods. It was disastrous that, despite warnings, they failed to see that, given the specific demands of their working environment, their first task was to assist in the improvement of existing methods of agriculture for the benefit of the general well-being of the population, obviously insofar as they were able to do so. It has been stated above that the region had economic potential. That a European could do much more than they did, and that the Government in Batavia was willing to support initiatives, had previously been shown by A.J. Bik, and from the 1830s was demonstrated by B.N.J. Roskott, a German teacher and entrepreneur on Ambon.[103] This could possibly have avoided famines and violence in the Southwestern Islands and have created a more favourable attitude towards the mission and the authorities than was often the case.[104]
The Dutch Missionary Society did little or nothing to improve their conditions, except that it repeatedly, but in vain, requested the Government to extend and intensify colonial rule in the region and break the isolation of the islands by an administrative reorganization. The missionaries' wish that the supervision of the Malay education of the indigenous population and the schoolteachers would be transferred from the Government to them was only fulfilled in 1840, when the last missionary was getting ready to leave.[105]

99 Letter J. Finn to Board DMS, 22/3/1832, AMB 1102-1/1432; his report in: *Berichten en Brieven [...] van het Nederlandsch Zendeling-Genootschap (Rotterdam),* (1832), 17-27.

100 In 1852 in the Aru Archipelago there were 188 Muslims, who lived in the villages Pengambil, Samang and Ujir in the northwest and in several villages along the west coast of the island of Trangan to the south. Ujir had a mosque and an *imam*. Furthermore there were 309 Christians. The remainder of the population consisted of adherents of a local traditional religion. Bosscher, "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent de Aroe-eilanden", 364-365.

101 Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maanden April en Mei 1864", 330; "De Zending op de Zuidwester-eilanden".

102 GM, "Besluit nr 3", 23/3/1868, INA, AA 1580.

103 Cf. the essay "The Life and Work of Bernhard Nikolas Johann Roskott (1811–1873) on the Island of Ambon, Indonesia (1835–1864)", also on this website.

104 Letter B.N.J. Roskott to Board DMS, 20/3/1844, AMB 1102-1/1452.

105 GGDEI, "Besluit nr 3", 20/2/1840, INA, AAS b337/s101.

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The failure of results to materialise led to inevitable and unmistakable repercussions in the population. When it became clear that the assurances by Kolff and Kam regarding the good intentions of the Government meant little and that the raids on villages and ships, abductions, kidnappings, violence and murders continued unabated and that the islands did not get any concrete advantage from the presence of missionaries either, the interest in the Dutch and their religion started to decline.

However, some caution is called for here, since the Government had a different view of the Christians from that of the missionaries. The Resident of Banda, C. Sluijter, who had earlier been Resident of West Timor, and who knew the situation on the islands well, recorded in 1852 that the population of the Aru Archipelago and the Southwestern Islands was attached to the Dutch and that the situation with respect to Christianity in most of the villages was much more favourable than one might expect after so long a period of neglect. Several times he had from the Southwestern Islands received requests for missionaries and for an increase in the number of schoolteachers,[106] albeit that these requests were invariably accompanied by reports of sickness, drought and impending famine or war.[107]

The opinions held by the Protestant Church in the Netherlands Indies (or Indies Church, *Indische Kerk*) at Ambon and the missionaries about the indigenous Christians in the Southwestern and Southeastern Archipelagos were predominantly negative. As a result of what he had heard from schoolteachers, missionary W. Luijke harboured a unfavourable sentiment about them even before he arrived on Leti in 1827:

> *As for religion, the Christians of Timor-Leti worship idols far more than the true God. These Christians are surrounded there by larger numbers of heathens and therefore they mix with them, so that together they erect wooden idols in a spot, and there thank the idols, and sing to them, and pray to them for rain for three days and nights, etc.*[108]

In July 1843, the Rev. J.F.G. Brumund[109] from Ambon made a voyage of inspection to the Aru Archipelago and arrived on Wamar at a time when the islanders were at war with each other, and with the Buginese.[110] With respect to church and education he observed "that they are totally

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106 At that time there were five schoolmasters in the Southwestern Archipelago: Yesaijas Bakker (Kisar), Joseph Roef (or Rouf) (Wetar), Jonas Matita (Roma), Simon Noija (Leti), Izaak da Costa (Leti) and Joel Matita (Moa), GM, "Besluit nr 1", 7/2/1854, INA, AA 1580. This was half the number of 1840, when there were two schoolmasters on Kisar, one on Roma, three on Leti and four on Moa, A.H. Rijkschroeff, "Lijst der Schoolmeesters welke op de Zuid-Wester Eilanden werkzaam zijn", 20/11/1840, INA, AA 1396. The Aru Archipelago in 1847 had two schoolmasters (Letter GM to Algemeen ontvanger, nr 389, 11/6/1847, INA, AA 1847), which number increased in the 1850s. De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk in de Midden-Molukken 1803-1900*, vol. II, doc. 24, footnote 161.

107 Letter Res. Banda to GM, 28/10/1852, INA, AA 1396; vgl. Bosscher, "Statistieke schets der Zuidwester-eilanden", 442.

108 Fol. 68, in: "Dagboeken van W. Luijke", -/10/1827, AMB 1102-1/1446.

109 Rev. J.F.G. Brumund; 1814-1863; 1840 minister Indies Church at Surakarta/Yogyakarta; 1842 at Ambon; 1844 at Rembang; 1846 at Surakarta; 1851 at Surabaya; 1854 at Batavia; 1859 at Pontianak; 1860-1863 at Batavia.

110 Brumund, "Aanteekeningen", 70, 252-255.

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ignorant of the history, truths and the ethical teachings of the Christians. Their church services are conducted according to the conventions. They are taught by deficient teachers, and in a language [i.e. Malay] unfamiliar to them. Their Christianity only consists of some empty formality, but for the rest is deeply and distressingly ignorant, and they are set apart from heathens in name, but are in fact more pagan than Christian." To the simplest questions he received answers from the population which exhibited "completely neglected development of the intellect, and the most restricted reasoning power".[111] J.J. Bär, a Swiss missionary employed by the Dutch Missionary Society, who worked on Kisar until 1840, had the same experience.[112] In 1841, after he had delivered a cargo of rice to the starving island on behalf of the Government,[113] he wrote in his diary about the moment of his departure:

> *Many wept and said: what is to become of us now? Now we are totally abandoned. But others, and in particular islanders of high status, showed themselves indifferent. But alas! Those who wept because of my departure were the most distressed because they could now no longer expect material assistance from me; I could not detect much distress about spiritual matters. – – – In truth, this affects me strongly, since for almost 16 years I have toiled, wept and suffered on this island, and can see so little fruit of my labour.*[114]

This does not mean that Bär's stay on the islands, and that of his colleagues, had been wholly useless. Various sources observed that their influence had led to a "softening of the morals of these initially savage peoples, and to a strengthening of the bond they feel with the Netherlands".[115] By means of the Malay education and the moral grounding which they received from the missionaries and schoolteachers, the islanders were on the one hand more able to resist outside influences than before, and on the other hand were more open to, and less inclined to reject, Europeans than was often the case elsewhere. But that was the only result. A British traveller met a missionary in Kupang (West Timor)in 1829, probably J.C. Terlinden,[116] and summarised his conversation with him as follows:

> *He had not been particularly successful in converting the heathens whom he had taken under his pastoral care; but he had succeeded in softening their manners considerably, and*

111 Quotations taken from: Letter J.F.G. Brumund to GM, 21/8/1843, INA, ACCE 17, app. 589; in a similar vain wrote Bosscher, "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent de Aroe-eilanden", 365-366, and Letter J. Finn to Board DMS, "Dagaantekeningen 2/7/1839 tot –/4/1840", AMB 1102-1/1432.

112 H.J. Lion visited Bär in 1836. A report in: Lion, "Herinneringen", 354-358.

113 Missionary G. Heijmering, head of the Timor-mission of the DMS in Kupang, also tried to supply Kisar with rice, but as a result of financial problems nothing came of it. Letter G. Heijmering to "Waarde Heer en Vriend", nr 21, 14/1/1843, AMB 1102-1/1404.

114 "Journal van den zendeling J.J. Bär van den 1e Maart 1841 tot den 1e Januarij 1842", AMB 1102-1/1425.

115 Bosscher, "Statistieke schets der Zuidwester-eilanden", 423.

116 J.C. Terlinden, 1803-1832; 1827 Kupang, 1828-1829 Roti; 1829-1832 Kupang.

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> *restraining their accustomed habits of plundering and murdering those unfortunate beings who might, either from shipwreck, or by stratagem, fall into their power.*[117]

For the rest he had little appreciation of missionary work. He continued:

> *This, it will be admitted, is doing effectual good. Indeed, it may be affirmed, that such a rational mode of proceeding is more likely to be attended with beneficial consequences, than the endeavour to force down the throats of shrewd heathens abstruse truths, very difficult to be comprehended, even by the most enlightened; and far more so, when, from imperfect knowledge of the language necessary to communicate the desired ideas, – admitting that the teacher has a clear perception thereof in his own mind, – such subjects must appear to the uninitiated more perplexed and obscure.*[118]

Owen Stanley visited Kisar in July 1841. He there met missionary Bär, and came to the conclusion that he had been "very successful" in his early years. But ultimately he had failed: "the poor Missionary's influence was over; he was obliged to quit the island".[119] In fact the old religious convictions had never disappeared, new ones had merely hidden them from view and given Kisar a more or less Christian appearance and sometimes not even that. The immediate cause of the revival of traditional religion on Kisar was the long-lasting drought of the late 1830s. The famine which was the result of this, which cost over 300 lives, was considered to be a punishment by the ancestors and village and clan deities, for so much apostasy and transgressions of the *adat*. It was impossible to ignore without punishment the wisdom and the goodwill of previous generations. In complete openness the islanders went back to their old religious rituals and customs, hoping for better times.[120]

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117 Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 178; in the same vain is Letter J.C. Mackaij to CD, 13/7/1837, NAN, ACD 1113.

118 Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 178.

119 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 349.

120 *Ibidem*.

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5 THE DUTCH ADMINISTRATION

5.1 Governing from a distance

The question facing the Dutch was how the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands were to be integrated into the new colony and how this vast area was to be governed. In 1824 the administration of the islands was placed under the Banda Residence. According to Merkus, a few places qualified for the permanent placement of a government official and possibly a few soldiers. These were the Aru Archipelago and the Tanimbar group of islands. Their task would have to be the maintenance of law and order, the supervision and appointment of the indigenous chiefs and the steering of trade in the right direction. Islands where no post was set up, should at the very least receive an annual visit from a civil servant from Ambon.[121]

However, with the exception of Merkus-oord, a military post on the southwest coast of New Guinea (1828-1835) which meant to convey clearly the Dutch claim to the territory,[122] no new government posts were established in this part of the Moluccas. The deplorable state of the Government finances, in part a consequence of costly colonial wars, not only precluded the expansion of the administrative machinery, but elsewhere in the East Indies even forced cut backs and abolition of government posts.[123] The Little East was relatively peaceful and did not pose a threat to the internal stability of the young colony. Moreover, no port dues or export duties of any significance were charged, so that the islands could not contribute to defray the costs of one or more permanent government posts.[124] In 1827 it was decided that the islands should be visited by an official every year.[125] But because the local schoolteachers were expected to keep registers of the christenings, marriages and funerals of the Christian section of the population of the islands, on top of their ordinary duties, and thus take over part of the day to day administrative work, the Government felt it could limit itself to sending a warship or government steamer every couple of years, which had an official or a *jaksa* (an officer employed by the justice system) on board. During these visits they only called in at a few of the larger islands.[126]

During the second half of the 19th century the isolation of the islands was relieved to a certain extent. The region was included in the sailing schedules of the Netherlands India Steam Navigation Company (*Nederlands-Indische Stoomvaart Maatschappij*), later the Royal Packet Shipping Company. The frequency of the voyages of inspection increased and in a few spots the Government appointed delegates or authorities. After visiting Leti, Moa and Kisar in May 1852 a Navy

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121 Letter GM to Lt. GGDEI, 15/5/1826, nr 51, INA, AAS b337/s101, Bt. 27/10/1826, nr 10.

122 According to a "Note" to the Treaty of 1824 the term Moluccas applied to that group of islands which had Celebes to the west, New Guinea to the east and Timor to the south, but these three islands were not included. *Paper*, 7.

123 Mijer, "Kronijk van Nederlandsch Indië", 7/3 (1845), 106-109; A Resident at Batavia, "Letter", 320.

124 Indigenous traders paid their taxes and dues in the harbor of destination, or, if there was no *mantri pajak* (tax collector) like on Bali and Lombok, in their home port. Small, local coastal traders paid nothing. Letter GM to Lt. GGDEI, 15/5/1826, nr 51, INA, AAS b337/s101, Bt. 27/10/1826, nr 10.

125 Section XI, 31/12/1843, INA, AA 588.

126 In 1827 it was decided that these visits would take place every year. In reality they occurred every two, three or even more years. Section XI, 31/12/1843, INA, AA 588.

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captain described the Christians as civilised and industrious.[127] Later that year the Resident of Banda suggested the appointment once more of missionaries to the Southwestern Islands,[128] but a proposal to this effect which the Government made to the Dutch Missionary Society in 1855 was not accepted.[129] It was not till 1861 and 1864 that two missionaries from Ambon visited a number of congregations in the Southwestern Islands, as part of the retinue of a Dutch government official.[130] In 1872 two ministers of the Indies Church made a voyage of inspection; in 1881 a minister of the same church from Batavia came to a few islands of the Little East.[131] In October 1878 the vacancy was filled which had been brought about by the departure of the last missionary in 1841, when a European assistant-minister of the Indies Church was posted to Leti. His flock was not just the handful of government employees, but also the indigenous Christians.[132]

5.2 The chiefs

During a significant part of the 19th century the Dutch governed the Little East from a distance. They left the day to day administration to the old rulers, the (chief) *orang kaya* or *raja*, and lower ranking chiefs such as the *orang tua, kapitan* and others, usually members of the highest class, called the *marna* (= *tuan*, gentleman, in Malay) in the Southwestern Archipelago. The migrant groups had their own chiefs. Although the indigenous chiefs were allocated a place within the colonial administrative system, it was an honorary position. The relations within and among the old clans and families to a large extent determined the size and composition of the administrative unit (villages (kampongs), neighbourhoods) and the division of the administrative functions. The Little East was not a self-governing territory, and the *orang kaya* and regents were not in charge of self-rule. Their position in the local government was the same as, for example, that of the regents on the island groups of Ambon and Banda. Their duty was to obey. This did not take away from the fact that, since the departure of the last locally based European government officials (from Wokam in 1808, from Kisar in 1810), they had to deal with urgent administrative and criminal matters without consultation. They later had to give an account of their actions to the visiting government official and *jaksa*. The Government assumed that the chiefs administered justice and

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127 "Reis naar *Banda*", 228, 231-232.

128 Letter Res. Banda to GM, 28/10/1852, INA, AA 1396.

129 "3º Conferentie te Amboina 7 October 1855", NAN, ACD 566, Vb 23/12/1856, nr 43; Letter Board DMS to Colonial Department, The Hague, 12/8/1860, nr 718, NAN, ACD 1232; Letter Board DMS to CD, The Hague, 12/2/1863, NAN, ACD 1316.

130 Travel reports in: Letter M. Teffer to Board DMS, 1/8/1861, "Verslag nr 7", AMB 1102-1/1411, and Letter J.J. Bär jr. to Board DMS, 16/12/1864, AMB 1102-1/1424.

131 In April 1872 Rev. B.Th.W. van Hasselt (1866-1872 at Ambon) went to the Southwestern Archipelago, cf. "Kort verslag van den stand van zaken, en van het personeel in de residentie Amboina over de maand April 1872", 4/5/1872, INA, AA 587; in May 1872 his colleague Rev. J. van der Ven (1870-1875 at Ambon) visited the Aru Islands, cf. "Kort verslag van den stand van zaken en van het personeel in de residentie Amboina over de maand Mei 1872", 6/6/1872, INA, AA 587. The Rev. minister from Batavia who in 1881 visited the Aru and Southwestern Islands was H. Knottnerus, cf. H. Knottnerus, "Extract verslag van een kerkelijke dienstreis naar de Minahasa en Ambon, gemaakt gedurende de maanden Augustus en September 1881", 15/11/1882, nr 10, NAN, ACD 3581.

132 De Jong, *De Protestantse Kerk in de Midden-Molukken 1803-1900*, vol. II, doc. 140; "Hoe lang nog zullen de Zuidwestereilanden aan hun lot blijven overgelaten".

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governed in accordance with the customs of the country, the *adat*; at any rate it strongly insisted on this, but very often this was not the case. The liberties and unfairness which the chiefs allowed themselves, but also their tardiness, corruption and the conflicts of interest aroused anger, not only within the Government, but also, and particularly, in their subjects.

The hold the Dutch had on the day to day administration of the various islands differed, but generally was not significant. The indigenous chiefs did not have great authority either, which was, moreover, limited to one village. Only in a few cases the authority of a chief of a nearby island or village was recognised, in which informal ties such as family relationships and pork barrelling were usually the deciding factors. Add to this that during the first half of the 19th century the great majority of islands was never visited by a government official and during governmental visits the chiefs of villages and islands in the vicinity had to be called together in the principal settlement. Since with one or two exceptions the first scientific studies of the area and its people did not appear till after 1850, the Dutch knew little about the internal situation of the islands, and consequently they were easily misled. In this way conflicts could drag on for years.

The chiefs, as stated before, had little or no say in the Colonial Government, and their subjects paid hardly any attention to them. They had too few resources to impose their will, and the public meeting, the *musyawarah*, which could be convened for serious matters, was an unwieldy and indecisive body. The chiefs could not sack or appoint schoolteachers; only the Government on Ambon could do so. But they were obliged to produce their "rations", i.e. take care of their living costs, and build and maintain the teacher's house, the school, and the church.

5.3 The "stranger-kings" (Dutch text needs correction)

Towards the pagan, i.e. the non-Christian and non-Islamic part of the population, the Christian and Islamic chiefs as a rule adopted a similar position, albeit that most Christians were not descendants of migrants, but belonged to the indigenous population. Only in the Southwestern Archipelago (Kisar in particular) part of the Christian population was descended from European and Ambonese migrants. In many places in the Little East the Islamic migrants and colonisers and their descendants were the dominant political and economic force thanks to their superiority in military, commercial and navigational spheres. They entered into contracts with prahu traders and sold the produce which the population supplied to them from their gardens, the forests and the seas.[133] On Kisar, Leti, Moa, Lunang, Lakor, Roma and the western side of Babar, where few, if any, Muslims lived, it was the Christian chiefs, or the chiefs descended from Christians or Europeans who were the bosses of their pagan environment.[134]

The position of the "stranger-kings" in the island communities was more complex than has sometimes been maintained.[135] As long as the population could enjoy the benefits of the protection by such powerful overlords, and could live in peace and relative prosperity, they accepted this situation, which can with some justification be described as velvet (and sometimes less than velvet) slavery. But particularly in the east of the Little East the usurpation of the political and economic

133 Van Doren, "De Keij-eilanden, ten N.W. van de Arroë-eilanden", 253-254, 258.

134 Kolff, *Reize*, 50, 67, 86, 132; [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 111.

135 The term "stranger-kings" is used by Andaya in his *The World of Maluku*, 65-66. This author paints a rather rosy picture of the relationship between these strangers and the autochthonous population.

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power by Malay-speaking migrants did not everywhere take place peacefully or with the consent of the population. At times this led to armed resistance to the "stranger-kings" and the prahu traders, with whom they often made common cause. It also occasionally happened that a whole village or even a whole island fled elsewhere, or looked for support from the Dutch. Such opportunities to increase its power and influence the Colonial Government usually grabbed with both hands.[136] Sometimes the protest (also) assumed a symbolic form, and the islanders took Dutch names or wore Dutch clothes and uniforms. In 1833, after the Dutch destroyed a few rebellious villages in the Kei Archipelago, several indigenous villages in the region requested a schoolteacher and suggested not to be disinclined to convert to Christianity.[137]

In the Aru Archipelago the economic and political power was in the hands of the chiefs of the western half, also referred to as the Front Coast (*Voorwal*) or Western Coast.[138] Of the seven most important villages of the Front Coast four were Christian and three were Islamic. The seven chiefs had divided control over the eastern part, called the Back Coast (*Achterwal*), among themselves.[139] Through a system of clientelism they controlled the exploitation and export of the natural riches which the dense forests and the reefs provided, and determined where each village was allowed to fish for tripang and dive for pearls. In the case of unrest or armed conflict over catching- and fishing rights they engaged in joint action in order to restore peace and not jeopardise the lucrative export.[140] However, sometimes they came to blows with each other, as in the 1860s, and then the assistance of the Dutch was sought.[141]

In the 1840s and 1850s the east coast of Wokam was in uproar.[142] In the village of Watteleë (Wattili, Watteleï, Watulei), the most important centre of tripang and pearl oyster fishing in the whole Aru Archipelago, the mounting debts of the fishermen resulted in a series of rebellions against the Buginese, during which several traders were killed. Watteleë burnt down, the population fled, and trade was in disarray.[143] After a failed attempt at arbitration by a Dutch government official, a punitive expedition was organised against the village in 1859, but this had little result. In 1864 a visiting official noted that the debts had still not been paid off, but that the Buginese and their agents had disappeared from the Back Shore, and that the trade had been taken over by Chinese, who were acting on behalf of Chinese business firms in Macassar and elsewhere.[144] In

136 Cf. Henley, "Conflict".
137 "Dag-register a/b Z.M. kolenbrik Nautilus aº 1833", INA, AA 1096A. Joseph Kam traveled on board this ship on this trip, cf. Letter J. Kam to Board DMS, 21/3/1833, AMB 1102-1/1441.
138 Kolff, *Reize*, 168; J.B. Dielwart, "Rapporten van Aroe, Tenimber en Verdere Zuid Ooster en Zuid Wester Eilanden 1825", INA, AAS b337/s101, Bt. 27/10/1826, nr 10.
139 Bik, *Dagverhaal*, 43-44.
140 H.A. Andrée Wiltens, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden op eene inspectie reis naar de zuid Wester- Key- en Aroe-Eilanden in de maand November 1864", 20/12/1864 (INA, AA 1600), 153-157; Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maanden April en Mei 1864", 311-312, 320-321.
141 GM, "Besluit nr 2", 16/3/1868, INA, AA 1580.
142 Brumund, "Aanteekeningen", 251-263.
143 Van der Crab, *De Moluksche eilanden*, 92-95.
144 Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maanden April en Mei 1864", 313.

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order to resolve disputes in a peaceful manner in future, a permanent commission of arbitration was set up, consisting of three Chinese traders.[145]

The Muslims of Big-Kei were in part the descendants of people from Banda who had fled their island in 1621 during the massacre by J.P. Coen.[146] They were entrepreneurial traders, and lived in three villages: Eli in the north, Ellat in the west, and Feer (or Fer, Fehr) on the southern tip of the island.[147] They did not like the Dutch much, and therefore the influence of the latter on the island was very slight. In the 1840s and 1850s there was continual unrest. A number of indigenous chiefs complained to a visiting government official that the *orang kaya* and the imam from Eli assumed an "oppressive supremacy" over the pagan villages in the area. When asked, both of them had to admit "that they were strangers on Kei, and therefore they had absolutely no right to interfere in the rule of the original population, and even less to impose any levies or fines, for whatever reason." The reason for the fines, which had been imposed annually for many years and sometimes were collected with brutal force, was an affront supposedly done to Eli at some stage in the past. The official emphatically prohibited the chiefs of Eli to intervene in the affairs of the surrounding villages. But this did not help, Eli continued to dominate its environment and collect the fines. Even after the imam had been removed from the island, and initially taken to Ambon, the unrest persisted.[148]

Dulah and Tual (in the north of Little-Kei) were also in unrest during this period; it was alleged that Eli was involved in this too. Although the indigenous population of Dulah had always entertained feelings of "unlimited respect" towards the migrants and traders, by the late 1850s tensions had increased significantly because of a matter of debt.[149] On Tual the cause was an offence by the imam and his brother against the marriage *adat*. In the early 1860s all Muslims therefore temporarily left Tual, in peril of their life, after open resistance against them had erupted.[150]

5.4 The officials of the colonial government

During their infrequent and irregular visits the officials did what they could. They inspected the villages, churches, and mosques, paid the salary of the schoolteachers, dispensed gifts, brought new schoolteachers, and took others back to Ambon, supplied new teaching materials to the schools, examined schoolchildren, appointed chiefs, settled administrative business, acted as magistrates, arbitrated in quarrels, investigated accusations of extortion by chiefs, and punished incidents of head hunting and the enforced furtherance of paganism.[151] They restrained chiefs who were over-

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145 GM, "Besluit nr 4", 23/3/1868, INA, AA 1580.

146 Ver-Huell, "Verslag van eenen kruistocht", 308.

147 The killings perpetrated by the Dutch in 1621 on Banda are described by Niemeijer, "'Als eene lelye onder de doornen'".

148 Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maand Junij 1862", 252-253, 259-262, 265-267; Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maanden April en Mei 1864", 335-346; Von Rosenberg, *Reis*, 74.

149 Van Eijbergen, "Verslag eener reis naar de Aroe- en Key-eilanden, in de maand Junij 1862", 268-269.

150 H.A. Andrée Wiltens, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden op eene inspectie reis naar de zuid Wester- Key- en Aroe-Eilanden in de maand November 1864", 20/12/1864 (INA, AA 1600), 122-123.

151 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 163.

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ambitious, such as the *orang kaya* of Batumeau on Leti, who, in the 1850s, tried to enlarge his power over the neighbouring islands of Lakor and Moa, and carry off slaves from these islands.[152] Everywhere they urged the population to treat their chiefs and the schoolteachers with respect and threatened punishment if they failed to do this.[153] They supervised the building of coal depots on Leti, Dulah and Wamar by forced labour, and tried to introduce vaccination against smallpox everywhere.[154] Occasionally they recruited labourers for the nut gardens on Banda, but this was an uphill battle.[155]

During periods that there were no missionaries on the islands or when the congregations received no official visit from the church on Ambon, Banda, Kupang, or Batavia, the visiting colonial officials appointed church elders (*orang tua agama*) and teachers of the Christian religion for adolescents. They issued marriage licences for those wishing to get married, which counted as a civil marriage, after which the schoolteacher confirmed the marriage of the Christians among them after the banns were read in the church on three consecutive Sundays.[156]

The settlement of the debts and overdue payments of the islanders to the traders and of unresolved or as yet unpunished crimes, such as thefts, kidnapping and armed conflicts was very time-consuming. These matters were dealt with in accordance with the local *adat*, as much as possible in consultation with the chiefs and by means of, at times, interminable interrogations of witnesses. If this was unsuccessful, those responsible or suspects were taken to Ambon or Banda, where the matter was addressed in accordance with the judgement of the Administration, and in much stricter fashion. In 1864 the Governor of the Moluccas Andrée Wiltens solved a complex matter on Kisar, which had in a few years cost nineteen lives and as many injured. It took him several days and all his authority to find a solution which was acceptable to all parties.[157] From 1852 to 1864 Moa was stricken by a series of violent attacks between two villages, which Leti interfered with as well, and which seemed interminable. Periods of relative peace alternated with suddenly erupting violence. Over time this cost dozens of lives and caused enormous property damage.

Excurs

In February 1862, a month before the government official H.C. van Eijbergen arrived in the Southwestern Islands, the village of Klisbarat on the island of Moa was the stage of a bloodbath which cost 38 lives, partly women and children. In addition 100 water buffalo and 80 pieces of gold were stolen and there was arson involved. The material damage was

152 *Ibidem*,, 168-170.

153 *Ibidem*,, 141, 143-144.

154 Letter H.A. Andrée Wiltens to GGDEI, 28/5/1864, nr 1416, INA, AA 1574.

155 "Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden", Nr 6, GM to AR t.b., 2/3/1859; *idem*, Nr 1, *idem* a. *idem*, 7/9/1859; *idem*, Nr 4, Letter GM to H.C. van Eijbergen, 20/5/1859, and *idem*, Nr 5, *idem* to *idem*, 1/10/1859, INA, AA 1542; Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 133, 141. Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen, gehouden op eene reis naar de Zuid-Wester-Eilanden (Maart 1862)".

156 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 141-142.

157 H.A. Andrée Wiltens, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden op eene inspectie reis naar de zuid Wester- Key- en Aroe-Eilanden in de maand November 1864", 20/12/1864 INA, AA 1600.

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estimated at 50 pieces of tooled gold, an enormous sum for the simple population of farmers and fishermen. The inhabitants of Klistimor, a nearby village, were the guilty party.[158] *This violence was part of a series of reprisals provoked by an 1852 raid by Klisbarat on Klistimor, during which a few people were killed and much gold stolen.*[159] *This matter, in which wounded pride, dynastic claims, opportunism and trading interests played a part, had been investigated in 1854 by the visiting Government official Bosscher, and had been settled in favour of Klistimor. But after Bosscher's departure, his decision, which consisted of the replacement of a number of chiefs and the allocation of compensation, was reversed. At the very time of government official Van Eijbergen's arrival on Leti in 1859, a small army of armed men from Leti was on a raiding expedition on Moa. Van Eijbergen's 1862 attempts to restore order failed, and the murdering and stealing back and forth continued. The last acts of violence occurred in January 1864. At that time Klistimor stole eleven water buffalo which belonged to Klisbarat. Compensation was out of the question, upon which Klisbarat killed nine men from Klistimor. Klistimor responded by headhunting three heads of men from Klisbarat. After this the village of Klisbarat was demolished and rebuilt on the other side of Moa. Then the other villages on Moa finally intervened by means of a musyawarah. This meeting decided that Klistimor must pay Klisbarat a fine in gold. This happened and was the end of the conflict. After twelve years, peace returned to the island.*[160]

5.5 Colonial violence

In 1830 a colonial correspondent of the *Singapore Chronicle* wrote about the Buginese, whom he had got to know in various places in the archipelago:

> *The Bugis are the most mercenary, blood-thirsty, inhuman race of the whole, not excepting the Diaks,*[161] *the most deadly foes to all Europeans whenever they get them in their power. It is utterly impossible to deal with them excepting in European settlements, and even then they should not be trusted beyond the range of guns.*[162]

True or exaggerated, murder and manslaughter were part of the daily existence of the islanders. The Europeans adapted to this situation. With a "governance model", according to which the Little East had to be governed from a distance, and the Dutch were confronted with a partly hostile environment, violence was inevitably part of the policy instruments. The Dutch argued that they exercised great restraint in its use, and as long as possible attempted to induce compliance from

158 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen, gehouden op eene reis naar de Zuid- Wester-Eilanden (Maart 1862)", 204-205.

159 *Ibidem*, 240.

160 Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen, gehouden op eene reis naar de Zuid- Wester-Eilanden (Maart 1862)", 205-218; H.A. Andrée Wiltens, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden op eene inspectie reis naar de zuid Wester- Key- en Aroe-Eilanden in de maand November 1864", 20/12/1864 INA, AA 1600; Van Eijbergen, "Aanteekeningen der verrigtingen van den ambtenaar", 144-151.

161 I.e. Dayak.

162 "The Bugis", 151.

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the recalcitrant chiefs and villagers by means of persuasion, threats, fines and exile. Sometimes this met with success, but at other times it did not. They expressed their satisfaction with honours and rewards, but if necessary did not hesitate "to give hostile islanders a small example of the force of our weapons".[163]

This also applied to the prahu merchants insofar as these did not take notice of Dutch regulations and instructions and did not recognise the authority of the Dutch. In 1833, eight years after the goodwill mission by Kolff and Kam, two Dutch ships, the armed brig *Nautilus* and the schooner *Johanna Charlotte*, made a voyage of inspection through the eastern part of the Little East. Off the coast of the village of Tual (Little-Kei), where there was a Buginese trading post, they encountered two paduakans, which had unloaded a cargo of stabbing weapons, knives, swords and fire arms. Instead of showing their trading licences, which contained information about the cargo, origin, number of crew and destination of a ship, they fired on the *Nautilus* with two "lillas", a kind of small cannon. Both prahus, all warehouses, a few houses and the mosque of this "robbers' hideout" were then fired on and burnt down by the *Nautilus*. The next port of call was the village of Feer on Big-Kei. Here too the Buginese had a trading post, which was reduced to ashes for the same reason.[164]

Because of the interest of the British in maritime Southeast Asia, piracy and hijacking were not merely internal affairs in the Dutch East Indies. When British subjects were the victims, the Governor-General in Calcutta or the Government in London intervened. In these cases they could refer to the Treaty of 1824, which stipulated that both nations would engage in the battle against piracy. In June 1835 the *Alexander*, a merchant vessel which belonged to a British business firm on Java, was taken by surprise off the coast of Fordate. Most of the persons on board, British and Javanese, were murdered, and the rest was abducted. At the request of the Governor-General of British India the Dutch organised a hunt for the perpetrators. The culprits turned out to be the inhabitants of Aweer, Sebeano, and Adobo on Fordate, villages which ten years before had given a less than cordial welcome to Kolff and Kam. After all attempts to retrieve the cargo and the survivors by means of a combination of negotiations and threats had failed, the Dutch in May 1836 destroyed the three villages and a large part of the gardens and plantations in their hinterland. The pirates escaped and the survivors who had been abducted were not found.[165]

163 Van Doren, "De Tenimber-eilanden, ten zuid-westen van de Keij-eilanden", 77.
164 "Dag-register a/b Z.M. kolenbrik Nautilus aº 1833", INA, AA 1096A.
165 Ver-Huell, "Verslag van eenen kruistocht", 313-320.

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6 THE DUTCH EAST INDIES IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

6.1 Raffles and after

During Raffles' period of office (1811-1816/1817) the British merchant fleet had free play in the archipelago of the East Indies, although the British did not make optimal use of this. After this time the tide turned. The official Dutch position was that all nations with whom the Netherlands was at peace were free to conduct trade in the East Indies, but this was for the sake of appearance only. In reality, after the transfer of government, a complex system of rules, permits and levies was created, whose aim was to restrict free trade and to protect Dutch commerce and industry.

During the first years after 1816/1817 it did not seem to be too bad. Although foreigners complained about the increased tariffs and other restrictions on trade, and imports from British India into Java and Madura declined dramatically in the 1820s (predominantly opium),[166] the import of British textiles into Java increased in value tenfold in the period 1813-1826.[167] John Deans, who from 1806 to 1828 was a merchant and agent for a British business firm on Java, and who was questioned by the Board of the British East India Company about the trade to the Dutch East Indies said that "the British manufactures [i.e. cotton, wool] have almost entirely suppressed the native in Java: the people are now almost entirely clothed in British manufacture".[168] Although this was greatly exaggerated and intended to add force to his plea to revoke the China-monopoly of the British East India Company in favour of free trade, his declaration does indicate that the British trade to Java at that time, notwithstanding taxes of up to 40% or 50%,[169] had certainly not collapsed. Neither would it later on.[170]

During his term in office (1819-1826), Governor-General Van der Capellen took a number of measures aimed at benefiting the Javanese and Madurese farmers. The freedom of action of Dutch and other European leaseholders of agricultural land was restricted. The killer contracts with which indigenous traders tied farmers to themselves were also prohibited, although these remained possible in the Little East, chiefly because of the absence of effective government control.[171] But insofar as Van der Capellen had the opportunity to implement his plans, these were revoked after his (enforced[172]) departure by order of King William I (1815-1840). Du Bus de Gisignies and the Governors-General after him considered strict rules in the fields of the economy, agriculture (NB "cultuurstelsel", i.e. a system of forced farming), administration, and the legal system were necessary to prevent internal conflicts and wars of the "turbulent" indigenous population, to improve the

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166 Korthals Altes, *General Trade Statistics 1822-1940*, 13.
167 "Minutes of evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons, on the affairs of the East-India Company", (March 1831), 167.
168 "Minutes of evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons, on the affairs of the East-India Company", (June 1831), 101.
169 "Netherlands India. Duties on British Merchandise", 18.
170 On this subject, cf. Korthals Altes, *General Trade Statistics 1822-1940*, chapt. iv.
171 "Java: – – – Commercial", (April 1820), 407-409.
172 His objections against the activities of the Dutch Trading Company (*Nederlandse Handel-Maatschappij,* NHM, see below) in the Dutch East Indies cost him his job, Tijdeman, *De Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij*, 201.

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economy and to share the profits “fairly” between the different sections of the population and the colonial government.[173]

6.2 Strict rules in the East Indies

6.2.1 Protection of the market

In an effort to regulate the general trade, raise duties and taxes and curb the slave and fire arms trade a system of trading licences for indigenous shipping, which dated from the early 18th century, was re-enforced.[174]

The restrictions imposed on foreign imports were especially drastic. A system of import and export duties was introduced, which remained an essential element of Dutch commercial and trade policy until 1874. The Dutch were afraid of the industrial superpower Great Britain, which threatened to swamp the archipelago with the products of its manufacturing industry. They feared that something similar to what happened in British India after the abolition of the India monopoly of the British East India Company in 1813, would occur in the Dutch East Indies. In British India the sudden surge in imports of cheap muslin and other machine-made textiles from Great-Britain had had a disastrous effect upon small local manufacturers and entrepreneurs, as it had caused many weavers in Bengal – half a million according to some reports – to become unemployed.[175] As a result numerous weaving workshops had disappeared. Many impoverished Bengali weavers were forced to restrict themselves to growing cotton for the textile industry in Great Britain.[176]

After the transfer of Java to the Netherlands imports of Dutch goods and products into Java were exempted from import duties,[177] whereas imports of cotton and woollen manufactures from all other countries were heavily taxed. The transport of government products to the Dutch market was reserved exclusively for Dutch ships.[178] On the other hand from 1826 onward, in the western and central parts of the East Indies a growing number of ports were opened up for international shipping, in an effort to compensate for the competition of Singapore.[179]

Combined with the high import tariffs on goods transported by foreign ships, these measures proved effective. In the first half of 1833 708 ships from outside the Dutch East Indies entered a Javanese port. Of these 593 were Dutch, as against 28 British ships, seventeen American, five Portuguese, one French ship, a Swede and 61 ships from Asia, predominantly junks from China.[180]

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173 Van der Wijck, *De Nederlandsche Oost-Indische bezittingen*, 64.

174 “Netherlands India” (1825), 293.

175 The so-called “enforced de-industrialization” in Bengal (and other parts of Asia) as a result of imbalances in world trade caused by the British industrial revolution is discussed in many works on economic history. Contrary to others, Ray, *Bengal Industries and the British Industrial Revolution, 1757-1857,* suggests that the impact of British textile imports upon the Bengal local industry was less severe than is generally supposed, at least in the long term.

176 “Minutes of evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons, on the affairs of the East-India Company”, (Aug. 1831), 228; Marshall, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead: Eastern India 1740-1828*, 2/2, 107-113.

177 “Resolutie – – – 7den Januarij 1820” (nr 2), 5.

178 “Resolutie – – – 9den Mei 1820” (nr 21), 97-98.

179 “Netherlands India” (July 1826), 92-93; Korthals Altes, *General Trade Statistics 1822-1940*, chapt. 5.

180 “Netherlands India. Trade” (July 1834), 194.

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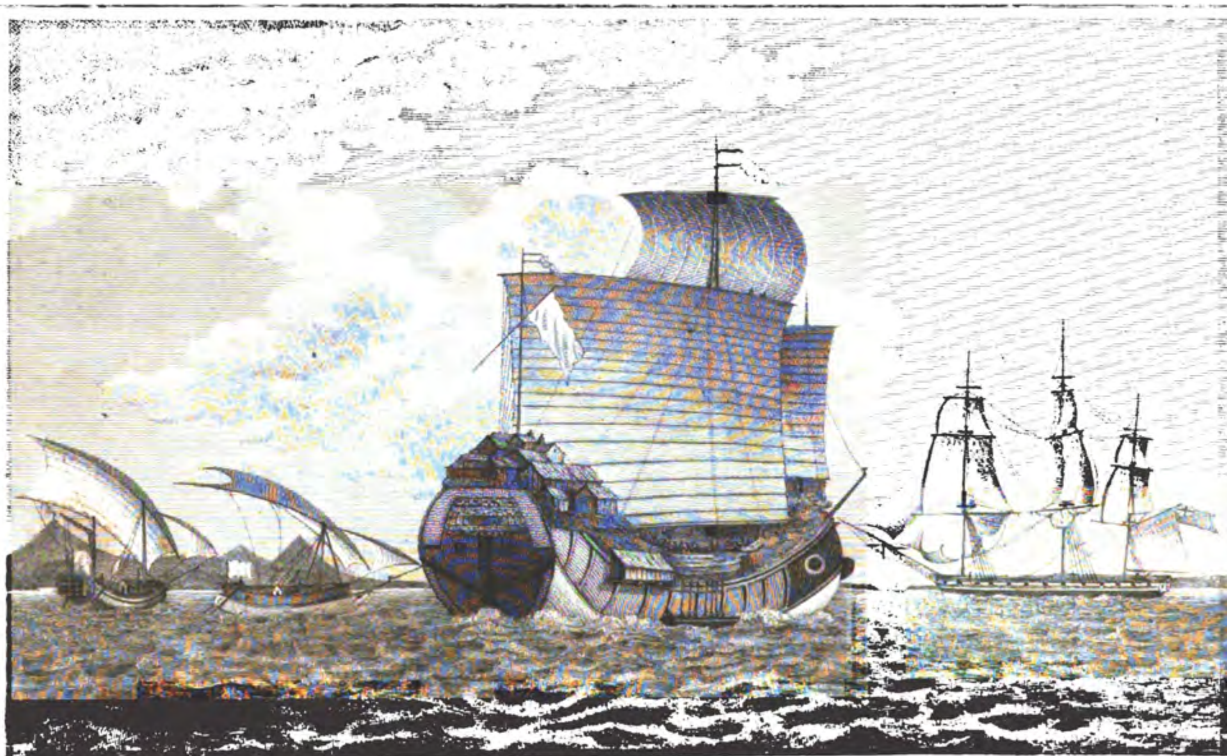
This did not alter the fact that the share of (legal) imports by foreign ships in Java rose from 10% of total imports in 1826 to about 20% in 1836.[181]

6.2.2 The Moluccas

The Hague was of the opinion that the treaties with Great Britain left enough room to ban British merchant vessels from the eastern part of the Indies archipelago. Only ships operating under Dutch flag, those of residents of the Dutch East Indies and, under special conditions, Chinese junks were allowed to trade in the Moluccas. Export from the Moluccas had to go via the ports of Ambon, Banda, Ternate, Manado and Kema (the latter two in North Celebes), where trade licences had to be shown, and import and export duties and other levies paid. The trade in and to the Little East was only permitted to residents of the Moluccas itself, and those of Java, Madura and South Celebes. But, with the exception of a special licence, until the establishment from 1848 of free ports in the Big East all imports and exports had to go through one of the five ports mentioned above. The population of the middle Moluccas and North Celebes were forced to plant cloves



Chinese junk, in: Crawfurd, *History*, III, 140-141

181 "Dutch India" (Sept. 1838), 21.

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(Ambon), nutmeg (Banda), and rice and coffee (Manado), which the Government bought at set prices.[182]

6.3 The Dutch Trading Company

In 1824 the Netherlands Trading Company (*Nederlandse Handel-Maatschappij*) was founded, by order of King William I. This company, later so viciously attacked by Multatuli in his book *Max Havelaar*,[183] was an instrument of the state to protect Dutch foreign trade, which, it was feared, threatened to fall into hands of foreigners (the Americans, the British). The purpose was the advancement or regeneration of Dutch agriculture, fishing and industry. The East Indies were earmarked for the role of supplier of cheap raw materials (coffee, sugar, spices, indigo) and that of export market (mostly for textiles from Twente). The Dutch Trading Company continued on the path already taken in 1819 and 1820, when the Government, by order of the King, had taken a number of decisions for the promotion of the Dutch wool industry.[184] The Company was given the status of "Government Agent".[185] As such it enjoyed the protection of the Palace, which was by far the largest shareholder, and all kinds of other privileges which greatly enhanced its position *vis a vis* British, American and other competitors. The fact that to a large extend the profits flowed into the King's coffers earned the company the nickname of "dear pet of Dutch royalty" in the British press.[186] In the East Indies the company also had a share of the "port to port" trade, at times also in the Moluccas.[187]

6.4 A 19th century Dutch East India Company

The India monopoly of the British East India Company lapsed in 1813 and its China monopoly on the 24th of April 1834. It only retained its monopoly on the trade in opium from British India.[188] Whereas London, partly under the pressure of the growing number of American merchant vessels in Southeast Asia and East Asia,[189] gradually began to leave behind the time of mercantilism and regulated trade, and went in the direction of liberalisation of trade and the economy, from the 1820s the Dutch economic and commercial policy regarding the East Indies went in the opposite direction. It seemed as if the Dutch East India Company was steering matters from its grave. In part the wish was to keep the British away to prevent the archipelago being flooded with their industrial

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182 These and other regulations relating to the Moluccas were on 13 Aug. 1827 issued by Commissioner General L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies. Van der Wijck, *De Nederlandsche Oost-Indische bezittingen*, 64-67. They were later published in English translation in British newspapers, cf.: "Netherlands India. The Moluccas", 367-368.

183 Multatuli, *Max Havelaar, of de koffie-veilingen der Nederlandse Handel-Maatschappij*. Amsterdam: J. de Ruyter, 1860.

184 "Resolutie – – – 17den October 1820" (nr 42); *The Times* (27/2/1818), 2; King, *Narative*, I, 128-129; *The Times* (9/6/1826), 2.

185 Tijdeman, *De Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij*, 136-137, 188-189, 194.

186 "Netherlands India. Commercial prospects", 29.

187 Tijdeman, *De Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij*, 136-137, 188-189, 194; "Minutes of evidence before the Select Committee of the Commons, on the affairs of the East-India Company", (July 1831), 160-162.

188 Fairbank, *Cambridge History of China*, 10/1, 170; Bayly, *Indian society and the making of the British Empire*, 116.

189 Cf. Fichter, *So great a proffit*.

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output. Notwithstanding these and other measures, like the system of government contracts and its forced labour (Cultivation System, introduced in 1830), or rather perhaps as a result of them, on Java and Madura the productivity of agriculture increased. In the period 1826-1836 the exports of agricultural produce increased by almost 175% from 15 to 41 million guilders per annum.[190] Towards the end of the 1830s agriculture was liberalised to a certain extent, as a result of which controls were lifted on the cultivation of, among others, spices on Java, Madura and Sumatra. Although the state of the government finances of the Indies remained worrisome, the Little East undeniably shared in the growing prosperity, as has been shown above.

6.5 British reactions

In Britain and Singapore there were forceful protests against Dutch policies and the chaos of regulations, tariffs, exemptions and dispensations which accompanied them. The Dutch were accused of having abused the goodwill shown by London when it returned the East Indies to them. In 1825 a journalist cried shame over the 1824 Treaty and the hostile actions of the Dutch towards the British in Asia:

> *as regards our commerce with the Dutch possessions in the East, the Treaty has in fact accomplished nothing, or something worse; and, with all the disposition, the Dutch seem to have, or to have considered themselves, left by it, with all the power they formerly possessed, to impose duties at discretion upon British trade, without the slightest regard to those terms upon which they have been allowed, according to the Treaty, to conduct their trading operations in the ports of British India*.[191]

The Treaty had been intended to end two centuries of friction and irritations in Asia between the two nations. But in reality it gave rise, in his opinion, to the development of many new disputes and it was “no better than only so much waste paper”.[192] He castigated the Government in London for insufficiently having stood up for British commercial interests. In May 1829 the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce introduced a petition in the House of Commons containing a request to intervene with the Dutch. Birmingham was an important centre of commercial capitalism and rapidly growing industrial production of a great diversity of goods.[193]

However, an official protest by London to The Hague would have presented problems. First, no conditions had been attached to the return of the East Indies to the Dutch in 1816/1817. Secondly, as London first and foremost interest lay in empire building, not in trade and commerce, the Treaties of 1814 and 1824 were not (free) trade treaties, but treaties between two friendly European powers which attempted to shield their geopolitical interests from each other and prevent future hostilities. Thirdly, the British used the weapon of protectionism only too energetically themselves,

190 For figures relating to the agricultural production in the period 1815-1836, see Boomgaard, *Food Crops*, table 8/109; cf. “Dutch India” (Dec. 1838), 297; Temminck, *Coup-d’oeil général*, I, 260-262.

191 “Dutch Treaty of 1824”, 54.

192 “Netherlands India” (Jan. 1826), 94; “Dutch Treaty of 1824”, 56.

193 “Abstracts of petitions to the House of Commons”, 200-201. An detailed overview of British complaints against the Dutch in: *Papers*.

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such as the infamous Corn Laws of 1815-1846, which badly affected the Netherlands. Moreover, the Dutch managed to respond to all complaints in a more or less plausible way. It was a myth that the conditions for Dutch trade in British India were superior to those applied to British trade in the Dutch East Indies, as was asserted. In British India the British East India Company retained a firm grip even after 1813 on the manufacture and import and export of various goods and products, which made it very difficult to compete. Although the Dutch had a right to receive some compensation for the loss of income because the British East India Company deployed only subjects of the British crown for the export of opium to China, this arrangement was abolished in 1824, together with all other rights and privileges which until then they had derived from their possessions on the

Port Essington, in: Leichhardt, *Journal*, 536-537

Indian sub-continent. Traders, journalists, Chambers of Commerce and others might complain but in East India House in Leadenhall Street, London, where the East India Company had its headquarters, there was mainly contentment about the Treaty of 1824: "in short, everything had found its way into this treaty, that could give general and individual satisfaction".[194]

194 "Debates at the East-India House", 67.

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7 NEW BRITISH SETTLEMENTS

7.1 Singapore, Port Cockburn and Fort Wellington

The Dutch looked with some concern at the extremely strong development which the free port of Singapore, the "Queen of the Eastern Seas",[195] went through during the first decades of its existence.[196] A growing flow of goods from the Dutch East Indies, which formerly had been traded in the ports of Java, were in large measure responsible for this. In November 1821 a journalist on a randomly selected day counted 80 to 100 Buginese prahus in the harbour at the same time, "besides many that had gone up the Straits" to Malacca, Penang and ports on Sumatra and in Johor, Burma and Siam (Thailand).[197] From all parts of the archipelago they brought the most valuable loads, among which were gold, sago, rice, birds of paradise, nutmeg, coffee, resin, shark fins, rattan, tin, tortoise-shell, tobacco, sandalwood, and other precious kinds of wood, dried fish, beeswax and tripang. Their return cargo consisted of tea, pottery, silk and porcelain from China,[198] Siam and Cochin-China, opium from British India, wool and cotton from Bengal and Madras, elephant tusks from Siam, iron, steel and weapons from Great Britain and other goods from Europe and Asia, "including English chintz, of which every Bugis that can afford it has some jackets".[199] The Singapore authorities were generally very pleased with their Buginese inhabitants,[200] who, in 1827, after the Chinese, "Malays", and Indians from the Coromandel coast, formed the fourth largest population group.[201]

The result of the call to expand the number of British ports in Southeast Asia was not only the establishment of modern Singapore, but it also led to the opening of a few free ports on the north coast of Australia. These ports came into being, and were managed, completely without the involvement of the British East India Company. The importance of such ports had greatly increased because of the abolition of the India and China monopolies of the British East India Company, which had stimulated trade between Australia, British India and China. This necessitated an official representation of the British Crown, as well as the deployment of a number of warships along the routes to Australia. Added to this was the ongoing enticement of the inexhaustible riches of the eastern part of the Dutch East Indies.

The trading and military posts annex prison camps, which during these years existed in the north of Australia, were Port Cockburn with Fort Dundas, on the west coast of Melville Island, on Apsley

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195 Roberts, "Notices", 8.

196 "Island of Singapore", 556; Martin, *Statistics*, 410-411.

197 *The Times* (27/5/1822), 3.

198 On the Chinese porcelain industry, cf. Berg, "Britain's Asian Century".

199 *The Times* (27/5/1822), 3; "On the trade of the Bugis", 141-143; "Oriental commentary on a European critique", 246; "Singapore. Commercial intercourse with eastern ports", 325. Between May and Dec. 1831 about 180 large Buginese prahus visited Singapore. As to their sailing schedule, cf. "Singapore. Bugis trade", 212.

200 "Singapore. Character of the Bugis". The Chinese had a bad reputation. "We have scarcely ever known an instance in which fraud has been attempted by a Bugis; instances of its being practiced upon them by the Chinese are, on the contrary, very common, and of every-day occurrence", *ibidem*.

201 "Singapore" (1828), 229-230; "Singapore", 292-293; "Island of Singapore", 556. The population of Singapore grew very fast, from about 200 inhabitants in Febr. 1819 through 15.000 in 1828 to 40.000 in 1840.

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Strait (1824-1829),[202] Fort Wellington on Raffles Bay[203] on the Cobourg Peninsula[204] (1827-1829) and slightly to the west of this on the same rocky peninsula the settlement of Port Essington (1838-1849). The latter was named for the bay on which it was situated.[205] All three lay directly to the south of the Moluccas and were, in terms of the prevailing winds, easy to reach for sailing ships, both in the easterly and in the westerly monsoon. The area was sparsely populated by Aborigines (the indigenous population), with whom the colonisers usually had an uneasy relationship. Not only the Indian islands, but the coast of North Australia as well was a hunting ground for slave traders, among whom were probably Portuguese, who sold these people in Timor-Dili to indigenous merchants. As a result the indigenous population of North Australia had developed an attitude of suspicion and fear towards all strangers.[206] At times the British succeeded in establishing peaceful contact, which gave them the opportunity to move freely outside the settlement. But most of the time this was impossible, and the settlers lived in a permanent state of watchfulness.

The British had placed their hopes in the prahus from South Celebes, which every year came to the coastal waters of northern Australia to catch tripang. They had done this, it was said, since the 1780s, when a storm had driven one of them from the old fishing grounds between Java and Timor to the north coast of Australia. There they found tripang in abundance and ever since they returned regularly.[207] They sold their catch in Java and Macassar to Chinese traders, who exported it to China at a huge profit.[208] Total imports of tripang into China amounted to 90.000 *pikol* per year, of which about 10% came from Macassar.[209] However, the hope the British had of getting a part of this lucrative trade did not materialise and Port Cockburn and Fort Wellington were not successful. With respect to Port Cockburn a newspaper report of July 1827 noted: "The settlement formed about three years since at Melville Island, with a view to open a commercial intercourse with the Malays, has completely failed."[210] A few tripang fishermen came to Port Cockburn in the first season, and they did good business, but because of the unfavourable location on a narrow, difficult

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202 "Home Intelligence" (May 1824), 574; "New South Wales" (1825), 143; "New settlement", 39-41. The fortress and the island received their names in 1818 from the English Captain Phillip P. King. He named them after Robert Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty. Port Cockburn was named after Vice Admiral Sir George Cockburn, G.C.B., one of the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, cf. King, *Narrative*, I, 106, 301; *The Times* (7/4/1841), 7.

203 Named by King after Sir Thomas S. Raffles, King, *Narrative*, I, 84. On Fort Wellington, cf. Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, chapt. V, IX-XI.

204 Named by King after Prince Leopold Georg Christian Friedrich of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (1790-1865), King, *Narrative*, I, 98; Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, 423. Campbell, "Geographical Memoir of Melville Island and Port Essington".

205 Named by King after the British Vice-Admiral Sir William Essington, cf. King, *Narrative*, I, 87.

206 Campbell, "Geographical Memoir of Melville Island and Port Essington", 155-156.

207 In Febr. 1803 Captain Matthew Flinders at the northwestern entrance of the Gulf of Carpentaria encountered a fleet of 60 large prahus which were owned by the ruler of Bone (South Celebes) and were fishing for tripang, Flinders, *A voyage to Terra Australis*, II, 229-233, 257; in 1818 King in the same area also met a fleet of sailing vessels, which came from Macassar, King, *Narrative*, I, 64-65, 73-77, 81-83, 92-95, 136-138. Cf. Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege'* , 7-15.

208 The Chinese tripang trade on Macassar is discussed in: Sutherland, "Trepang and wangkang".

209 Lion, "De Tripang-visscherij", 2.

210 "Australia. Melville Island", 100.

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to negotiate waterway they stayed away after this.[211] The fact that the inhabitants consisted not of merchants, but of 45 convicts and 81 soldiers may also have played a part.[212]
Then there was the problem of the provisioning of the settlements. The surrounding area did not offer much perspective. A journalist wrote that "the natives are hostile, to a degree of ferocity seldom exhibited elsewhere", which seemed rather exaggerated.[213] Although the sago palm grew in abundance and the soil was fertile, agriculture and cattle breeding were consequently of little significance. Hunting only supplied skinny bandicoots, the odd kangaroo and sometimes a crocodile. The Moluccas were officially off limits for the British and moreover, there too the population was often hostile to strangers.[214]
Sydney in New South Wales was far away. The islands east of Timor were unsuitable as regular providers of livelihood. This meant that, despite some relief sent once or twice from Sydney, the new settlements for their sustenance depended mainly on Timor, Savu, Roti and neighbouring islands, where the Dutch restrictions on trade were less rigid as Timor was outside the Moluccas. But this too was not without its problems and dangers. Although as a result of the Treaty of 1824 Kupang became a free port regarding a number of commodities, among which were horses, outside this capitol and garrison-town the population of West-Timor was not always reliable and favourably disposed to the visitors. Depending on the time of year both the voyage there and back took two to four weeks. At the start of 1827 a third of the ponies and buffalo on board the *Ann*, the ship deployed to supply the settlements, died on the voyage back from Timor. As a result in the new settlements food shortage was a constant threat and in 1826, after a ship sent to procure supplies in the Little East failed to return, scurvy broke out and raged for many months.[215]
The Buginese and Macassarese fishermen and merchants may have avoided Port Cockburn, but they knew how to find Fort Wellington. This offered protection from raids by the indigenous population on the coast, of which they too had often been victims. The first few prahus arrived in May 1828.[216] A year later many more came, between the 23rd of March and the 10th of May 1829, at the end of the westerly monsoon, 34 sailing vessels from South Celebes visited Fort Wellington. The seafarers built their huts there, processed their tripang, sold this to the British, and repaired their ships, assisted in this by British rope-makers and carpenters. But here too, their visits were irregular and unpredictable; the year after this not a single prahu turned up.[217]
In an attempt to assure a future for Fort Wellington Captain Collet Barker,[218] the last commander of the settlement, approached the Dutch in Macassar. He called on their assistance to establish a permanent settlement of Buginese and Macassarese on Raffles Bay. In this way he wanted to promote trade and create a shipping connection with Macassar and China. However, the Dutch did

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211 "Melville Island", 232-233.
212 Campbell, "Geographical Memoir of Melville Island and Port Essington", 134; *Maritime and Inland Discovery*, 129.
213 "Australasia. New South Wales. Melville Island", (Oct. 1831), 72.
214 As was apparent from the fate of the English merchant vessel *Johanna Maria* which in 1830 visited New Guinea; story in: "New Guinea".
215 "Voyage to the Eastern Islands", 781. See footnote 88.
216 Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 149.
217 "On the recent Establishment at Port Essington"; Mulvaney, *The search for Collet Barker of Raffles Bay*, 9.
218 Mulvaney, *The search for Collet Barker of Raffles Bay*; "The Assassination of Captain Barker".

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not react to this proposal, since they would get no advantage from the development of northern Australian ports.[219] Particularly after the voyage of Kolff and Kam in 1825 the archipelago was increasingly seen by the British as a source of cheap labour. But the hoped-for arrival of Chinese and Javanese artisans, labourers, traders and entrepreneurs did not materialise.[220] Because of the poor preparation, the uncertain outlook for the future, and opposition from Singapore and Penang, which were afraid of competition, the murder of the doctor and another inhabitant of Port Cockburn by the indigenous population, constant illness of the inhabitants as a result of poor nutrition, and all kinds of conflicts and other setbacks, both trading posts were abolished after only a few years.[221]

7.2 Port Essington. Emma Roberts.

At the time that Fort Wellington was established, some settlers also explored Port Essington and a few other locations along the north coast.[222] But nothing came of it. In November 1838 a start was made with the building of the settlement of Port Essington, which, for the new British Queen, was also known as City of Victoria.[223] Until the end of 1849 this settlement led a precarious and uncertain existence. Recently it has been argued that there was no expectation that Port Essington would be a commercial success, but that it has to be seen as part of the British annexation of Australia.[224] (Which had started on the 23rd of August 1770, when James Cook had taken formal possession of the eastern parts of New South Wales and Queensland for the British Crown.)

This assertion is only correct in far as it reflects official British government policy. Others saw things differently. As early as the 1820s Captain Phillip P. King wholeheartedly recommended Port Essington as a place of trade:

> *As a harbour, Port Essington is equal, if not superior to any I ever saw; and from its proximity to the Moluccas and New Guinea, and its being in the direct line of communication between Port Jackson [i.e. Sydney] and India, as well as from its commanding situation with respect to the passage through Torres' Strait, it must, at no very distant period, become a place of great trade, and of considerable importance.*[225]

This recommendation was repeated several times, among others by Major Campbell, the former Commandant of Fort Dundas, who described Port Essington in 1834 "as the friendly hand of Australia, stretched out towards the north, openly inviting the scattered islanders of the Javanese, Malayan, Celebean, and Chinese seas".[226] Also Lort Stokes who, in the service of the Royal Navy, charted the as yet unknown parts of Australia's northern coast in the 1830s and 1840s told his

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219 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, I, 400; Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 180.
220 Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 156, 179.
221 "New Settlements" (Sept. 1828), 380; Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 172-174; "Melville Island, New Holland", 691-692.
222 "New Settlements" (Sept. 1828), 380.
223 Earl, *Enterprise*, chapt. 3.
224 Allen, *Port Essington*.
225 King, *Narrative*, I, 92.
226 Campbell, "Geographical Memoir of Melville Island and Port Essington", 177.

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superiors that “its importance, as a commercial station, is incalculable”.[227] That British merchants expected a great deal from the trade with the Dutch East Indies, particularly in the somewhat longer term, is also apparent from the writings of Earl, which were the result of his travels through the region in the 1830s. He was convinced that his accounts

> *will have made it evident to the reader, that few parts of the world present a fairer field for British mercantile enterprise than the islands of the Indian archipelago: for not only are they exceedingly rich in raw produce of the most valuable description, but the natives, being expensive in their tastes, and passionately addicted to commercial pursuits, have always displayed the greatest readiness to exchange this produce for the manufactures of a more civilized country, whenever an opportunity has been afforded them of so doing.*[228]

On the occasion of the construction of Port Essington in 1838, James John Gordon Bremer (1786-1850), together with Stanley founder of the settlement, spoke similar words full of hope.[229] They got support from an unexpected quarter.
Emma Roberts, a writer who was well-known, among other things for her lyrical descriptions of British India,[230] repeated in an article in the London *Oriental Herald and Colonial Intelligencer* of 1839 what had earlier been contended by Assey, Earl and others. In a fiery argument she called the Dutch in the East Indies “unprincipled aggressors”, who were guilty of “the most cruel recklessness of the interests and happiness” of the population. The Dutch intentionally kept this in a permanent state of poverty, lawlessness, backwardness, ignorance and isolation. They were barbarians, those Dutch. Only they were responsible for the tragic fate of the crews of British and other ships which fell into the hands of murderous islanders and pirates, an argument which was rather popular among the British, of whom Raffles too had been a representative.[231] This situation had to be stopped. Like the vast majority of her contemporaries Roberts did not for a moment doubt the legitimacy and value of British imperialism en colonialism. She was not only, and not even principally, concerned with the material advantages for the motherland, so she said. Great Britain had a pioneering role in the world. It had the moral duty to educate and civilise the non-Western and non-Christian part of humanity and put it in touch with Christianity. The allegedly splendid results of this approach were evident in British India, where she had lived for a number of years. In the spirit of the “invisible hand” of Adam Smith,[232] Adam Ferguson[233] and like-minded economists, she pointed out that, if capital could flow freely and trade would be conducted “on just and liberal

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227 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 359; Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 174.
228 Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, 421. See also his *Observations* and *Enterprise*.
229 “Port Essington” (April 1839), 285.
230 Gibson, *Anglophone Poetry in Colonial India, 1780-1913*, 3, described Roberts as “the first woman journalist in India”. But she was also a poet, historian, biographer and author of travel stories. On Roberts (1794-1840; 1828-1832 and 1839-1840 in British India), see: Elwood, *Memoirs*, II, 333-347.
231 [Raffles], *Memoir*, 64-65. Similar reasoning in St. John, *The Indian Archipelago*, II, 54.
232 See Smith’s *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1759, and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776.
233 Ferguson, *Essay,* 215: “The objet in commerce is to make the individual rich; the more he gains for himself, the more he augments the wealth of his country.”

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principles", the population of the Indian archipelago would benefit directly from this. This was particularly true of the inland population, who were far behind the coastal inhabitants in development, to whom they were often subordinate. Thanks to free trade and the prosperity this policy would generate among the indigenous population Western civilisation would be able to easily and quickly spread amongst them. Moreover, she argued, if Dutch misrule and all the accompanying trade restrictions, curtailment of individual liberties, extortion, high taxes and forced cultivation had disappeared, the population no longer had a motive for rebellion, as had happened in the past. Freedom, tolerance and prosperity would set in. Should the indigenous population suffer and experience injustice as a consequence of British imperialism, which could not be completely excluded, this was only of a temporary nature. They would be more than compensated by the blessings which Christianity and Western civilisation brought.

In the case of the Little East, ports on the north coast of Australia could, in her opinion, make an excellent contribution to this rosy future, because the region could from there be relatively easily opened up for international trade and shipping. The islanders would then be able to get to know extensively the products of British industry. Perhaps the Dutch, who, according to her, were hated and despised in the whole Indian archipelago, could in this way be prevailed upon to revise their policy of isolationism, forced cultivation, and protectionism, the sources of all evil, and for once really take to heart the interests of the population. In fact, Roberts argued, they had no choice, for they were no match for Great Britain as an industrial, cultural and trading nation.[234]

That the system of industrial production on a large scale and (partly) free competition, which was the flip side of her plans and pleas, had given rise, both in the motherland and in British India and elsewhere, to the development of the most abominable working and living conditions for large groups of the population, does not get a mention in Roberts' argument. Something which might support her argument to a certain degree was that unimpeded access to the Asiatic (and other) markets might alleviate the marketing problems of British industry. But this was uncertain. The British system, far more than she seems to have realised, was guided by the geopolitical, economic and financial policy of the British Government, and in its turn did not fail to create serious problems, such as had been shown by the weavers of Bengal. Elsewhere in the world too, from Ireland to Latin America and China, it was evident that the protagonists of freedom, liberty and toleration lacked sympathy with the indigenous cultures; the encounter with the British had not always pleased everyone. The consequences of this attitude were definitely not of a temporary nature.

It was attacks on the Dutch like these which gave rise to several defences of the Dutch colonial policy, of which the one of Temminck was even published in English, be it only in part. In it he reiterated the view expressed by Du Bus de Gisignies and stated that one of the objectives of the Dutch was "to protect the people against the invasion of the privileged race – the Europeans".[235]

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234 Roberts, "Notices".

235 C.J. Temminck, *Coup-d'oeil général sur les possessions néerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipélagique*. 3 Vols. Leide[n]: A. Arnz & Comp., 1846-1849. English translation in: "Temminck's general view of the Dutch possessions in the Indian Archipelago", in: *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*. (Vol. 1, 1847) 127-149, 183-223. Quotation from 143.

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7.3 The British claim to the north coast of Australia

However high the British expectations were with regard to trade, Port Essington and the other settlements in the area were obviously also meant to convey clearly the British claim to the territory and to keep out foreign powers. Australia was considered to belong to London. On the 20th of September 1824 Bremer, the founder not only of Port Essington, but also of Port Cockburn, planted the British flag on the Cobourg peninsula, a gesture with which he formally annexed the whole of Arnhem Land, the area between 129 degrees and 137 degrees East Longitude, in the name of the British Crown.[236]

The concern felt in London with regard to this was not wholly incomprehensible. The Netherlands might have promised to renounce settlement on Melville Island, to which it had laid claim since the 17th century,[237] but there were plenty of other competitors. American, French, Danish, Spanish, Prussian and even Russian traders, explorers and scientific expeditions had for decades been regular visitors to the waters of Australia and the East Indies. Between 1760 and 1840 France alone sent more than a dozen naval expeditions to the Australian waters. French warships visited Sydney, where they were received with great respect and full honours.[238] In January 1845 a correspondent of *The Times* reported from Sydney:

> *The Pacific, it is observed, no longer deserves its name, ––– it is becoming the rendezvous of hostile squadrons and the scene of quarrels. The French have there a powerful squadron with several war steamers; the Americans, no less than 10 sail, of which three are large frigates.*[239]

By the end of the 1830s it appeared that the French were preparing a naval expedition which was to establish a bridgehead on the north coast of Australia and in 1838 and 1839 two French ships were spotted off the Cobourg coast. They had been at anchor there for some time and had visited Raffles Bay. News of all this caused a certain amount of consternation in London and Sydney and the British felt obliged to make haste with the construction of Port Essington.[240] But all the agitation turned out to be for nothing. Contrary to the situation in, for example, New Zealand, where in these years tensions at times existed between British and French immigrants and settlers, who each had their own laws and authorities,[241] no other Western power except London established settlements on the Australian coast. Tropical Australia had nothing to offer.

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236 Wilson, *Narrative of a voyage round the world*, 123.
237 "Australasia. New South Wales. Melville Island", (Oct. 1831), 72.
238 "New South Wales" (1838), 176.
239 *The Times* (4/1/1845), 3.
240 "South Australia", 64; [Dumont d' Urville], "Verslag omtrent den togt der Fransche Oorlogschepen l'Astrolabe en La Zèlée", 16.
241 "New Zealand" (Jan. 1842), 52.

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7.4 Emporium Port Essington (1838-1849)

The settlement of Port Essington was located on a spacious, deep bay, 18 miles from open water. It consisted of a number of houses and cabins, a shop, a Town Hall, officers' mess, field hospital, sheds and boathouses. There was also a church, which had been purchased in Sydney. In its initial years the settlement had approximately 100 inhabitants. Among these was Earl, the only one who was able to speak Malay. In 1843 he was appointed as Magistrate and Commissioner of Crown Lands.[242] The settlement was protected by an earth wall, several cannons, and a blockhouse. It fulfilled a role as prison, military post, marine harbour, port of call for whalers and merchant vessels en route between Australia, British India and China, and as a reception centre for those who had been shipwrecked and for freed victims of piracy and abductions. After Port Essington had been completely destroyed by a hurricane with heavy rains on the 24th and 25th of November 1839, in which eight people died and a large merchant vessel was almost lost, the settlement was only partly rebuilt.[243] In June 1841 it struck a visitor as miserable and neglected. He was pessimistic about the future of the settlement[244] and he was not the only one.[245]

This did not alter the fact that in the initial years Buginese and Macassarese fishermen and traders had no trouble finding Port Essington.[246] Although the Dutch tried their hardest to keep the British out of the Big East, the latter spoke full of hope about Port Essington as a second Singapore. They expected to be able to make a profitable use from the steamships which in these very years started to ply the routes between Europe, Australia and Asia, which greatly accelerated world trade.[247]

The British did not only have their eye on the natural riches of the Moluccas and New Guinea. That there was much money to be made elsewhere as well was evident from two British merchants, the one on Lombok, the other on Bali, after Java the biggest rice bowls of the East Indies. In the 1830s and 1840s they did very well. The merchant on Lombok by the name of King had considerable influence with the *raja* and was for many years the harbour master (*sahbandar*) at Ampanan, the main port. This position provided him with ample opportunity to become a wealthy and powerful trader and ship builder.[248] A English sailor who in 1834 settled on Roti, an island west of Timor, also prospered. He married the daughter of a prominent family, which gave him easy access to the local and traders. These merchants bought rice and other products of the islands and shipped them to Ceylon, British India, China, Australia, Mauritius and Singapore. They also supplied prahus from Sumbawa, South Celebes, and Ceram, which carried grain, tobacco and goods imported from Singapore and China to other parts of the archipelago. For these commodities and other products from Bali, Lombok, Timor and neighbouring islands, such as ducks, dried fish, cod-liver oil, ponies and horses, horned cattle, cotton from Lombok (considered the best from all of the East Indies), coffee and sago, of which a portion went to Australia, as well as until then unexploited mineral

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242 "Australasia", 297.
243 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 98-101; "Port Essington" (April 1840), 371-373; "Western Australia" (Oct. 1840), 126-127. The physical remains of Port Essington are discussed in Allen, *Port Essington*.
244 "Northern Australia", 55.
245 Beete Jukes, *Narrative of the surveying voyage of H.M.S. Fly*, I, 350-353.
246 "Port Essington" (April 1839), 284.
247 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 360; *The Times* (4/5/1846), 6.
248 [Stanley], "Remarks on Ampanan", 79-80.

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resources such as copper, gold and salt, Port Essington would be an excellent processing and transhipment port.[249]

Although there hardly existed any trade by British merchant vessels with the Little (and Big) East, the advantages of which had been so enthusiastically outlined by Earl, Roberts, Campbell and others, other expectations initially seemed to come true. In December 1838, less than a month after the building of Port Essington had been started, a fleet of Buginese and Macassarese prahus appeared, which exchanged Chinese tea, sugar, salted fish, tortoise-shell and tripang for "iron, rice and old clothes".[250] In March 1839 twenty sailing vessels once again visited Port Essington. In the following years the supply of tortoise-shell from the Gulf of Carpentaria and Torres Strait was "considerable", while the supplied tripang, dried fish, pearl oysters, beeswax, and other produce from "the Arafura Islands", as the British called the islands south of Banda, were of "superior value".[251] In the first years the Buginese landed more goods in Port Essington "than we had money to purchase".[252]

7.5 Port Essington and the Little East

Just as Port Cockburn and Fort Wellington had done before, Port Essington obtained its cattle, chickens, pigs, sorghum, sugar, corn, coconuts, vegetables and fruit chiefly from Savu, West-Timor and Roti and neighbouring islands. The South Moluccan island of Kisar too attracted attention. The island had a stable government and was an important trading centre, where numerous small prahus from nearby islands called in, as well European and American whalers and large sailing vessels from Ambon, Macassar, Ceram and Banda. From Port Essington Earl, explorer as well as the translator of Kolff's account of his voyages of 1826,[253] visited Kisar and a few islands nearby three times, of which the first was in November 1838. In Wonreli on Kisar he visited missionary Bär and on Moa he met missionary Dommers.[254] Earl discovered that the inhabitants of Kisar, whom he described as "a harmless and well-disposed race of men",[255] were only too keen to do business with him and sold their goods cheaply. Within 48 hours his ship lifted anchor with in its holds "20 bullocks, 120 sheep, 60 pigs, a number of fowls, 3 tons of yams, with fruit, cocoa-nuts, plants, &c., all of which had been purchased by goods which cost at Sydney less than 50*l*. Sterling".[256] Bremer, who made a trip to Kisar, Leti and Moa in the months of February and March 1839 also did good business there. He then also visited Dili on Portuguese Timor. From there he sent word of the

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249 Roberts, "Notices", 6-7.
250 [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 116; Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 356.
251 "On the recent Establishment at Port Essington", 501; "Port Essington", 372; [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 109.
252 [Earl], "Notes", 141.
253 *Voyages of the Dutch Brig of War Dourga, through the Southern and little-known Parts of the Moluccan Archipelago, and along the previously unknown Southern Coast of New Guinea, performed during the Years 1825 & 1826*. By D.H. Kolff, Jun., Luitenant ter Zee 1e klasse, en Ridder van de Militaire Willems Orde. Translated from the Dutch by George Windsor Earl. London: James Madden & Co., 1840.
254 [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 109-110, 115.
255 "Address – – – 1841", lxviii.
256 [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 115; Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, I, 470.

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establishment of Port Essington to Macao, in the hope that this would benefit the trade with China.[257]

Dobo, on the island of Wamar in the Aru Archipelago, also promised rich trade. This port, described by Wallace as "the trading settlement of Bugis and Chinese",[258] was the most important trading centre south of Banda. Besides, the influence of Dutch rule was slight there and trade regulations were hardly enforced. Add to this the fact that Wamar was one of the few islands in the region which had good anchorage for square-riggers. Import and export were largely in the hands of business firms in Macassar. Every year, at the start of the westerly monsoon, dozens of large prahus and junks came to Dobo, among them those belonging to the Chinese trader Lie Tjiem, and those of the firm of J.G. Weyergang and Son, both from Macassar. Their agents were permanently based in the archipelago and travelled to villages and islands to buy pearls, pearl oysters, and other shellfish, tripang, tortoise-shell, birds nests, sharks fins, and birds of paradise, and to settle the payment of debts. All manner of goods were also brought to Dobo from islands in the region, which were exchanged for European industrial products, rifles and ammunition, wine, spirits, tea and a host of other things.[259]

Owen Stanley visited the Tanimbar, Aru and Kei Archipelagos from Port Essington in 1839. He was cordially received, was entertained by several chiefs and carried out ethnological and physical observations. But contrary to the situation on Kisar, no one wanted to do business with him. He himself asserted that this was because he was unwilling to supply arms, but this is improbable, since nearly all foreign merchant vessels had large quantities of pistols, rifles, swords, knives, sabres and other kinds of weapons on board, to exchange for cattle, drinking water and other necessities.[260]

During the months of June to August 1841 Stanley once again travelled in the Little East, this time accompanied by Earl. In Durjela, in the Aru Archipelago, they were received by the *orang kaya*, Andries Barend, and the Ambonese schoolteacher, complete with inspection of a guard of honour, with one – defective – musket and a visit to the church. The teacher was "an old man dressed in a long black serge coat and trowsers [*sic*], with a white shirt and handkerchief", who asked the visitors, not in vain, for a contribution to the maintenance of the church.[261] However, the *orang kaya's* request for military assistance in his conflict with a nearby island was in vain. In Dulah (Little Kei) Stanley engaged in an action which constituted a breach of the treaties between London and The Hague, and which was a sign that some British were still attempting to establish a bridgehead in the Little East. Stanley presented the village head with a certificate of appointment and a British flag, thus creating the impression that the British Crown was his sovereign lord and master.

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257 "Port Essington" (April 1840), 372.

258 Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, 432.

259 Bik, *Dagverhaal*, 42-43; De Boudyck-Bastiaanse, *Voyages*, 43; Van der Crab, *De Moluksche eilanden*, 87-92; Bosscher, "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent de Aroe-eilanden", 374-377.

260 Stanley's report (1839) in: Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, I, chapt. XII.

261 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 333-334; Bosscher, "Statistieke aanteekeningen omtrent de Aroe-eilanden", 366.

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But with hindsight this was no more than an incident, which had no consequences and was not repeated.[262]

Dobo, in: Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, 476-477

As far as trade was concerned this voyage did not prove very profitable for Stanley.[263] Only on Kisar could he buy a cow, some chickens, and a pig. Vegetables, fruit and plants the islanders could not supply him with. Because the rains had stayed away, hardly anything had grown on the island for some years. He returned to Port Essington with empty holds.[264]

7.6 Shadrach Philippus

Apart from trading voyages the British tried to forge ties with the islands in the Little East in yet another way. From his first visit to Kisar, Earl brought back to Australia a man from the island, Shadrach Philippus, as his servant and pupil, and as a source of information. Shadrach, "a remarkably interesting and intelligent young man", had attended school on Kisar, and had visited Timor and Java. He spoke some Malay, and also quickly mastered English. Earl took the opportunity to study the Kisar language and published a list of words.[265] Through Philippus he hoped to get allies

262 Von Rosenberg, *Reis*, 71.
263 Report of Stanley and Earl (1841) in: Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, chapt. X.
264 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 348; "Address – – – 1842, lxxxi.
265 Earl, "Specimens".

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on Kisar, who would promote British interests and refute the malicious rumours the Dutch spread about the British. Not only did the British and their possessions in the East Indies enjoy little or no protection from the colonial authorities, but Earl was also convinced that the Dutch set the indigenous chiefs against them and that this had almost cost him and his crew their lives during a visit to Lakor – a tactic similar to that which the British applied to bar the Dutch from entering the port of Aceh in North Sumatra.[266]
In July 1841 Shadrach visited the island of his birth in the company of Stanley and Earl, but did not stay there.[267] In October 1843 the Legislative Council of New South Wales discussed the construction of an overland route between Port Essington and Sydney. One of the advisers at this meeting was Earl, who considered it possible to recruit labourers from the islands east of Timor for the construction of this road. According to him the people from Kisar were eminently suited for such work, for they were "a very excellent, quiet, and orderly people; they are tolerably educated, and can read and write very well".[268] His "servant" Shadrach was also present at the meeting. To the question if his fellow islanders would be prepared to come to Port Essington to build a city there after the model of Sydney, he replied that they, taking into account the overpopulation on Kisar, and the famine that had afflicted the island for some years now, would certainly be prepared to do so, if they could earn sufficient money with it.[269] However, in 1846 the plan was called off in favour of a project for opening a direct steam mail line between London/Singapore and Sydney.[270]

7.7 Dunmore Lang

During these discussions in the Legislative Council it appeared that the rivalry between the British and the Dutch had also penetrated into the world of the church and the mission. A Council member, the Scottish Presbyterian minister J. Dunmore Lang,[271] who had in 1838, with the assistance of the Berlin Gossner Mission, started missionary work among the Aborigines along Moreton Bay (Brisbane),[272] suggested that for boys like Shadrach theological education should be established in Australia. They were to be taught English, and the "arts and sciences of civilization", receive theological instruction "to fit them for the Christian ministry, and to be sent forth thereafter as Missionaries to the multitude of isles to the northward."[273] It is possible that Dunmore wanted to pre-empt the Roman Catholic mission, which was then in the process of opening a station near Port Essington. But unmistakably his plans also matched the interest which the British London Missionary Society and the Baptist Missionary Society had in the archipelago. Since the days of British rule, their missionaries had worked on Java, Sumatra and Ambon. A number made long voyages through the archipelago, during which they sometimes stayed in the same spot for months, "some

266 [Earl], "An Account of a Visit to Kisser", 115; "Port Essington" (April 1840), 372.
267 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 348.
268 Lang, *Cooksland in North-Eastern Australia*, 299.
269 *Ibidem*, 300-301.
270 E[arl], "Steam routes", 444-446.
271 On J. Dunmore Lang, see Baker, *Days of Wrath*.
272 "Miscellaneous" (Sept. 1838), 25; "German Mission to the Aborigines" (Nov. 1838), 214-215; "Excerpta" (Nov. 1838), 216. This mission was abandoned in 1843.
273 Lang, *Cooksland in North-Eastern Australia*, 302.

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extending their tours to places more remote, including the western coast of the Malayan Peninsula, Borneo, and Bali, preaching the gospel and distributing the Scriptures, and in many places never before visited by a missionary".[274] In Bencoolen, where one of the three mission stations of the Baptist Missionary Society on West Sumatra was located (the others were in Padang and Sibolga), the Sumatran Bible Society, a sub branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was founded in March 1818. Its Initiator and Chairman was Raffles, then Governor of Bencoolen. This society concentrated not only on spreading Christianity, but also published a magazine of general interest called *Malayan Miscellanies*, and an agricultural magazine which was named *Proceedings of the Agricultural Society of Sumatra*. These were printed on the mission's printing press in Bencoolen. However, a sudden surge of the Padri rebellion in 1825 put a quick end to the British missionary efforts in Sumatra.[275]

That this lack of perspective on contacts with the Little East, which was one of the causes of the eventual ruin of Port Essington, meant that his plans did not stand a chance from the very start, did not alter the fact that Dunmore Lang, just as other British chauvinists such as Raffles, Roberts, Assey and Earl, was of the opinion that the population of the archipelago deserved more, and better, than what the Dutch could offer in training and religious and cultural education.

274 "Religious Intelligence" (Oct. 1829), 473; "Religious Intelligence" (Dec. 1831), 654-656.

275 Cox, *History*, 144-145; "First Report of the Sumatran Bible Society", 510; "Survey of Protestant Missions for 1823", 259; Wurtzburg, "The Baptist Mission Press at Bencoolen".

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8 THE AFTERMATH: THE END OF PORT ESSINGTON. DARWIN

Apart from the favourable outcome of visits to Kisar and nearby islands, which related chiefly to the supplies for Port Essington, there was not much profit to be made in the Little East with respect to the trade with China. The smuggling-voyages of Bremer, Earl and Stanley in 1839-1841 and the fact that merchants from Sydney, Canton and Singapore avoided Port Essington soon made it clear that it had little chance of success as a commercial centre in the longer term.
To make matters worse, in January 1843 a fleet of twenty sailing vessels on their way from Macassar to Port Essington were caught in a severe storm. Three ships with a total of 100 seafarers were lost at sea, and two others ships were smashed to pieces on the Cobourg coast. The badly damaged remaining prahus sought refuge elsewhere. A number of prahus which at the time were on their way from Port Essington to the Aru Archipelago also disappeared beneath the waves. In January 1845 a similar accident happened again.[276] After such disasters the Buginese and Macassarese quite often stayed away for a some time.[277]
Just as in Fort Wellington, it was hoped in Port Essington that other European and Asian migrants would arrive as traders and labourers. These were to have been employed in the port, in the breeding of cattle, and on the plantations of sugar, cotton, corn and sago and in the spice gardens, which were to have been established.[278] But they failed to arrive. This meant that the plans to colonise and pacify the east of New Guinea with their assistance could not be realised either. The Colonial Office in London, which organised the recruitment and shipping of emigrants to Australia, focussed only on South Australia. In circles of commerce in Singapore, London, Sydney, Adelaide and Calcutta there was no interest in developing agriculture and cattle breeding in the north of Australia or to invest in the mining industry there, despite the fact that the soil was fertile and rich in ore, oil and minerals. Port Essington was too small and its economic base too narrow and too vulnerable to survive. After an existence of a little over a decade, the place was abandoned in November 1849.[279]
But the British did not give up. They had plans in abundance, and already sent each year about 60 ships to fish in the seas between Timor and Halmahera. It is true that in 1863 a fourth attempt to establish a settlement (Port Flinders) along the north coast failed, but Palmerston, a settlement established in 1869 and still in existence, was successful, in part because of the arrival of several thousands of Chinese labourers and traders.[280] The settlement was, and is, located on the mainland south of Melville Island, on a bay which in 1839 had been charted by Lort Stokes for the first time. He called this bay Port Darwin, in memory of “my friend, Mr Darwin”, who had, until October 1836, been on board his ship, the *Beagle*.[281]

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276 Bickmore, *Travels*, 101; Beete Jukes, *Narrative of the surveying voyage of H.M.S. Fly*, I, 358.
277 *The Times* (1/12/1843), 3; Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, II, 360.
278 *The Times* (3/9/1844), 5.
279 Keppel, *A visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. ship Meander*, II, 150-192; Saunders, *The Asiatic Mediterranean*, chapt. 8.
280 See-Kee, *Chinese contribution to early Darwin*, 1-2.
281 Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, I, 108; *ibidem*, II, chapt. I, spec. 6.

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Other than the previous settlements along the north coast Darwin derived its *raison d'être* not from the (hoped-for) trade with the Little or Big East, but from the fact that it sealed the British colonisation of the northwest coast of Australia. Moreover, the region was rich in resources, gold being among them. Darwin's strategic importance was highlighted by the construction in the early 1870s of a telegraph cable which connected Sydney and Adelaide via Darwin with Java and Singapore. There it connected with the cable from Asia to Europe and North America, which had been constructed in the preceding decades.[282] In spite of this connection to the "Victorian internet"[283] the economic development of the Northern Territory (the mining industry, agriculture, cattle breeding) was extremely slow and into the 20th century remained behind expectation.
All this did not do away with the fact that some British merchants remained interested in the riches of the islands of the East Indies. Indigenous prahus continued to visit Port Darwin and until 1907 fished the waters off the coast for tripang and turtles.[284] Because of the increase in shipping in Torres Strait the need was felt to colonise eastern New Guinea, at any rate its southern shore. In accordance with Earl's and Stanley's advice, the 1860s saw the opening of a settlement on Cape York on Torres Strait, a region which had been formally annexed for the British Crown in October 1838.[285] The new settlement was intended to replace Port Essington. This was Somerset. Other settlements along the north coast followed.[286]

282 "On Goyder's Survey of the Neighbourhood of Port Darwin", 195-198.
283 Standage, *The Victorian Internet*.
284 According to Cense, "Makassaars-Boeginese prauwvaart", 255, in 1907 the Australian government put an end to the tripang fishery of the Buginese in Australian coastal waters.
285 "Port Essington" (April 1840), 371.
286 Keppel, *A visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. ship Meander*, II, 191.

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9 EPILOGUE

The integration of the Little East into the Dutch East Indies after 1800 went according to plan. A struggle between London and The Hague did not occur. This was not because the treaties of 1814 and 1824 defused a tense situation. These treaties did nothing other than direct the aspirations of both powers in Southeast Asia into the proper channels.
Nor does it mean that no fight for the Little East took place. It certainly did. But this struggle was more of an intellectual, economic and propagandist kind than of a physical or military nature and was not between two sovereign nations, but between the Dutch colonial authorities and free British and other traders, merchants and pioneers, of whom Assey, Earl and Roberts were spokespersons. These representatives of early-modern commercial capitalism felt uncomfortable with the semi-mercantilist and protectionist world of the British East India Company and the Dutch Trading Company. In their eyes national trade privileges and monopolies belonged to the past. However as far as the East Indies, including the Little East, are concerned, they lost the battle. They were no match for the economic *ancien régime* in The Hague and Batavia. Nevertheless they were the heralds of things to come. In the middle of the 19th century the mood among the liberals was nicely summed up by Earl: "The Dutch government may possibly object to its commercial preserves in the Moluccas being intruded upon, but the days of protection, whether British or foreign have passed away, and those who obstinately stand in the path will only risk being rudely thrust aside."[287]

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287 E[arl], "Steam routes", 450.

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Abbreviations

AA	Ambon Archive, Indonesian National Archives, INA, Jakarta
ACCE	Archive of the Chief Commission of Education, INA, Batavia
ACD	Archive Colonial Department, NAN, The Hague
AMB	Archive of the Mission Board of the Dutch Reformed Church, UA, Utrecht (Archief van de Raad voor de Zending der Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, UA)
AR	Assistant-Resident
CD	Colonial Department, The Hague (Ministerie van Koloniën, Den Haag)
DMS	Dutch Missionary Society (Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap)
GM	Governor of the Moluccas (Gouverneur der Molukse Eilanden)
INA	Indonesian National Archives, Jakarta (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta)
(Lt.) GGDEI	(Lt.) Governor General of the Dutch East Indies ((Lt.) Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië)
NAN	National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague (Nationaal Archief, Den Haag)
NSW	New South Wales, Australia
UA	Utrecht Archives (Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht)

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