



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Cross-cultural alliance-making and local resistance in Maluku during the revolt of Prince Nuku, c. 1780-1810

Widjojo, M.S.

Citation

Widjojo, M. S. (2007, September 12). *Cross-cultural alliance-making and local resistance in Maluku during the revolt of Prince Nuku, c. 1780-1810*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/12311>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/12311>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cross-Cultural Alliance-Making
and Local Resistance
in Maluku during the Revolt of
Prince Nuku, c. 1780-1810

Cover and Chapter Title Background:
G. E. Rumphius, 2002

Cross-Cultural Alliance-Making
and Local Resistance
in Maluku during the Revolt of
Prince Nuku, c. 1780-1810

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, prof. mr. P. F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 12 september 2007
klokke 15.00 uur

door

Muridan Satrio Widjojo

geboren te Surabaya – Indonesië
in 1967

Promotiecommissie:

Promotor: prof. dr. J. L. Blussé van Oud-Alblas

Co-promotor: dr. G. J. Knaap
(Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis,
Den Haag)

Referent: prof. dr. A. B. Lapian
(emeritus, Universitas Indonesia, Depok)

Overige leden: prof. dr. F.S. Gaastra
prof. dr. P. Spyer
prof. dr. B. Arps
dr. J. Th. Lindblad
dr. D. Henley (KITLV, Leiden)

De voltooiing van dit proefschrift werd gesubsidieerd door het TANAP
(Towards A New Age of Partnership) programma.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	viii
Abbreviations	xi
Glossary	xii
Maps	xvi
Chapter One: <i>Introduction</i>	1
Geographical and Historical Setting	2
Previous Studies	4
Theme and Outline of this Study	7
Chapter Two: <i>The VOC in Maluku: Imposing the Spice Monopoly</i>	11
European Presence before the Dutch	11
Establishing Monopoly and the Making of VOC power	15
Banda	19
Ambon	23
Ternate and Tidore	26
Concluding Remarks	30
Chapter Three: <i>Ruling the Local Rulers: Maintenance of the Spice Monopoly</i>	31
Expanding the Structure and Rule	31
Exploiting Local Forces	38
The Decline of the VOC	42
Handling Rebellious Tidore	45
Concluding Remarks	51
Chapter Four: <i>Tidore and the Rise of Prince Nuku</i>	53
Organization and Leadership of the Sultanate	53
The Seram Dispute: the Beginning of Turmoil	60
Treaty 1780: Loss of Independence	64
Initial Contest (1780-1783)	66
‘Tidoran Revolution’	69
Sultan Tidore versus Sultan Papua and Seram	73
Temporary Decline and Epidemic (1785-1790)	76
Resurgence of Forces (1791-1796)	80
Chapter Five: <i>From Rebel to Sultan</i>	87
The Conquest of Tidore	87
The Conquest Ternate (1798-1801)	90

Negotiations for an Independent Tidore (1803-1805)	98
Post-Nuku Struggle: the Decline of Tidore (1805-1810)	103
Chapter Six: <i>Papuan and Halmaheran: Raiders and Warriors</i>	113
Papuan of Raja Ampat	114
Raja Ampat and Geelvink Bay	117
The Myth of the Raiding Leaders and Tidore	118
Papuan of the Onin and Kobiai Areas	125
Gamrange	129
Long History of Raiding	131
Closing Remarks	133
Chapter Seven: <i>The Raiders, Tidore, and Nuku</i>	135
Prince Nuku and the Papuan-Gamrange Warriors	139
Gamkonora and Renewed Loyalty from Tidore's Periphery	143
Raiding (and Trading) Networks	149
Closing Remarks	152
Chapter Eight: <i>East Seramese: Trader and Rebel</i>	155
East Seramese	156
East Seram Trading Networks	158
East Seram-Dutch Relationship in the Seventeenth Century	165
East Seram under Tidore (1700-1769)	169
East Seram and Nuku	172
Chapter Nine: <i>Leadership and Local Politics in East Seram</i>	177
Leadership	177
Type of Leaders	180
West and South Seramese	184
North Seramese	188
Closing Remarks	192
Chapter Ten: <i>The English and Nuku: Spices for Guns</i>	195
English Interests in Maluku	195
Captain Forrest and Political Turmoil	200
Initial Encounter	204
Envoy to Bengkulu and Bengal	207
John McCluer and John Hayes	209
English Country Traders	212
English Occupation	215
Closing Remarks	221

Chapter Eleven: <i>The English Monopoly and Anti-climax in Nuku Struggle</i>	223
The Clove-Monopoly Contested Again	223
The English Residents and the Capture of Ternate	232
Aborted Recognition	240
Anti-climax in Nuku's Struggle	243
Tidore-English Relations in Post-Nuku Politics	246
Closing Remarks	248
Chapter Twelve: <i>Conclusion</i>	251
Appendices	261
Bibliography	268
Samenvatting	277
Curriculum Vitae	285

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A book should be written as a tribute to those who conceived and organized the ambitious TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership) Project. Many students, historians, and universities from different countries, complicated organization, huge amounts of energy, and a great deal of money have been involved. As a PhD student and an Indonesian who has benefited from the project, I would like to express my gratitude, bearing in mind that it is the tradition of Leiden University that we are not allowed to thank our supervisors.

My PhD thesis began with the TANAP co-ordinator, Dr Henk Niemeijer, who came to the University of Indonesia in Depok and told me about TANAP in 2001. As a master's graduate from the Anthropology Department, my interest in and passion for studying history was awakened and stimulated during long discussions with Henk and the Advanced Masters Programme in Leiden. His personal attention and academic help has paved the way for me to write this thesis.

Mrs Marijke Wissen-van-Staden, as a TANAP secretary, and Drs Ilonka Ooms, gave me tremendous help during the last years of my stay in Leiden. My thanks also go to the staff of the Department of History of the University of Leiden, the CNWS, and the NWO connected to the TANAP. The efforts made by Drs Cynthia Viallé to provide guidance for notes and bibliography have been of enormous help to the students, including me. In the last months of preparing the defence, the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta, via Mr Paul Ymkers, has been generous providing financial support for my final visit and preparations for graduation defence in Leiden.

During my first year, a number of people taught me and provided assistance and advice. The Dutch teachers, Drs Yolanda Spaans and Drs René Wezel, introduced me the Dutch language for the first time. Volunteers such as Dr Ton Harmsen and Dr Hugo s'Jacob were also of a great help during my struggle to understand the eighteenth-century Dutch. Apart from his task as the seventeenth-century Dutch mentor, Tom was very keen on introducing us to the culture and history of the Dutch people. Hugo was the 'angel' in the reading room of the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. He was often *à notre service* to help us read extremely confusing VOC documents. In my efforts to writing good, interesting English, Rosemary Robson, who also enveloped me with her sincere motherly care, brushed up my preliminary thesis draft, and edited the final version. She has not only edited my text but has also shown her great interest in understanding the tenor of my thesis. Dr Sarah Gyrog has also checked the grammar of

certain parts of the thesis. They all deserve distinct appreciation for their zeal.

TANAP is a huge programme involving Asian and European students. As one of TANAP students, I feel greatly privileged to have enjoyed the spirit of friendship and co-operation among them. With all these people I have learned a great deal and share beautiful memories. They are: Drs Sri Margana (Indonesia), Drs Bondan Kanumoyoso (Indonesia), Dr Alicia Schrikker (the Netherlands), Dr Mahesh Gopalan (India), Dr Anjana Singh (India), Dr Nirmal Devasiri (Srilangka), Dr Hoang Anh Tuan (Vietnam), Ms Marné Strydom (South Africa), Drs Ricky Goedeman (South Africa), Dr Kwee Hui Kian (Singapore), Dr Atsushi Ota (Japan), Dr Ryuto Shimada (Japan), Dr Bhawan Ruangsilp (Thailand), Dr Liu Yong (China), Drs Chris Nierstrasz (the Netherlands), Ms Sher Banu (Singapore), Drs Yusak Soleiman (Indonesia), Dr Ch'iu Hsin-hui (Taiwan), Ms Ida Indawati Khouw (Indonesia), Binu John (India) and Gulam Nadri who both will defend their own TANAP doctoral thesis shortly before or after me, and last but not least Nadri's learned wife, Karuna (India).

I have visited the Arsip Nasional Jakarta, the Nationaal Archief The Hague, and the British Library London to undertake this research. I appreciate the fact that their staff gave me every possible assistance. Dr Annabel Gallop, who has encouraged me in this study, is the only name I can remember from my visit in London. Importantly, the KITLV library at Leiden has been my second home during the last five years. My deep thanks for Ms Rini Hogewoning and Mrs Josephine Schrama for their help and hospitality.

During my stay in the Netherlands, I have also gained broader insights into Indonesia with colleagues and friends: an expert on the world of Islam Prof. Martin van Bruijnessen, an 'activist' and KITLV researcher Dr Gerry van Klinken, an expert on Madura Dr Huub de Jonge, an expert on Bugis and Makassar Dr Sirtjo Koolhof, and a productive Indonesian lecturer Drs Suryadi. With Dr Jaap Timmer, an expert on (West) Papua who is now working for the Van Vollenhoven Institute in Leiden, I have shared plenty of ideas about our common interests in the contemporary situation in (West) Papua and he helped me tremendously in dealing with my personal problems. He is one of my best *sobat* in the Netherlands.

I used to join with other Indonesians who live in the Netherlands to organize meetings to discuss the contemporary situation in our country. In Leiden, an Indonesian exile Sardjio Mintardjo was the person most active in linking and in helping Indonesian students and exiles in the Netherlands. With his fellows, Kuslan Budiman, Gogol, Marek Ave and others, he keeps the Indonesian students and exiles in touch and encourages their concern about Indonesia. With the leaders of Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI)

in Leiden and with those who lived in Kampung Melayu at the Condorhorst flat, I shared most of the good and bad times. My thanks go to Sri Margana, Shiskha 'Tcha' Prabawaningtyas, Agus Suwignjo, Arbainsya, Didi Kwartanada, Nova Christina, Hasto Adinugroho, and Helena Souissa plus many others for their friendship and help. Last but not least, my thanks also go to a promising future scientist on astronomy Drs Tri Laksamana who helped me draw maps for this dissertation.

My best friend in Jayapura (West) Papua, Anum Siregar, is the person who has always been ready to help me be up-to-date my contemporary knowledge on Papua. Via e-mails she has personally encouraged my study and showed interest in my well-being in Leiden.

As an Indonesian public servant, I want to express my gratitude to the staff and diplomats of the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague for their services and co-operation: former Ambassador Muhammad Yusuf, Jauhari Oratmangun, Muhajir, Siswo Pramono, Rumondang Harahap and Mulya Wirana. I also owe thanks to Dr Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, Head of Center for Political Studies at LIPI Jakarta, for his help during the preparation for my study in the Netherlands.

It is my family, my partner Riella, my little boy Galih, and my little girl Naiya, who have paid the greatest 'price' for my study in Leiden. During my absence from home, my sister-in-law, Rusdien, and her family have always been available to lend my family a hand in hard times. All of them have patiently waited for my return every year and never ceased to pray for my success. For their love, they deserve the greatest reward I am able to present.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta
EIC	East India Company
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (the [Dutch] United East-India Company)
<i>BKI</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
IOR	India Office Record, British Library, London
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) at Leiden
MvO	Memorie van Overgave
NA	Nationaal Archief, The Hague
OIC	Oost-Indisch Comité
<i>TBG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
<i>TNI</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Neerlandsch-Indië</i>
<i>VBG</i>	<i>Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
LIPI	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia
CNWS	Centre for Non-Western Studies

GLOSSARY

N.M.: North Malukan; A.: Arabic; M.: Malay; J.: Javanese; D.:Dutch; E.: English; F.: French; P.:Portuguese; S.: Spanish

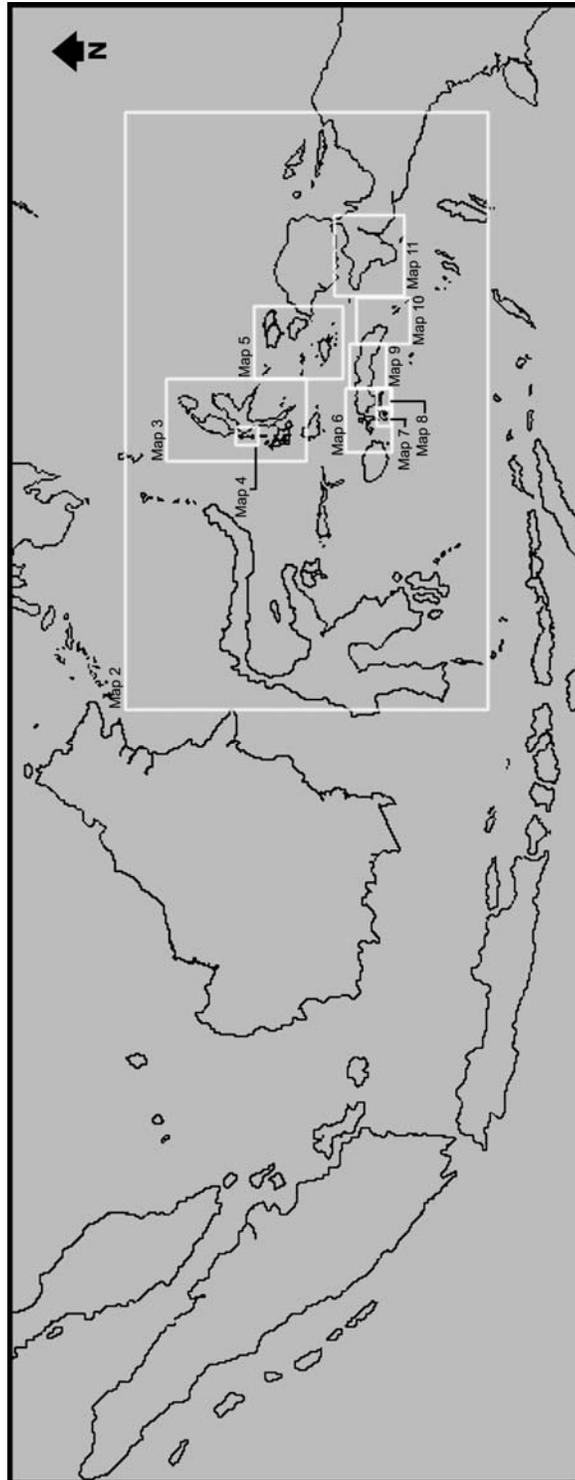
<i>alifuru</i>	(P.) a general term used for non-Christian and non-Muslim indigenous inhabitants of the interior of islands in Maluku
<i>anakoda</i>	(M.) captain, master of a vessel
<i>arumbai</i>	(N.M.) a transport vessel for passengers and provisions in warfare. The hull is similar to a <i>kora-kora</i> but without outriggers. It is equipped with sail and oars. The roof was strong enough for drummers and <i>tifa</i> or gong players to sit on. It was about twenty-five metres long and three metres in the beam. It could carry twenty to forty crew plus five to twenty others (soldiers, musicians, and heads). (Van Fraassen, II, 1986: 641-2)
<i>babar</i>	(M. <Sanskrit <i>bahāra</i> , a burden, weight) a measure of weight widely used in South-East Asia, 1 <i>babar</i> = 3 pikul = 550 pounds.
<i>barkab</i>	(M.) fortune, blessing
<i>baru-baru</i>	(N.M.) Sultan's troops
<i>blok.buis</i>	(D.) Stone built fortress, two storeys high
<i>bobato</i>	(N.M.) 'those who give orders', general term for traditional leaders, with the exception of the Sultan. There were two kinds of <i>bobato</i> or 'state dignitaries.' The <i>Bobato dunia</i> (profane <i>bobato</i>) was not only an official of the State but also a representative of the <i>bala</i> or common people. <i>Bobato akhirat</i> (religious <i>bobato</i>) dealt with Muslim religious matters.
<i>boekhouder</i>	(D.) bookkeeper
<i>boki</i>	(N.M.) a title for a princess
<i>bondgenoot</i>	(D.) ally
<i>burgher</i>	(D.) free Dutch citizen
country trader	(E.) a term used for private European traders involved in the port-to-port trade east of the Cape of Good Hope. Because of the dominance of the English in this trade in the eighteenth century, the term became practically synonymous with 'English' country trader (Andaya, 1993: 281)
<i>destar ngongare</i>	(N.M.) a special costume, a long black flowing robe and a turban, denoting status as a representative of the power of the Sultan
<i>dopolo ngaruba</i>	(N.M.) council of the four principal officers under the Sultan: <i>jogugu</i> , <i>kapiten-laut</i> , <i>bukum sangaji</i> , and <i>bukum soa-sio</i>
<i>ducaton</i>	(F.) half ducat, silver coin formerly current in some European states, worth from 5 to 6 <i>shilling</i> Sterling
<i>Oost Ceram</i>	(D.) <E. <i>East Seram</i> > a common Dutch usage for the eastern end of Seram and its off-shore islands, including the Gorom and Seram Laut Archipelagos (Andaya, 1993:281)

<i>extirpatie</i>	(D.) <E. <i>eradication</i> > a term used to denote a policy by which the VOC forced the Malukans to uproot all spice trees outside Ambon and Banda in return for compensation paid to the ruler and the more important officials in the land (Andaya, 1993:281)
<i>fala raba</i>	(N.M.) the four houses in Ternate which referred to the families of Tomagola, Tomaitu, Marsaoli, and Limatahu
<i>fiscaal</i>	(D.) public prosecutor of the VOC
<i>Heren Seventien</i>	(D.) E. <Gentlemen Seventeen> the Board of Directors of the VOC forming the supreme decision-making authority, generally convened in Amsterdam
<i>gnatahoedij</i>	(N.M.) a vessel positioned as a pilot in a Dutch-led <i>bongi</i> expedition
<i>Hoge Regering</i>	(D.) E. <High Government> Governor-General and the Council of the Indies, supreme government of the VOC in Asia, stationed in Batavia
<i>hofdienst</i>	(D.) principal compulsory labour, <i>corvée</i>
<i>bongi</i>	(N.M.) organized fleet consisting of <i>kora-kora</i> which was used in warfare among the indigenous groups before the arrival of the European forces. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the VOC developed an important policy relating to the <i>bongi</i> and its interaction with its own subjects in the Ambonese Islands.
<i>hukum</i>	(M.) Initially referred to an Islamic judicial official and later became a prestigious position in the north Malukan courts. The term was also used for certain officials who served as representatives of the Sultans in outlying territories (Andaya 1993:282)
<i>imam</i>	(M.) a leader in prayer chosen because of his age, social position, and knowledge of Islam, principally the Koran.
<i>inlandse</i>	(D.) indigenous, native
<i>jogugu</i>	(N.M. Ternate) (Tidoran, <i>jojau</i>) prime minister
<i>jurululis</i>	(M.) a scribe
<i>kaicili</i>	(N.M.) a title for a prince
<i>kalaudi</i> or <i>mabimo</i>	(N.M.) elders, head of a small settlement or village
<i>kalim</i> or <i>kalim mangofa</i>	(N.M.) Muslim religious leader in the Sultanate. It was a special title and position, denoting the highest rank in the religious community, reserved for one of the members of these royal families.
<i>kapitan laut</i>	(M.) <Portuguese, <i>kapitan</i> + M. <i>laut</i> , sea> Sea captain. A title used for a fleet commander.
<i>kapiten-ngofa</i> and <i>letnan-ngofa</i>	(P., N.M.) P. < <i>capitan</i> , captain + <i>ngofa</i> , ...> military ranks accorded to Sultan's sons. These princely officers also participated in such important State deliberations as the signing of treaties.
<i>karaeng</i>	(M.) a title of nobility in South Sulawesi
<i>kati</i>	(M.) <E. <i>catty</i> > a weight of 16 taels or 1 1/3 pounds
<i>khatib</i> or <i>hatibi</i>	(A.) a leader of a mosque whose special duty is to deliver Friday sermons

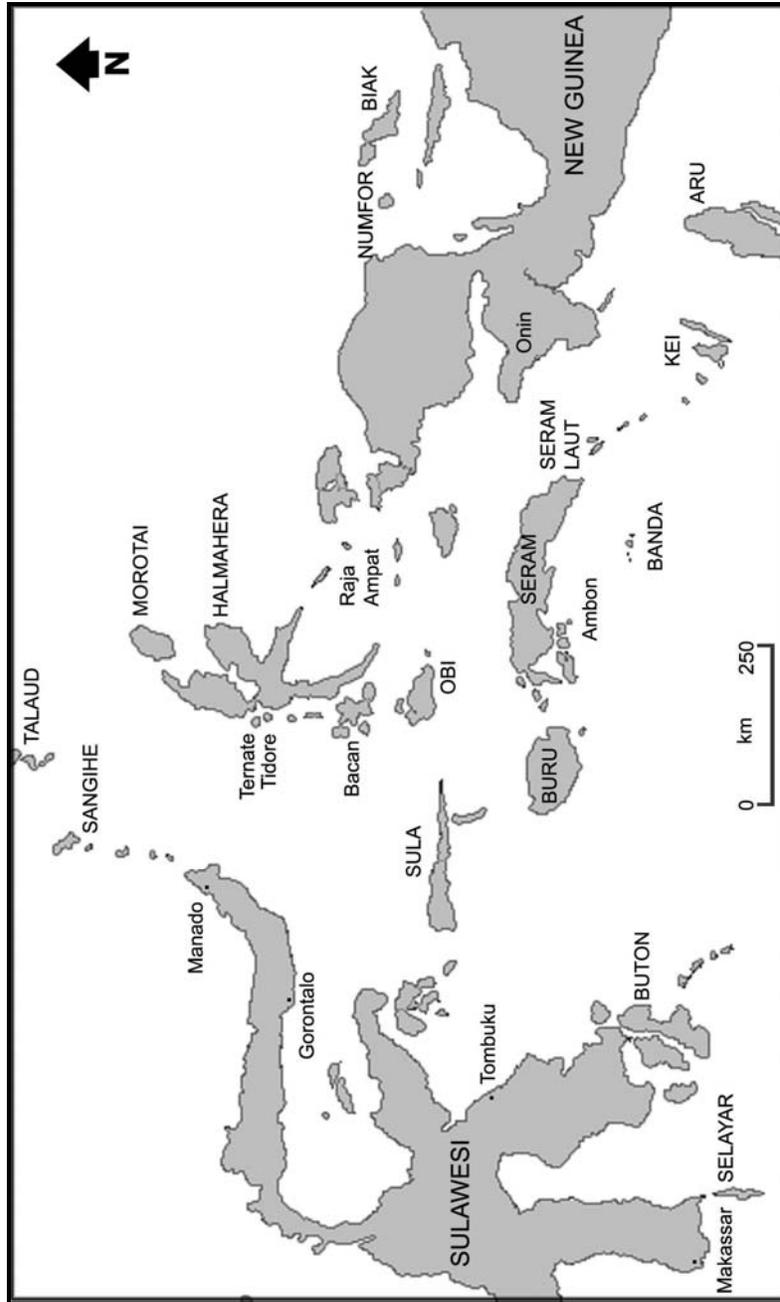
<i>kimelaba</i>	(N.M.) or <i>gimalaba</i> . Tidore title for a village or district head (Andaya, 1993:282)
<i>klewang</i>	(M.) a kind of machete, curved sword
<i>kolano</i>	(M.) <J. <i>klono</i> , a knight> in Panji tales the king from overseas and the worthy adversary of the Javanese ruler. A term for a ruler (Andaya, 1993:283)
<i>kora-kora</i>	(N.M.) a war vessel fitted with out-riggers, with a high arched stem and stern, like the point of a crescent moon. On the cross pieces which support the out-riggers, there were fore and aft planks, on which the people sit and paddled, supplementing those who sit in the vessel on the gunnels. It was steered with two commodities (broad paddles), not with a rudder. It was also used to sail on the high sea. The hull varied about 30 metres long 2.5 to 4 metres in the beam. It could carry from 40 to 100 men, equipped with small one to four canons. A roof was used for provisions. (Forrest, <i>A Voyage to the New Guinea</i> , p. 23; Van Fraassen, <i>Ternate</i> , II, pp. 641-2.)
<i>kroomsclaven</i>	(D.) or <i>rumah dapur</i> (M.) families in certain <i>negeri</i> those who had served the needs of the Sultan for generations. They were found not only in Maba and Weda, but also in Pajahe, Kayasa, and Maidi.
<i>leen</i>	(D.) a term usually used by the VOC in its treaties with Malukan kingdoms to indicate the political subordination of the latter (Andaya, 1993:283)
<i>leenman</i>	(D.) vassal, subordinate
<i>loeris</i>	(D.) a member of the parrot family, a lorikeet, imported from New Guinea
<i>logie</i>	(D.) lodging, factory, trading post
<i>marinyo</i> and <i>kabo</i>	(N.M.) royal palace guards
<i>marinyo kie</i>	(N.M.) head of royal palace guards
<i>massoy</i>	(M.) <i>Cortex Oninius</i> , its outer bark of <i>Cryptocarya aromatica</i> used for an aromatic, a prominent commodity from the western coast of Papua
<i>mestizo</i>	(P.) person of mixed European-Asian descent
<i>negeri</i>	(M.) unit of settlement, village
<i>ngofamanyira</i>	(Mal.) a title of the head of a village or <i>soa</i>
<i>ngosa</i>	(N.M.) messenger
<i>onderkoopman</i>	(D.) junior merchant
<i>opperkoopman</i>	(D.) senior merchant
<i>orangkaya</i>	(M.) in the context of Malukan polity, a title for trader/village leader
<i>overheerser</i>	(D.) ruler, overlord, oppressor
<i>paduakang</i>	(M.) type of Makassar vessel
<i>pancalang</i>	(M.) type of Malay vessel, used by the VOC
<i>pennist</i>	(D.) scribe, clerk
<i>perkenier</i>	(D. <i>perk</i> , bed or a place in garden) manager of a part of a nutmeg plantation in Banda
<i>pikul</i>	(J., M.) a man's load, which is a measure of weight used widely in South-East Asia. 1 <i>pikul</i> = 100 kati = 125 to 133,3 pounds

<i>pinnace</i>	(F. <i>pinnase</i> or <i>pinave</i>) a small, light, double-banked vessel, 20 tons, usually two-masted and schooner-rigged; often employed as a tender, a scout, and so on
<i>prahu</i>	(J., M.) a boat, a ship
<i>predicant</i>	(D. <i>predikant</i>) reverend, a Protestant clergyman
<i>raad van politie</i>	(D.) council at the provincial level
<i>rantaka</i>	(M.) South-East Asian type of swivel gun
<i>raja muda</i>	(M.) <Sanskrit, <i>raja</i> , king + M. <i>muda</i> , young> young ruler, the heir-apparent (Andaya, 1993:283)
<i>real</i>	(S. <i>real de plata</i>) an eighth of a dollar or 6 ¼ dinnaris (pence)
<i>recognitie penningen</i>	(D.) payment for acknowledged service. Compensation paid to the rulers and selected officials in Maluku for undertaking the policy of <i>extirpatie</i> , the eradication of spices. (Andaya, 1993:283)
<i>rorebe</i>	(N.M.) a local prahu
<i>Rijksdaalder</i>	(D.) a coin. 1 <i>rijksdaalder</i> = 3 gulden (guilders, florin) = 60 stuivers (Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, <i>VOC-glossarium</i>)
<i>rondscherp</i>	(D.) sort of ammunition, bullets
<i>sangaji</i>	(M.) <J. <i>sang</i> , the + <i>aji</i> , king> in Maluku a title awarded by the sultan to the most important heads of important settlements (Andaya, 1993: 283)
<i>sarong</i>	(M.) long cloth, worn around lower half of body
<i>serampore</i>	(?) a kind of Indian cloth
<i>schuts- en beschermbeer</i>	(D.) protector, overlord of a vassal
<i>sekretaris</i>	(E.) personal scribe of sultan
<i>shabbandar</i>	(M. <Persian, <i>shah</i> , ruler + M. and J. <i>bandar</i> , harbour) a harbour master
<i>snapphaan</i>	(D. <i>snappen</i> , grasp + <i>haan</i> , cock) musket with a flint-lock mechanism
<i>soa sio</i>	(NM.) the nine <i>soa</i> . Equivalent to the <i>uli sima</i> or the confederation of nine in the Ambon-Lease and Seram, referred in this period to the royal settlements in both Ternate and Tidore (Andaya 1993:283)
<i>soseba</i>	(NM.) bearer of the royal sword, <i>sirib</i> -set, and other regalia
<i>totombo</i>	(N.M.) local products made of palm leaves used for thatch
<i>tripang</i>	(J., M.) sea cucumber, sea slug
<i>utusan</i>	(M.) the ruler's representative or envoy in the periphery
<i>wapenbroeders</i>	(D.) brother-in-arms, comrade / companion-in-arms
<i>warong</i>	(N.M) long nutmeg (<i>Myristica argentea</i>) available mostly in Gamrange, Raja Ampat and north coast of New Guinea mainland

Map 1 East Indies



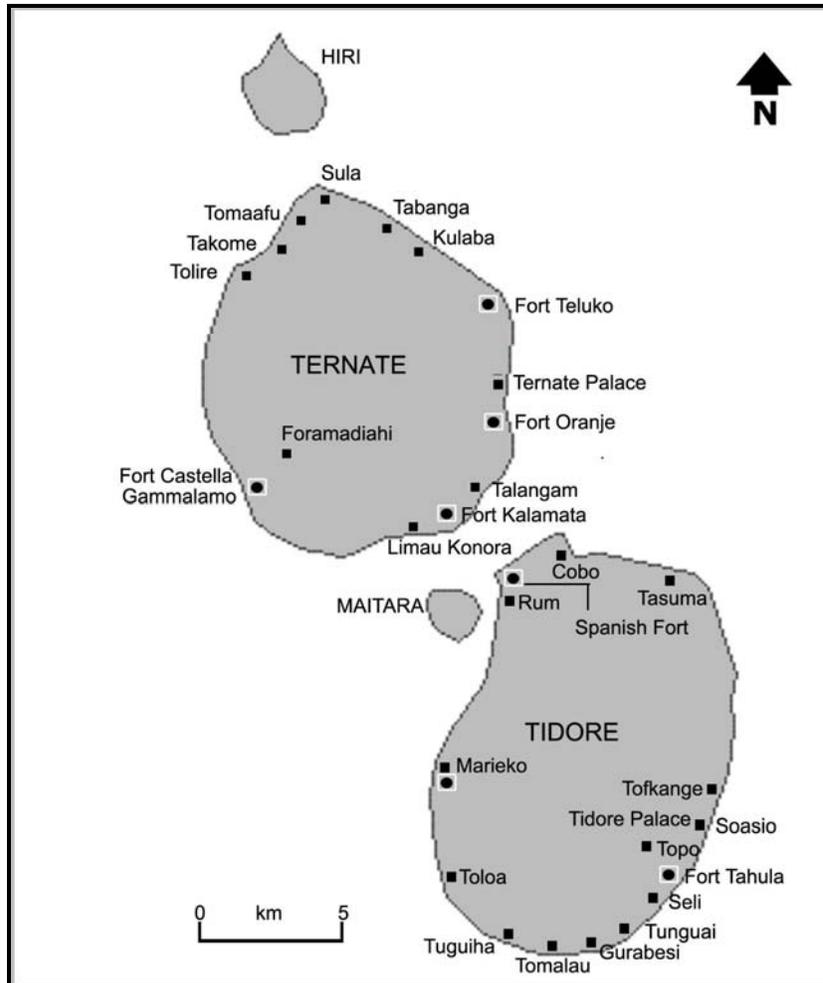
Map 2 Eastern East Indies



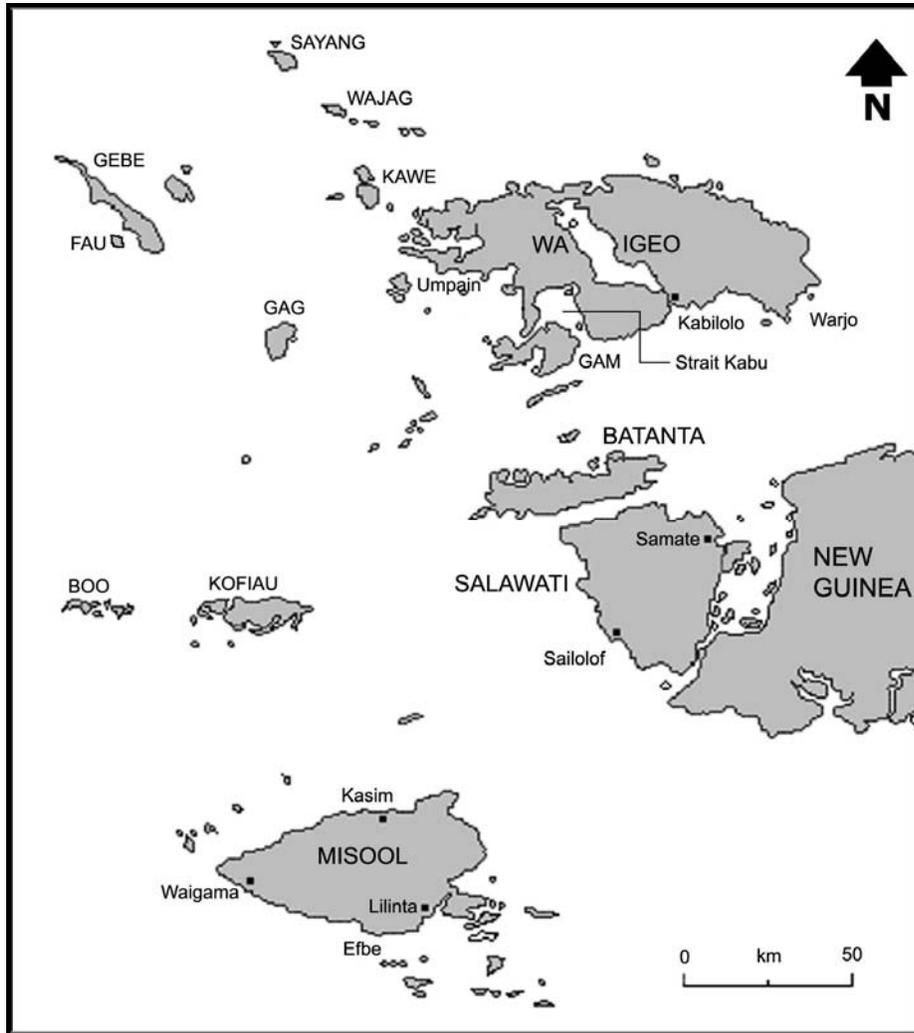
Map 3 Halmahera



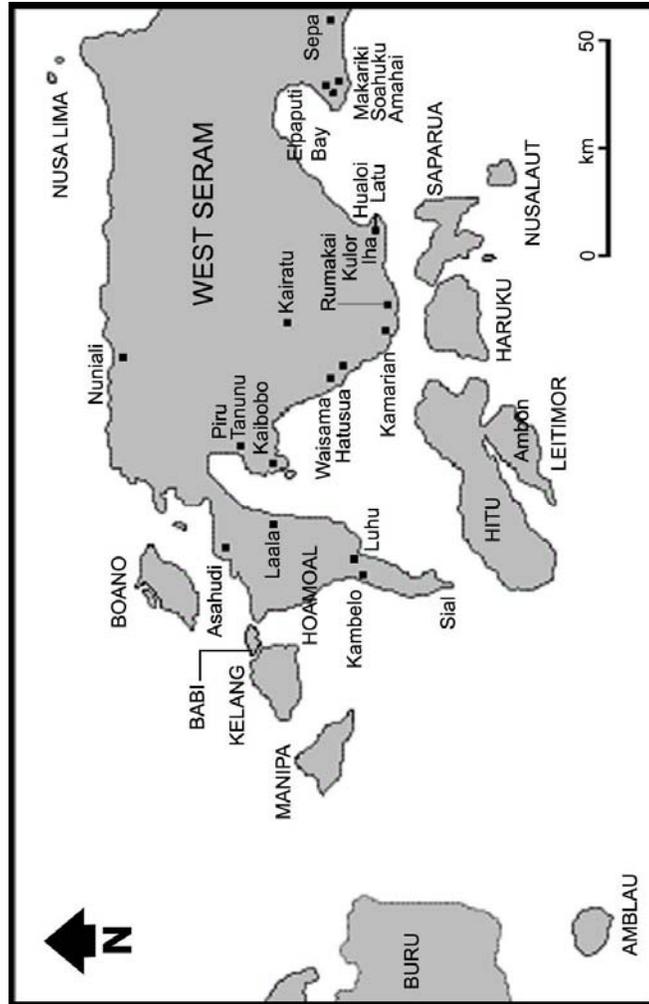
Map 4 Ternate and Tidore



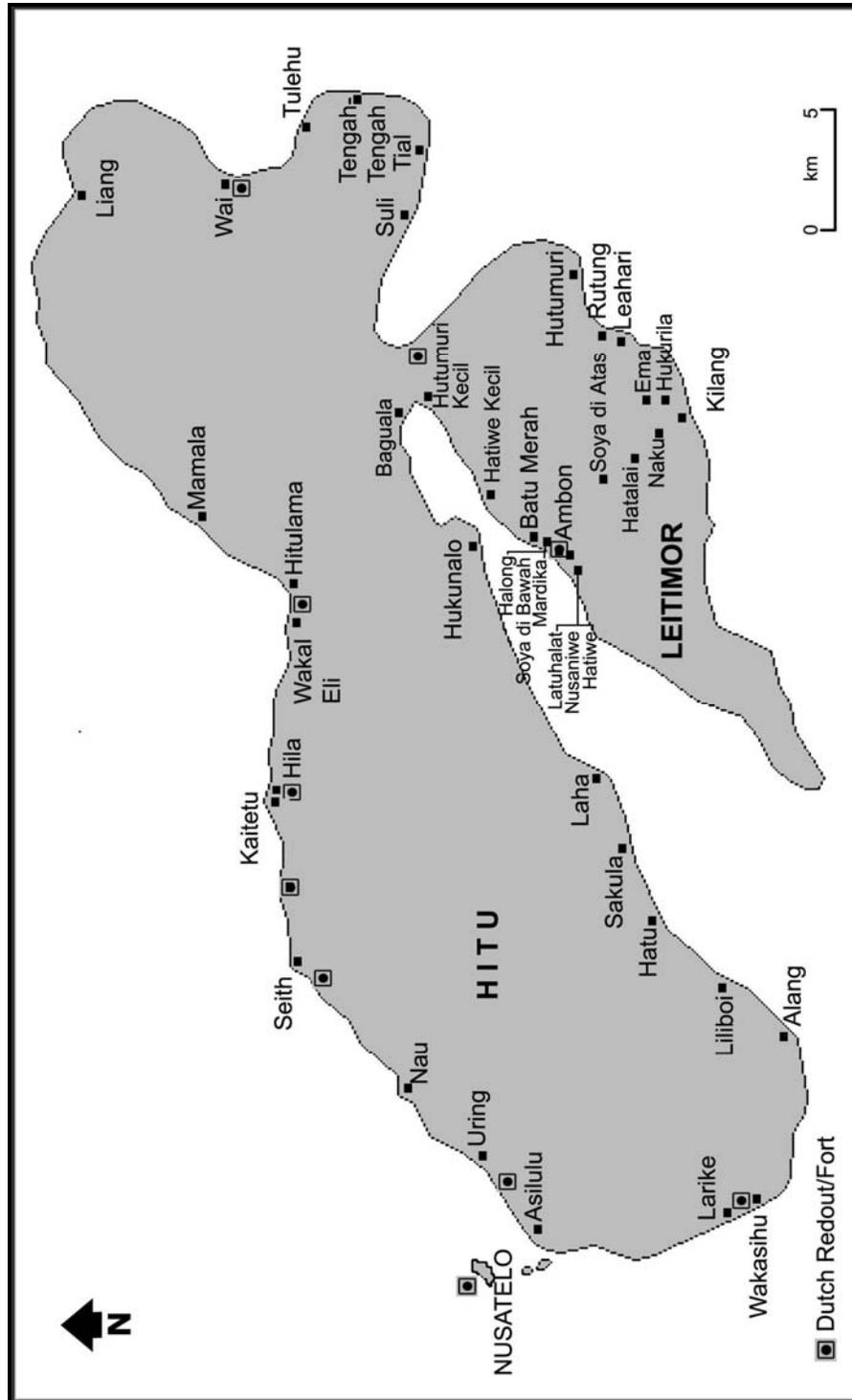
Map 5 Raja Ampat



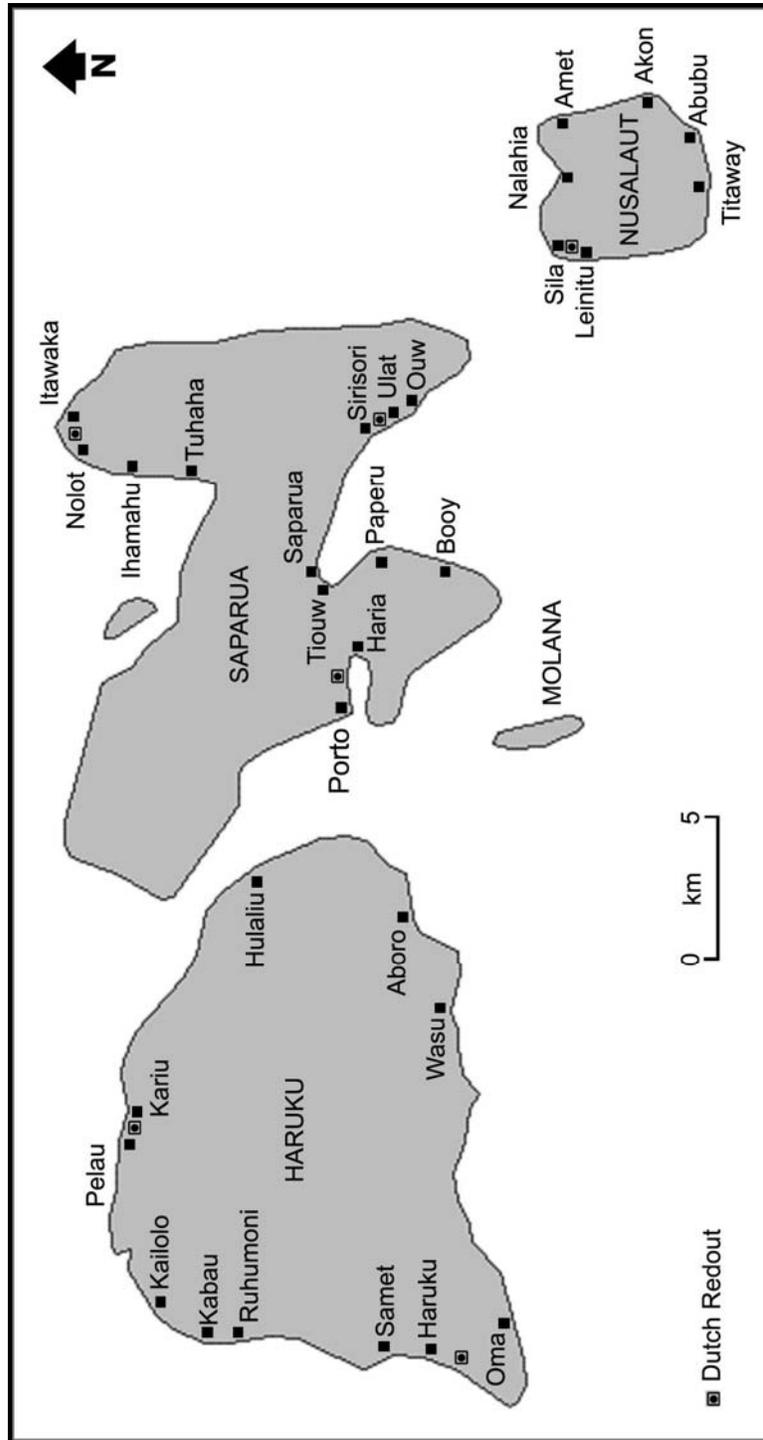
Map 6 Ambon and West Seram



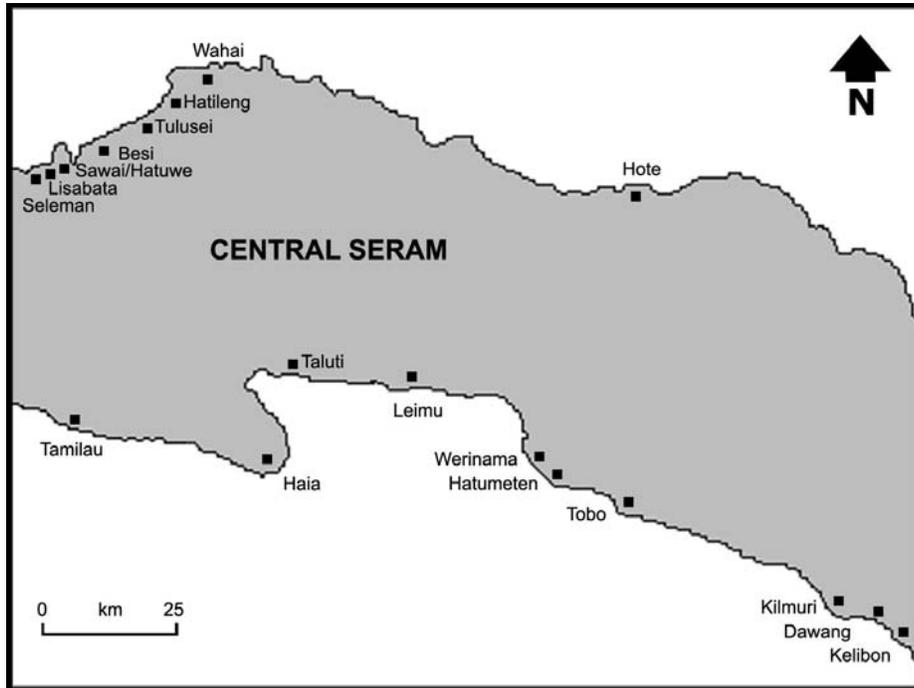
Map 7 Hitu and Leitimor



Map 8 Lease Islands



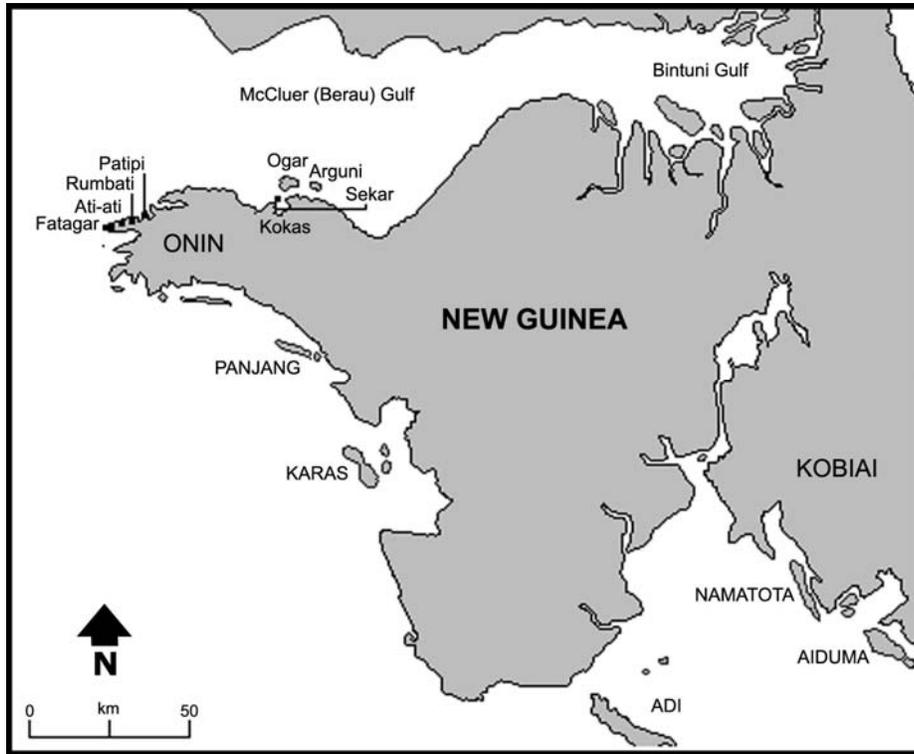
Map 9 North Seram

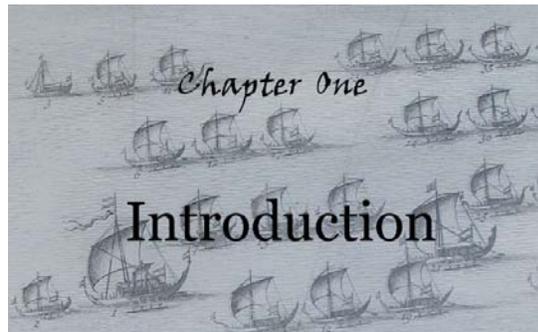


Map 10 East Seram



Map 11 West Coast New Guinea





This book revolves about the career of a remarkable man whose name was Nuku. Prince Nuku was the leader of a successful rebellion against the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC) and its indigenous allies which lasted for more than twenty years. Born as a Tidoran prince between 1725 and 1735, he passed away as the Sultan of Tidore in 1805.¹ In 1780 he fled from Tidore seeking refuge in East Seram, Halmahera, and the Raja Ampat from where he launched the rebellion. In 1797 he returned to Tidore with his allied forces and conquered the Sultanates of both Bacan and Tidore. During his exile, Nuku had to fight the forces of the three VOC Governments in Maluku: Ternate; Ambon; and Banda.² Besides possessing better weaponry and equipment, the VOC could also mobilize its indigenous subjects, from such places as Ambon and Ternate as troops. In addition, the VOC often dispatched support forces such as ships, weaponry, and soldiers to Maluku from Batavia. In 1801, in close collaboration with the English, Nuku managed to defeat the VOC in Ternate and its indigenous ally, the Ternate Sultanate.

Prince Nuku and his Tidoran adherents depended to a large extent on the support they received from various groups of Malukans and Papuans and the assistance of the English. It is intriguing to see what strategies he employed to maintain support among the Tidorans at home, his adherents in the periphery of Tidore, and even the English. This study describes and analyses how the rebellion was staged against the three obviously more

¹ See Chapter V.

² The term 'Maluku' is used here in a wider sense, referring to the Maluku today. It was initially derived from the term 'Molucos' used by the Portuguese to refer to five small islands Ternate, Tidore, Motir, Makian, and Kayoa. Gradually its meaning extended to almost all the eastern islands of which under Indonesian Republic was once called Provinsi Maluku. The term 'Maluku' refers to Halmahera and the islands adjacent to it, the Obi Islands, Buru, Seram with the islands off its southern extreme, Banda Archipelago, stretching to as far as Kei, Tanimbar and the islands adjacent to it. See also I. Mackenzie, *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, III, (London: Admiralty Lords Commissioners, 1921), 3.

powerful Dutch Governments in Maluku, and who were the principal actors on both sides involved in this protracted struggle.

Geographical and historical setting

In the early sixteenth century, Maluku – known as the Spice Islands - became the target of European traders who were competing to obtain cloves and nutmegs. The Portuguese reached Banda and Ambon, and established themselves in Ternate in 1512. The Spaniards arrived in Tidore in 1521 but did not remain there very long. Thanks to their presence in Ternate and Ambon, the Portuguese enjoyed the lucrative spice trade in Maluku for almost a hundred years. When the Dutch arrived at the end of the century, the VOC almost immediately replaced the Portuguese in Maluku. Ambon was captured in 1605 and the Sultanate of Ternate welcomed the Dutch newcomers as allies in its fight with the Portuguese. Banda was colonized completely in 1621. After this comprehensive sweep, the spice monopoly of the VOC in Maluku was hardly challenged by any other European power.³ Not until the third quarter of the eighteenth century, did English country traders peddling between India and China become more active in obtaining spices, and started meddling in the local politics especially in Tidore.⁴

In the beginning, the rebellion centred on Tidore, a small island in North Maluku and the seat of a sultanate. Politically North Maluku was divided into three sultanates: Ternate; Tidore; and Bacan. Formerly, a fourth one, the Jailolo Sultanate, had been very strong but with the help of the Portuguese Ternate destroyed this Sultanate in 1551.⁵ Tidore Island is only five square miles but despite its diminutive size, the mountainous island rises some 1,770 metres (5,900 feet) above sea level.⁶ Its coastal strip is necessarily restricted in width. It has no swamps and consequently does not provide a suitable habitat for sago palms, so that this staple has to be imported from Halmahera and elsewhere. The island was however rich in cloves. The majority of the inhabitants of 6,332, including 2,221 slaves, were followers of Islam, which religion was introduced into North Maluku around the

³ This topic is discussed extensively in Chapter II.

⁴ This topic is discussed extensively in Chapters VIII and IX.

⁵ Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993) pp. 130-1; Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur and Raja Jailolo* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1996), 1.

⁶ I. Mackenzie, *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, III (London: Admiralty Lords Commissioners, 1921), 62. See also A.R. Wallace, *Menjelajah Nusantara, Ekspedisi Alfred Russel Wallace Abad ke-19* (Bandung: Rosda, 2000), 172.

fifteenth century. Most of these slaves had been brought from the Papuan islands, the New Guinea mainland, or certain other parts of the Maluku.⁷

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under the Sultanate of Tidore the inhabitants on the island were organized in *negeri*, which consisted of a number of *kampung* or *soa*. According to Van Fraassen, the term *soa* refers to a unit of settlement.⁸ It also functions as an entity related to socio-political organization. The seat of the Sultanate of Tidore was located in the main *negeri* Soa Sio. In front of the town Soa Sio there is a reef of rocks and stones. The anchorage is about 30 fathoms (54.9 metres) with sand at less than 400 metres (two cables). There are tide-rips in the anchorage.⁹ Not far from the palace, a Dutch fortress called Tahula had been erected. During the reign of Sultan Nuku (r. 1797-1805), it was often used as his residence. *Negeri* Soa Sio, the palace excluded, was composed of eighteen compounds, two of which were Kampung Cina and Kampung Jawa (which was sometimes called Kampung Makassar). Besides Soa Sio, there were four other *negeri*: Jonganjili; Marieko; Toloa; and Gurabati. The total number of compounds of the four *negeri* was twenty-seven. There was one compound in *negeri* Gurabati in which most of the slaves of Sultan Tidore resided.¹⁰

In spite of its wealth of cloves, the small island of Tidore would have meant nothing politically had it not counted a great many other islands which acknowledged its authority as a sultanate. Some of these subjects were located far away from the centre. The most important areas were Raja Ampat and Gamrange. In the Raja Ampat Archipelago four tiny kingdoms - Salawati, Waigeo, Misool, and Waigama - were located. In Halmahera, the realm of Tidore covered the north-east peninsula, the central section, and the southern peninsula of this large island as far south as a line drawn between Dehepodo and Foya. The southern peninsular area included the important settlements of Gamrange—consisting of Maba, Weda, and Patani from which the Sultans of Tidore obtained vital support forces. The best port was in Maba, namely Bicoli.¹¹ The islands of Gebe, Fau, and Ju off the east coast of Halmahera were always considered a part of Tidore.¹² Before

⁷ The population estimate is according to the census of 1807. See ANRI, Ternate 118, Expedition to Tidore 12 May 1807; Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur and Raja Jailolo*, 16-9; De Clerq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Leiden: Brill, 1890), 68.

⁸ Ch. F. Van Fraassen, *Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische archipel* (PhD Thesis: Leiden University, 1987), 142.

⁹ Tide-rip is an area of rough water typically caused by opposing tides or by a rapid current passing over an uneven bottom. See Mackenzie, *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, 62.

¹⁰ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 130-1; Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur and Raja Jailolo*, 1.

¹¹ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 433; J.P.C. Cambier, "Rapport over Tidoreesch-Halmahera," in *BKI* 19 (1872).

¹² W. G. Miller, 'The Mollucas under the British' (M.A. Thesis: University of Hull, 1974), 5-6.

the cession in 1769, East Seram was also under Tidoran authority. The realm of Tidore extended as far as the coast of New Guinea.¹³ The British treaty in 1814 mentions the specific settlements on the north coast of New Guinea more precisely.¹⁴ To be more exact, Van der Crab describes the realm as stretching from 140° 47' on the north coast to 141° on the south coast.¹⁵

The communication between Tidore and its subjects at that time was maintained by sea transport. A voyage from Tidore to the 'outer' areas could take more than one month. Course had to be set all the way from Tidore, through Patinti Strait along southern Halmahera, and then turn eastwards across the sea to Salawati or the other islands of Raja Ampat. If the destination was towards Gamrange, after rounding the southern end of Halmahera, the vessel should turn north-eastwards. The time that it took to reach the destinations was much influenced by the weather, especially the monsoon winds. In other words the distance between the centre of power and its subjects was one important factor in the maintenance of authority and control. The Dutch and the Sultans of Tidore really underwent hardships and faced plenty of difficulties in reaching this area. Before the rebellion broke out in 1780, the Gamrange and Raja Ampat peoples happened to be relatively independent. Their raiding activities, which were forbidden by the Dutch authorities, mostly remained unpunished. During his rebellion Prince Nuku managed to subdue and to take over the control of these areas from the hands of the pro-Dutch Tidore Sultanate and the Dutch Government in Ternate, by establishing his headquarters in East Seram, more exactly in Waru. From Waru and nearby places the Prince organized the peoples in the area to fight against the Dutch, and the Tidore, and Ternate Sultanates.

Previous Studies

A number of books and studies have been devoted to Nuku who is formally recognized as one of Indonesia's national heroes. Elianus Katoppo¹⁶ is said that has 'discovered' Nuku when he was doing research for a book on Papua (Irian Jaya at that time) in the early 1950s. Before him few people in Indonesia knew or had even heard about Nuku. He was barely mentioned in

¹³ This was recognized by the Dutch in the 1780 treaty with Patra Alam. See *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 433.

¹⁴ A. Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche eilanden*, I, (The Hague: Martinus-Nijhoff, 1884), 460.

¹⁵ P. Van der Crab, *De Molukse Eilanden; Reis van Z.E. den Gouverneur-Generaal Charles Ferdinand Pabud door den Molukschen Archipel* (Batavia: Lange, 1862), 325.

¹⁶ Elianus Katoppo, *Nuku: Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Maluku Utara* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984).

the history text books written by the Dutch, Indonesians or others, but Katoppo found an abundance of information about Nuku in Haga's two volume *magnum opus* on Maluku – an almost forgotten work at the time - and he went to the archives to find the original documents. After the Negara Indonesia Timur, in which he was minister of education, had been dissolved in 1950, the Government assigned him to work at Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI) (at the time called Arsip Negara or State Archive). When Katoppo and Adrian Lopian visited Tidore to find Nuku's grave in the early 1960s, they found out that Nuku was known only as Jou Barakati or Tuan Barakati (the Blessed Lord). Only after the first edition of Katoppo's book in 1957, did Indonesian readers begin to know more about him, and later the people of Maluku proposed him as a *pahlawan nasional* or national hero, an honorific title which only much later was granted by the Indonesian Government.¹⁷

Other books on Nuku in the Indonesian language are, for example, *Perlawanan Nuku di Tidore* (The Resistance of Nuku in Tidore) by Ohorela (1990) and *Nuku Pahlawan Tidore yang Mengalahkan Belanda* (Nuku: the Tidoran Hero Who Defeated the Dutch) by Dasuki (1976), both of which were meant to describe the struggle of Nuku as an Indonesian hero in very general terms.¹⁸ The latter piece was written for schoolchildren, therefore it is written in a very short version. Looking for a hero (*pahlawan*) and the greatness of Indonesian leaders in Indonesian history was a common pastime in Indonesia under the New Order Regime (1966-1998). The Indonesian historiography at that time was dominated by a nationalist perspective which served the needs of nation-building by the regime. Despite the nationalist hagiography, the events described in their works are based on the original sources in the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI) in Jakarta. Even though the references and sources are not mentioned clearly, the three books show that most of the historical facts cited refer in the Dutch archival documents.

Haga wrote his pioneering study *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden* as early as 1884. Its purpose was to investigate the rights of possession of the Netherlands to the mainland of New Guinea. In performing this duty, the author shed light on various events concerning Netherlands New Guinea and the political situation between Tidore and the Papuans over a long period of four centuries, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

¹⁷ Personal communication via email with Adrian B. Lopian, 2 January 2007.

¹⁸ See Ohorela, G.A. *Perlawanan Nuku di Tidore (1780-1805)* (Semarang: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Indonesia, 1990) and A. Dasuki. *Nuku Pahlawan Tidore yang Mengalahkan Belanda* (Bandung: Sanggabuwana, 1976).

In 1993 Leonard Andaya published *The World of Maluku*, a profound study which covers a long period of North Malukan history from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. The central theme of this monograph is the confrontation between two ‘separate cultural realities’: the European culture on one side and the Malukan world, namely Ternate and Tidore, on the other. Andaya has made significant remarks on the changes over the three centuries. From the sixteenth century the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore in North Maluku grew wealthier and more powerful as a result of the international trade in spices and expanded their power far beyond their territories proper. The coming of Islam in the fifteenth century and of Europeans in the sixteenth century was important factor in changing the power relations between the rulers and the lords of the land (*bobato*), and between the centre and the periphery. The rulers became stronger in their dealing with the lords of the land. The rebellion of Prince Nuku was, in Andaya’s perspective, a struggle contextualized in the restoration of the world of the ‘four pillars’ in Maluku.¹⁹ This discussion of the rebellion of Nuku is concentrated mostly on the political dynamics in Tidore. Other areas and their peoples who were involved in the rebellion are not part of the equation.

The Moluccas under the British, a master’s thesis by W. G. Miller (1976) is an important work on the history of British presence in Maluku at the end of eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The author has attempted to trace the sequence of events in Maluku between approximately 1780 and 1818 while focusing on the English presence in the area. He elaborates on the organization of the Tidore state, the political role of the country traders, and the policy of the British Government. This stimulating thesis encouraged me to discover more about the English role during Nuku’s rebellion. The way in which the spice monopoly developed during the English Interregnum in Maluku is depicted extensively in H. R. C. Wright’s article (1958) “The Moluccan Spice Monopoly, 1770-1824.” This contribution also throws new light on the rivalry between the English and the Dutch at the end of eighteenth century.

Haga and Andaya based their research on the VOC archives available in the Nationaal Archief (NA) in The Hague. Katoppo made extensive use of the archives stored in the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI) in Jakarta. For most of his sources Miller relied on British documents in the British Library in London and a number of Dutch published sources. For this book, I spent almost two years, from 2003-2004, examining the VOC archival documents in NA in The Hague and ANRI in Jakarta. For the British sources, I spent about four months in British Library and National Library London. Besides these, a number of folk stories collected by Dutch

¹⁹ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 240-4.

priests are also used. Therefore this book is written based on the combined sources in Jakarta, London, The Hague and Leiden.

Theme and outline of this study

The common question posed by all researchers is how and why Nuku and his supporters were able to maintain their struggle with such persistence for twenty years. Katoppo suggests that the Nuku's prime mover was to fight the spice monopoly and extirpation policy which had caused such 'chaos' and poverty among the Malukans.²⁰ Even though Dasuki²¹ does not explicitly indicate the causes of the rebellion, he implicitly emphasizes the grip of the Dutch spice monopoly, exacerbated by the greed and the cruelty of the Dutch towards the Malukans. Both writers focus on the central role of Nuku in the whole rebellion. The contribution of Nuku's supporters is generally overlooked.

Andaya has provided a different explanation of the phenomenon who was Nuku. His explanation runs as follows:

Initial support in north Maluku for Nuku's rebellion in the late eighteenth century came from those who shared his antagonism toward the Dutch, but the rebellion was sustained by those who believed that his promise to restore Jailolo would finally bring peace and harmony to Maluku. The adherence to common myths provided the basis for unity among the groups in Maluku, and the strength of the belief that this unity would continue to survive as long as 'the four kingdoms' were preserved became an important motivating principle in the cyclical view of Malukan history.²²

It would seem that this culturally deterministic conclusion is problematic as the sources do not provide sufficient evidence for such a statement. It threatens to create speculations which simplify the dynamics of the rebellion. The myths of the 'four kingdoms' which were once mentioned by Sultan Saifuddin in the seventeenth century do not explain whether the other Malukans in East Seram, Raja Ampat, or Halmahera, who were all deeply involved in the rebellion, shared the same myths and worldview about the 'four kingdoms.' Referring to the historical facts, this doubt may even apply to Ternate, one of the 'four kingdoms.' In 1551 Sultan Ternate, for example, destroyed the Jailolo Sultanate which should have been regarded as one of the four. If Ternate had been so committed to the preservation of the 'four kingdoms,' this step would never have been taken.

²⁰ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 32-41.

²¹ Dasuki, *Nuku*, 16-21.

²² Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 244.

Andaya's conclusion also overlooks the fact that every group supporting Nuku had its own particular reasons and interests which drove it to join the rebellion. Nuku and his Tidoran adherents had particular interests vested in the rebellion which were perhaps different from those of their allies from East Seram and Gamrange. Each faction of the rebels had in many ways a different historical context with respect to the particular local political dynamics and their relationship with the Europeans, especially the Dutch and the English. Therefore focusing on the power formation processes of the Company on the one hand and of the adherents of Nuku's rebellion on the other may help us to understand the rebellion. This is the line followed in this thesis.

Chapters II and III provide the historical context of European intervention in Maluku. Attention is paid to the strategies and the policy making of the VOC in the creation of three local Governments: Banda; Ambon; and Ternate. These chapters show how the Company maximized the use of its military power to build a 'state' apparatus, and came to dominate local power relations and trade in Maluku. From time to time, Tidore showed a tendency to resist the policies of the VOC, which invariably intervened in succession struggles and liked to flex its muscles as if to emphasize the control it exercised over its periphery. Against this background it is shown why the VOC relationship with local rulers (sultans and *bobato*), eventually created opposing groups and led to 'rebellion' in Tidore and its dependencies.

Starting out with a description of the people, the leadership, and the structure of the Sultanate of Tidore, Chapters IV and V deal with the course of the rebellion of Prince Nuku of Tidore, from the Toloa attack in 1780 up to the death of Nuku's successor, Zainal Abidin, in 1810. There is a discussion of the various ways by which Nuku pursued his rebellion together with his adherents in Tidore proper and those living far apart in East Seram, Gamrange, and Raja Ampat for almost twenty years. Comparison is also made between Nuku and the other princes and sultans of Tidore who chose to collaborate with the Dutch in order to underline explicitly the shrewd strategies and the complex personality of Prince Nuku.

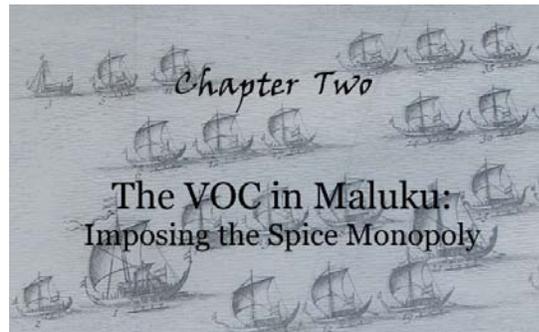
'Papuan' groups, especially Raja Ampat, namely: Salawati'; Misool; Waigeo; and the Waigama, and Gamrange peoples who made up Maba, Weda, and Patani, had been notorious raiders in Maluku since the seventeenth century. During the rebellion of Prince Nuku, their role in strengthening the rebel's forces turned out to be decisive. In Chapters VI and VII these 'Papuan' groups are described, including their relations with Tidore and their raiding activities prior to Nuku's rebellion in order to show that the raiding activities were an inherent feature of these communities.

Furthermore, the dynamics of the power relation between the Tidoran leaders, Prince Nuku's rebel circle, and these peoples are explained. These relations were articulated by the rampant practice of raiding and trading networks which had been established in Maluku even before the arrival of Europeans. Other Halmaheran groups, such as the Gamkonora, who had been subjects of Ternate Sultanate, are also addressed because from 1791 these peoples also joined the rebel force.

Chapters VIII and IX deal with the traders and warriors from East Seram who chose to follow Nuku. The East Seramese had been trading throughout the area long before the arrival of the VOC, and understandably did all they could to subvert the Dutch policy restricting the westward movement of their vessels.

Chapters X and XI narrate the involvement of the English, both the country traders and the English East India Company (EIC), in Prince Nuku's rebellion. Taking note of the mounting interests of the English in Maluku and their intervention in Malukan politics as early as 1785, Prince Nuku strove to contact the English Government in Bengkulu and in Bengal and finally in 1801, the newly appointed English Resident in Maluku, Farquhar, decided to form an alliance and conquer Ternate.

In the concluding chapter, XII, a balance sheet is drawn of the significance of the rebellion and the personality of Prince Nuku in the regional history of the Eastern Indonesian Archipelago.



This chapter elucidates the creation of VOC power in Maluku¹ which was manifested in the presence of the three Governments of Banda, Ambon, and Ternate. Driven by its ultimate goal of monopolizing the world trade in nutmeg and cloves, the VOC exploited its military superiority to expel its European competitors (the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the English) and to deprive Asian and local traders of their freedom of action in the area. The Company built a 'state' apparatus, and dominated the power relations and trade in Maluku by virtually exterminating Bandanese society, subordinating a number of Ambonese *negeri*, and subjugating the three Sultanates of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan.

European presence before the Dutch

The first Europeans who imposed radical change on the Malukans during the sixteenth century were the Portuguese and the Spaniards. After the conquest of Malacca in 1511, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent three small ships under the command of Captain Antonio de Abreu and his Deputy-Commander Francisco Serrão to the Spice Islands in eastern Indonesia. The fleet which left Malaka sometime between November 1511 and January 1512 sailed eastwards to the islands of Buru, Ambon, and Seram. After having visited Banda, Serrão's vessel, loaded with cloves, nutmegs, and mace, ran into stormy weather and sank. Only the commander and six or seven of his crewmembers survived and were taken to Ambon by local fishermen. *Kaicili Vaidua*, brother of Sultan Abu Lais of Ternate, visited Serrão and informed him that the Sultan invited him to come to Ternate.² In a subsequent letter, Sultan Abu Lais (r. 1500-1523) entrusted the Portuguese King, Dom Manuel, with 'his land and all in it'. Nine years later in 1521, not

¹ For the *Gouvernement Molucos*, I use the term Government of Ternate or Oranje. When I refer to Ternate as sultanate, I use simply the term Ternate Sultanate.

² *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 215.

to be outdone, Sultan Mansur of Tidore also welcomed the surviving Spanish ships of Magellan's expedition around the world.³

Soon after the death of Sultan Abu Lais in 1523, the building of a Portuguese fortress was completed on Ternate. The longstanding 'dualistic' rivalry between Ternate and Tidore flared up again, now involving the Portuguese on the Ternate side and the Spaniards on the side of Tidore and Jailolo. In 1524 Sultan Tidore's settlement at Marieko was destroyed during a Ternate-Portuguese attack. The arrival of Spanish expeditions under Alvaro de Saavedra in 1528 and Ruy López de Villalobos in 1543 did not help to strike a counterbalance. Unfortunately for Tidore, the Spaniards left Maluku in 1565 because they decided to devote all their resources on the establishment of their colony in Luzon. As a result, Ternate enjoyed the most advantageous political development at the time.⁴

The Jailolo Sultanate, which had been known as one of the most powerful in Maluku, was conquered by the Ternate-Portuguese alliance in 1551. The strong fort and well-equipped troops were of little use when the castle's water source was captured and the great Sultan Katarabumi of Jailolo was forced to surrender. The Jailolo ruler had to relinquish his title of Sultan and became a *sangaji* under Ternate and a vassal of the King of Portugal. Several days of looting denuded the palace of its riches and the Sultan fled to the mountains. After the defeat, Jailolo lost most of its population and its political influence in Maluku faded. The only remnant of its greatness was its symbolic participation in ceremonies requiring the presence of all four Malukan kingdoms held in Ternate.⁵

Such conquests did not imbue the relationship between Ternate and Portuguese with peace and harmony. It started amicably enough but soon conflicts broke out. In 1527, for example, Captain Dom Jorge de Meneses arrested *Kaicili* Vaidua and insulted him by smearing bacon fat on his face. This same Portuguese also ordered his men to 'forage' around Ternate. He cut off one *sangaji*'s hand and had him pulled into the sea by dogs. The most important pro-Portuguese Ternatan leader, Darwis, the *kapiten laut*, and the *bukum* were also hanged on Meneses' orders. This led to open hostility between Ternate under the leadership of the Queen Mother, Boheyat (r. 1523-1535) and the Portuguese. The tensions continued under the leaderships of Vicente de Fonseca in 1531, Tristão de Ataíde 1533, and Antonio Galvão in 1536. The worst incident occurred when Captain Duarte de Sá arrived in 1555. He appropriated the annual Makian clove harvest

³ Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 115-6; W.A. Hanna, *Indonesian Banda: Colonialism and Its Aftermath in the Nutmeg Islands* (Philadelphia: ISHI, 1978), 6-7.

⁴ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 117-118.

⁵ *Ibid.* 130-1.

destined for the Sultan of Ternate and even ordered the seizure of Sultan Hairun (r. 1535-1570), his brother, and his mother to guarantee the loyalty of the Ternatans. This conduct unified the pro- and anti-Portuguese factions within Ternate and led to an outright war against the Portuguese who were allied with the remaining force of Jailolo. Ternate's force proved superior, the captain was removed and Sultan Hairun was subsequently restored. The enmity culminated in a fever pitch after the murder of Sultan Hairun by the Portuguese.

Sultan Babullah (r.1570-1583) vowed to avenge the death of his father by chasing all Portuguese and other Christians from the Archipelago. His troops seized four sampans from Moro loaded with food for the Portuguese fortress. He then attacked the Christianized Moro from Galela, moving down to the east coast of northern Halmahera killing all Portuguese, *mestiços*, and native Christians he could find. The Christian population of Bacan was defeated in 1571. The Sultan also laid a long siege to the Portuguese fortress on Ternate. During the siege only four Portuguese ships from Goa and Malaka managed to reach Ternate, but they failed to liberate the fortress. Consequently about 500 people within its walls died from illness and starvation. When the fortress was surrendered on 26 December 1575, only 400 of the garrison were still alive. Most of the Portuguese and native Christians expelled from Ternate resettled in Ambon. Sultan Babullah kept only a Portuguese captain, a factor, and twelve soldiers.⁶

In Ambon Antonio de Abreu and Francisco Serrão were received with friendship and hospitality in the Hitu region in 1512. At the beginning these foreigners were not seen as a threat to the local situation.⁷ After a short stay, they left again for Ternate, Tidore, and Banda to collect spices. For the time being Hitu was merely a port of call at which to victual. Only in 1525 did the Portuguese receive permission to build a house on the north coast of Hitu as a reward for promised aid against a threatened attack from Seram. But things went wrong shortly afterwards. The Portuguese were felt to threaten the independence of Hitu because they wanted to build a fort and impose their own rules. Most of the leaders of Hitu opposed these plans and even advised the Portuguese to settle among their old enemies, the inhabitants of Leitimor.⁸ The Hituese went as far as to call in the help of the princes of

⁶ Ibid. 131-4. See also Hubert Jacobs S.J., *Documenta Malucensia*, II:1577-1606, (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1980), 9.

⁷ Z.J. Manusama, *Historie en sociale structuur van Hitu* (Utrecht: Moluks Historische Museum, 2004), 64.

⁸ The other reason for the conflict was the rivalry within the Four *Perdana* leaders of Hitu. Jamilu, one of them, was granted title *capitão* or Kapiten Hitu by the Portuguese. This shattered the principle of collegiality between the Four *Perdana*. Consequently, Jamilu was expelled from Hitulama and he established a new group. Jamilu died in 1569 in the fortress of Duarte de Meneses. See Manusama, *Historie en sociale structuur van Hitu*, 64-5.

Jepara in Java and in 1539 they drove the Portuguese overland to the northern shore of the bay between Hitu and Leitimor.⁹

In Leitimor the Portuguese were welcomed as allies by the inhabitants. The Portuguese Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier, who considered the inhabitants non-believers, immediately set to work to convert them to Christianity. A church was built on the beach and large crosses were erected in seven villages in Leitimor. In 1547 the first Jesuit priest settled permanently in Ambon and managed to baptize 600 people. But then the Islamic Hituese, who were afraid of the massive Christianization, attacked Leitimor and the Portuguese with the aid of Javanese auxiliaries and the expeditionary forces of Sultan Babullah of Ternate. This put the people in Leitimor in need of even more protection by the Portuguese who remained in Leitimor and continued their religious mission. Large numbers of people — whole villages on occasion - had themselves baptized together. One missionary father claimed to have converted 10,000 and in another report even 40,000 people to Christianity.¹⁰

In 1575 the number of Portuguese in Ambon increased as a result of the expulsion by Sultan Babullah of most of the Portuguese from Ternate. A new Portuguese fortress was built in 1576. The Portuguese and the Christian Ambonese of Leitimor and Hatiwe were put under pressure by the Muslim allies of the Ternate Sultanate. In 1590 a fleet consisting of thirty *kora-kora*,¹¹ manned by 3,000 men, launched assaults on many Christian villages. The position of the Ambonese missions improved with the arrival of a large fleet under Admiral Andrea Furtado de Mendoza in 1602. In a very short time Hitu was conquered. The old Captain Hitu was executed and the leading chiefs fled to West Seram. But the authority of Portuguese was abruptly ended when the Portuguese commander, Caspar de Melo, surrendered his fortress to the Dutch under Steven van der Haghen without a fight in 1605.

⁹ J. Keuning, 'Ambonese, Portuguese and Dutchmen: the history of Ambon to the end of the seventeenth century,' in Meilink-Roelofs, Opstall, and Schutte (eds.), *Dutch authors on Asian history* (Leiden: KITLV, 1988), 368.

¹⁰ Ibid. 368-9.

¹¹ "Korakora is a vessel generally fitted with out-riggers, with a high arched stem and stern, like the point of a half moon. They are used by the inhabitants of the Moluccan islands chiefly, and the Dutch have fleets of them at Amboina, which they employ as guarda costas. They have them from a very small size, to above ten tons burden; and on the cross pieces which support the out-riggers, there fore and aft planks, on which the people sit and paddle, beside those who sit in the vessel on each gunnel. In smooth water they can be paddled very fast, as many hands may be employed in different ranks or rows. They are steered with two commodities, (broad paddles) and not with a rudder. When they are high out of the water, they use oars; but, on the out-riggers, they always use paddles. Frequent mention is made of korakora in the history of Ambon." See Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to the New Guinea and the Maluku, 1774-1776* (London: G. Scott, 1779), 23.

The Dutch were much too strong. This ended the Portuguese presence on the Ambon islands.¹²

During the presence of the Portuguese in Ternate and Ambon, conflicts were the order of the day. The problems stemmed not only from conflicting interests between the Portuguese and the Ternatans and Ambonese about exclusive clove cultivation and trade, it also developed into a clash between Islam and Christianity when the Portuguese started to convert the local population to Christianity. These clashes were indubitably powered by a distinct gap in cultural worldview between them, but were fuelled by already existing local rivalries which further crystallized as a result of the introduction of Islam and Christianity. When the Portuguese were forced to leave Fortress St John on Ternate in 1575, they re-established themselves under the command of Captain Sancho de Vasconcelos in Tidore in 1578, accepting the invitation of Sultan Tidore Gapibaguna (or Iskandar Sani?) to do so. However the Portuguese fortress on Tidore was also abandoned after the joint attack on Tidore by Sultan Said of Ternate and the Dutch in 1605.¹³

Establishing monopoly and the making of VOC power

Fluctuating Portuguese supplies of pepper and spices in Europe during the late 1580s and the early 1590s coinciding with the withdrawal of the Portuguese merchants from Antwerp were an incentive for the Dutch merchants to undertake their early voyages to the Indies. The first voyage at least was more of a defensive nature than the outcome of what be termed a 'commercial strategy'. If the Dutch had not undertaken it and sought to compete with the Portuguese, the English might very well have done so instead.¹⁴ The sack of Antwerp by Spanish army in 1585, which was followed by the immigration of the southern Netherlanders with their capital to the Northern Netherlands, created a significant boost to the trade expansion of the Dutch Republic. It also allowed a relatively fast take-off of the Dutch trade to the East Indies. Knowledge of Asian routes was no longer the prerogative of the Portuguese thanks to the geographer Petrus Plancius and reports of those who had visited Asia in Portuguese service.

¹² Ibid. 370-1.

¹³ Concerning the name of the Sultan, there is difference between Andaya who writes that in the year 1578 the Sultan was Gapibaguna but, according to De Clercq (1890: 150-187), the Sultan at that time was Iskandar Sani (r.1569-1586). Gapibaguna became Sultan later (r. 1586-1599). Jacobs does not mention the name. See Jacobs, *Documenta Maluensis*, 3, 9; Hanna and Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore*, 12-15; Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 114-132.

¹⁴ F. Braudel, *Perspective of the world* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 216; See also Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, I, 78-81.

The Itinerario by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, the former of the secretary of the Bishop of Goa did indeed serve as an itinerary to the Orient.¹⁵

The first expedition of four ships of the Compagnie van Verre of Amsterdam to Asia under Cornelis de Houtman and Gerrit van Beuningen, which left in 1595 and returned in 1597, was not a profitable venture but it showed that trade with Asia was a promising proposition.¹⁶ In the years which followed, Dutch shipping to Asia developed tremendously. Within a decade sixty-five ships spread over fifteen fleets were sent out. During the same period, the Portuguese sent only forty-six ships.¹⁷ The Dutch had to contend with the Portuguese as well as the Spanish who were based in Manila and also active in the Maluku, hanging on to Tidore until 1663. Nor were these the only lurking commercial threat, the English tended to appear on the scene and follow the Dutch wherever they went, but without ever displaying signs of having any overall strategy. After Drake (1578) and Lancaster (1592) had circumnavigated the globe, the English created a chartered East India Company in 1600. The English initially focused on the Indian Ocean but also maintained trade factories in the Indonesian Archipelago. Last but not least, ethnic groups of such Asian merchants as Ottomans, Armenians, Javanese, Chinese, Bengalis, Arabs, Persians, and Muslims from Gujarat who were active in the Archipelago should be mentioned. Since the Portuguese dominated the Straits of Malaka, the main thoroughfare between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, the Dutch set themselves the extremely difficult task of wresting control of Malaka from the hands of the Portuguese. Notwithstanding the Dutch attacks against Portuguese positions in Asia, pepper and spices continued to be shipped directly to Lisbon in the 1630s. Only the fall of Malaka in 1641 dealt a mortal blow to the Portuguese empire in this part of Monsoon Asia.¹⁸

The Early Dutch Companies could be termed one-off enterprises because they were set up for just one expedition, and hence accumulated capital for one expedition at a time. However, there was continuity in the boards of directors because the merchants in charge or the directors sponsored successive expeditions. The initiators and the directors collected the necessary capital, which was provided not only by themselves but also by other participants. In November 1601, the Secretary of State of the Dutch Republic, Johan van Oldebarneveld succeeded in convincing the directors of the already existing Dutch companies trading with Asia to found a 'United

¹⁵ E. van Veen, *Decay of defeat? An inquiry into the Portuguese decline in Asia 1580-1645* (Leiden: CNWS, 2000), 142-6, 228; Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), 15-7.

¹⁶ Braudel, *Perspective of the world*, 211-2.

¹⁷ Veen, *Decay of defeat?*, 142-6, 228; Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 15-17.

¹⁸ Braudel, *Perspective of the world*, 214, 216.

East India Company' with a special monopolistic charter for the trade East of the Cape of Good Hope issued by the States-General of the Netherlands. The Dutch United East India Company or *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) was officially inaugurated on 20 March 1602. The initial idea was that the charter for the VOC should last twelve years. Two or three times a year the participating chambers chose representatives, who attended meetings lasting several weeks at a time in Amsterdam or in Middleburg in order to prepare the fleets and determine a central policy. Eight Amsterdam directors joined by four from Zeeland and one each of the smaller chambers sat in the meetings of the so-called Gentlemen Seventeen.¹⁹

The VOC trade establishments in Asia were manned by Company servants whose number gradually increased to 16,000 in the course of the eighteenth century. More than half of the Company personnel was military and protected the various settlements. The High Government consisting of a Governor-General, seconded by the Council of the Indies, governed all possessions in Asia. Directly below this central administration: governors enjoyed certain territorial authority in the larger colonies such as Formosa, Ceylon, and Maluku; directors administered important trading offices; commanders were entrusted with the many military duties; residents and officers were in charge of smaller establishments. The central junction or a '*rendez-vous*' of this vast intra-Asian trading network was Batavia which had been founded in 1619 on the north-west coast of Java, located strategically close to the Sunda Strait, the other conventional thoroughfare between East and West Asia in addition to the Strait of Malaka. The High Government, the highest administrative body was lodged in Batavia Castle. The Governor-General and the Council were responsible for reporting all the activities of the Company in the so-called 'generale missiven' to the Gentlemen Seventeen *in patria*.²⁰

The Charter of 1602 permitted the VOC to build forts, appoint governors, billet soldiers, and make treaties with foreign powers in Asia - all in the name of the States-General of the Dutch Republic. It was meant to be a restricted mandate and the VOC was considered an executive instrument of the States-General in Asia. In practice, however, the States-General had little direct control: the instructions to the Governor-General had to be approved by the States-General and the highest VOC official swore an oath in the presence of the States-General, but these rules were very soon ignored; it was also expected that commanders returning from Asia would

¹⁹ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 20-1; Idem, *VOC Organization*, www.tanap.net.

²⁰ Els M. Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië: de handel van de VOC tijdens de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), 13-14.

report on the situation in Asia.²¹ In actual fact, the High Government had a great deal of freedom and the late arrival of instructions from the Republic which took months to reach Batavia provided a ready-made excuse. Governor-General and Council had to take important measures and make decisions for the Company without having time to consult the authorities at home. Therefore, the smooth functioning of the Council of the Indies depended enormously on the personal quality of the members and their mutual relationships. The Council sent its instructions to the establishments where the local Policy Council (*Raad van Politie*) executed the assignments.²²

As fine spices and pepper were the primary reason for the Dutch to sail to Asia, they concentrated their attention on the Indonesian Archipelago where most of the spices originated. The first fleet of the VOC sailed on 18 December 1603: twelve heavily armed ships under the command of Steven van der Haghen. The strategy of the VOC in Asia was clear. In 1603 the States-General advised the Gentlemen Seventeen to send fewer ships to the Indies 'but sail with bigger vessels, well manned and armed, so that they cannot only trade freely, but also do damage to the enemy in those quarters and protect the people with whom they are trading ...'²³ Van der Haghen received an instruction from the Gentlemen Seventeen stating that: 'We are obliged to take the offensive, in any manner whatsoever, against the Spaniards, Portuguese and their *allies*.'²⁴ The term 'allies' could cover anyone: Ternatans, Ambonese, Bandanese, or Tidorans.

In his monograph on the VOC, Gaastra argues that the aggression of the VOC was primarily directed against the Portuguese rather than the Asian peoples.²⁵ For the directors, expansion in Asia was secondary to economic motives, but the ambitions of the 'men on the spot' sometimes surpassed this and as the power and prestige of the VOC in Asia grew, so too did the gap between the directors and their subordinates overseas.²⁶ In my view, whether the expansion motive was primary or secondary was fairly immaterial as far as the Dutch impact on the Eastern Indonesians is concerned. Right from the outset the directors in Patria advised their subordinates to 'do damage to the enemy', not only the Portuguese and the Spaniards but also their allies. By 1605 the Dutch had captured the Portuguese fortress in Ambon, and were harassing Portuguese ships in the

²¹ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 23; Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, I [1862], 98-103.

²² Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 14; Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 37-9.

²³ W. A. Hanna and D. Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore : Masa Lampau Penuh Gejolak* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996), 112-41.

²⁴ Veen, *Decay of defeat?*, 154.

²⁵ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 37-9.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 57.

Malaka Straits.²⁷ Later the Dutch virtually exterminated and expelled what remained of the Bandanese population from its incredibly spice-rich islands. In Banda, Ambon, and Ternate, confident in the superiority of their military prowess, the Dutch did not eschew violence in the imposition of their power at the cost of the local leaders and their people.

Gaastra and Andaya have argued that, despite the superior Dutch weaponry, the local peoples knew how to take advantage of better local knowledge and more mobility on land, and they had a greater resistance to local diseases.²⁸ However, particularly in Banda, Ternate, Tidore, and Ambon, it should be noted that most of political and trading power centres at that time were located in the coastal areas. Consequently naval power was more decisive than power on land. Even though the local populations had the advantage of being numerically superior, they were polarized in small social units and operated under restricted leadership. In short, mere numerical superiority did not make a significant difference as long as these people were not allied and acting under one supreme command. Therefore, by any standard, the superiority of Dutch weapons and its better organization allowed the Company to impose its will by hegemonic use of arms and a divide and rule strategy.

Banda

The Banda Archipelago consists of six islands, of which Lonthor and nearby Neira are the biggest. According to Tomé Pires, in the sixteenth century Javanese and Malay Muslim traders used to anchor in the roadstead of Neira to collect spices. Three other islands, Ai, Run, and Lonthor (*Bomcagi*), had no protected anchorages. The sixth island, Nailaka, did not have any commercial crop to trade but produced small amounts of sago. The inhabitants brought the nutmeg and mace to Neira in exchange for Gujarati clothes. At that time the population were estimated at only 3,000 people. In the sixteenth century, these islands produced about five to 600 *babars* of mace and about 7,000 *babars* of nutmeg every year. Cloves, imported from North Maluku and Amboina (a fortnight's sail to the north), were also traded here, as were sago, birds of paradise and other products. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the islanders began to enjoy more

²⁷ Braudel, *Perspective of the world*, 213.

²⁸ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 37; L. Y. Andaya, 'De militaire alliantie tussen de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de Buginezen,' in G.J. Knaap and G. Teitler (eds.), *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tussen oorlog en diplomatie* (Leiden: KITLV, 2002), 289-90.

wealth than ever before because of the rising price of spices.²⁹ The Bandanese had no king, but were ruled by a *kongsi* of *orangkaya* and elders.

When Serrão reached Banda in 1512, he obtained nutmeg and mace by trading them peaceably for cloth. When these were brought to the market in Lisbon, the Portuguese enjoyed at least a 1,000 per cent profit. In earlier times these spices had been locally purchased by Malay, Chinese, and Arab regional traders, reshipped to the Persian Gulf, carried by caravan to the Mediterranean, and distributed via Constantinople, Genoa, or Venice. Despite its treasure trove, for almost a century Banda enjoyed the relative indifference of the Portuguese merchants in East Indonesian waters, because the latter decided to settle on Ternate.³⁰ In 1529 Captain Garcia attempted to build a fortress on Neira but soon abandoned his project leaving it unfinished. For supplies of Banda nutmeg and mace, the Portuguese relied on regional traders who carried these spices to Ternate and Tidore.³¹

Winds of radical change began to blow in Banda when a Dutch ship the *Geldria* under Captain Jacob van Heemskerck carrying 200 merchants, soldiers, and sailors arrived on 15 March 1599. The ship belonged to the Dutch fleet under Admiral Jacob van Neck who had been instructed to circumvent the Iberian traders in the area. Van Heemskerck visited Ambon briefly and then proceeded to Banda.³² Despite adverse circumstances, he managed to gain the confidence of the Bandanese and built a lodge to store the spices and other trading goods. Twenty-two Dutchmen were left behind on Banda to collect spices.³³ The price of spices rose immediately: nutmeg from 6.45 real per *bahaar* (525 Dutch pounds) to 9 real; mace from 60 to 95 real. In 1600 Steven van der Hagen called at Banda briefly and then sailed on to Ambon. Soon the Dutch on Banda fell into dispute with the locals, not only over prices but also over women, religion, and weapons.³⁴

The first English expedition consisting of seven ships under Captain James Lancaster arrived in Banda 1601. Lancaster built small factories on both Banda and Ternate. In the Banda Archipelago the English chose to settle on the island of Run. Ten miles west of Neira, this factory was not in the immediate vicinity of hostile Dutch, Portuguese, and Asian traders. An outpost was also established on the island of Ai. In 1602, the Dutch admiral, Wolfert Hermansz, alternately bullying or ignoring the English, pressurized

²⁹ *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 205-209.

³⁰ Hanna, *Banda*, 31; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 115; Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 6.

³¹ *Idem*, *Banda*, 36.

³² *Ibid.* 36.

³³ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, I [1862], 83; J.A.van der Chijs, *De vestiging van bet Nederlandsche gezag over de Banda Eilanden (1599-1621)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886), 1-14.

³⁴ Hanna, *Banda*, 39.

the Bandanese into granting the Dutch the exclusive rights to the purchase of nutmeg and mace. Intimidated, some *orangkaya* signed an irrevocable contract with him on 23 May 1602. In return the Dutch promised to provide protection from the English and the Portuguese. Hermansz left directly afterwards and there was no further enforcement of the contract. This time only ten Dutch men remained in Banda. In the space of three years this *logies* seems to have vanished.³⁵

The next Dutch expedition, a fleet of thirteen vessels and at least 1,500 men under Admiral Steven van der Haghen, arrived in Maluku in 1605. Van der Haghen was instructed to expel both the Portuguese and the English from the Archipelago. He first seized the Portuguese fort in Ambon and then headed for Banda. Again a contract was drawn up with the Bandanese, renewing the one that Hermansz had concluded earlier. Van der Haghen left as many men as he could spare before leaving again for Ambon. The factories were re-opened and the trade was re-established but an effective monopoly was still a mirage.³⁶

In April 1609 Admiral Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff sailed to Banda with fifteen ships, carrying 1,000 sailors and soldiers, predominantly Dutch, but among them also some Japanese mercenaries. With this intimidating force, Verhoeff imposed his will on the *orangkaya* of Lonthor to sell nutmeg exclusively to the Dutch at a price lower than the English had offered.³⁷ The arrival of the great Dutch force reminded the Bandanese of a prophecy which foretold the arrival of an army of fair-haired, light-skinned, fully clad strangers who would attempt to conquer the islands. To make matters worse, Gunung Api was spewing hot ash, which was taken as an evil portent. The prophecy was thought to have been fulfilled when Verhoeff forced Bandanese labourers to commence building a fort (called Nassau later) on Neira Island. Soon afterwards, determined to push the Dutch off their islands, the Bandanese laid an ambush and killed Verhoeff and thirty-three of his companions.³⁸

The English Captain William Keeling who arrived in February 1609 with his ship the *Hector* stalked the Dutch in many ports. He was cordially received by the Bandanese on Neira and Lonthor.³⁹ To avenge the killing of Verhoeff, Admiral Simon Jansz Hoen tried to retaliate by sending several punitive expeditions. Eventually he managed to blockade the Bandanese

³⁵ Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag*, 18-20; Hanna, *Banda*, 42; Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, I [1862], 91.

³⁶ Hanna, *Banda*, 43-4; Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag*, 20-8.

³⁷ Hanna, *Banda*, p. 55.

³⁸ Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag*, 36-44; Hanna, *Banda*, 57-60; M.E. van Opstall, 'De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie 1607-1612' (Diss. Leiden University, 1972), 91-8.

³⁹ Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 25-6.

coastal waters in order to obstruct the import of food stuffs and the escape by the sea by the islanders. On 13 August 1609 a number of *orangkaya* were forced to sign a contract regulating the delivery of nutmeg-mace and control over the islands,⁴⁰ but on the very day it was signed, the Bandanese began to violate the contract. They diverted the nutmeg and mace to the English on Ai and Run who then shipped these deliveries on a fleet of *pinnaces* and chartered vessels to Makassar or Bantam.⁴¹

On 17 July 1619 a treaty of co-operation was signed in London between The Netherlands and England, whereby the English would obtain one-third and the Dutch two-thirds of the spice trade. But matters worked out differently in practice. On 1 January 1621, when Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen requested the English to assemble a one-third share of the ships for the final invasion of Banda, the English balked. On 27 February 1621, Coen arrived – without the English – at Fort Nassau in Banda with a fleet of thirteen large ships, three yachts, and thirty-six smaller vessels. His task force numbered 1,655 Europeans (no fewer than 150 died of illness during the voyage), to which he could add the 250 men of the Banda garrison. Coen also brought along with him 286 Javanese convicts to serve as rowers and porters, and about one hundred Japanese mercenaries. Everything was prepared to invade Banda and ‘punish’ the Bandanese.⁴²

Soon Coen’s soldiers began to wreak havoc on the Bandanese, who now tried to negotiate a peace. On Lonthor villages were razed and burned. Eight hundred and eighty-three inhabitants (287 men, 356 women, and 240 children, of whom 176 died on board ship) were shipped off to Batavia where they were sold as slaves. Those who fled into the mountain area to escape the mayhem died by the hundreds of exposure, starvation, and disease. Other Bandanese fled overseas and reached Seram, Kei, and Aru. Of the population which had been estimated at 15,000 people, no more than 1,000 seem to have survived in the Archipelago. The most prominent leaders of Banda, forty-four *orangkaya*, were seized, chained, and confined on board Coen’s flagship awaiting execution.⁴³ A Dutch naval lieutenant, Nicolas van Waert told how Japanese soldiers were ordered to behead the *orangkaya* on 8 May 1621. They all died silently except for one who said, ‘Sirs, have you then no mercy?’⁴⁴ After the English factories on Lonthor and Run had also been seized, all of Banda had been conquered. Coen was

⁴⁰ Idem, *Banda*, 61-3; Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag*, 47-52.

⁴¹ Hanna, *Banda*, 63-4.

⁴² Ibid. 78-9.

⁴³ Lucas Kiers, *Coen op Banda: de conqueste getoetst aan het recht van den tijd* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoeks, 1943), 202-3.

⁴⁴ The Dutch quotation is: “Myn Heeren, en isser dan geen genade?” See Kiers, *Coen op Banda*, 236.

reprimanded by the Gentlemen XVII for his brutal behaviour but all the same was given a gratuity of 3,000 guilders for his conquest of the islands.⁴⁵

'Indigenous' Bandanese society now was almost extinct. In 1636 the native population numbered no more than 560 persons, as against 539 Dutch and 834 free aliens. The VOC created *perkeniers*, concessionaires, who were obliged to produce and deliver nutmeg and mace to replace the Bandanese planters. These *perkeniers* were Dutch free burghers from Batavia and Ambon. For manual labour, the Dutch imported slaves from Papua, Maluku and elsewhere.⁴⁶ The Banda Archipelago (Lonthor, Neira, and Ai) were divided into sixty-eight *perken* (park or garden) for thirty-four to sixty-eight *perkeniers*. In theory every *perk* employed twenty-five slaves. All in all, there were around 1,900 slaves at work on Banda. The problem of monopolizing nutmeg and mace had now been solved. Production and delivery could be controlled and the price could be fixed with ease. The main function of the administration now was to protect the *perken* from foreign threats, and to assure that the whole system of production and delivery of nutmeg and mace ran according to plan.⁴⁷ From that time Banda was completely under the domination of the VOC.

Ambon

The Ambon Islands consisted of Hitu-Leitimor, Saparua, Haruku, and Nusa Laut. These islands are located off the south-west coast of the island of Seram. In the sixteenth century, traders who wanted to sail to North Maluku made landfall here first.⁴⁸ On 23 February 1605 the VOC fleet of twelve ships under Steven van der Haghen conquered the Portuguese Fortress Nossa Senhora da Anunciada on Ambon, Leitimor. This meant in terms of contemporary European logic that the Ambonese who had formerly been under Portuguese authority simply became the subjects of the VOC. As Knaap puts it, "The VOC gained the sovereignty over this area and thus could arrange the administration as it wished."⁴⁹ Therefore the VOC developed a type of governance geared towards interest in developing and maintaining the monopoly system. All the subjects of the VOC were obliged

⁴⁵ The Island of Run was returned to the English but formally handed over to the Dutch after the Second Anglo-Dutch war in 1666. Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag*, 119-62; Hanna, *Banda*, 80-5.

⁴⁶ Moreland writes that the slaves were also imported from Bengal and the Kingdom of Arakan. Cited by Braudel, *Perspective of the world*, 221.

⁴⁷ Hanna, *Banda*, 89-90.

⁴⁸ *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, 211-2.

⁴⁹ "De VOC verwierf daarbij de soevereiniteit over dit gebied en kon het bestuur inrichten zoals zij dat wenste." Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 21.

to deliver the cloves to the warehouse of the VOC at a fixed price.⁵⁰ To stake its claim on the cloves, which were produced outside of its 'authority', the VOC concluded 'contracts', actual agreements, with local authorities. In these contracts, the producers of the cloves had to deliver all of them to the VOC at a fixed price. In return, the VOC promised to protect them from any renewed Iberian 'aggression'. In 1599 when Admiral Van Warwijck appeared at Ambon and made a contract with 'independent' Hitu, the threat of the Portuguese still existed. At that time Ambon could be categorized into two entities: the Ternate dominion and the non-Ternate dominion. In 1605, after the conquest of Portuguese-occupied Ambon, the contract with Hitu was renewed. A similar contract was concluded with Hoamoal through Ternate in 1607. In the following years the clove price increased because of the high demand in Europe. In 1599 the price was still 35 real per *bahar* (550 pounds). It rose to 50 real in 1610 and 70 real in 1620. In the VOC regulations, the price was fixed at 56 real per *bahar* and paid in money or goods in kind such as textiles, gongs, rice and the like. The rub was that from other traders, such producers could expect payment in cash and the price 50 per cent higher than the VOC price.⁵¹

When the producers of the cloves demanded higher prices and the VOC refused, the former tried to sell to third parties. In order to prevent this, the VOC used force. Between 1624 and 1658, a series of wars was waged between the VOC and the inhabitants of Hitu and Hoamoal on Ambon and Seram. These so-called *Ambonse Oorlogen*, were not always about the delivery of cloves, compulsory or *corvee* labour was another point of friction. During 1636-1637, even the local Christian people of Amboina revolted because they had to bear the heavy burden of compulsory labour in the *hongt* expeditions and suffered from general bad treatment. Through the personal mediation of Governor-General Van Diemen the relationship with the Christians was re-established. During the years 1640-1650 the VOC subdued the independent Ambonese 'states' and those which were vassals of the Ternate Sultanate. In fact they had mounted resistance against their own Sultan who requested the Company to govern them 'in his name'. After the death of Sultan Hamzah, Sultan Mandarsyah, his successor, was persuaded

⁵⁰ Idem, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp: De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in oorlog en vrede in Ambon,' in Knaap and Teitler (eds.), *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 258; Idem, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 21, 23.

⁵¹ Ibid. 24; J. Keuning, 'Ambonese, Portuguese and Dutchmen: the history of Ambon to the end of the seventeenth century,' in Meilink-Roelofs, Opstall, and Schutte (eds.), *Dutch authors on Asian history* (Leiden: KITLV, 1988), 377.

by the Dutch to continue this arrangement because the Dutch feared the palpably growing involvement of Makassar traders in the spice trade.⁵²

The actions against Luhu in 1625 and Lusiela in 1637 provide ample material to extrapolate a pattern of the VOC tactics in warfare. A raid used to begin with an initial bombardment with ships' canon. This was followed by an assault by storm, in the first case involving about 800 Europeans and 1,000 Ambonese; and in the second, 1,500 Europeans. The usual operational unit employed in the field by the Dutch was a company of sixty to seventy men. Using another strategy, the strike force of the VOC on Hoamoal in 1625 burned down the abandoned settlements on a large scale, destroyed hundreds of prahu on the coast, chopped down 10,000 clove trees, and destroyed other cash crops of the inhabitants. A similar pattern of tactics was also applied on Manipa and Kelang in 1651 and again in 1653, and on the coast of Buru in 1652. The casualties in the opposing groups of inhabitants ranged from 100 men at Loki to 700 men at Laala. At Laala, around 400 women, children, and older people were captured and treated as slaves.⁵³

To suppress the overproduction of cloves, in May 1650 the Governor of Ambon, Arnold de Vlaming, submitted a proposal to limit production to Hoamoal. This was rejected out of hand because it was believed that the demand for cloves was so huge that whatever the amount produced, it could still find a market. Under *Kimelaba* Majira, Hoamoal rebelled against the VOC and the Sultan of Ternate, Mandarsyah, in 1651. Fighting continued in Hoamoal until 1656 and on Buru until 1658. Despite the support of the Makassarese, the rebellion which is known as the *Hoamoalse Oorlog* was eventually suppressed by the superior military and naval might of the VOC. Under the terms of the spice extirpation policy, the local inhabitants obtained nothing for this assistance because all compensation went to the Sultan of Ternate personally. The people of Hoamoal and those thought to be 'rebels' forfeited their rights. After the war, the 'cultivation' of clove was limited to Ambon, Haruku, Saparua, and the Nusalaut Islands. The VOC decreed that all other trees had to be destroyed. When these prolonged armed conflicts finally drew to an end, the monopoly on the export of

⁵² Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 163-4; Gerrit J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en christenen: de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), 21-32.

⁵³ Tiele en Heeres, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen archipel*, ('sGravenhage: Nijhoff, 1890), 48-70; Knaap, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp,' 268, 271; Idem, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 33-4.

cloves was at last realized but had to be guaranteed by an armed peace (*gewapende vrede*).⁵⁴

In the second half of the century, the military and naval power of the VOC was restricted mostly to patrols and inspection. However, expeditions were occasionally launched against villages in East Seram. In 1659 two *hongji* expeditions were deployed to these remote areas and in 1660 yet another had to be dispatched because the inhabitants were still stubbornly opposing the efforts of the Company to limit their trade relations with the outside world. The 'normal pattern' of tactics was repeated: Villages were burned down and the vessels of the local people beached on the coast were demolished. Finally, the people of East Seram were also forced into submission and made to recognize the VOC as their overlord, which meant acceptance of a limitation in their trading relations with Makassar. Despite the fact that the VOC punitive expedition aroused great fear among the people of East Seram, undaunted some of their leaders and traders continued their business with the outside world or foreign traders whenever they had opportunity to do so. Should a punitive *hongji* expedition of the Ambon Governor approach their villages, they abandoned these but returned as soon as the *hongji* had gone. Those who did not want to have trouble with the Company or pretended to be loyal and submissive came on board, delivered gifts to the Governor or his representative at times of *hongji* surveillance.⁵⁵

Ternate and Tidore

The North Maluku areas – Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Makian, and Motir – were also centres of clove production in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of that century these five islands produced 6,000 *babars* of cloves per year: Ternate 150; Tidore 1,400; Motir 1,200; Makian 1,500; Bacan 500 *babars* and the remainder from other areas. The cloves from Tidore and Motir were brought to Makian which was in a manner of speaking the subject of Tidore. In contrast to Ternate and Bacan, Tidore was hampered as it had no good ports. All rulers or sultans of these islands were linked by ties of kinship. For example, Sultan Bacan, Yusuf (Cuçuf), was a half-brother of Sultan Ternate, Abu Lais. The ruler of Makian, Ucem, was a first cousin of Sultan Tidore, Mansyur (Almançor). During this particular period the most powerful sultanates were Ternate and Tidore which were

⁵⁴ According to figures on the trade in Makassar the monopoly was already a reality in 1642 at the end of the Hitu War, and not in 1656 at the end of Hoamoal War or 1667 after the conquest of Makassar. Idem, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp,' 259.

⁵⁵ Idem, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 192-200.

embroiled in interminable rivalry.⁵⁶ The arrival of the European traders hungry for cloves was inevitably bound to bring about significant changes in North Maluku.

Learning from his bad experiences with the Portuguese, sometime before 1599 Sultan Said of Ternate sent a letter to Prince Maurice of Orange in Holland to offer friendship and promise the 'fruits of his lands' exclusively to the Dutch. When the first Dutch ships arrived at Ternate in 1599, Sultan Said immediately opened up the door to sealing an alliance. He granted permission to collect spices, precious stones, and pearls and showed off his military might to convince the Dutch of his worthiness as an ally.⁵⁷ In 1605, after having seized the Portuguese fort in Ambon, the Dutch forces joined Ternate in an attack against the Portuguese on Tidore. The Portuguese forces were no match for the fleet of nine Dutch ships reinforced by their Ternatan allies and had to surrender. Lack of manpower caused the VOC to decide to demolish the Portuguese fortress.⁵⁸

On 26 March 1606, a Spanish expedition from Manila, composed of a total of 3,095 men, supported by Tidore and Bacan, attacked Ternate. The Ternatans were overwhelmed and their fortress fell into hands of the Spaniards. Sultan Said and the entire Ternate government were sent into exile in Manila. The rulers of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Siau and others now were forced to swear their allegiance to the King of Spain, to whom they promised to deliver all their cloves. Despite this acknowledgement of vassalage, the Spaniards suspected that the Ternatans were just biding their time waiting for the Dutch return and indeed Kaicili Ali was sent to Bantam to notify the Dutch of the Spanish conquest and to ask them for help.⁵⁹ On 29 March 1607 a Ternatan envoy met Admiral Cornelis Matelieff and was given assurances that the Dutch would send a force to expel the Spaniards from the island. Only two months later, on 13 May 1607, a fleet of six ships and two yachts carrying 530 Dutchmen and fifty Ambonese arrived in Ternate. But Sultan Muzaffar, who was expected to provide 2,000 men, only managed to raise a couple of hundred. Instead of launching an attack, Matelieff decided prudence was the better part of valour and contented himself with establishing forts alongside those of the Spaniards. Within a few years, Dutch forts were established at Malayu, Toloko, Takome, and Kalamata on Ternate. On Motir Fort Nassau was erected, on Bacan Fort

⁵⁶ *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, 205-209.

⁵⁷ Andaya writes that Sultan Babullah who wrote the letter to the Dutch sometime before 1599 but the fact is that Babullah died in 1583. Therefore the Sultan at that time was Sultan Said. See Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 138.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 139.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 140-3; F.S.A. De Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Leiden: Brill, 1890), 156.

Barneveldt, on Moti fortress Tabalola, and another fortress on Tidore and Halmahera. Fort Oranje at Malayu, close to the palace of Ternate, became the regional headquarters.⁶⁰

The rivalry and open contest of force between Tidore and its Spanish allies pitted against Ternate and the Dutch turned out to be a protracted business. Occasional skirmishes occurred in 1608 in Halmahera and in 1614 on Tidore. This time 'Fortuna' favoured the side of Ternate. The skirmishes usually ended with a Dutch-Ternatan victory thanks to their naval superiority and led to a subsequent jockeying for advantage in the location of forts. Ultimately, in 1662 the Spanish authorities in Manila decided to abandon their Maluku garrisons.⁶¹ Then the VOC was the only European force left in Maluku.

Dutch intervention in the internal affairs of the Ternate Sultanate started long before the departure of the Spaniards. The Company deposed Sultan Muzaffar in 1627 suspecting that he was involved in a plot with the Spaniards, and put in his place Sultan Hamzah (r. 1627-1648) who had been 'educated' in how to rule by the Spaniards during his exile in the Philippines. This new Sultan tended to use force and levy fines rather than resorting to the more traditional methods of marriage, gifts, and persuasion in dealing with the lords of the land. When Hitu resisted him in 1644, he demanded the Dutch assist him and 'to govern all groups in my name.' Sultan Hamzah was the first Sultan of Ternate to involve the Dutch in the government of the territories of the Ternate Sultanate. Andaya deems this precedent to have been 'a legacy which came to haunt later rulers.' Afterwards Dutch intervention in the internal power struggle of Ternate Sultanate became a common phenomenon.⁶²

Overproduction of cloves in Maluku depressed the profits in Europe. Sultan Mandarsyah of Ternate, whose throne was at stake assailed by the opposition of three powerful families, sought safety with the Dutch (1651-1653), and was ready to sign a treaty with the Company on 31 July 1652 which inaugurated the spice eradication (*extirpatie*) policy. In exchange for annual payments, he promised to fell and destroy all clove trees on Ternate and other areas under his authority. A similar policy was also applied in Ternate's dependencies in the Ambon region. From now onwards production was limited to areas under direct Dutch rule. In compensation for the loss of revenue an annual recognition (*recognitie penningen*) of Rds 12,000 was given to the Sultan, Rds 500 to *Kaicili* Kalamata, and a total sum of Rds 1,500 to be divided among the *bobato*. The Dutch delivered the money to the Sultan who in turn supplied the *bobato* with their allotted

⁶⁰ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 153.

⁶¹ Ibid. 155-16.

⁶² Ibid. 161-9.

share.⁶³ The grip of the Dutch power over Ternate was strengthened in 1683 when, after a few years of resistance, Sultan Amsterdam had to sign a contract in which Ternate Sultanate became the vassal of the Company.

Five years before the Spaniards decided to leave Tidore, Sultan Saifudin of Tidore had already begun to make overtures of friendship with the Dutch Governor of Ternate, Simon Cos. Ten years later, on 29 March 1667, a written contract was signed according to which the Sultan had to eradicate all cloves and nutmegs growing in his territory. Henceforth all Tidorans had to obtain a permit from the Governor to sail outside the Maluku region. No more foreign traders or forces were allowed to maintain contact with Tidore. Moreover the appointment of a new ruler had to be approved by the Company and a Company servant was to join as a member of Tidore's governing council. In return, Sultan Tidore obtained yearly a recognition payment of 3,000 real.⁶⁴ The status of the bond was made clear. The Dutch became *schut- en beschermbeest*, protector of Tidore. Sultan Bacan signed a similar contract in 1653.⁶⁵ From that time in regard to controlling clove production and the local politics the VOC had a 'legal' basis to deal with the sultans in the best interests of the Company. On paper, at least the production of cloves in all areas under Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan was fully regulated. The rest was to control and to enforce those three kingdoms to obey the contracts.

The imposition of VOC domination in Maluku followed different paths. In Banda the whole traditional power structure and organization of trade and politics was obliterated. Neither contracts nor negotiations with local leaders were any longer required. Banda resembled a 'plantation colony' in the American sense of the word. In Ambon the VOC exercised direct rule over the indigenous population. The going was tough and bloody in the beginning, but after sixty years of struggle the area finally quietened down. In Ternate and Tidore the VOC rule was indirect via the sultans through whom the Company dictated its directives. The main tactic was to direct the ruling sultan and to control his succession. Without doubt, the success of the VOC in establishing the monopoly occurred at the cost of the independence and welfare of the indigenous communities. Therefore the dominant presence of the VOC for almost two centuries was coloured by occasional unrest, with the exception of Ambon and Seram which remained relatively quiet from about 1660 to the advent of Prince Nuku in the third

⁶³ Ibid. 167-8.

⁶⁴ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 102-4. F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, I, 'Moluccos,' (Dordrecht/Amsterdam, 1724), 106-9.

⁶⁵ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 348-54; A. Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche eilanden*, I, (The Hague, Martinus-Nijhoff, 1884), 75-8.

quarter of the eighteenth century. This does not mean however that the relationship between the indigenous subjects and the Company was either peaceful or fair.

In her monograph on the VOC trade in the eighteenth century, Els Jacobs insists that the Company operated as a true trader, with the plantation on Banda being an exception to the 'rules'.⁶⁶ Charles Boxer was probably closer to the truth when he characterized the VOC as a Company of the ledger and the Sword.⁶⁷ These two faces of the VOC were already presaged in the Charter of 1602 which stated that in the area between the Cape of Good Hope and the Cape of Hoorn, the VOC had the freedom to trade, conclude treaties, and declare wars. In 1609 when Admiral Verhoeff sailed to Banda, he was instructed by the Gentlemen Seventeen: 'We draw your special attention to the islands in which grow cloves and nutmeg, and we instruct you to strive after winning them for the Company either by treaty or by force.'⁶⁸ Similar instructions were also given to other admirals: Steven van der Haghen, Cornelis Matelief, and Paulus van Caerden. In this regard, Knaap is right in stating that the VOC in the Maluku behaved as a state. The VOC clearly functioned as dominant ruler and established a colonial state structure enforced by a strong military presence.⁶⁹

Concluding Remarks

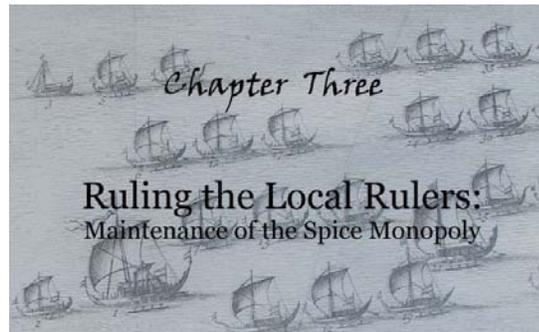
The spice monopoly was the overriding reason for the Dutch presence in the Maluku. It was the engine which had driven local dynamics and change ever since the sixteenth century. The extermination and forced evacuation of Bandanese society, the subjection of Ambon to the direct rule of the Dutch VOC, and the long-drawn-out process of imposing the VOC policy on the Ternate and Tidore Sultanates evolved in the context of the establishment and maintenance of the spice monopoly in Maluku. Backed by its naval and military superiority, the VOC emerged as the dominant power in Maluku and functioned as state as well as trader.

⁶⁶ Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 212.

⁶⁷ Charles Boxer, *Het profijt van de macht: de Republiek en haar overzeese expansie 1602-1800* (Amsterdam: Agon, 1988), page?

⁶⁸ Hanna, *Banda*, 55.

⁶⁹ Knaap, 'Kora-kora en kruiddamp,' 257.



This chapter discusses the structure and expansion of VOC rule in Maluku. Its chief focus is the policies and strategies which were designed to deal with the local polities. The VOC succeeded in depriving its Malukan subjects of contacts with other 'foreign' traders and forces, and also expounded the doctrine that the spice monopoly subsequently required other forms of 'monopoly', namely the restructuring of the power relations between sultans and their 'peripheries', the imposition of VOC authority on the local people, and even reorganizing the local authority relationship. All these interventions in local society provide the background for the curious configuration of the VOC relationships with local rulers (sultans and *bobato*), which eventually created opposing groups and led to 'rebellion' in Tidore at the end of the eighteenth century.

Expanding Structure and Rule

Owing to the enormous expansion of its power, the VOC had to address a great deal more than just trade. The trade 'managers' also had to govern subjects in areas under the control of the Company, to maintain relations with other Asian states, and if necessary to wage wars in Asia.¹ There were four Governments in the Eastern East Indies in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century: Banda; Ambon; Ternate; and Makassar. Each of these Governments was headed by a Governor and council who dealt with administrative and political matters, and also managed the spice production and local trade. In Ambon, some 200 soldiers manned various military posts in 1626, but their number expanded to 300 in 1645. The local administration consisted of personnel of all ranks such as *opperkoopman* (senior merchant), *fiscaal* (attorney), *onderkoopman* junior merchant), *boekhouder* (accountant), *pennist* (clerk), *predicant* (clergyman) and so on. In the second half of the

¹ Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), 66.

seventeenth century, more than 500 employees served in Ambon.² In 1753 between 700 and 800 persons, including members of naval and military forces, were employed in each Government. More than half of the personnel in one Government were composed of military men.³

Right from in the beginning, the VOC created a colonial state in Ambon. On 23 February 1605, when the fleet of twelve vessels under Steven van der Hagen took over the castle Nossa Senhora da Anunciada and other Portuguese possessions in the Ambon islands, the VOC assumed the role of a state because it inherited thousands of subjects, mostly nominal Christian Ambonese, from the Portuguese Government. As elsewhere the VOC was involved in trade, politics, and war.⁴ During the course of seventeenth century the VOC built various small strongholds along the coast. These so-called *blokhuizen* or 'redoubts' were generally built of stone and had two storeys. Some were protected by a stone perimeter wall reinforced with bulwarks. Others were surrounded by a simple wooden stockade (*palissade*).⁵ At the end of the century, the VOC possessed nineteen smaller strongholds manned by garrisons of different sizes, varying from five to forty-five men. The garrison was usually in charge of a sergeant. The highest ranking military officer of the VOC in this region was a captain stationed at Castle Victoria. Therefore the VOC possessed a standing army. Alongside this regular fighting force, there was also a burger militia which conducted night patrols in the town. The majority of *inlandse* burgers were Christianized Asians from Ambon.⁶

In Ambon, the garrisons of the VOC in the strongholds and the men on board the patrol vessels were only able to guarantee security in 'normal times'. When a crisis occurred, for example, a war or a rebellion, these police forces were only strong enough to defend and to maintain the interests of the Company and its personnel, ensuring at least they could not be driven out. If a greater offensive action was necessary to defeat the enemy, the support more forces was indispensable. Therefore, during the *Ambonse Oorlogen* of the 1640 and 1650s, expeditions of strike forces were regularly provided from Batavia. In such a situation, the striking power of the VOC multiplied exponentially. The maritime force no longer consisted of a single

² J.E. Heeres, 'Ambon in 1947,' *BKI* 47 (1897), 584; Gerrit J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en christenen: de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), 31.

³ *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811*, VI, 1750-1754 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1889), 388, 414.

⁴ Gerrit J. Knaap, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp: De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in oorlog en vrede in Ambon,' in Knaap and Teitler (eds.), *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 258.

⁵ Idem, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 31.

⁶ Idem, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp,' 266-7.

sloop or yacht; it was reinforced with much bigger vessels. The biggest ships were armed with thirty to forty cannon, including many fourteen-pounders.⁷ Such large cannon could only be fired ten times per hour and had a firing range of one half to two kilometres depending on conditions. In 1636 a special expeditionary fleet with the Governor-General Van Diemen on board was sent to the Maluku. This fleet consisted of twenty ships, and was manned by 2,000 crewmembers with the aim of 'pacifying' the Ambonese, and securing a contract with Sultan Hamzah of Ternate.⁸

In his study of the establishment of the VOC's spice empire in the Maluku, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, Gerrit Knaap has stated that after 1656 the authority of the VOC in the region was based on four basic elements: military predominance; strict surveillance of the inhabitants; a 'divide and rule' policy; and on 'consensus'. The military predominance relied on the garrisoning of fortifications and a simultaneous policy which discouraged the indigenous inhabitants from possessing weapons. Securing control over the inhabitants was achieved by the expedient of resettling those who lived on the mountain slopes and in the remote hill regions to the coastal areas. Having re-grouped the population into manageable formations, the VOC could take immediate action in times of emergency. After the great *Ambonse Oorlogen* in 1658, the core areas of the Ambonese Islands enjoyed a long period of armed peace (*gewapende vrede*) which was only disrupted by a single year until the end of the eighteenth century. The recalcitrant spirit of the Ambonese rebels had been tamed and continued to slumber for generations. In hindsight, this seemingly serene 'Pax Nederlandica', rested on fear rather than affection for the foreign master.⁹

The policy of 'divide and rule' was relatively 'easily' applied because there was hardly any sense of unity among the Ambonese, even during the pre-European presence period. During the *Ambonse Oorlogen*, for example, this lack of unity among the Ambonese was quite striking. The VOC administration came to terms with the fact that the building of consensus as cement for a good bond between *overheerser* (ruler) and *overheersten* (ruled) was only feasible with discrete groups of the inhabitants: the Christians and the local elites. The indigenous Christians prided themselves at sharing the same religion with the colonial administration. This sense of belonging to one and the same religion was expressed in the belief that the VOC and the Christians were *wapenbroeders* (comrade in arms) during the war. Consensus building and the sharing of mutual interest with such members of the local elites as headmen of settlements, was also feasible option because their

⁷ F.W. Stapel, *Pieter van Dam; Beschrijvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, ('s-Gravenhage, 1927) 505, 508-9.

⁸ Knaap, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp,' 267.

⁹ Idem, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 37-49.

loyalty to the Dutch master could be stimulated and reinforced by bestowing allowances at the delivery of cloves and by giving them a respectable position in the colonial state apparatus. The hierarchy among the indigenous heads was generally measured by the relative importance of the contribution they made with their *kora-kora* crews and vessels in the *hongji*.¹⁰

In Ternate the Dutch faced a less complex situation than in Ambon. Instead of having to juggle with numerous local heads of different factions, they had only to deal with Sultans. The unhappy experience of Ternate with the Portuguese during the sixteenth century made a positive precondition for the Dutch VOC presence on the island. Familiar with European norms and customs, Sultan Ternate received the Dutch with amity, not only hoping to rescue the Sultanate from the iron grip of the Portuguese, but also seeing the temporary alliance with the Company as a prelude to gaining more people and territory in Maluku. The success of the VOC in Ambon in suppressing the resistance of the Hoamoals during the 1650s at the request of Sultan Hamzah also contributed to the strengthening of the alliance between the VOC and Sultan Ternate. Not averse to meddling in local affairs, the Dutch co-operated with the contender for the throne (Sultan Mandarsyah) and exerted a strong influence on the outcome of the power struggle within the Sultanate. When the VOC invited Sultan Mandarsyah to sign a contract for the eradication of spice-bearing trees in 1652, this request stirred up no significant resistance. However the political grip of the 'Kompeni' always remained limited to the uppermost level of the Sultan and his closest grandees.

The apparently cemented relationship may have seemed stable on the surface but this was misleading as became apparent when a rebellion suddenly erupted in 1679. The reprisals were severe. Sultan Sibori Amsterdam (r.1675-1690) was temporarily removed from office and banished to Batavia and many of his followers were executed. With this victory, the Dutch 'legally' reinforced their position. The Sultan was eventually pressed to sign a contract on 7 July 1683 by which Ternate became the vassal of the Company. From that year, Sultan Ternate was reduced to the status of a *leenman* (liegeman) and the Company had won the full right to select and appoint not only the new Sultan in the Sultanate but was even able to exert extraordinary power on the nomination of the rulers of dependencies falling under the aegis of Ternate from Sula to Sangihe.¹¹ Armed with this treaty, the Company asserted its dominance in local affairs

¹⁰ Ibid. 37-49.

¹¹ Hendrik E. Niemeijer, 'De geveinsde vrede: Eer, protocol en diplomatie in de machtsverhouding tussen de VOC en Ternate omstreeks 1750,' in Knaap and Teitler (eds), *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 311.

and the erstwhile 'equal' relationship was transformed into one of vassalage. The biggest blow to the Ternatans was the implementation of the policy of eradicating spice-bearing trees in the centre and the periphery of the sultanate. This caused great hardship to the common people. The money which was paid in recompense to the ruler and his coterie was never adequate for the loss of local revenue from the clove trade. When Ternatans attempted to supplement their income through trade in other items, they were hampered by other Dutch restrictions such as limitations on the size of vessels allowed to sail westwards.¹²

The introduction of the eradication policy and the annual remittance of recognition money to the Sultan indubitably strengthened the political position of the Sultan in relation to the *bobato* class, because it ineluctably deprived the latter of their economic resources derived from the spice trade. Yet, the amount of recognition money he received from the Company was never enough for the Sultan to run his court. Literally a financial hostage of the Dutch, the Sultan of Ternate continually depended on the payment of his debts by the Company, which Niemeijer has consequently likened to a *bank van lening* (pawnbroker). The more debt the Sultan accumulated, the stronger the grip the Company on him. The Sultan was put in a lamentable situation in which he could not maintain his authority and power in the periphery without Dutch assistance. The traditional pattern of power relations between the Sultan and the *bobato*, as well as between the Sultan and the leaders in the peripheries was shattered.¹³

The ambition felt by successive sultans of Ternate to expand their territory but concentrate manpower on Ternate and its immediate surroundings was supported by the Company administration. During the reigns of Sultan Hamzah and Sultan Mandarsyah, the Dutch contributed significantly to this development by their readiness to lend their resources and arms to their ally. They understood the efficiency of dealing with a powerful ruler and found it more convenient to work with a single individual than with an entire council. A Sultan so empowered could sign treaties, make quick decisions, and be manipulated much more easily than a government operating on the basis of consensus. Subsequently the power of the *bobato* and the grandees within the Sultanate was fatally undermined. In short, the Dutch controlled Ternate and North Maluku indirectly through the power of Sultan Ternate who had been made dependent on the goodwill of the Dutch.¹⁴

¹² Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 176-7, 181.

¹³ Niemeijer, 'De geveinsde vrede,' 314; Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 181.

¹⁴ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 179, 186.

In dealing with the Ternatan subjects, the Makianese, the Dutch took a different tack when a confrontation took place in 1745 after a long period of disaffection towards the Sultan of Ternate on the part of the Makianese. Angered by the contemptuous treatment of their *sangaji* by Sultan Saifuddin, in March 1742 some 140 Makianese from Foya and Gane voted with their feet and went over to Tidore beseeching the local Sultan to accept them as his subjects. These Makianese actually contravened the rules of the Company which explicitly forbade local headmen to transfer their loyalty from one overlord to another. Responding to the conflict, in 1745 the Dutch decided that all islanders who remained on Makian would be made direct subjects of the Company. Instead of the customary *corveé* of thirty-three people who were rotated monthly to perform compulsory labour for Sultan Ternate, the inhabitants were now ordered to supply the Company with eight *kora-kora* whenever these were needed and to provide all transport services and supplies for Dutch ships putting in at Makian. They were also shouldered with the additional task of gathering coral to make lime for the Dutch. Interestingly enough, Andaya argues that the Makianese thought this direct subjection actually was an improvement in their position because for the first time compensation was paid directly to the people of Makian and not via the Sultan Ternate. The compulsory labour organized by the Dutch was less burdensome than that which they had had to perform for Sultan Ternate in the past.¹⁵ In June 1752, however, the *sangaji* and the village heads of Makian arrived in Ternate with fourteen to fifteen *kora-kora*. The leaders stated that their direct subordination to the Company had been only temporary and that they wanted to swear allegiance to Ternate again. The visitors were granted an audience with the Sultan and the grandees in the Sultan's palace (*dalem*). Some agreement was finally concluded. What the nature of their agreement was is not clear. From the archival sources, it is quite possible that the Sultan complied with his subjects' proposal because in the third week of July, the Makianese left Ternate in a happy mood and sailed back to their island.¹⁶

The centre of military activities on Ternate was Fort Oranje which also was the residence of the Governor. In 1753 Governor-General Mossel reported that the number of the personnel serving in the Government of Maluku (Ternate) amounted to 700 men, about 400 of whom resided on Ternate. The subordinate posts were manned by some seventy soldiers under three sergeants and ten corporals. The others, some forty-three persons in all, were assigned to such remote areas as Manado and Gorontalo. At Sula and

¹⁵ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 209-10.

¹⁶ ANRI Ternate 52, Dagregister 21, 24 June and 21 July 1752.

Besi there were seventeen men stationed, ten of whom were soldiers.¹⁷ In 1782 the number of servants employed by the Government consisted of 759 personnel. Six hundred and thirty-nine of these men held military positions: 452 Europeans; thirty-seven Balinese; and 150 Alifurus. About 75 percent of the total number of personnel served in the military.¹⁸ This slight increase after 1780 can perhaps be related to the rebellion of Nuku. The living conditions of the soldiers were far from optimal. Niemeijer cites a description of Fort Oranje, dating from 1750, when it housed 125 old and sick soldiers. Their garrison was expected to patrol and guard the four ammunition warehouses located in the fort. During the eighteenth century the Dutch Government of Ternate also relied on the indigenous forces of the Sultans of Ternate. Without the assistance of *kora-kora* and the armed Alifurus, it would have been impossible for the Government to launch any expedition to police and suppress raiding or any trading activities in the areas which were considered illegal in the Dutch eyes.¹⁹ Only in critical times could the VOC Government of Ternate demand the support of vessels and soldiers from Ambon, Banda, or Batavia.

The 'divide and rule' policy operated at two levels. First and foremost it applied to the Ternatan elite. It manifested itself whenever a Sultan died and succession disputes reared their ugly heads. Commencing with the reign of Sultan Mandarsyah, the Dutch were quite active in intervening and supporting the contender they favoured. The appointment of Sultan Mandarsyah is an example of such Dutch intervention. The administration of the foreign overlord made sure that Mandarsyah remained in power despite the powerful opposition of the influential local families. In 1650, the three powerful families of Fala Raha: Tomagola; Tomaitu; and Marsaoli, drove the Sultan out of Ternate and *Kaicili* Manilha seized the reins of power. Sultan Mandarsyah promptly sought a safe haven in Fort Oranje asking for help. In 1651 the Dutch in Ternate, supported by the fleet of Arnold De Vlaming from Ambon, proceeded to take action against the rebels. In 1653 the back of the resistance was broken and the leaders either killed or executed. When Mandarsyah was finally re-installed as Sultan Ternate in 1655, he asked the Dutch to govern Hitu and Hoamoal. Three years earlier, in 1652, when he was virtually powerless he had signed the treaty with the Company which inaugurated the eradication policy of spice-bearing trees. In fact, this was nothing but a *quid pro quo* for Dutch assistance and support.²⁰

¹⁷ J. A. van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsche Gezag over de Banda Eilanden (1599-1621)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886), 415-18, 524.

¹⁸ ANRI Ternate 91, From Ternate to Batavia, 28 September 1782, 69.

¹⁹ Niemeijer, 'De geveinsde vrede,' 313.

²⁰ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 164-8.

The second level at which the Dutch imposed their policy was to play the balance of power between Ternate and Tidore. When Ternate showed signs of resisting the Dutch, the latter did not hesitate to take advantage of their relationship with the Tidore Sultan to call upon his help. The VOC administration also exploited the rivalry within Ternate itself by dealing directly with the *jogugu*, *kapiten laut*, or *hukum* of the Sultanate. This juggling was utilized during the reigns of Sultan Saifudin of Tidore and Sultan Sibori of Ternate. Andaya postulates that the Dutch developed a well-perfected art of using indigenous polities to do their fighting for them. When his relationship with Sultan Sibori of Ternate worsened, Governor Padtbrugge sought assurance from Sultan Saifuddin of Tidore that he would not support or give refuge to the Ternatans. Saifuddin was favourably inclined towards the Dutch and persuaded his son, *Kaicili* Seram, to abjure his earlier determination to ally himself with Ternate. Seeking advantage in this situation, Sultan Tidore renewed his claims to Gammalamo in Ternate territory and the half of Makian which had once acknowledged Tidore leadership. His *kora-kora* even flew orange flags in honour of the Dutch House of Orange, proclaiming to the Ternatans that the Tidorans had now become Dutch allies. The bulk of the fighting was shared by the Tidorans and the people from the islands to the north of Sulawesi. Their prowess enabled the Dutch to eliminate all resistance from Halmahera, the centre of the Ternate war effort. Sahu, the strongest post of Ternate, fell to Dutch forces on 8 July and Gamkonora on 17 July 1680. Sultan Sibori and his Tobaru warriors finally surrendered to the Dutch on 30 August 1681.²¹ Similar manipulative practices were applied in reverse whenever Sultan Tidore resisted the Dutch in the eighteenth century.²² These tactics were easily employed because of the dualistic pattern of the Tidore-Ternate relationship in which both Sultanates were in a constant state of rivalry.²³

Exploiting Local Forces

The eastern archipelago fostered the tradition of the *hong*, organized fleets consisting of *kora-kora* which were already used in warfare among the

²¹ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 182-5.

²² See also Ch. F. Van Fraassen, 'Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische archipel,' I, (Diss. Leiden University, 1987), 54-5.

²³ The most significant dualism was that between Ternate and Tidore located at the epicentre of the world defined as Maluku. Both the Sultans of Ternate and of Tidore claimed the title of 'Lord of Maluku,' with Tidore in the ritual role as wife-giver to Ternate. They represented opposing and complementary tendencies which were considered necessary to the survival and prosperity of the community. See Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 55.

indigenous groups long before the arrival of the European forces. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the VOC developed an important strategy relating to the *hongji* and its relationship with its own subjects in the Ambonese Islands. Around 1630 the VOC had a *hongji* fleet join its own ships to quash the local resistance. Having hit upon such an effective policy, the frequency of *hongji* deployment sharply increased. This led to the uprising of Ambonese Christians in 1636, which was suppressed and then set straight by Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen in the following year. After the end of the *Ambonse Oorlogen*, the VOC-*hongji* sailed out one month each year preferably in October and/or November. During these months the turn of the monsoon presented ideal weather conditions for such a voyage. After 1658 a more or less complete *hongji* ritual was instituted. Every two years forty-six *kora-kora* – out of a total of around sixty vessels – were fitted out once for police actions. In the interim period a smaller squadron was relied on. The enlisted men of the *hongji* crews were occasionally also employed for such *corvée* labour as digging canals, cutting palings for palisades, breaking up coral stones or burning limestone to maintain the fortifications of the VOC. By that time the *hongji* was only seldom used for any violent actions. Under the command of the Governor or his representative, its main task was to carry out a tour of inspection around Seram or among the islands west of Seram. In such a situation, the most important goal was in fact a display of force.²⁴

Ambonese participants considered their presence on board a kind of compulsory labour. The Dutch referred to this as *hofdienst*. Each family in a village was expected to deliver one able-bodied man for the *kora-kora*. In return, the family received rights to the use of a certain plot of land from the village council. Calculations have shown that in theory 11 or 12 per cent of the inhabitants were supposed to do service either as a rower or warrior on the *kora-kora*. In actual fact, it seemed fewer men were actually needed, about 4 to 8 per cent in all. For ten to eleven hours at a stretch, they rowed and manned the sails.²⁵ Limited space on board and the shortage of food sometimes caused acute discomfort, especially towards the end of the voyage.²⁶ The *hongji* as an instrument of power employed by the Dutch colonial administration on Ambon was finally abolished in 1861.²⁷ Whenever an uprising erupted within the communities in the region, the VOC authority dispatched a *hongji* expedition to suppress it and to terminate the resistance. If the scale of the uprising was widespread, the Governor requested assistance from Batavia. Upon the arrival of the *hongji*, the rebels

²⁴ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 188-94; Knaap, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp,' 274-5.

²⁵ Knaap, 'Kora-kora en kruitdamp,' 276.

²⁶ Idem, *Kruidnagelen en christenen*, 177-80, 195-200.

²⁷ F.S.A. De Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Leiden: Brill, 1890), 182-3.

usually disappeared inland or took refuge in the mountainous areas carrying their valuables with them. They left their houses behind to be looted and burned by the warriors of the *hongji*. Open resistance was rare because of the recognized superiority of the VOC troops. For the *hongji* warriors a punitive expedition meant an opportunity for looting and robbery, and killing. The *hongji* in this sense was a well-planned and well-organized visitation of terror on the populations of Ambon and Seram. During the *Ambonse Oorlog* of the 1650s, Arnold de Vlaming van Oudshoorn, the Governor of Ambon, was notorious among the Malukans for the ferocity of the *hongji* expeditions he commanded.²⁸

Under 'normal circumstances' the *hongji* expedition from Ambon resembled a colourful carnival fleet consisting of fifty to a hundred vessels as it rowed and sailed its way along the coast of Seram. The *kora-kora* were decorated with *umbul-umbul* and banners, and the noisy beating of the drums set the rhythm for the movement of the rowers. This showing of the flag (*vlag vertoon*) was very much a display of force to the island peoples of Maluku on the part of the Company. Yet it was also a ritual closely connected to the island world which the Dutch Company was controlling. Instead of ordering local headmen to gather at the administrative centres as often happened elsewhere in colonial society, here the administrator would travel from island to island to inspect the Company's island empire personally. On every *tournée*, in which the Governor himself often took part, local heads would show up and pay their respects to demonstrate their loyalty to the Company. They either visited the Governor on board or attended a gathering of local headmen at appointed places. The visiting fleet was sometimes welcomed with music, songs, and local dances. The Governor not only ominously gave orders for punishments; he also generously bestowed rewards on loyal subjects. The *hongji* ritual was unequivocally a symbol of dominance as long as the spice monopoly lasted in Ambon-Lease and on Seram. It was employed to inspect and assure that the clove production was being diligently pursued with every care and that the order for the eradication of 'illegal' spice-bearing trees was being obeyed, but it was also a curious tool of colonial state formation with the aim of keeping highly divergent populations together.²⁹

What has just been said refers mostly to Ambon, which leads to the question of whether Ternate and Tidore also assembled such a *hongji* and how the Dutch made use of it for their own best interests. Hanna says that on Ternate the *hongji* prevailed for more than 200 years until 1857. Here a *hongji* fleet was a formally organized group of *kora-kora* under the direct

²⁸ W. A. Hanna and D. Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore : Masa Lampau Penuh Gejolak* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996), 158-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 147-8.

command of the *kapiten laut* who was appointed by the Sultan or one of his lower-ranking subordinates such as *mayor ngofa* or *kapiten ngofa*. The able-bodied men required for the fleet were recruited from among the Sultan's Ternatan subjects and the villages in the periphery. The number of men and the strength of a fleet depended on the extent of the influence the Sultan's officials (*kapiten laut* and *jogugu*) exercised on the people in villages from which they originated. For example, Sultan Muzaffar of Ternate (r. 1610-1627) appointed *Sangaji* Gamnokora as *jogugu* and *Sangaji* Makian as *kapiten laut* of Ternate, because both areas were rich in resources and had large populations. Also in later years the troops for the fleet were mainly recruited from Makian and Halmahera.³⁰ The system was different from the usual practice on Ambon, because on Ternate and Tidore the Dutch neither dealt directly with nor organized the fleet needed for a *hongji* expedition. Except in few areas such as Makian (1745-1752), the Dutch Governor of Ternate did not have direct formal contact with the people and therefore hardly ever joined or led an expedition. In this area of 'indirect rule', it was the task of the Sultan to comply with the Company directives to dispatch *hongji* expeditions.

The *hongji* was organized in accordance with arrangements agreed at district level. The most responsible leader was the *sangaji* and the commander at district level was the *kapiten laut*. Every vessel or *kora-kora* was manned by able-bodied men from certain settlements under the supervision of the *kimelaha* and *kapiten laut* of these areas as group commanders. All these contingents gathered at the centre of the Sultanate and reported to the highest commander, the *kapiten laut* of the Sultanate. Not every expedition was directly commanded by the *kapiten laut* himself. Sometimes other officials of the Sultanate such as *mayor ngofa* or *kapiten ngofa* took over the command as they were called upon to act as *utusan* (delegates). The *hongji* was not always intended to be a bellicose or punitive affair in the event of any swelling discontent among dissident subjects, it also served to collect tribute from the Raja Ampat Islands and Onin by Tidore, or from the Sula and Banggai Islands by Ternate. The recruitment of men for a *hongji* was done in rotation. No settlement was permanently assigned to provide men for *hongji*. The war canoes or *kora-kora* could measure up to thirty metres and had a carrying capacity of forty to a hundred men. One-third of the crew consisted of rowers. The troops were armed with *parang* and assegais, occasionally with swivel guns. Everyone had to carry his own food provisions sufficient to last about a fortnight. If a man did not bring a weapon, he would not be allowed to join in a land attack, and as a consequence would be debarred from a share in the spoils. In time of war, such Dutch vessels as *pancalang*, sloops, or bigger sailing vessels from Batavia led the *hongji*. Provisions for the troops

³⁰ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 158.

were loaded on an *arumbai*. Joining a *hongji* could be an enormous burden, especially in the case of a war expedition which could last for months. In the middle of a war the troops often deserted because they had simply become too tired and hungry.³¹

Whether it was meant for the destruction of clove trees, the punishment of the unruly subjects, or just showing the flag, the fleet of the Sultan was an important tool for showing his power. Nevertheless, in a joint forces expedition, the command was always in Dutch hands. For example, in 1704 the *Utusan* of Sultan Tidore, Hamzah Fahrudin, arrived in Misool on a Company ship to punish the local people for their raiding in areas where subjects of the Company lived. On this occasion Papuan ring leaders were captured and delivered to the Company. This created bad blood between *Sangaji* Patani and Sultan Tidore and mobilized most of the people of Maba and Patani. The *Sangaji* even decided to transfer his allegiance to Sultan Ternate, Saifuddin Kaicili Raja Laut. The rebellion of Patani and Maba continued under the new Sultan Tidore Hasanuddin (r.1708-1728). Sultan Hasanuddin knew that his actions were judged unfair in the eyes of his subjects but he was powerless to resist VOC pressure, because he risked losing his throne should the Dutch feel dissatisfied with his actions.³²

The Decline of the VOC

The downfall of the VOC has inspired writers to take up their pens ever since the eighteenth century. Various reasons for the decline have been given such as poor financial management in the Dutch Republic, corruption on the part of the servants in Asia, the growing costs of the overseas administration, the intense rivalry of other European powers, and the mortal blow to the trade caused by the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. The shifts in the trading patterns in Asia and in the European-Asian shipping trade also tended to work to the disadvantage of the Company network. The malaria epidemic in Batavia not only decimated the population and undermined the military capability of the Company, but also caused considerable financial losses (*f* 900,000 in extra expenses, *f* 300,000 in loss of income). All these factors contributed to the steep decline and finally the bankruptcy of the Company.³³

³¹ R. Z. Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur dan Raja Jailolo: Pergolakan Sekitar Laut Seram Awal Abad 19* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1996), 104-9.

³² Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 191-2, 197.

³³ Els M. Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië: de handel van de VOC tijdens de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), 16.

During the course of the eighteenth century, the Dutch gradually lost their powerful position as a trading power in Asia. After the first heady years, by the end of seventeenth century, the output (*rendement*) of the activities of the VOC in Asia had already begun to decline. Batavia used to send millions of guilders to the Republic, but from 1692 the roles were reversed and the homeland had to support the operation in Asia. Until 1744, the Gentlemen XVII easily bypassed this problem thanks to big profits on the sales of Asian products in Europe.³⁴ Trying to explain the declining profitability of the Company, historians have adduced a number of causes. Changes in the consumption pattern of Asian products in Europe certainly played a role. In the eighteenth century Java coffee, Chinese tea, and Indian textiles were terribly popular in Europe. The Gentlemen Seventeen tried to take advantage of these products by adding them to the VOC package which had previously been dominated by spices. The activities of the Company grew explosively with the expansion of the assortment of merchandise. The total purchase value of Asian products amounted to 600 million guilders in the eighteenth century compared to less than 250 million in the seventeenth century. The drawback was, however, that the new products for which the VOC had to compete with the other Europeans yielded less profit than such monopoly products as spices.³⁵

The Fourth Anglo-Dutch Sea War (1780-1784) froze trade completely for two years. Many ships and cargoes fell into the hands of the English causing the Company enormous losses and forcing it basically to work with money borrowed from the Amsterdam bourse. In 1782, the Gentlemen Seventeen decided to hazard extra expenses by chartering ships under a neutral flag in order to re-establish the contact with Batavia and obviate English confiscation. This policy did not go nearly far enough. The response was too late and the number of chartered ships was too small. Despite strenuous efforts to obtain new loans, the Company suffered from a shortage of funds during the decade 1780-1790.³⁶

Pragmatically the VOC could not maintain its power beyond the Indonesian Archipelago and Ceylon. Especially in India were the losses severe; Surat, which had been the main trading emporium for Western Asia fell into the hands of English in 1759. The Company had to retreat from and lost the trade in the Persian Gulf entirely in 1765. The VOC activities in Malabar in South India had almost stopped by 1793 and the English took the port of Cochin in 1795.³⁷ To make matters worse, French troops invaded the Dutch Republic in 1795. This invasion led to the creation of the

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. 15.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*, 59-60.

Batavian Republic as a satellite of Revolutionary France and automatically plunged the Netherlands into a war against Great Britain. In the years which followed one by one the English occupied the VOC establishments in Asia to prevent these from falling into the hands of the French. With the exception of the trading-post in far away Japan, all the former VOC establishments ended up in English hands.³⁸

In Maluku the effect of the decline of the VOC was not as significant and visible as was elsewhere in Asia. The three VOC Governments in the east: Banda; Ambon; and Ternate; remained competent in their control of the Sultanates and in smothering potential unrest. The number of personnel in naval and military service remained the same as it had been in the previous century, hovering around 700 men. The number of vessels available, however, declined and, to make matters worse, many of them were over ten years old.

On 12 August 1771, a report from the Ternate Government informs us about the availability of the ships. Besides the barque *De Mossel* and the recently arrived *pancalang Ternate*, the sloop *De Jaccatra* was available. Furthermore, the fleet consisted of seven *pancalang De Snuffelaar*, *De Sara Maria*, *De Caneelboom*, *De Goedkeuring*, *Het Haasje*, *Het Genoegen* on Manado, *De Vrijheit* in Gorontalo, supplemented by some landing craft and two inspection launches.³⁹ On 10 September 1793, the Ternate Government reported that it had even fewer vessels at its disposal: the two-masted barque *De Manado* built in 1779, the *pancalang De Windhond* (1777), the *pancalang De Swaan* (1786), the *pancalang De Lassum* (1786), *De Waker* (1787), and *De Padang* (1791). It requested support from Batavia, asking it to provide new vessels.⁴⁰ If a large sailing ship had to be repaired, the Company could not rely on local carpenters. Such an undertaking required an able Dutch shipwright.⁴¹

Large Dutch sailing vessels were also vulnerable to piracy. In 1782 Haji Oemar with a well-equipped Mangindanao fleet of twelve *prahu* managed to overpower a relatively large sailing ship belonging to the Dutch Ternate Government, the *pancalang De Jonge Cornelis*, which was manned by fourteen Europeans and 180 Gorontalese, in Gorontalo. After having been plundered, the vessel was fired. The 'King' of Gorontalo and his family had to buy the freedom of the captives at the cost of Rds 3,700. Even so, 140 captives were taken away to Mangindanao. On the island of Obi, the brig *Ida* sailing under the Dutch flag was also seized. Eighty men were captured and

³⁸ Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 16.

³⁹ ANRI Ternate 96, From Ternate to Batavia, 12 August 1771.

⁴⁰ NA OIC No. 86, Advices from Ternate to Batavia, 10 September 1793, 43.

⁴¹ ANRI Ternate 92, From Ternate to Batavia, 15 September 1785, 192.

the post at Obi was raided. Such experiences led Governor Valckenaer to conclude that *pancalang* were vulnerable prey for local piracy. He suggested Batavia provide the Ternate Government with six galleys and two barques.⁴² After the loss of the *Jonge Cornelis*, the Dutch on Ternate still had two two-masted sloops: *De Manado* and *Lankmoedigheid*, and four *pancalang*: *De Kruisser*; *De Caneelboom*; *De Windhond*; and *Het Kasteel Orange*. Because this force was considered inadequate, the Governor requested two more new *pancalang*.⁴³

Handling Rebellious Tidore

Before the 1657 contract was signed between Sultan Saifuddin of Tidore and the VOC, Tidore continued to display hostile attitude: it chose to honour its earlier loyalty to the Spaniards. In order to thwart too much Tidore influence on its subjects, Gamrange and the Papuans of the tiny Raja Ampat kingdoms, the Dutch Governor of Ambon, Arnold de Vlaming, concluded contracts with the leaders of North Seram and East Seram in 1649 and 1650. Wishing to bring the Papuans under his control but realizing that the contracts were hardly worth the paper they were written on, De Vlaming declared war on Tidore on 20 August 1653. He also dispatched an expedition under the command of Senior Merchant Simon Cos to the Papuan Islands, which he considered the true source of problems in Hatiwe (North Seram), Weda, and Patani. In the same year, on the orders of Sultan Tidore, Raja Salawati attacked Ambon. This was a double-edged blow as it signified that Salawati had submitted to the power of Tidore. Open hostility formally ended, when the contract between Tidore and the Company was concluded in 1657.⁴⁴

In 1657, after the death of Sultan Saidi of Tidore, Simon Cos, then Governor Ternate, succeeded in supporting *Kaicili* Golafino in his bid to become Sultan Saifuddin of Tidore, even though Prince Goranja, his older brother, was more favoured for the succession. This was the first Dutch intervention in the matter of the royal succession in Tidore. As a gesture of gratitude, in the same year Sultan Saifudin made a verbal agreement that Tidore would implement the Dutch spice eradication policy. From that moment, Tidoran vessels were required to acquire a pass from the Dutch to sail beyond Maluku. In addition to this, the Dutch gained the right to let one of their men attend the Tidore council meetings, but in return they also

⁴² ANRI Ternate 91, From Ternate to Batavia, 28 September 1782, 5.

⁴³ ANRI Ternate 91, From Ternate to Batavia, 28 September 1782, 16.

⁴⁴ A. Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden: Historische Bijdrage, 1500-1883*, I (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co., 1884), 61-2.

provided Sultan Tidore with a yearly recognition payment some 3,000 real.⁴⁵ This agreement was reaffirmed ten years later, in a 1667 contract, making the Dutch States-General *schut- en beschermheer*, protector of Tidore.⁴⁶ This contract entailed quite a few mutual obligations, but above all Saifuddin was expected to provide a counterweight to Ternate. The decade of 1657 to 1667 was critical to Tidoran political independence because the Sultan had to cede some of his sovereign rights. One of these was the stipulation that the royal succession had to be authorized with the stamp of the High Government of the VOC in Batavia. Henceforth the Dutch could easily control and monitor Tidore political strategies because of their representation in the council of Tidore, which allowed them to intervene in the local policies of the Sultanate. This ultimately affected the traditional relationship between Tidore as the centre and the peripheries, Gamrange and Raja Ampat, because the Company had a stake in stopping their raiding activities, which victimized Company subjects, endangered the life of local traders, and hindered expeditions sent out to extirpate the clove trees.

On paper Sultan Tidore was obliged to terminate the Papuan custom of raiding, but, from his point of view, this also damaged his old relationship with his subjects in the periphery, Raja Ampat (Salawati, Misool, Waigama, and Batanta) and Gamrange (Maba, Weda, and Patani). The Tidorans had an interest in maintaining the raiding activities of the people of Gamrange and those of the Papuans because they were involved in many ways themselves. The Papuans were not simply attacking and robbing the populations, they were simultaneously also trading. This situation was bound to exacerbate relations between Tidore and the Company. In 1673, for example, a burger of Banda, Gerrit Adriaensz., was driven away as he was about to trade in the Raja Ampat Islands by a certain Tidoran who was backed up by Raja Salawati. Again in 1673 Misool raiders, with the support of Tidore, were preying on the coasts of Sulawesi and Gorom. In 1676, on the orders of Sultan Tidore, people from Misool mounted an expedition to attack Onin. Their probable objective was to obtain slaves, but far more important is that this operation revealed that the Sultan was not honouring his promises. As a matter of fact, Tidore paid little more than lip service to the contract. A combined fleet of Maba, Weda, Patani, and Misool, led by *Kaicili* Boelam of Tidore, raided the coast of Onin and Kei in 1696, prompting a Dutch commission consisting of Pieter Rooselaar and Thomas Laps to appear in Tidore in 1697 and pressurize Sultan Tidore to stop his subordinates from raiding and robbing.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 102-4. See also Valentijn, I, 'Moluccos,' 106-9.

⁴⁶ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 348-54.

⁴⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 75-8, 98-9, 132-5.

When Sultan Saifuddin died in 1687, the Dutch supported *Kaicili* Seram to succeed him as Sultan Hamzah Fahrudin on 31 Juli 1689. Until the end of the seventeenth century, the Sultan showed no inclination at all to punish the wayward Papuans, which is what the Dutch had hoped and expected. However, in 1704, succumbing to severe pressure, he decided to show his loyalty. With the *utusan* of Tidore on board one of the Company vessels, a punitive expedition headed for Misool to punish the recalcitrant subjects for their raiding voyages. This expedition indeed captured and delivered the Papuan ring leaders to the Company. This punitive action was considered by the subjects in the peripheries, especially the leaders of Patani, Maba, and Weda, an act of betrayal and contrary to a well-established tradition of collaboration. These vassals considered it unjust because subjects were being punished for activities which were normally praised and encouraged by the Tidore ruler.⁴⁸

The most prominent leader of Gamrange, Sangaji Patani mobilized the majority of the people of Maba, Patani, and the Papuans of Raja Ampat to rise against their Sultan.⁴⁹ They refused to deliver their annual tribute and even symbolically transferred their vassalage to Sultan Ternate Saifuddin Kaicili Raja Laut. The rebellion of Patani, Weda and Maba simmered on even during the reign of the next Sultan Tidore, Hasanuddin (r.1708-1728). Threatened with being overwhelmed, Sultan Hasanudin eventually requested the help of the Dutch. Before the commissioners sent from Batavia, he delivered a letter blaming the Dutch Government in Ternate for a lack of commitment. He complained that the rebellion had caused so many deaths he was forced to request extra cloth from the Company to furnish requisites for the numerous burial ceremonies. The rebellion was not immediately suppressed because there was a strong current of opposition within the Tidore Sultanate to taking harsh action against the rebels. In 1722, when the Company administration finally decided to dispatch a punitive expedition, the Tidorans were reluctant to take up arms against the rebel and many opted out and returned home secretly. For more than a decade, during 1716-1728, the rebels could generally act with impunity, which also meant that the spice eradication *hongji* had not been carried out for twelve years. Sultan Tidore refused to take up arms against the people of the Gamrange and the Papuan Islands because of established family links between them. This situation also reflected the ongoing struggle between the Sultan and the

⁴⁸ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 190-2.

⁴⁹ The report of Pieter van Woudenberg and Adrian Cagias in 1723 explained that Sangaji Patani captured many of the subjects of Raja Salawati including his family as hostages in order to force the raja to join his rebellion against Sultan Tidore. See P.A. Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders naar Nieuw-Guinea en de Papeoesche Eilanden in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw,' *BKI* 21 (1875), 254-5.

bobato who were closely connected with the activities pursued by the Papuans and Halmaherans. In 1728 the rebellion ended abruptly with the sudden death of Sultan Hasanudin.⁵⁰

Kaicili Gapi, a direct descendant of Sultan Saifuddin, was installed as Sultan Amirulfadli Aziz Muhidin Malikilmannan (r.1728-1756) on 14 June 1728. He restored the relationship with the people of Gamrange and the Papuans. To accomplish this, he granted a general pardon to the rebels, sent the hostages back from the rebels' families and returned Tidoran subjects who had moved to Galela to their land of origin. Sangaji Patani who had led the rebellion was rehabilitated as head of the Papuan islands and the reconciliation was concluded by a treaty agreed upon by both Tidore and Patani.⁵¹ Peace may seem to have been restored yet the problem of raiding was far from over. In order to deal with this problem once and for all, on 23 June 1733, a contract between Sultan Tidore and the Dutch Governor, Elias de Haeze, agreeing upon making an end to Papuan raids was imposed. On 11 December 1734, a similar contract was concluded between the Governor of Ternate, and Tidore, Maba, Weda, and Patani. In reality Sultan Tidore cannily sustained the *status quo*. Instead of punishing the Papuans and Halmaherans, he avoided taking any real action against them.

Since 1733 the losses which had been caused by raiding activities had been totted up by the Dutch and had been assumed to be a 'debt' owed by Sultan Tidore.⁵² In 1757, when Sultan Jamaludin (r.1756-1779) ascended the throne,⁵³ he was expected to pay Rds 50,000. However, he showed no intention of disbursing this sum and even claimed that his own subordinates were also victims of piracy. His relationship with the new Governor of Ternate, Jacob van Schoonderwoert, who was appointed in 1758, was hence doomed to deteriorate.⁵⁴ To make matters even worse, Sultan Jamaludin showed little enthusiasm in dealing with his Halmaheran and Papuan subjects. It may well have been because Tidore was simply not powerful enough to convince his grandees within the Sultanate to mount the punitive expeditions. The situation was extremely fraught because the obedience of the Halmaherans and the Papuans was pretty conditional. Whenever the orders of the centre, which was Tidore, were considered injurious to their interests, the Papuans paid such orders scant attention. From the Tidoran perspective, whatever the thoughts of the Company about its errant

⁵⁰ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 191-2, 197, 199, 217; See also Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 204-12.

⁵¹ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 199.

⁵² E. Katoppo, *Nuku: Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Maluku Utara*, (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984), 42.

⁵³ ANRI Ternate 17, Resolution of Political Council, 30 December 1756, 195-205.

⁵⁴ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 234-41.

subordinates, Sultan Jamaludin had succeeded in balancing the conflicting interests of the Tidore leaders and the Company.

The Company made costly efforts to deal with the Papuans. A number of expeditions were mounted to try to solve the problem of raiding and encourage the obedience of the Papuans, to implement the extirpation of clove and nutmeg trees, and to check the possibility of any foreign intrusion in the vicinity of the Papuan Islands and eastern Halmahera. Some fifteen expeditions, beginning with an expedition under Jan van Benthem and Frans Ernst in 1702 and ending with that of Jan Jonkers in 1762, were thrown into fray.⁵⁵ Despite these concerted efforts, the problem could not be solved completely. The Company suffered even more anxiety about the political control in Papuan areas when the English appeared in the adjacent islands. Much as they may have desired to do so, the Dutch could not take action by themselves. They were dependent on Tidoran assistance in this matter, but Sultan Jamaludin displayed very little enthusiasm to aid the Dutch in their attempts to get a firm grip on his Halmaheran and Papuan subjects.

The spice extirpation policy also ruffled the uneasy relationship between Sultan Tidore and the Dutch Government in Ternate. It was an arduous task for those subjects who were recruited for the expedition and were required to penetrate the dangerous dense forest and cut down trees. They were only given a tiny compensation (some *arak* and textiles) for this service. The lion's share of the compensation went to the Sultan and the Sangaji. In the implementation of the eradication policy, the colonial administration was completely dependent on the co-operation of the Sultan. Here then was an inherent conflict of interests. If he honoured the terms of contract, the Sultan would ineluctably court unpopularity and sow the seeds of another potential uprising in the peripheries. The same would have happened had he really addressed the matter of halting the raiding enterprises of the Papuans. Consequently, Sultan Jamaludin continued to enjoy the tribute accruing from the infamous raiding activities. He had learned from the past experiences of previous Sultans who had complied with the Dutch and subsequently suffered from political turmoil caused by the rebellion of its subjects.

Jamaludin did indeed differ from Sultan Ternate in terms of implementing the eradication policy. On 26 May 1763, the Dutch sloop *De Roos* manned by a crew of twenty-four under the command of a sergeant and four corporals carried out a reconnaissance mission in the Messa and Doti districts of Halmahera. When they arrived and looked for spice-bearing trees in the forest, a great number of nutmeg trees between three to six feet high were discovered and extirpated. The deeper they ventured into the forest, the more trees they found. Not far from Dodinga, in the same island,

⁵⁵ P.A. Leupe, 'De reizen der Nederlanders', 202-307.

some two hundred trees were also discovered. A commission was despatched to Tidore requesting Sultan Tidore to extirpate the trees in areas under his authority. Jamaludin replied that the extirpation of spice-bearing trees had begun fifty years before, during the reign of his predecessor, Sultan Hasanudin. Any new extirpation expedition would cost a mint of money and unfortunately at the time of his death, Sultan Hasanudin still had debt of Rds 2,900. Jamaludin considered him himself too impecunious to implement the eradication policy in Halmahera even though he was obliged by the contract to do so. It was a delicately phrased refusal, which the Company interpreted as a pretext to squeeze more compensation money out of it. The intransigence of Tidore contrasted with the willingness of the Sultan of Ternate, who gave assurances that he would mount the extirpation expedition as soon as possible.⁵⁶

In 1764, Sultan Jamaludin again received a complaint about the hostile conduct of the East Seramese and Gamrange people who had been less than welcoming when the armed *pancalang De Garnaal* from Banda arrived in October 1764. Responding to this complaint, Jamaludin promised to prepare *kora-kora* and to undertake an expedition in order to discipline the scoundrels (*belhamels*) of Maba, Weda, and Patani and afterwards deliver them to the Company. The Sultan, however, reneged on his promise. In fact he found himself in deep trouble when it was found out that 200 pounds of gunpowder lent by the Company for this purpose had not been used. The impertinence of Gamrange had not been addressed, and to exacerbate matters even further, the Company supplies had been sold. The 'profits' derived from the raiding, European goods, textiles and other items, were transported and sold on Tidore without any check of their provenance. The Dutch council on Ternate suggested detaining the Sultan to dampen his enthusiasm for scheming and also paying off the heads of Patani, Maba, and Weda to recompense them for their loss of income from raiding and illicit trading.⁵⁷

A Tidoran spy in the pay of the Dutch, who had just escaped from being caught in Tidore by the skin of his teeth, suggested that the Company should mount a joint campaign with Sultan Ternate and mobilize the Alifuru. It was rumoured that the *jogugu* 'prime minister' and the princes of Tidore had supplied 4,000 men and fifty burghers with arms in order to attack Ternate. The Tidoran envoy hastened to explain that this was false information and that the *jogugu* had only called upon the Alifuru people to pay homage. The preparations, according to the Dutch, were taking place in Patani where four vessels and two two-masted barques were stationed. Sultan Tidore reaffirmed his loyalty to the Dutch and stated his

⁵⁶ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 25 July 1763.

⁵⁷ ANRI Ternate, 84, Secrete letter from Ternate to Batavia, 31 July 1765.

preparedness to lend assistance in the event of an attack from Patani. The Government Resolution of 23 May 1764 assumed this to be a frivolous remark because in fact two Patanese *kora-kora* had recently been plundering in Minahasa. During these attacks, a number of men had been wounded and robbed. Surprisingly Jamaludin took action by seizing the vessels as they passed Tidore and handed the leaders over for capital punishment. This was the first such action of his reign, but was not very clear whether the people handed over were really the important leaders of the raiding groups. Meanwhile, a messenger arrived on Ternate reporting that another eight *kora-kora* and more than twenty other smaller vessels were heading for Manado to launch hostile actions.⁵⁸

Wherever the truth lay, in order to maintain the peaceful relationship with the Dutch, Sultan Jamaludin mounted a series of expeditions in the Tidore peripheries around Maba, Weda, and Patani. In 1768-1769 from the promontory of Dehopodo to Sinopa and Payahe beyond, all in Halmahera, an expedition successfully destroyed 23,900 nutmeg trees. This was repeated throughout 1770, 1771, and 1772 in the districts Sinopak, Maldi, and Samola. No report about an expedition was made in 1773 or 1774. In 1775 it was mentioned again and in 1776 disciplinary action was taken in the districts of Doti and Waisele. During this nine year period no less than 118,074 nutmeg trees were eradicated.⁵⁹

Concluding Remarks

Comparing the power relation between Ternate and Tidore and the Dutch, Ternate was clearly more amenable to the Dutch directives. Sultan Ternate was able to improve his power in relation to his subjects and the lords of the land, but while achieving this, he was also driven into greater dependency on Dutch intervention to retain his authority. Generally speaking Tidore succeeded in retaining more of its independence. The grandees and the lords of the lands, supported by the strong and rebellious peripheries, managed to limit Dutch influence over the Sultan.

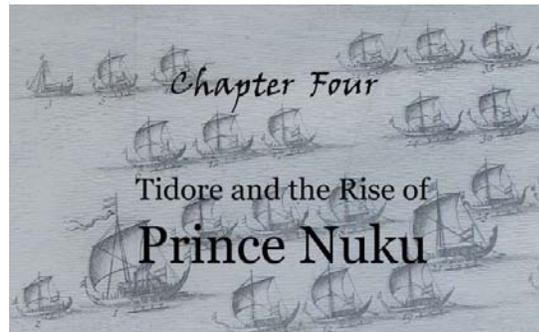
Monopoly, the spice tree extirpation campaign, and political intervention in the affairs of Ternate and Tidore none the less changed the pattern of the relationship between the Sultans and the lords of the land, depriving the latter of the revenues from the clove trade and marginalizing them in their relationship with the Sultan.

South-east Halmahera and the Papuan Islands were the most rebellious subjects of both the indigenous Sultans and the VOC. The relative distance,

⁵⁸ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 31 July 1765.

⁵⁹ ANRI Ternate 87, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 10 May 1794, 77.

the adverse geographical conditions, and the hostile spirit prevalent among these communities were all major hindrances to the success of any punitive expedition from outside. The area with its abundant resources in manpower, boats, and goods was a potential hotbed for fostering and sustaining a rebellion. The settlements of coastal New Guinea and East Seram therefore provided a secure support base which could operate independently of Tidore and the Dutch. People from these areas were to emerge as the backbone of Prince Nuku's force in his campaign against the Dutch.



The discussion in the preceding chapter has shown that the political relations between Tidore and the VOC ran far from smoothly. From time to time, ever since the seventeenth century, Tidore had shown a tendency to resist the policies of the VOC, which invariably intervened in successions and liked to flex its muscles to emphasize its dominance. Now the time has come to deal with internal Tidoran affairs. The first logical step is to describe the people, leadership, and the structure of the Sultanate of Tidore. With the stage set, the next step is to probe the logic of the situation that created the conflicts between Tidore and the Dutch which emerged prior to Prince Nuku's rebellion. Having done so, we can map the course of the rebellion and analyse it in chronological order, from the Toloa attack in 1780 up to the moment when Nuku occupied Tidore in 1797.

Organization and Leadership of the Sultanate

Unfortunately, no detailed contemporary description of the structure of the Tidore Sultanate exists. Nevertheless, some information gleaned from scattered sources leads us to assume that it was quite similar to that of its near neighbour Ternate. At this juncture it is essential to comprehend the concept of leadership in North Maluku, expressed in the term *bobato*. *Bobato* is a general term used to distinguish leaders or heads in North Maluku from the Sultan as the highest ruler.¹ Distancing himself from the view taken by Leirissa, Andaya² writes, "The *bobatos* were heads of socio-political units or *soa* aggregated into residential sections within the sultan's or the *sangajis*' domain. Politically, at the very highest rung was the sultan as religious and political leader of the kingdom, followed by the *sangaji* and other *kolano* who

¹ R. Z. Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur dan Raja Jailolo: Pergolakan Sekitar Laut Seram Awal Abad 19* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1996), 83-8.

² L.Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 60.

governed their own traditional domains, then the *bobato* as heads of *soa* within these lands.' I am inclined to use Leirissa's definition of *bobato* as a general term which embraced *sangaji*, *kolano*, *jogugu* and others. *Bobato* were not only important in the organization of political, economic and everyday life (secular *bobato*) but also in religious life (religious *bobato*).³ Religious *bobato* could be found at all levels of society under the authority of the Sultan, but only among the Muslim population. Although no *bobato* were known among the *Alifuru*, the indigenous inland people, they nevertheless controlled the political and economic relations of the Alifuru with the outside world, particularly in the Sultanates of Tidore and Ternate. Willer claims that the Alifuru of Halmahera were more integrated into the North Maluku political system than were those of Seram (Central Maluku). The best yardstick by which to measure this degree of integration was the involvement of the Alifuru in the *honggi* or extirpation expeditions organized by Tidore and Ternate.⁴

In the Ternate state structure, there were two kinds of *bobato* or 'state dignitaries'. Serving the Sultan, a *bobato* was certainly an official of the state but his function was also to represent the interests of his *bala* or 'common people.' These were the *bobato dunia* or secular *bobato* who composed the group of the four main chiefs (*dopolo ngaruba*) at whose head was the *gogugu* or *jogugu*. Next to him in rank were the *kapiten laut*, the *bukum soasio*, and *bukum sangaji*.⁵ The *jogugu* and *kapiten laut* were the two most powerful positions after that of the Sultan. The former performed the function of chief minister or chief executive, while the latter performed the duties of sea lord, who had command over the fleet and other maritime matters. It stands to reason that in a kingdom extending over a vast area of sea territory, the *kapiten laut* was a very important authority.⁶ These four chiefs were chosen by the Sultan. Chris van Fraassen argues that in appointing these officials, the Sultan could not always promote his own interests and impose his preference. They were usually chosen from the ordinary people but Royal family members could also be appointed *jogugu* or *kapiten laut*.⁷ These

³ Ch. F. Van Fraassen, *Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische Archipel*, I (Diss. Leiden University, 1987), 150-1.

⁴ Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur dan Raja Jailolo*, 87-8.

⁵ Discussing the term *jogugu* or *gogugu*, Van Fraassen suggests that *gogugu* is the correct one. *Gogugu* means 'beheerder' or 'power holder'. For the sake of consistency, in this thesis, I use *jogugu*. See the explanation in Van Fraassen, *Ternate*, I, 333-4.

⁶ A.B. Lapien, 'The diversified unity of 'Maluku-kie-raha'; its historical development,' in K. Tsuchiya (ed.), *"States" in Southeast Asia: From "Tradition" to "Modernity"* (Kyoto, 1984), 188-9.

⁷ See the lists of *gogugu* and *kapiten-laut* in Van Fraassen, *Ternate, de Molukken*, II, 442-3, 450-1.

appointees also observed their own social norms and interests in various contexts when they dealt with the Portuguese or later with the Dutch.⁸

The Sultan himself also employed an *utusan* (an ambassador), whose main function was to supervise the collection of tribute as a spokesperson in the various outer districts. Other functionaries were: the *jurutulis* (scribe); the *miantu* (head of the *dano*, that is the princes); the *ngosa* (messenger); *soseba* (bearers of the royal sword, *sirib*-set and other regalia); and the *marinyo* and *kabo* (guards) at whose head was the *marinyo kie*. To distinguish him from the other *jurutulis*, the Sultan's personal scribe was called the *sekretaris*.⁹ The Sultan's troops (*baru-baru*) were led by the following royal military officers (in descending order): *Mayor*, *Kapiten*, *Letnan*, *Alferis*, *Ajudan*, *Sarjeti*, and *Korporal*. The Sultan's sons were also granted military ranks, *kapiten-ngofa* and *letnan-ngofa*. These princely officers also participated in such important state deliberations as the signing of treaties, forming a commission in conjunction with the four major functionaries (*kapiten laut*, *jogugu*, *bukum*, and *sekretaris*) under the aegis of the Sultan himself.¹⁰

In Tidore, the leadership of the state was fairly similar to that of Ternate. The distinction lay in the terms for titles in the Tidoran language. To give some examples, the Ternatan *jogugu* was called *jojau* in Tidore; *ngofamanjira* in Ternate became *famanyira* in Tidore; *kimelaba* became *gimalaba*.¹¹ The state council in Tidore was composed of thirty-one members, including the four principal officers (*jojau*, *kapiten-laut*, *bukum sangaji*, *bukum soa-sio*) and twenty-seven (three times nine) *bobato*. The composition may have differed slightly from that of Ternate, but the number followed the indigenous principle of four and nine which lay at the foundation of the pattern of government structure. Among the foreigners, groups were formed under leaders with such titles as *kapiten Makasar* or *kapiten* or *letnan Cina*. The Kapiten Makasar also exercised control over non-Makassarese migrant groups.¹² As in Ternate, the category of *bobato* was divided into two groups (secular and religious) on the basis of the *kalima malofo* or in Arabic *Kalimat'ush-shahadat*. The authority of the religious *bobato* was based on the Confession of Faith *ashadu alailaha illallah* (There is no God but Allah) and that of the secular counterpart on the *ashadu anna Muhammad ar-Rasulallah* (Muhammad is Allah's prophet). The powerful elites in Tidore were chiefs categorized into two groups. The first was composed of members of the royal and noble

⁸ Van Fraassen, *Ternate, de Molukken*, I, 334.

⁹ Lopian, 'The diversified unity of Maluku-kie-raha,' 189-90.

¹⁰ F.S.A. De Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Leiden: Brill, 1890), 324-5; Lopian, 'The diversified unity of Maluku-kie-raha,' 189.

¹¹ De Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate*, 324-5.

¹² E. Katoppo, *Nuku: Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Maluku Utara* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984), 15-7.

families. The second was that consisting of the chiefs of *negeri* and compounds. This division was based on kinship and genealogical lines. People in the royal category used the title *kaicili* for males and *boki* for females.¹³ Their most salient privilege was that only their male members were eligible to become Sultan. There was no clearly delineated rule of succession. Usually the eldest son of a former Sultan had the greatest chance to assume his father's position, but a particular person's capabilities and influence over the other nobles also played a role in the selection process. Since the era of Sultan Saifudin (r.1657-1689) the intervention of the Dutch in this matter was prominent. Given these circumstances, it was inevitable that disputes and political crises over the throne would occur from time to time when the position of Sultan fell vacant.

Government in the outer areas was the responsibility of local rulers. In both north and east Halmahera, those who acted as representatives of the Sultan were called *sangaji*. These *sangaji*, who usually lived in the main *negeri* (*soasio*), were responsible for the district-level government. They had special costumes to denote their status as representatives of the power of the Sultan. This outfit was known as *destar ngongare* and consisted of a long black flowing robe and a turban. The Sultan wore a white variation of this. *Sangaji* were not formally paid a salary by the Sultan. For their daily needs, they had slaves to work in their gardens and to take care of other chores. The slaves were sometimes purchased in the market, but the majority were people who had found themselves in debt. Many slaves were captives who had been taken during raiding or punitive expeditions. Below the *sangaji* were the local leaders known as *kimelaha* on Tidore or *ngofamanjira* on Ternate. They owed their position to the Sultan. They were the scions of powerful local families and their appointment was sanctioned by the Sultan. As leader of a *negeri*, such a man had a dual function, as community leader and as representative of the Sultan's apparatus. As community leader, his duty was to guard the interests of the people. As an official of the Sultan, he was obliged to help the *sangaji* in collecting tribute and mobilizing able-bodied men for the *bongi* and expeditions. Occasionally he saw himself forced to renege on the Sultan's interest when he judged demands from above could not be borne by his people. Small villages were governed by *kalaudi* or *mahimo* (elders).¹⁴

The *sangaji* in north Halmahera, which was under Ternate rule, were selected among prominent families in each district to supervise the *ngofamanjira*. Certain *sangaji* came from noble families on Ternate¹⁵ but the *sangaji* in east Halmahera, which was under Tidore rule, were not from noble families. Leirissa has concluded that all *sangaji* outside the main islands of

¹³ Lapien, 'The diversified unity of Maluku-kie-raha,' 193.

¹⁴ Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur and Raja Jailolo*, 93-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Tidore or Ternate were accorded a lower status than those on the main islands and hence were not eligible for membership of the council of the Sultanate in the rank of *bobato madopolo*. In this case, I do not altogether agree with Leirissa because it is well known that Sultan Mandarsyah of Ternate appointed a *sangaji* of Makian as *kapiten laut* and a *sangaji* of Gamkonora as *jogugu*.¹⁶ A *sangaji* of Makian was also appointed as *jogugu* by Sultan Kamaludin in 1785 and later he was even raised to the status of Raja Jailolo by Nuku. The appointment of such men to be important officials in the Sultanate was most probably a device to strengthen the power of the Sultan, allowing him greater access to the provision of the manpower and natural resources in which both Sultanates were lacking.

A *sangaji* was supported by assistants whose titles were similar to those of office-bearers in the Sultanate: *jogugu*, *kapiten-laut*, *bukum*, and *juru tulis*. The districts of Galela and Gamkonora in north Halmahera had a full administrative staff. In other districts, a *sangaji* had to fend for himself and could expect very little back-up. Sometimes he was assisted only by a *jogugu* and a *kapiten-laut*, or just only one *kapiten-laut*. The role of *juru tulis* was often filled by the *khatib*. In east Halmahera, a *sangaji* was assisted by a *kapiten-laut* and a *bukum*. A *jogugu* was sometimes replaced by a junior *sangaji*, who was usually a son of the *sangaji*. In the nineteenth century, in order to nip disputes in the bud and to promote justice, the *Raad van Sangaji en Kimelaha* was established. This council took decisions concerning the violation of customs and determined the amount of the fines imposed. This punishment was meted out equally to both the common people and *bobato* families. The defendant was obliged to pay a fine or to submit to such physical punishment as a caning. Such more serious and more complicated cases as murder or incitement to rebellion were transferred to the centre and submitted to the verdict of the Sultan.¹⁷

Tribute, which was collected once a year as a rule, was paid in kind with agricultural products. In Maba, east Halmahera, tribute was paid in rice because Maba produced this crop. But Patani was supposed to deliver slaves in tribute.¹⁸ When manpower or *corvée* had to be supplied to the Sultan, this was done in rotation. In north Halmahera, in Sahu to be exact, at the beginning of nineteenth century, certain *negeri* were expected to provide 100 men each for Sultan Ternate. Thirty of them were lent to Dutch officials for gardening at a stipend of *f* 6 or *f* 10 a month. A number of them were employed in harbours as *kuli* on a stipend of 20 cents a day. Those who

¹⁶ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 131, 140, 201.

¹⁷ J.P.C. Cambier, 'Rapport over Tidoreesch-Halmahera,' in Robidé van der Aa, 'Een tweetal bijdragen tot de kennis van Halmahera,' *BKI* 19 (1872), 258; Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur and Raja Jailolo*, 98-9.

¹⁸ 'Ternate: MvO Bosscher and Tobias' (ANRI, 1980), 45, 187.

wished to avoid compulsory labour were obliged to pay 12 real instead.¹⁹ In certain *negeri*, there were families who had *turun temurun* (for generations) served the needs of the Sultan. In north Halmahera the Dutch Company officials designated them *kroonslaven* (crown slaves). In east Halmahera, this group was called *rumah dapur* (domestics) by Cambier. They were to be found not only in Maba and Weda, but also in Payahe, Kayasa, and Maidu. The people of Patani were absolved from this duty because they had to provide slaves for the Sultan, either captured or purchased from the Raja Ampat and Onin.²⁰ Indubitably, slaves were also captured during raids on other places. During the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, Patani leaders were the most prominent aggressors in raiding the Malukan area and the adjacent islands.

Most *negeri* had a mosque or a special place set aside for Muslim worship. Every mosque had a religious *bobato* or religious leader, called *modin*, *imam*, *hatibi* (or *khatib*). The difference implied by each term is not clear, but broadly speaking their function was similar. Cambier reported that these religious leaders were active in instructing *pengajian* (Koran recitation) and leading prayers at the mosque, besides taking care of other rituals such as circumcision and marriage. The *bobato* also regularly observed the practice of fasting during Ramadhan and kept a very close eye on the implementation of the prohibition on consuming pork. In the palaces of Tidore and Ternate, they also taught Malay and its *Jawi* script. Letters from districts and *negeri* were usually written by him. The *kalim* or *kadi* held the highest rank among religious leaders under the Sultan. *Kalim* was a special title and position reserved for one of the members of those noble families who were close relatives of reigning Sultan. He was usually addressed as *Kalim Mangofa*. For example, Nuku's stepbrother, Prince Mohammad Thaher — who was appointed Sultan Tidore (r.1810-1821) — had previously been a *kalim mangofa*. Likewise, the younger brother of Sultan Ternate was appointed *kalim* in 1820.²¹

In their exercise of traditional power relations the Sultans Tidore and Ternate worked closely with their 'ministers', namely the *jogugu*, *kapiten laut*, *hukum* and other grandees in the palace. The power of the Sultan depended on the support of the *bobato* who functioned as a link between the Sultan and his subjects in the peripheries. Political decisions were made on the basis of consensus and achieved after consultation with the Sultan. Symbolically, power relations were established through marriage, gift distribution, tribute submission, and other socially acceptable methods

¹⁹ Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur and Raja Jailolo*, 98-9.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 100-1.

²¹ *Ibid.* 89-90.

sanctified by tradition. The most important role of the *bobato* in maintaining the power of the Sultan was to provide manpower for defence purposes and to man the Sultan's fleet for expeditions to the peripheries. Before the Dutch concluded treaties, with Ternate in 1652 and with Tidore in 1667, *bobato* were able to use the proceeds from the sale of cloves harvested from their own trees and those in their villages for their own needs. The ruler enjoyed an income from his own personal clove trees. Over and above this, he also benefited from customs duties collected in the royal ports.²²

The arrival of the Europeans, especially the Dutch, disrupted the existing social patterns. The Dutch interest in securing the monopoly on spices was translated into the political subordination of the three Sultanates including Bacan. Undeniably the introduction of the policy of the eradication of the spice-bearing trees deprived the traditional leaders especially the *bobato*, lords of the land, of their income from the trade in spices. The compensation or recognition money paid by the VOC every year went to the Sultan, not to the *bobato*. This unquestionably affected the power relations between the Sultan and the *bobato* because the latter now found themselves dependent on the Sultan's largesse.²³ Even though the treaty had specified a precise allocation of the compensation between the Sultan and the *bobato*, in practice it was more honoured in the breach than the observance. The Sultan had the authority to choose whom he favoured by bestowing monetary remuneration. He believed he was no longer obliged to accommodate the interests of the lords of the lands. In times of conflict with the *bobato* or with the people in the periphery, the Sultan could request the Dutch to come to his aid and support his cause. Taking advantage of his seemingly unassailable position under the new Company overlordship, the Sultan imposed greater demands on the people. He need not worry. Should there be a rebellion or uprising in the heart of the Sultanate or in the peripheries, the Sultan knew he could seek for military help from the Dutch. The Company would comply with such requests, as long as the Sultan kept his side of the agreements made.²⁴ The Sultan of Tidore quite often encountered difficult problems in governing his subjects in such peripheries, as Gamrange and the Papuan Islands. Nor was the atmosphere closer to home always tranquil. The grandees in Tidore tended to subvert the policy of the Sultan and the Dutch when they considered that this might clash with their interests in the periphery.

²² Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 168.

²³ Van Fraassen, *Ternate, de Molukken*, I, 160-4.

²⁴ Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 167-8, 206.

The Seram Dispute: the Beginning of Turmoil

The latent political instability in the northern Moluccas became palpable in 1768 when two Tidoran princes, Badiuzaman Garomahongi²⁵ and Nuku, alias Bakanuku or Syaifudin, expressed their dissatisfaction with a treaty concluded between Sultan Tidore, Jamaludin, and the VOC Government on Ternate, by which the former had to cede his rights to Seram (including East Seram).²⁶ The bone of the contention was the ‘debt,’ which the Company called in unilaterally, under the terms of the contract of 23 June 1733.²⁷ The Company insisted that this ‘debt’ had been incurred from the losses that the Company and its subjects had suffered from the raiding activities of Tidoran vassals. In effect Sultan Tidore was being held accountable for the behaviour of his subjects. Jamaludin refused to concede because he explained that his subjects were also victims of raiding. Therefore, besides the fact he had no money to pay the debt, he was far from predisposed to comply with the Company demands.

The Governor of Ternate, Hermanus Munnik (1767-1771), completely overrode the objections of Sultan Jamaludin. He unilaterally resolved the ‘problem’ on 12 June 1768 by imposing a contract in which Sultan Jamaludin, in lieu of paying the debt, had to cede the rights to East Seram which had been attributed to the Sultan of Tidore²⁸ in the contract of 5 May 1700. In his letter of 4 August 1768, the Sultan tried to negotiate the issue by limiting East Seram’s cession the Company to twenty years only. Prince Nuku, supported by Garomahongi, was opposed to the cession and insisted that it should not have been a ‘cession’ but only a ‘lease’ for fourteen years. Governor Munnik obdurately refused to budge in the face of these arguments and insisted that the cession be applied in perpetuity (*voor altoos*). In return for this cession, the Sultan would receive a present of Rds 400—added to his yearly compensation money. It was not called a ‘payment’ but was euphemistically referred to as ‘a friendly memento of the Company towards a more stable maintenance of mutual harmony and alliance.’²⁹

²⁵ The complete name of the Crown Prince, Garomahongi, is mentioned by Katoppo, *Nuku*, 43.

²⁶ W.G. Miller, ‘The Moluccas under the British’ (M.A. Thesis: University of Hull, 1974), 17.

²⁷ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, V, 153-7.

²⁸ The ‘district’ of Sultan Tidore began on the north side of Seram, stretched to Waru eastwards as far as the eastern side of Keffing and then proceeded south-westwards as far as Tobo. See MvO Governors of Ambon, Pieter Gabrij (1721-1725) and Willem Fockens (1764-1767), in G.J. Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave Ambon*, RGP 62 (1987), 311, 397.

²⁹ ‘Een vriendelijk gedenkteken van wegen de Compagnie tot vaster onderhouden der wederzijde harmonie and bondgenootschap,’ as quoted in Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*

It transpired that the increase of Rds 400 in compensation money and the euphemistic terminology adopted by the Dutch were not enough to sustain the mutual harmony and alliance. Instead of being appeased, the unrest among the Tidorans swelled considerably in 1779. It spilled over when the Dutch Governor of Ternate, Jacob Roland Thomaszen (1778-1780), arrested Sultan Jamaludin, Prince Garomahongi, Prince Zainal Abidin, and Sultan Bacan.³⁰ They were sent to Batavia and brought to 'justice'. Garomahongi and Zainal Abidin were later exiled to Ceylon. The Sultan and the princes were formally charged with the perpetration of a number of misdeeds. The first charge brought against them was that they did not fulfil their obligation to eradicate spice-bearing trees. Over and, to make matters worse, the Sultanate did nothing to prevent or punish the raiding of its subjects - Maba, Weda, Patani, and Gebe. Furthermore, there were suspicions afoot that the Sultan and the grandees of Tidore had conspired with the Sultan of Bacan to plot with the Sultan of Mindanao to fight the Ternatans and to expel the Company from Maluku.³¹ The Dutch Governor of Ternate had also been informed that Sultan Jamaludin and Sultan Bacan had made contact, exchanged gifts, and dispatched their men to help Thomas Forrest in his expedition to the Raja Ampat and Dorei - the north coast of New Guinea.³²

Governor Thomaszen named the elderly Prince Gaijira as successor to Jamaludin. It did neither of them any good as both passed away soon afterwards. After the death of Prince Gaijira in April 1780,³³ those Tidoran

en de Papoesche Eilanden: Historische Bijdrage, 1500-1883, (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co., 1884), 262.

³⁰ According to Katoppo, the *raja muda* (crown prince) was Garomahongi. Here he differs from Andaya who says that Kamaludin was the *raja muda*. It was a mistake to include Kamaludin among the princes who were banished to Batavia with Sultan Jamaludin. In fact, Kamaludin was banished to Batavia later, as a result of the Toloa attack a year later in 1780. See Andaya, *The world of Maluku*, 219.

³¹ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 435-6. See also Katoppo, *Nuku*, 42-3.

³² NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, (?) 1781, 8-9. In December 1774, the Crown Prince of Bacan reported to Governor Valkenaer of Ternate about the meeting between Sultan Bacan and the English adventurer Thomas Forrest (La Tartare), which had also been attended by Hadji Umar, a man with a redoubtable reputation for his revolutionary enterprise. Sultan Bacan gave presents and provided men and interpreters. Sultan Jamaludin contented himself with sending his envoy to meet Forrest on Waigeo. See also Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to the New Guinea and the Maluku, 1774-1776* (London: G. Scott, 1779), 48, 113, and 132.

³³ The versions of Haga, Heeres and Stapel fix the date of the death of Prince Gaijira in April 1780. But Andaya prefers another date one year later, June 1781. Considering the sequence of political events on Tidore, the inauguration of Patra Alam in 1780 and the assault on Toloa in 1780, the date of the death must have been before the inauguration of Patra Alam, which was in 1780. Compare Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 297 and *Corpus Diplomaticum*, III, 433 to Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 221.

princes who were considered to have the capacity to be sultan were Prince Nuku, Malikudin, and Kamaludin. Taking no heed of such regal qualities, Thomaszen's successor, Alexander Cornabé (1780-1793) - who was acting-governor at the moment - preferred a son of the late Gaijira, Prince Patra Alam, as Prince Regent of Tidore.³⁴ Governor J. Ekenholm has stated that (in 1793) the candidate most preferred was Kamaludin. Patra Alam, who was not considered to be made of 'the right stuff' and was politically weak, bought the support of Acting-Governor Cornabé by bribing him with presents.³⁵ In retrospect, it would be not unfair to say that Cornabé's political policy aggravated the political situation.

Two of the sons of the former Sultan, Prince Kamaludin and Prince Nuku who were thoroughly dissatisfied with the appointment of Prince Patra Alam, decided to oppose his nomination. They swore not to recognize Patra Alam as their ruler and threatened to make trouble and imperil the Sultanate. By openly defying the new regent they showed unquestionable disobedience. Cornabé believed that his opponents had perpetrated all sorts of brutality on the inhabitants on Tidore. When the rebel leaders and their supporters were known to be holding a meeting in Negeri Toloa, Patra Alam and Cornabé decided to attack them. Governor Cornabé sent two vessels to Tidore under the command of Commissioner De Chalmot. Upon their arrival, the *Onderkoopman* Hemmekam was delegated to issue Prince Nuku's group with a 'friendly' warning. He might just as well have held his breath because the rebel did not even bother to listen to him. While a translator was sent to warn them one last time, Hemmekam mobilized his troops for the assault.³⁶

On 14 July 1780, Negeri Toloa was finally attacked. In his bid to oust the rebels, the Governor of Ternate had enlisted the assistance of four *kora-kora* on which there were a hundred European and indigenous Alifuru militia. Heavy fighting ensued between the Tidoran dissidents and the Ternatan Alifuru. About thirty Tidorans were killed and the survivors fled inland. Only one European and few Alifuru were wounded. Negeri Toloa was put to the torch. Most of the princes, Sultanate officials, *bukum*, and few *sangaji* and *kimelaha* from Toloa, who headed the opposition, were captured. The Governor's troops returned to Ternate that same evening, carrying along the defenceless Tidoran opposition leaders and their supporters who had no choice but humbly to request a 'pardon.' The Governor eventually proclaimed an 'act of amnesty'. The suspected ring leaders of the opposition, Prince Kamaludin, Prince Mossel and Prince Van der Parra remained in

³⁴ NA OIC No. 90, *Secret Advice Ternate to Batavia*, 18 September 1793, § (Margin) 23. See also Katoppo, *Nuku*, 48. Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 21. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 219.

³⁵ NA OIC No. 90, *Secret Advice Ternate to Batavia*, 18 September 1793, § 23.

³⁶ NA VOC 3602, *Letter from Ternate to Ambon*, 11 September 1780, 75-8.

detention.³⁷ In order to restore peace, Governor Cornabé had to inaugurate a new Sultan as soon as possible. He decided formally to appoint Prince Regent Patra Alam as Sultan Badarudin, on 17 July 1780. Prince Kamaludin and the other princes were shipped to Batavia ten days later.³⁸ Prince Nuku and Prince Malikudin who, as Miller puts it, were also men ‘of great significance’, escaped arrest. In Nuku’s letter to Governor Van Pleuren in 1781, he explains that he took refuge in the Papuan Islands accompanied by *bobato*, *jogugu*, *bukum*, *ngofamanjira*, two *kimelaba*, and 400 Tidorans.³⁹ They managed to flee to Payahe, and then from there escaped to Maba, Weda, and Patani, where the Dutch sighted them on 22 July. The areas the rebels chose as their refuges were situated in central and eastern Maluku, where Dutch control was relatively weak and where Papuans and East Seramese had a long tradition of subverting the power of the VOC. East Seram became Prince Nuku’s chief haunt.⁴⁰

Since the beginning of the dispute over the cession of East Seram required by the 1768 contract, Prince Nuku had been one of the prominent princes who had resolutely opposed the cession. His opposition to the Company stiffened when Governor Thomaszen banished his father and brothers. Subsequently, Prince Nuku openly repudiated the appointment of Patra Alam as Sultan in 1780.⁴¹ Initially his strategies were still somewhat inchoate, but he soon succeeded in augmenting the number of his supporters and maintained some communication with the Tidoran leaders at home. At that stage, he and the other Tidoran leaders expected that Sultan Jamaludin would come back from Batavia. But, once he found out that his father would never return, he had no other choice but to mount a rebellion. In this lull in the proceedings, Prince Nuku had a chance to prove his leadership to the members of the Tidoran elite who were hiding as refugees. Determinedly he set about creating an alternative structure of power in exile. He was proclaimed ‘Sultan Seram and Papua’ by his East Seramese and Papuan followers.⁴² In a short time, his star was well and truly in the ascendant in the Tidoran peripheries.

³⁷ Prince Mossel and Prince van der Parra were sons of the exiled Sultan Jamaludin (r. 1757-1779).

³⁸ NA VOC 3602, from Ternate to Ambon, 11 September 1780, 75-8; See also Katoppo, *Nuku*, 50; Miller, ‘The Moluccas,’ 23; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 220.

³⁹ ANRI Ternate No.138, Various letters concerning Prince Nuku of Tidore, no 109. as quoted in Katoppo, *Nuku*, 235.

⁴⁰ Miller, ‘The Moluccas,’ 22-23.

⁴¹ ANRI Ternate No.138, Various letters concerning Prince Nuku of Tidore, no 109. as quoted in Katoppo, *Nuku*, 235; Miller, ‘The Moluccas,’ 22-23.

⁴² NA VOC 3603, from Ternate to Batavia, 22 May 1781, 17-26; ANRI Ternate No.138, Various letters concerning Prince Nuku of Tidore, no 109. as quoted in Katoppo, *Nuku*, 237.

The Treaty of 1780: Loss of Independence

On Tidore, a new treaty between Patra Alam and Governor Cornabé was signed in Fort Oranje on 17 July 1780. On this occasion, the VOC formally changed the whole status of its relationship with the Tidore Sultanate. Previous treaties were annulled. Let us briefly recapitulate what the contents of the original treaty were: Sultan Saifudin (r. 1657-1689) had decided to repudiate the Spaniards and instead sought an alliance with the Dutch⁴³ in 1667. A treaty was concluded between the VOC and the Tidore Sultanate, in which the VOC was accorded the status of ‘protector’ (*schuts- en beschermbeer*). Now, one hundred years later, the Company claimed that, in view of the malefactions and disloyalty of Sultan Jamaludin and his coterie, it was forced to end the formal status of the ‘mutual relationship’ between Tidore and the Company, which it claimed to have honoured in accordance with the terms of the contract of 1667.⁴⁴ In the 1780 treaty, the Sultanate of Tidore was no longer described as a *bondgenoot* or ‘ally’ of the VOC, but as a ‘vassal.’⁴⁵ This imposed status reduced Tidore to the same situation as that of the Ternate Sultanate which had been demoted to vassalage as early as in 1683.⁴⁶

The 1780 treaty can be seen as the end of Tidore as an ‘independent’ state. As *leenmannen* (liegemen) the Sultans now had to deliver an annual tribute consisting of four slaves, ten cockatoos, and ten *loeris* to the Governor-General in Batavia. The Sultanate was even formally obliged to hand over an inventory of all the jewellery, gold, and silverware it possessed. Most of its political authority was mercilessly expropriated. The Sultan was no longer allowed to communicate with more distant foreign or neighbouring countries without the prior permission of the Company. No fortress or other construction was to be built without the consent of the Company. The Sultan was deprived of the right to exercise his power in settling any dispute or crime within the royal family or among the *grandees*.⁴⁷ A draft of the treaty had actually been proposed to Sultan Jamaludin and then to Raja Muda Garomahongi before they were banished but, as Nuku said in a letter written many years later: ‘both my father and brother scornfully rejected this, and preferred to submit to the sentence of

⁴³ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 170-1.

⁴⁴ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 350-1. See also Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 92-3.

⁴⁵ It is written in the treaty of 1780 that ‘het rijk van Tidor nu niet meer in bondgenootschap, maar in onderdanigheid met betrekking tot de Nederlandsche Compagnie staat...’ See *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 441.

⁴⁶ Miller, ‘The Moluccas,’ 23-24.

⁴⁷ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 442-7.

banishment and imprisonment for life passed on them'. This refusal was the main reason why Jamaludin was removed from his throne.⁴⁸ Basing himself on the Dutch sources, Andaya contradicts this statement by saying it was Sultan Jamaludin himself who had proposed relinquishing his power and the concomitant change of status, but that his offer had been declined by the Dutch.⁴⁹

Prince Nuku's letter to the Governor of Ambon, Bernardus van Pleuren, on 11 November 1781, suggests that the smouldering resistance had been ignited into action by the detainment of Sultan Jamaludin and Crown Prince Garomahongi. Already suspicious, Nuku insinuated that the Company had lied to the Tidoreans, trying to allay their apprehension by saying that the Sultan had been sent to Batavia for a short time and would return home almost immediately, in three months to be exact. Instead of sending the Sultan back, the Company appointed Patra Alam in his place, ignoring the manifest objections voiced by the Tidore Sultanate. These objections had been made known to the Government of Ternate in no uncertain terms when Prince Gajira had been replaced. Inevitably the appointment of Patra Alam heaped insult upon injury. Nuku argued that, according to the custom of Tidore, the proper choice would have been either Prince Kamaludin or himself. The prince blamed the solecism committed by the Governor of Ternate who had blatantly ignored the customs pertaining to the succession on Tidore. Since the Governor and Patra Alam had also attacked his people, their homes and possessions on Toloa, matters conspired to make the people of Tidore eager to join Nuku and seek refuge in East Seram and the Raja Ampat.⁵⁰ Actually, from his father's letter, Nuku had known since 1780 that his father and brothers had been exiled for life. He believed that Patra Alam had meekly accepted the terms of the Treaty of 1780 because he was fearful that the same fate which had befallen his predecessor would be his lot.⁵¹

Initial Contest (1780-1783)

The records show that Prince Nuku did not need much time to drum up forces in the Tidorean 'peripheries.' The Papuan Raja Ampat, the Gamrange

⁴⁸ IOR/L/PS/19/14, 'Letter of 1795' Alexander Dalrymple, 'Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore,' 11 February 1801, 5.

⁴⁹ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 219.

⁵⁰ ANRI Ternate No.138A, From Prince Nuku to Governor of Amboina, 11 November 1781. In his letter to the Governor-General written in 1803, Nuku cited this matter as a main reason for his rebellion against the Dutch. See also ANRI, Ternate No. 107, From Sultan Nuku to Governor-General at Batavia, 1 Jumadilakhir 1218 (18 August 1803).

⁵¹ IOR/L/PS/19/14, Alexander Dalrymple, 'Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore,' 11 February 1801, 5.

of south-eastern Halmahera (Maba, Weda, and Patani), Gebe, and the East Seramese were more than ready to support his cause, linked as they were to Tidore by more than a century of common experience of trading and raiding. Sometime around November or December 1780, Nuku was proclaimed ‘Sultan Papua and Seram.’⁵² In his letter in 1781 to the Governor of Ambon, Van Pleuren, he called himself Sultan Muhammad Saifudin Sah, the King of Papua.⁵³ From the time of the Toloa attack, the relationship between Tidore and the three Governments, mainly Ternate, revolved around Prince Nuku’s rebellion. Nuku repeatedly attacked Dutch subjects and, in return, the Dutch raided those areas in which the people were considered to be Nuku’s adherents. It would seem that most of the Tidore peripheries lost no time in transferring their support and loyalty to the Prince Nuku forces. The newly Dutch-appointed Patra Alam was rendered powerless, almost totally overshadowed by Nuku’s authority over the Tidoran peripheries.

In the early months of 1780 Nuku’s forces raided Nusatelu (*Drie Gebroeders*) Islands, Amblau, Haia, and Luhu and captured and enslaved 134 inhabitants. Two European soldiers and eight indigenous soldiers were wounded in an encounter near Kramat on Buru.⁵⁴ Many people from Hatileng were either massacred or fled.⁵⁵ The coastal inhabitants of Sulawesi were also raided at Selayar, Buton, and Bawulang.⁵⁶ A Papuan fleet of 197 vessels devastated one village on Sula and captured 300 men and ten prahus from the fleet of the local Raja.⁵⁷ Around October 1780, a committee for spice extirpation was twice attacked on both Obi and Bacan. A European and other twenty-nine crewmembers also were captured. On Talaud, North Sulawesi, a burgher's vessel was seized and burnt at the command of *Sangaji Moluko*.⁵⁸

The Ternate and Ambon Governments had little choice but to respond the challenge posed by Nuku. In October and December 1780, two large *bongi* fleets were launched. The first fleet attacked Gamrange and the second East Seram. The *bongi* expedition of the Ternate Government, supported by Sultan Patra Alam and Tidoran and Ternatan *kora-kora*, was strengthened by fifty-seven Balinese and twenty-two Makasarese vessels under the command

⁵² NA VOC 3603, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 22 May 1781, 17-26.

⁵³ ANRI Ternate No.138, Various letters concerning Prince Nuku of Tidore, no 109. as quoted in Katoppo, *Nuku*, 237.

⁵⁴ NA VOC 3586, Ambon Council Meeting, 7 February 1780, 55; VOC 3577, Daily Report of the expedition, 165-84; VOC 3586, Ambon Council Meeting, 7 February 1780, 35-8.

⁵⁵ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, (?) 1781, 11.

⁵⁶ NA VOC 3586, Letter from Ambon to Ternate, 4 May 1780, 47-48, 74, 82-83.

⁵⁷ NA VOC 3602, Letter from Ternate to Ambon, 3 June 1780, 72-3.

⁵⁸ NA VOC 3603, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 22 May 1781, 6-16.

of Captain Heinrich and the translator Coenraad van Dijk. Sixty vessels, large and small, manned by about three thousand Alifuru of Tobelo and Gorahe under the command of Lieutenant Maffa Mira were also thrown into the fray. On 20 November, the *negeri* Wosso and Maba were attacked and defeated the day after. The attack on Patani launched on 17 December did not succeed. In total, around eighty supporters of Nuku were killed and 145 were detained. Prince Nuku and his remaining supporters fled to Papua. One hundred and eighty-two captives (Burunese, Amblauwers, Ternatan, Gorontalese, Sangirese, and Butonese) were liberated and sent home.⁵⁹ New *sangaji*, *kimelaha*, and *kapiten* were appointed and stationed under a new contract concluded on 8 November 1781.⁶⁰ The second expedition under the command of Officer Heuser of the Ambon Government targeted the north and east coasts of Seram. On *Negeri* Kelibat in Rarakit, Heuser attacked vessels from Keffing and won the battle, losing one European and one local soldier. No important rebel leader was captured.⁶¹

It took Nuku less than a year to win the South and West Seramese, who had been under close control of the Dutch over to his cause. Instead of remaining loyal to the Company, the villages of Amahai, Makariki, Soahuku, Elpaputi, Paulohi, Hualoi, Latu, and Iha paid homage to the rebel. In December 1781, with a combined fleet of 160 vessels, they assaulted and looted Amahai, one of villages under Saparua.⁶² Although one of Prince Nuku's captains was beheaded, the rebels succeeded in killing Sergeant Cornelis Stephanus and one European soldier who doggedly pursued them at Itawaka.⁶³ The raiders went on looting other *negeri* on Saparua and attacked Hatuana in the northern part of this island. At the beginning of February 1782, the raiders again attacked the hinterland of Saparua and invaded the island of Nusalaut, burning *negeri* Ameth to cinders, and killing one Dutch officer, Dirk Quant. In May 1782, during the night, the raiders again surprised the islanders of Haruku and reduced the *negeri* Hulaliu, Kriu, and Pelau to ashes. A number of the Dutch subjects were either captured or executed. They then proceeded to the *Negeri* Liang under Hila and destroyed its settlements including a VOC post at Loki and its sago bakery.⁶⁴

On 7 May 1782, the Government of Ambon dispatched a stronger task force under Merchant William Beth to try to overcome the rebels. It consisted of *pancalang* and sloops, including the *Bataviase Welvaren*, the two-masted *arumbai* of the Governor, and was bolstered by support from the

⁵⁹ NA VOC 3603, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 22 May 1781, 17-26.

⁶⁰ See *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI: 480-2.

⁶¹ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, (?) 1781, 20.

⁶² NA VOC 3620, from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 68-72.

⁶³ NA VOC 3620, from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 68-72.

⁶⁴ NA VOC 3620 2, from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 70, 75.

military posts of Saparua, Haruku, Hila, and Larike. The expedition force included a Dutch lieutenant, and another officer, four sergeants, eight corporals, and sixty-four foot soldiers. Nevertheless, before the fleet could unite, sixty-four vessels belonging to the rebels surprised them on Babi Island. One vessel of Raja Nusa Laut and three other vessels and their entire arsenal were seized. *Gnataboedij* Mardika, Raja of Soya, and twenty-nine of his men were drowned, killed, or captured by the raiders. Yet the expedition force also succeeded in capturing some raiders and the villages loyal to the rebels were plundered and burnt, including a great number of sago and coconut palms which provided the rebels with victuals.⁶⁵

In 1782, the Dutch stepped up their military campaign to curb the rebels. In this year, the Ambon Government launched at least three expeditions to various places in Seram. In February, under the command of Officer Johan Sigbrand Borgguits, a number of vessels were sent to cruise around the waters of South Seram but when the fleet arrived there the rebels had already vanished. Many of the villages which had supported the rebels were reduced. Fearful of what the consequences might be if they did not do so, others surrendered and submitted to the Government.⁶⁶ The second expedition which was launched in May proved a failure. In the course of the third one, active between October 1782 and January 1783, the *hongji* visited most of the important settlements in Seram. The Governor of Ambon, Van Pleuren, pledged his subjects his support and granted pardon to those who chose to submit. But those *orangkaya* and the raja that were known dissidents were detained and replaced by loyalists. Again a number of villages were burnt down to set an example.⁶⁷ In East Seram, the *hongji* of the Ambon Government fought a rebel fleet, composed of 150 East Seramese vessels⁶⁸ and reduced a number of villages after having looted all copper utensils, textiles, and sago. Nuku had already disappeared but his brother Abdul Mutalib surrendered and begged for mercy. He informed the Governor that Prince Nuku had run out of weapons.⁶⁹

The Governor of Ambon was none the less quite aware that Prince Nuku's power had grown dramatically in a short time. The rebellion was supported not only by the traditionally obdurate traders and raiders from the East Seramese, Halmaheran, and the Papuan Islands; its cause had also won over a significant part of the south and west Seramese. Within two years, despite a number of military expeditions dispatched by the Ambon and Ternate Government, Prince Nuku had won widespread support among the

⁶⁵ NA VOC 3620, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 76-9.

⁶⁶ NA VOC 3620, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 73-5

⁶⁷ NA VOC 3646, Daily report of Hongi, 31 January 1783, 46-64.

⁶⁸ NA VOC 3646, Daily report of Hongi, 31 January 1783, 63-71.

⁶⁹ NA VOC 3646, Daily report of Hongi, 31 January 1783, 72-79.

Malukans. Governor Van Pleuren would have been happy to intensify the Company campaign against the rebel, but he was also aware that most of the Company's weaponry was already more than twenty years old. As it had been used repeatedly on earlier *hongi* expeditions, its reliability was open to question. The existing manpower was neither enough to safeguard the peace nor to manage the present disturbed situation. Even so, he had no choice but to continue the campaign and encourage his local allies to fight against Prince Nuku's troops. Van Pleuren promised a reward of 500 to 1000 *Rijksdaalders* for any person who was able to capture Prince Nuku and another Rds 500 for taking such of his main supporters as Raja Lukman of Keliluhu and Orang Kaya Imam Sarassa. These leaders were the most prominent Seramese traders on Pulau Gesser, and were now *kapiten-laut* in Nuku's fleet.⁷⁰ At this stage fortune had taken the side of Nuku.

*The 'Tidoran Revolution'*⁷¹

In 1782, the Governor of Ternate made a number of efforts to bring the Papuans to heel and make them obedient to the Sultan of Tidore but with only meagre success. In many respects Sultan Patra Alam and Governor Cornabé failed to operate on the same wave-length. In September 1782, only one head of the Papuans, *Sangaji* Muka, came to pay homage to Sultan Patra Alam. In 1783, after having heard that the fleet of Ambon had defeated Nuku's forces in 1782, Cornabé was anxious to send a fleet carrying many European soldiers to force the Papuan people to pay homage to the Sultan of Tidore. Here he met a stumbling-block, the Sultan refused to acquiesce in his plan. His relationship with his 'Father', Cornabé was fast deteriorating. It was an impossible task for the Sultan to send an expedition to Papua: not only did Prince Nuku command great support in that area, the Sultan was also painfully aware that he could not rely on the loyalty of his own chiefs and subjects. Even on Tidore, the grandees and princes were inclined to support Nuku. The Sultan was powerless and actually afraid of Prince Nuku, rather than having any intention of collaborating with him.⁷²

Following the steps taken by his colleague, the Governor of Ambon, the Governor of Ternate now promised to grant rewards to those who could capture Prince Nuku or Raja Lukman and planned the severest punishment for the rebels if they should be taken. A reward of a hundred *ducatons* out of

⁷⁰ NA VOC 3620, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 67-72; VOC 3627, 29 April 1782, 7-8; VOC 3627, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 18 July 1782, 10.

⁷¹ Quoted from the Dutch term 'Tidoreesche Revolutie,' in Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, this term is also used, 310.

⁷² Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 307-8.

the Governor's own private fund and a rattan cane with golden knob for senior-ranking leaders and canes with a silver knob for leaders of lower rank would be granted to those who proved themselves valiant in battle.⁷³ Pragmatically, the Company administration also realized that most of the East Seramese remained steadfast in their loyalty to Nuku, despite the very protracted and violent assaults launched by the Dutch with the support of two East Seramese leaders, namely Kapiten Baukan of Keffing and Orangkaya Kana-Kana of Kuwaus.⁷⁴

Translator Coenraad van Van Dijk was assigned to dispatch an expedition to Gamrange and the Papuan Raja Ampat. Boarding the *Tempel*, he departed on 25 May 1783. On 25 September, the Governor was informed that the Papuans had welcomed the Tidoran fleet under Van Dijk's command. This immediately fostered hope that this apparent amenability would lead to more submissions among the Papuans, who would eventually abandon Nuku.⁷⁵ Later, on 3 October 1783, the Governor of Ternate received news of 'treachery' within the expedition fleet itself. At the end of September 1783, Van Dijk and a number of European soldiers and some native burgers were massacred by the rebels on the island of Batanta. The Papuans, who had formally submitted and were supposed to be supporting the Company fleet, proved turncoats. One hundred and twenty vessels from Maba, Patani, and Papua appeared at Gane and Saketa and the VOC-appointed Kapiten Hairun and other *sangaji* on board had gone over to the rebel side. Two hundred Ternatan subjects were captured. It was a total disaster for Sultan Ternate and the Dutch Ternate Government. Van Dijk was taken to Salawati where he was executed. Adding insult to injury, all the artillery on board of the vessel was distributed among Nuku's followers.⁷⁶

Around the same time, 6 September 1783, twelve *sangaji* and *kimelaha* of Seram, who were hiding in the village Misa, wrote a secret letter to Sultan Patra Alam. They beseeched the Sultan to abandon the Company and to take the side of Prince Nuku's forces, threatening that if he failed to do so, the Sultanate of Tidore would be destroyed. The letter was phrased to convince the Sultan that Prince Nuku's forces were very powerful because the latter had gained and consolidated the support of many parts of Maluku. Apart from the Gamranges, the Papuans, and the East Seramese, now people from Ternatan Halmahera, Aru, Tanimbar, and Timor had also joined the rebellion. Every sign pointed to the fact that Nuku could expect the back-up from such other people as the Mindanao, Bugis and Makassarese and others farther afield. It was claimed that Nuku was

⁷³ NA VOC 3763, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 25 September 1783.

⁷⁴ NA VOC 3756, Letter from Banda to Batavia, Medio August 1783.

⁷⁵ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 308-9.

⁷⁶ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 8 March 1784, 140-4.

supported by the kings of 'the north, the south, and the entire east'. This letter probably helped to win the Sultan of Tidore over to Nuku's cause;⁷⁷ a move bolstered by Prince Nuku's promise that within the not too distant future fourteen English ships would come to the aid of him and his people.⁷⁸

Upon hearing the news of this treachery, Sultan Ternate, Aharal, sent a relief fleet of composed of fourteen *kora-kora* under the command of *Kimelaha* Marsaoli, but this force was routed in the Patinti Strait. Two *kora-kora* attached to this fleet fell to the Nuku's party. While panic gripped Ternate, the rebels triumphantly attacked and burned the poorly defended village of Ngofakiaha on Makian. All the women and children were captured.⁷⁹ The rebels were now within shouting distance of the heart of Tidore. On 16 October, Commander Agaatz heard the sound of cannon shots. Because his suspicions had been aroused by the attitude of Sultan Tidore and his grandees, he had artillery pieces and ammunition brought over from the post Tobo-tobo. Shortly afterwards, when Nuku appeared with 150 vessels carrying troops, the Sultan and his chief supporters did indeed declare war on the Dutch. Led by *Hukum* Doi, they attacked the Dutch strongholds and murdered all the Europeans, including Agaatz and the twelve bodyguards assigned to Sultan Patra Alam.⁸⁰

On 26 October, the rebels with a fleet of seventy *kora-kora* made landfall on the south-western coast of Tidore, where they ran across the Ternatan forces. In the affray in which the Dutch allies fired heavy cannon salvos the rebels lost twenty vessels but escaped to Marieko. The Governor of Ternate precipitately declared war, determined to revenge the massacre of the Company's employees. Two hundred European soldiers and a large combined force of 1500 Ternatan and Alifuru were dispatched under the command of Hemmekam and Secretary to the Council, Durr, on board two two-masted sloops and a *pancalang*. The Patanese rebel fleet of only forty vessels was no match for them and Soasio was easily overpowered as it lay abandoned. After Tahula and Gomaffu had been razed to the ground, the combined Ternatan-Dutch force marched on to the strongly defended village of Tomalau. After a long and persistent siege, this village and those surrounding it were overpowered and laid waste. The Sultan and those grandees who were in Marieko were now trapped with nowhere to flee and

⁷⁷ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 8 Maret 1784, 140; VOC 3677, Secret Resolutions, Ternate to Batavia, 28 September 1783, Letter from twelve *sangaji*, *kimelaha*, and heads of Seram to the Sultan of Tidore, 2-4. See also Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 224-5.

⁷⁸ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 523.

⁷⁹ NA VOC 3764, from Ternate to Ambon, 27 November 1783, 3.

⁸⁰ NA VOC 3764, from Ternate to Ambon, 27 November 1783, 7-8; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 226.

began to surrender. More than a hundred persons, including the family of the Sultan, were arrested and carried off to Ternate. Hukum Doi was killed, but the main instigator of the murder of Van Dijk and the other Europeans, Prince Major Bajo, was captured alive. In all one thousand Tidorans were killed in the battle and the Ternatan side also sustained severe losses. Only four Dutchmen were killed and twelve were wounded. The success of this expedition proved that the Company was still capable of quelling a political rebellion.⁸¹

On 17 December 1783, the heads of Tidore had no option but to sign a new 'treaty'. They had to confess to all the felonies that the Governor of Ternate with which chose to reproach them: the murders committed on the Company servants and the defection of their adherents to join Nuku's uprising. They had to promise to extradite all those who had participated in the rebellion. Henceforth all Tidorans were forbidden to make any contact with either the rebel groups or foreign forces. Articles Seven and Nine of the treaty were a reaffirmation of the expropriation of political authority which had already been stated in 1780.⁸² Sultan Patra Alam was accused of collaborating with Nuku and was shipped to Batavia to await trial.⁸³ Used as a *zondebok* (scapegoat) for Cornabé's failure, he was eventually exiled to Ceylon.⁸⁴

Among the Tidoran grandees under the rule of Sultan Patra Alam, Prince Nuku had also attracted heartening support. The treason committed by Kapiten Hairun of Tidore and other Tidoran leaders on board the *Tempel*, and the sudden attack at Gane and Saketa by Gamrange and Papuan groups⁸⁵ are two pieces of palpable evidence of the success of Nuku's strategies in mobilizing the support of Tidorans on the island and in exile. The success boosted the morale of the rebels and cast Sultan Patra Alam, who still remained on the Dutch side, into a slough of despondency. The secret letter to Sultan Patra Alam signed by twelve *sangaji* and *kimelaha* of Tidore on 6 September 1783,⁸⁶ which recognized and perhaps exaggerated the military might of Prince Nuku, was certainly instrumental in pushing the Sultan to decide to join Nuku's forces. In what was known as the 'Tidoreesche Revolutie,' of 1783, all Tidorans united to support Nuku's cause and slaughtered the Company soldiers posted on Tidore. Even though

⁸¹ NA VOC 3764, from Ternate to Ambon, 27 November 1783, 7-8.

⁸² *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 525-526.

⁸³ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 71.

⁸⁴ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 310-11. See also Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 31.

⁸⁵ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 8 March 1784, 140-4.

⁸⁶ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 8 Maret 1784, 140; VOC 3677, Secret Resolutions, Ternate to Batavia, 28 September 1783, Letter from twelve *sangaji*, *kimelaha*, and heads of Seram to the Sultan of Tidore, 2-4. See also Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 224-5.

the uprising was immediately suppressed by the Dutch,⁸⁷ it was yet another example of the success achieved by Nuku in unifying the Tidoran forces both at home and in exile.

*Sultan Tidore versus Sultan Papua and Seram*⁸⁸

After having deposed and punished their formerly 'loyal' Sultan Patra Alam, the Dutch now appointed Prince Kamaludin, whom they had arrested and exiled to Ceylon⁸⁹ after the Toloa attack in 1780, to the position. The act of the investiture of Prince Kamaludin as Sultan of Tidore was signed in Batavia on 18 October 1784. Under the terms of the act, the absolute power and ownership of the VOC over the realm of Tidore was explicitly restated.⁹⁰ Sultan Kamaludin arrived on Ternate on 18 April 1785 and was inaugurated the same day. Mohammad Arif Bila, former *Sangaji* of Tahane, who had been captured by Nuku's troop on Makian in 1783, was appointed *jogugu*, Batta was installed as *kapiten-laut*, and Abdul Gane as *sekretaris*.⁹¹ Sultan Kamaludin was obliged to remain on Ternate for a while, because in the combined Ternatan-Dutch attack on the Tidoran capital of Soa Sio in 1783 had destroyed the palace.⁹² At the inauguration, a general amnesty was granted to princes, grandees, and other subjects of Tidore, especially on Maba, Weda, Patani, and the Papuans. They were obliged to pay homage and submit to Sultan Tidore and the Dutch Government within ten months. A number of people from Weda and Maba took advantage of the amnesty and surrendered. Those from Weda were allowed to reside in Gita.⁹³ The appointment of Prince Kamaludin as Sultan Tidore was a shrewd strategy to gain the loyalty of the Seramese, the Papuans, and especially the Tidorans who had supported Prince Nuku.⁹⁴ A significant number of Weda people supported the new Sultan and presented themselves to the Company.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ NA VOC 3764, Letter from Ternate to Ambon, 27 November 1783, 7-8. See also Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 226.

⁸⁸ In the eyes of the Seramese and the Papuans, Prince Nuku was perceived as 'Sultan.' When Sadaha Gula Manis—an envoy of Sultan Kamaludin of Ternate—presented himself to the Prince and the Governor's letter was read out, the Papuans were enraged and picked up their weapons, ready to kill the envoys because the latter had not been addressed by his title of 'Sultan.' See Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 314.

⁸⁹ ANRI Ternate 87, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 10 May 1794, 60.

⁹⁰ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI, 543-7. See also Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 33.

⁹¹ ANRI Ternate 24, Resolution of Political Council, 6 April 1786, 214-35.

⁹² NA VOC 3705, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 5 September 1785, 78.

⁹³ ANRI Ternate 92, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 15 September 1785, 231-2.

⁹⁴ NA VOC 3704, MVO Governor of Ambon Bernardus Van Pleuren, 6 June 1785.

⁹⁵ 'General pardon and amnesty for Ceramese and Tidoran,' NA VOC 3699, General Advice, 15 September 1785, 293, 346.

Kapiten Sadaha Gula Manis, who had once been a supporter of Prince Nuku and had been captured by a Ternatan expedition in 1781,⁹⁶ was now appointed envoy of Sultan Kamaludin. On 3 December 1785, Gula Manis and Adjutant-Lieutenant Ali went to Salawati and conferred with two envoys of Prince Nuku, Hukum Tajudin and Kimelaha Kamtohe. They had been assigned by Nuku to prepare a Papuan fleet and at that time 325 vessels had already been assembled on Salawati. From Salawati, Gula Manis rowed onwards to *Negeri Daraki* (?) on Seram. When he went to land, he took fright at the multitude of the *prahu* and ‘countless’ armed people on the coast. They had all been mobilized by Prince Nuku.⁹⁷ He finally met Prince Nuku and handed over the Sultan’s letter which offered a free pardon and an opportunity for Nuku and his followers to surrender to Sultan Kamaludin, and to the Company. This offer was repudiated out of hand.⁹⁸

In the face of this refusal, Sultan Kamaludin decided to send four *korakor* to Papua and requested ammunition from the Dutch for this purpose. The plan failed to arouse much enthusiasm from Governor Cornabé, with whom his relationship was not much different than that he had maintained with Patra Alam. Cornabé who had no real faith in the Sultan and his grandees, suspected that, if he were to be supplied with the Company’s ammunition, he might well attack Ternatan subjects instead of fighting against Nuku.⁹⁹ In June and again in November 1786, Kamaludin proposed calling on Prince Nuku at his headquarters on Waru, Seram, to Cornabé. Cornabé utterly refused to countenance this suggestion. Not only did the Dutch administration distrust Sultan Kamaludin, its skepticism extended to all Tidoran leaders whoever they may have been. A Patanese messenger, Serangnoli, who had brought letters from Nuku, was bribed Rds 500 by the Dutch officials, Heinrich and Durr so that they might read its content.¹⁰⁰ By this means, it was discovered that *Jogugu* Mohammad Arif Bila and other Tidoran leaders maintained correspondence with the rebel Prince. Nuku would later admit that he had always kept up a correspondence with Tidorese grandees during his flight.¹⁰¹

On 5 April 1787, a squadron under the command of Commander Van Halm, consisting of three frigates—*Scipio*, *Ceres*, *Lynx*— and a brig the *Pijl*, arrived at Ternate. The *Ceres* and *Lynx* did not tarry long but departed to Makassar. Instead of employing the warships to fight Nuku, Governor

⁹⁶ NA VOC 3627, from Ternate to Ambon, 3 September 1781, 81-3.

⁹⁷ NA VOC 3738, Ternate Council Meeting, 3 December 1785, 6, 9, 11.

⁹⁸ NA VOC 3738, Ternate Council Meeting, 3 December 1785, 25-6.

⁹⁹ ANRI Ternate 85, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 15 July 1787.

¹⁰⁰ ANRI Ternate 85, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 6 September 1787; Ternate 85, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 15 July 1787.

¹⁰¹ IOR/L/PS/19/14, Alexander Dalrymple, ‘Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore,’ 11 February 1801, 6.

Cornabé openly accused Kamaludin of collaborating with Nuku. Cornabé refused to believe Kamaludin's explanation that he had proposed an expedition three times but had always been refused. Suspicious of the Sultan and the other Tidoran leaders, Cornabé was convinced that there was always a possibility Tidoran soldiers would commit treason. When the Government obtained news from Ambon that Nuku's followers had abandoned him between Hote and Waru in the north-east Seram, the *Scipio* and the *Pijl* went back to Ambon.¹⁰² In contrast to Cornabé, the Governor of Ambon Van Pleuren was willing to negotiate with Prince Nuku rather than to fight him.¹⁰³ In fact, in his letter to Van Pleuren, Prince Nuku, using the title 'the powerful Sultan of Seram', threatened that his subjects would go to any lengths to obstruct any vessels of the Company entering Seram waters. Nevertheless, these letters did not provoke Van Pleuren to send another expedition. Nuku also wrote letters to the Governor of Banda who forwarded them to Ambon without replying to them. Haga claims that Nuku simply wrote all these letters in order to buy time.¹⁰⁴

In 1787 a free burgher named Harmansz, who had been in Maserai a *negeri* close to Salawati, affirmed that Nuku's authority was still well entrenched there. The passes which Nuku handed out were still valid on Seram and in Papua. A Bandanese vessel which did not have one was seized and plundered and its crew were taken into captivity.¹⁰⁵ Under these circumstances, Governor Cornabé once again dispatched an extirpation expedition to Maba, Weda, and Patani. But a slave, arriving from Weda via Payahe, told the people in Gita that Prince Nuku had prepared a fleet of one hundred vessels from Seram, Misool and other Papuans to attack the extirpation fleet. This news struck fear and panic among the crew. But Cornabé persisted in claiming that it was only a rumour, deliberately fabricated in order to dishearten the expedition.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, in December 1787, Gula Manis and certain Tidoran heads were sent on an expedition to Salawati. Twenty *kora-kora* from Maba, Weda, and Patani which now supported Sultan Kamaludin joined them. On 31 January 1788, on Samate, before Gula Manis and his men reached Salawati, Nuku prevented them from landing. The Raja and *Kapiten Laut* of Salawati who remained loyal to Nuku attacked and captured one of the vessels. One of the captives reported

¹⁰² Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 317.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 316-7, 320.

¹⁰⁴ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 75-6; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 320-1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 318; Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 35.

¹⁰⁶ ANRI Ternate, 85, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 6 September 1788; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 318-9.

to the Dutch that Nuku had really planned to attack Maba, Weda, Patani, and then Tidore.¹⁰⁷

Temporary Decline and Epidemic (1785-1790)

At this stage Sultan Kamaludin was willing to appoint Nuku 'Governor' of Seram, but in 1789, further attempts to negotiate with Nuku were abandoned because it was clear that they were entirely fruitless. Despite the distrust between Cornabé and Kamaludin, on 26 February 1789, both agreed to launch a joint Tidore fleet, supported by people from Maba, Weda, and Patani, against Salawati where it was supposed Nuku was residing. During this expedition eleven Salawati supporters of Nuku were captured and a number of *negeri* on Salawati were attacked and burned down. Even the cannon, which had been plundered from Van Dijk's vessel in 1783, were retrieved. By this achieving success, Kamaludin gained a measure of respect and trust from Cornabé. He proposed another expedition to East Seram to fight Nuku in a direct confrontation but there was no follow-up. In the middle of 1789, the Governor of Ambon also sent a fleet to attack Nuku in East Seram but Nuku's small fleet of thirty-five vessels managed to escape. The Company officers wondered where Nuku might have been: On Salawati or with his brother, Manoffa, in the Aru Islands? Neither supposition was correct as after some time, news was received that he was in Misool waiting for a letter from the English.¹⁰⁸

The people of Salawati who had abandoned Nuku now wanted to have a new raja. Sultan Kamaludin supported Prince Arowe of Salawati to fill this position. A fleet of fifteen Tidoran *kora-kora* plus three from Maba, Weda, and Patani, carrying 900 men in total, was sent to Salawati under the command of Kapiten Abdul Jalal to perform the investiture of Prince Arowe as Raja Salawati. Haga asserts the people of Salawati welcomed their new raja with 'jubilation.' This was not without repercussions on the people of Misool, who had fled to the forest upon the arrival of the fleet. When they returned, they expressed their intention of also submitting themselves. In the days which followed, Raja Misool, Bagus, and Raja Waigama, Kamassan, both submitted themselves to Sultan Ternate and the Dutch. As a result of this change of heart, Nuku had lost the support of significant part of the population of Raja Ampat. Meanwhile, the pro-Kamaludin Tidoran fleet was suffering from an outbreak of disease which killed some sixty of his men. Because of this, the expedition could not sail on to Gorom - as originally planned - but was forced to turn back to Tidore. When warships

¹⁰⁷ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 77. See also Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 319.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 321-3.

from Batavia arrived, reinforced by two *pancalang* and 100 soldiers, the Governor of Ternate hoped that the rebel could finally be forced to surrender. The Governor of Ambon suggested the two other Governments use any means at their disposal to destroy Nuku's force and, if possible, arrest him.¹⁰⁹

In 1790, the Raja Ampat Islands were no longer safe for Nuku. His power was on the wane and he was said to be hiding somewhere in East Seram. Because the Gamrange and the Raja Ampat now were deemed pacified, the extirpation expeditions were commenced again. In that year, the *pancalang* the *Windbond*, under the command of Lieutenant Linke, and a military detachment under the command of Officer Hartsmann left Ternate and headed for Maba, one of the nutmeg-rich areas. As they were drunk most of the time, Linke and Hartsmann fought each other over which course to take and consequently lost direction. After Hartsmann had won and Linke had been clapped in irons, he called at Warsai on Waigeo, instead of Salawati, because his men suffered from a shortage of water. When twenty-three soldiers went ashore, the Papuans surprised them and took them prisoner. The *pancalang* was taken and many of the crew were also captured. One of the soldiers, Kamanga, tried to negotiate the release of the captives. It was agreed that some of the Company's goods would be handed over to the *sangaji*. While the exchange was being negotiated, a Maforese *kora-kora* suddenly appeared on the scene, and after a cannon shot, one of the soldiers cut the anchor cable and the *pancalang* sailed away leaving Swerus Sijbrands with eleven soldiers behind in the hands of the Papuans. After having abducted a woman in the Laluga Islands, the escaped vessel arrived at Maba. When the case was investigated, the Governor decided the first step should be to liberate the captured soldiers. Sultan Kamaludin dispatched an envoy on a small vessel to negotiate the release amicably and with the cooperation of Raja Salawati and Sangaji Warsai, the captives were released in exchange for a 'gift' of *f* 100.¹¹⁰ This event shows that the Papuans of the Raja Ampat did not really submit to either the Sultan or the Dutch, but retained their independent attitude and followed their own interests.

At the end of the year 1790, the Governor-General in Batavia decided to close the areas of Seram and its immediate vicinity to the people of Gorom who were subordinate to the Government of Ambon. The burghers of Banda were granted *vrije vaart* (free navigation) and trade in these areas. This was a pious hope as there was no question of free navigation because the Goromese and the inhabitants of the south-east part of the islands strongly resisted this move. Several clashes followed: The *bongi* fleet of Ambon destroyed and burned a few of Prince Nuku's vessels, and shortly

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 323-4.

¹¹⁰ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 235.

afterwards, a fleet of thirty-five vessels belonging to Prince Nuku appeared in the region of South Seram but was repulsed.¹¹¹ During the attack on Gorom, Prince Malikudin, one of Nuku's followers, surrendered to the Company, forfeiting any respect he may have had among the Tidorans. The Governor therefore preferred that he remain in Ambon for fear that Nuku's sympathizers might ridicule him.¹¹²

To eradicate Nuku's influence in the area, a strong fleet manned by European soldiers and the Alifuru warriors was prepared.¹¹³ In 1791 the frigate the *Bellona* and the brig the *Mercur*, under the command of Captain Werner Gobius, anchored in Banda. After the cutter the *Patriot* and the *pancalang* the *Willem* had joined them, the expedition fleet set sail. The first act of the task force was to punish the inhabitants of Aru, Watubela, and it then headed for Gorom. The *hongji* landed at several places on Gorom, and destroyed fortified settlements forcing the local population to surrender. Because Prince Nuku was not found and the commander, Captain Gobius was severely injured (he died soon afterwards), the operation was suspended.¹¹⁴ How the captain was wounded is not clear but his death was a great blow to the Dutch. The fight was in fact by no means over.¹¹⁵

The Governor of Ambon, Adam Schilling, referring to information supplied by a burgher from Banda, Joseph Jacobsz., wrote to his colleague on Ternate that Nuku's brother, in charge of two fleets of raiders, was poised to attack the northern and the southern parts of Seram. Meanwhile Prince Nuku himself with a group of eighty vessels was sailing from Tobelo, Galela, Maba, Weda, Patani and Gebe to Hote on the north-east coast of Seram to await a fleet of allies from Gorom and other East Seram areas before waging an attack on Saway, and then Manipa. Seven of his vessels were sighted between Manipa and Buru on 28 August 1791. The same information was received from various sources¹¹⁶ among them Raja Pohon Pati, a spy who had often been despatched to Gorom by former Governor

¹¹¹ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 327.

¹¹² NA OIC No. 90, Letter from Ambon to Ternate, 27 September 1792; OIC No. 79, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 6 August 1793 § 351; and OIC No. 79, Ambon Resolution, 1 March 1793, 424. See also Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 324, 327.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 328.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 328.

¹¹⁵ Farquhar in his account writes, "...the military commander in chief was murdered by one of his own men." See IOR/P/255/18, MMC, 18-02-1803, Letter from Farquhar to Colonel Oliver, 1 June 1802, 1010.

¹¹⁶ Johannes Latumalea from Soya, who had lived in captivity on Gorom for eight years, and a raja of Iha, Pohon Pati, as well as a Goromese *Orangkaya* from Keliakat, who had submitted himself to the Governor of Ambon in 1790.

Van Pleuren because of his excellent knowledge of the *negeri*, islands, and anchorages.¹¹⁷

The campaign to terminate Prince Nuku's rebellion did not run according to plan. When it came to local allies, especially Tidore, the Dutch did not quite know who could and who could not be trusted. As the Company was really dependent on the local support, this lack of trust and confidence posed a real problem. The bitter experiences of the Van Dijk expedition in 1783 and the subsequent Tidore rebellion were fresh in people's memories. Reports about raid and assaults, on a greater or smaller scale, were received almost every day even though the leaders of Maba, Weda, Patani, Salawati, Misool, and Waigama had formally submitted to the Dutch. An outbreak of smallpox also hindered the Ambon expedition which had been planned for February 1792. A force of thirty Tidoran *kora-kora* with 2,000 men on board, which had already been assembled, was disbanded. Nevertheless, by September 1792, another expedition was being considered because small vessels belonging to Nuku were still making unexpected attacks on Ternatan vessels, but this plan was also cancelled because of the smallpox.¹¹⁸

Meeting in council on 26 October 1792, Governor Cornabé explained how strong an expedition would be required to defeat Prince Nuku's forces. On the basis of the information collected by Governor Schilling of Ambon and the 'loyal' *orangkaya* and *raja*, Cornabé could size up Nuku's strength. He said he required four *pancalang*, 150 European soldiers, under a capable and vigilant commander, backed up by forty *kora-kora* manned by stalwart locals, amounting to about 2600 men, under an alert chief. The enemy had to be attacked at three places simultaneously employing two *pancalang* and half of the *kora-kora* in the main attacking force. The other half of the fleet should land on the other side piloted in by three *arumbai*.¹¹⁹ Nothing came of this proposal because smallpox was still rampant and another sickness had also reached epidemic proportions.¹²⁰

The years of 1790-1791 were a very critical and difficult time for Nuku and his forces. The army of Tidore under Sultan Kamaludin, reinforced by the Governments of Ternate, Ambon, and Banda, were launching systematic attacks on Nuku's bases in East Seram, the Raja Ampat, and Gamrange. During the period, his main supporters as well as leading groups on Raja Ampat, Raja Salawati, Misool, Waigeo, and Waigama, either surrendered to Sultan Kamaludin, or were captured or killed in battle. All local rulers were

¹¹⁷ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate Council Meeting, 28 September 1792, 26 October 1792; OIC No. 90, Ambon to Ternate, 27 September 1792

¹¹⁸ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 332.

¹¹⁹ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate council meeting, 26 October 1792, 20-1.

¹²⁰ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate council meeting, 26 October 1792, 22.

replaced by those who were considered loyal to Sultan Kamaludin and to the Dutch. His supporters in East Seram and Gorom were dispersed after the attack by Gobius' fleet in 1791. Most disheartening of all, Nuku also lost the support of his two brothers, Prince Malikudin and Prince Manoffa—killed in a battle on Aru. Even some of his own *bobato*, Katoppo claims,¹²¹ had turned their allegiance to Sultan Kamaludin. Prince Nuku's forces had dwindled to a small core of loyalists. To some extent the smallpox epidemic and the death of Gobius conspired to save him. By playing hide and seek the prince managed to survive.

Sultan Kamaludin was more decisive than his predecessor Patra Alam in dealing with Nuku. He had won his antagonist's most important adherents, among them the leaders of Maba, Weda and Patani during 1786-1787 and the Raja Ampat during 1789-1790, over to his camp.¹²² In his first five years on the throne, he successfully consolidated the Tidore realms under his authority.¹²³ Kamaludin who had formerly been Nuku's partner in opposing the Dutch contract which attempted to regulate the cession of Seram in 1768 now successfully confronted him. In his dealings with Kamaludin, Nuku was well aware of this but at all times he skilfully avoided creating an impression of enmity towards Kamaludin. He strove none the less very hard to hinder Kamaludin's strategies of influencing Raja Salawati and Misool.

Resurgence of Forces (1791-1796)

In 1781, Nuku's bases on East Seram and Gamrange were attacked by the Dutch and Ternatan forces, strengthened by a detachment of North Halmaherans, namely the Alifuru from Galela, Tobelo, and Tobaru. Ten years later, many of these same people turned their allegiance to Nuku. After 1791, Nuku somehow quickly recovered his military and naval strength. The support of 400 North Halmaherans in this period was quite decisive. By this time the east coast of Halmahera, the Gamrange and all the Papuan Raja Ampat, except Salawati, were gradually returning to Nuku's fold.¹²⁴ Why and how this happened is not completely clear. Nuku had again requested assistance from Mindanao¹²⁵ but there is not any evidence to show any real support from those parts. A Makianese who had been captured by Nuku's forces reported that Prince Nuku promised his people that English ships

¹²¹ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 79.

¹²² A number of Nuku's important leaders had also gone back home to Tidore. See Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 318-9; Katoppo, *Nuku*, 77.

¹²³ NA VOC 3627, from Ternate to Ambon, 3 September 1781, 81-3.

¹²⁴ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 36.

¹²⁵ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 36.

would soon come to help them against the Dutch. Nuku may have already established contact with British vessels but this had not yet materialized in any material assistance to Nuku's forces.¹²⁶

On 1 March 1793, Governor Schilling became very anxious when he heard that the strength of Nuku's forces at Gorom had swelled to about 20,000 to 30,000 men.¹²⁷ He did his utmost to strengthen the ties with Kapiten of Keffing, Baukan, and the *Orangkaya* of Kuwau, Kana-Kana, but the influence of these two East Seramese leaders was not potent enough: Most of their people Nuku's side. To strengthen the power of Kapiten Baukan, Schilling recommended the Banda administration not to allow Goromese, people of Seram Laut, or Gesserese, to trade with Banda without a pass from Kapiten Baukan. But Schilling's plan was unworkable, as the inhabitants of Banda could not survive without the provisions supplied by the traders from these places.¹²⁸

Sometime around July-August 1793, Sultan Kamaludin was showing signs of being eager to conduct another expedition against Nuku's base. The Sultan was afraid that the longer the rebellion had to develop, the stronger his opponent would grow and the more people (subjects of Bacan, Tidore, and Ternate as well) he would attract to his cause. But the enthusiasm of the Ternate Government, having learned its lesson from the storms and diseases which had afflicted earlier expedition, was somewhat tempered.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, despite its misgivings, a Ternate Government fleet was dispatched under the command of Sergeant Heydelman. The fleet visited Gane, Bacan, Obi, Sula, and Besi, all places where the rebels had been operating the previous year. Some fighting did take place but tended to be desultory.¹³⁰ An extirpation expedition was also carried out on Obi even though in the end many participants were afflicted by sickness.¹³¹ Mindful of the decline of Dutch power and the surge of Nuku's power, Sultan Tidore suggested that Nuku should be accommodated.¹³² By the end of 1793 quite patently Prince Nuku was enjoying the support of the English. On Tidore, the Sultan realized that many of his subjects were now defecting to Nuku's side.¹³³

The mounting of a *bongi* expedition was not an easy operation. First sufficient vessels and men had to be assembled, and then adequate provisions had to be accumulated. But even if all these preparations could

¹²⁶ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, Interview appendix No 192, 2 October 1794

¹²⁷ NA OIC No. 79, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1 March 1793, 273.

¹²⁸ NA OIC No. 79, Ambon Resolution, 1 March 1793, 273-4.

¹²⁹ NA OIC No. 90, Secret Advice Ternate to Batavia, 18 September 1793, § 7.

¹³⁰ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 333.

¹³¹ NA OIC No. 90, Secret Advice Ternate to Batavia, 18 September 1793, § 11.

¹³² NA OIC No. 90, Secret Advice Ternate to Batavia, 18 September 1793, § 22.

¹³³ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 355.

be made, success was not assured. This became all too clear to the Governor of Ambon, J. Schilling, when he conducted the next *hongji* to the south coast of Seram. On 1 November, the *kora-kora* of Bonoa, from which the Governor commanded the fleet, ran into a heavy storm and went down as it was crossing to Asahudi on the island of Manipa. The Governor had to abandon ship and transfer to the *kora-kora Alang*. The original plan was that the fleet would continue along the coast of Seram as far as Kilimuri, but when he was told that smallpox was raging on Keffing, the Governor did not want to expose his crews and soldiers to the contagion. He had learned an awful lesson in 1787 when a significant number of the *hongji* crew had died of illness. Schilling decided to turn back, and visited the island of Nusalaut instead. There he distributed clothes as gifts to the indigenous leaders. Once again, an attempt to catch Nuku on Seram misfired.¹³⁴ At the end of 1793, Governor Cornabé of Ternate succeeded Schilling and was appointed Governor of Ambon. Johannes Ekenholm replaced him as Acting-Governor of Ternate.¹³⁵

In 1794 Nuku's younger brother, Prince Zainal Abidin, who had been exiled to Ceylon with late Sultan Jamaludin in 1779, arrived in Maluku on board an English ship and decided to throw in his weight in with Nuku's forces. How he managed to leave Ceylon which at the time was still under the Dutch control remains shrouded in mystery. The prince made a curious statement alleging that the Company had granted him the title of Raja Salawati and that Prince Nuku had abdicated his authority over all the Papuan Islands to him. He had command of ninety *kora-kora*.¹³⁶ In Gebe, in September 1794, Prince Nuku, accompanied by two English ships the *Resource* and the *Duke of Clarence*, had command of one hundred vessels not counting new followers from Galela, Ratu, and Use, who were on their way to Waigama with fifty-three vessels.¹³⁷ The Rebel Prince had sworn before the people of Maba and Weda that, with the support of the English, his fleet would go to Tidore. Kapiten Saisai from Tidore passed on the information that the English ships were transporting forty *kimelahas* from Maba, Weda, and Patani, as well as a number of Muslim clerics to Waru.¹³⁸ The influential Ternatan prince, Ibrahim Al-Mukaram, was also accompanying him. Upon

¹³⁴ NA OIC No. 65A, Ambon, General Letters, 273v; OIC No. 80, From Ambon to Batavia, 01 August 1794, § 155.

¹³⁵ NA OIC No. 65A, Ambon, General Letters, 275v-276r.

¹³⁶ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, report of Ternate's envoy, 27 September 1794. Tidorese Kimelaha Sokonora, Writer Abdul Kadir, and Vaandrig Djinir.

¹³⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 355-6.

¹³⁸ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, from Ternate to Ambon, 16 September 1795, § 22-23, 42-58. See also testimony of a man of Galela who reported to the Dutch about his experiences on Maba, seeing the combined fleet of Prince Nuku and the English, OIC No. 91, Ternate, interview, 7-9.

hearing these ominous tidings, Sultan Kamaludin grew increasingly worried and made overtures to the Ternate Government. The Governor had already sent a Ternatan envoy, Kapiten Gula Manis, to Gamkonora and Maldi in Halmahera to obtain information about Nuku's movements. He came back on 10 September reporting that he had seen thirty great *kora-kora* as well as other smaller ones in the vicinity of the island of Gebe. In the meanwhile, more and more people flocked from Tidore to support Prince Nuku. In view of these developments, the Government of Ternate realized that power was slipping out of its hands. Only one ship was on standby at Ternate, assisted by a couple of *pancalang* verging on the unseaworthy.¹³⁹

On 6 December 1794, the Acting-Governor of Ternate, Ekenholm, wrote about the precarious political situation between his Ternate and Tidore subordinates, saying: 'From time to time, disagreements and discord have occurred between Tidore and Ternate which have led to hatred, quarrels and enmity.'¹⁴⁰ To make matters worse, the Tidoran elite was polarized between the Sultan Kamaludin and Prince Nuku. Actually, by this time, the power of Sultan Tidore had ebbed away drastically, while Prince Nuku's followers grew more aggressive and expanded their operations even into Ternatan territory. On 28 November 1794, powerless to combat the increase in Papuan raiding activities in the area, the extirpation programme of the VOC collapsed. The *hongji* returned from the coast of Ilat with no result.¹⁴¹ At the end of December, all the Papuans had withdrawn their support from Kamaludin and had preferred to join Prince Nuku. Governor Johann Godfried Budach, who had replaced Ekenholm on 18 October 1794, reported that Maba and Patani people now also supported Prince Nuku because they were afraid of him. He recommended patience; they would leave him sooner or later and return to their homeland. Budach was quite anxious about the situation on Tidore. Nuku had made an alliance with the English and assembled all the dissatisfied princes and grandees of Tidore under his banner. The Company could do very little as the number of its soldiers and weapons had dwindled significantly.¹⁴²

In view of Nuku's rising power in the periphery and his collaboration with the English, the Governor chose to strengthen the defences of Ternate. A small new stronghold was built at Kayu Merah and garrisoned with one sergeant, two corporals, and twenty soldiers. He also strove to inspire and encourage Sultan Kamaludin, who showed little interest in the fate of his

¹³⁹ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, Separate Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 16 September 1795, § 22-23, 42-58.

¹⁴⁰ NA OIC No. 81, Letter from Ternate to Ambon, 6 December 1794.

¹⁴¹ NA OIC No. 81, Letter from Governor of Ambon to Resident Buru, 10 January 1794.

¹⁴² NA OIC No. 81, Letter from Ternate to Ambon, 6 December 1794; OIC No. 91, Letter from Ternate to Ambon, 28 September 1795.

Sultanate. The Governor sensibly concluded that lacking sufficient power he could not force Nuku to submit. Repeated efforts to apprehend Nuku or offers to grant him amnesty had failed to raise even the glimmer of a response. The situation also worried the Governor-General in Batavia. He shared the fear that, with his combined forces, Nuku might attack and overmaster both Ternate and Tidore.¹⁴³

Batavia also issued cautious instructions urging that any expedition in which 'expensive armaments' would be involved should be avoided. On 10 February 1795, the Governor-General and Council sent a conciliatory letter, ordering Prince Nuku be granted an amnesty. All his hostile conduct, displayed for almost fifteen years, would be forgiven. He was also to be given choices about his future. The Prince could choose either to be ruler of Papua under the authority of Sultan Tidore and the Company, or to be ruler of the north coast of Seram which is what the Governor-General would prefer him to do.¹⁴⁴ On 29 August 1795, Prince Nuku, who had grown even more confident of his military force and now bore the title, 'Paduka Sri Sultan Saidul Djohas Muhammad Mabus Amirudin Syah Kaicil Parang, the Sultan of All Negeri and Countries which Obey Me', wrote a letter to Sultan Kamaludin in which he stated that he had finally allied his forces with those of the English, achieving what he had striven to achieve for such a long time. He guaranteed that he would do no harm to the Tidore Sultanate, the Sultan, and the *grandees*,¹⁴⁵ and offered an alliance¹⁴⁶ governing Tidore together in peace.¹⁴⁷ Governor Budach forbade Kamaludin to answer the letter,¹⁴⁸ but he himself wrote a letter granting Nuku amnesty as Batavia had done. Apparently, Nuku was disinclined to avail himself of the offer.¹⁴⁹

Many worrying rumours kept filtering into Ternate from outside about the mushrooming force of Prince Nuku and his ambition to conquer Ternate. Governor Budach observed that most of the news or rumours were untrue and had been dreamed up to terrify the inhabitants. He none the less remained vigilant and alert. In an attempt to clarify matters, Budach and Kamaludin decided to send Gula Manis to Patani to find out what was happening. In Gebe, Gula Manis was discovered and hounded by Nuku's followers but managed to escape.¹⁵⁰ Returning from his alarming trip to Gebe, Gula Manis reported that the Ternatan Halmaherans were also

¹⁴³ NA OIC No. 90, Advice from Ternate to the Netherlands, 18 September 1794; Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 356-7; and Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 37.

¹⁴⁴ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 358.

¹⁴⁵ NA OIC No. 91, Separate Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 16 September 1795, § 42-58.

¹⁴⁶ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 100; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 234.

¹⁴⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 359.

¹⁴⁸ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 68.

¹⁴⁹ NA OIC No. 91, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 29 April 1796, §16.

¹⁵⁰ ANRI 89.1, Separate letter from Ternate to Batavia, 16 September 1795, § 40-1.

supporting Prince Nuku, and believed that Kamaludin no longer had authority over his subjects. Raiding activities were also increasing in Manado and Gorontalo.¹⁵¹ On 18 December 1795, the Tidoran Prince Hassan who was loyal to the Dutch told them that on Maba he had seen a thousand Tobelo people, excluding women and children, who supported Prince Nuku.¹⁵²

On 19 September 1795, Governor Cornabé and the Council in Ambon resolved that no *bongi* voyage would be undertaken that year.¹⁵³ Two months later on 5 November 1795, when the Tidoran grandees again requested support from Budach to send an expedition against Prince Nuku, the Governor refused their request because he was sure that Prince Nuku would prove too strong.¹⁵⁴ Instead of sending *bongi*, on 9 March 1796 Governor Budach dispatched Prince Major Hassan to Gebe to negotiate Prince Nuku's return home and offered him North Seram to rule. When it transpired the mission was a failure, it was finally concluded that Nuku was *weerbarstig*, 'recalcitrant', and *bloeddorstig*, 'bloodthirsty', and unwilling to live 'in friendship and in peace' with the Company.¹⁵⁵ The High Government in Batavia ordered the three Governors in Maluku to break off all negotiations and declared Prince Nuku an *onverzoenlijke vijand*, 'irreconcilable enemy'.¹⁵⁶ Neither negotiations nor military expeditions were to be undertaken at this time.¹⁵⁷

By the end of June 1796, the garrison of Ternate consisted of nine officers and 323 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. About half of them were Manadonese. They were dispersed over several defence posts: in the castle; at Forts Kayu Merah; Telukko; and in the palaces of Sultans Ternate and Tidore. The sea forces consisted of three lightly armed *pancalang* (*Padang*, *Windbond*, and *Lassum*) manned by two lieutenants, seven petty officers, and twenty-four seamen, a number of *kora-kora* to make patrols off Hiri. The armaments on the vessels were all light calibre. Exerting his authority, the Governor also ordered a number of *kora-kora* from Ternate and Tidore to undertake patrols off Hiri, Makian, Saketa, and Gane.¹⁵⁸

During his term of office, Budach had been forced to confront the ever-growing power of Nuku and the arrival of British Navy. The British fleet

¹⁵¹ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 361.

¹⁵² NA OIC No. 91, Report of Prince Hassan to Governor Budach, 29 February 1796, 77-8.

¹⁵³ NA OIC No. 81, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 19 September 1795, § 251-60.

¹⁵⁴ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate to Batavia, 29 April 1796 §14.

¹⁵⁵ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate to Batavia, 29 April 1796 §17, 21-3, 25.

¹⁵⁶ NA OIC No. 91, Secret advice of Ternate to Batavia, 4 April 1796.

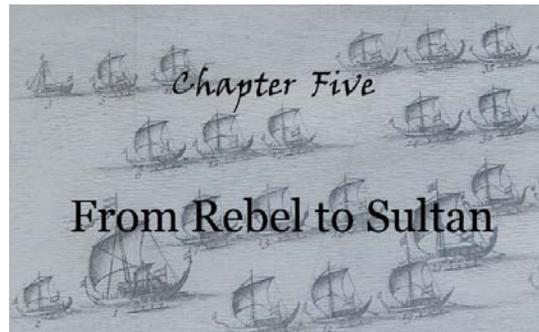
¹⁵⁷ NA OIC No. 91, Council meeting, 9 March 1796, 86.

¹⁵⁸ P.A. Leupe, 'De verdediging van Ternate onder den Gouverneur Johan Godfried Budach 1796-1799,' in *BKI* 12 (1865), 272-3, 279.

consisted of nine ships carrying 712 European officers and soldiers, plus 996 native officers and soldiers on board.¹⁵⁹ On 29 March 1796, Lieutenant Nicolaas Pilander arrived at Ternate with a small *arumbai* and reported to Governor Budach that Ambon had been taken under English 'protection'. A similar report from Prince Abdul Halim of Tidore described the seizure of Banda. Adding to the pressure, three vessels of English country traders were allied with Prince Nuku. This was very bad news for the Dutch Governor; now that Ambon and Banda had been occupied by the English, the supply of provisions from Batavia also ran into trouble.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ 'Return of His Majesty's and the Honorable Company's Troops on Foreign Stations,' 24 October 1798, MMC, 30 October 1798, as quoted in Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 83.

¹⁶⁰ Leupe, 'De verdediging van Ternate,' 266, 275-6, 280.



The Conquest of Tidore

In May 1796, Prince Nuku was busy consolidating his forces which required moving constantly between Gebe and Patani. His campaign to overwhelm Maluku was launched in the second half of the year. When Nuku's Alifuru troops from Gita landed on Makian, Sultan Kamaludin asked Governor Budach for some six-and-half-pounders and six-pounders with the requisite ammunition to be able to defend himself.¹ Sultan Ternate also reported that a party of Nuku's men had landed on Makian. The crews of these thirty vessels plundered, and burned the villages killing those inhabitants who had no stomach to join the rebellion. Determined to counter this, Hukum Mohibu of Tidore mobilized ten *kora-kora*, equipped with eight four-pounder and twenty-two two-pounder cannons, ten small barrels of ammunition, and twenty guns.²

Prince Nuku now felt the time had come for psychological warfare. He sent a letter, signed by himself and three English country trading captains, to Sultan Kamaludin who passed it on unopened to the Governor. Nuku intimated that he had allied himself with the English who were providing his fleet with plenty of munitions. The English flag was now raised at Maba. He made Kamaludin an offer to join his forces, but the Governor did not deign to reply to this 'outrageous' letter, and instructed his subjects to remain vigilant, awaiting the imminent attack. The beach batteries were prepared. Reinforcements were sent to Forts Kayu Merah and Telukko.³

Meanwhile Sultan Aharal of Ternate (r. 1780-1796) exacerbated the situation. After having refused to attend a meeting with the Dutch Governor of Ternate to explain his wayward behaviour, he was arrested. He was

¹ Three small barrels of gunpowder and *rondscherp* were delivered.

² ANRI Ternate 32, Ternate Resolution, 27 October 1796, 59, 61-2, 73-4.

³ NA OIC 64, Ambon, General Letters, 22v; OIC No. 91, Ternate to Batavia, 20 May 1796 § 39-40; See also P.A. Leupe, 'De verdediging van Ternate onder den Gouverneur Johan Godfried Budach 1796-1799,' in *BKI* 12 (1865), 280, 283.

suspected of having hatched a scheme to attack the Dutch and cross over to Nuku and the English. Fortunately, the Dutch still had loyal collaborators within the Sultanate, who were themselves aspirants to the throne. The Ternatan Princes (Schoonderwoert, Jasim, and Beynun) betrayed their own Sultan who had written a letter, via Gula Manis, to Prince Nuku inviting him to Ternate. When it was discovered that he had prepared around 120 Alfurus armed with *kewang* (a kind of machete) for this purpose, Sultan Aharal was eventually banished.⁴ Although the Government of Ternate believed that: *de trouwelooze bedrijven van den koning zoo helder als het daglicht waren*,⁵ instead of one of the three 'loyal' princes, he appointed, Prince Sarkan Sultan of Ternate formally inaugurating him with the title 'Paduka Sri Maha Tuan Sultan Nur Arifin Wahuwa Sayidina Muhidin Sah Kaicil Sarkan', on 22 August 1796.⁶ Not long afterwards, Sultan Sarkan sent three *kora-kora* armed with Dutch munitions and with a European Corporal on board to Wosi. Unfortunately they were promptly attacked by Nuku's raiders. By now everybody on the Dutch and Ternatan side agreed *dat men met alle middelen van geweld niets kan winnen*.⁷ Communications became extremely difficult for the Dutch Government on Ternate. It took a *pancalang* from Batavia no less than a year to reach Ternate. Budach tried to send a letter reporting his parlous situation with a Makassarese, but Prince Nuku happened waylay his *pancalang* in the Strait of Bacan and intercepted this message.⁸

On 13 March 1797, with the help of English country traders,⁹ Prince Nuku, with fifty vessels big and small, laid siege to Bacan.¹⁰ The process of occupation took more than a week. Reportedly, on 16 March, Nuku's allies, the English country traders, demanded the post-holder Van Diest surrender his redoubt but he refused to do so. Four days later, on 21 March, the redoubt manned by a corporal, cannon, and five soldiers submitted. Governor Budach wrote to Batavia that the post-holder at Bacan had initially refused to surrender but because of the treachery of the Bacanese,

⁴ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate to Batavia, 29 April 1796, §64, 68.

⁵ 'The treacherous behaviour of the Sultan was as clear as day.'

⁶ NA OIC No. 64, Ambon, General Letters, 21v-22v; OIC 89, Ternate to Batavia, 13 September 1796, 76. See also Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate," 268-9, 271.

⁷ '...that with all means of violence we cannot achieve anything'. NA OIC 64, Ambon, General Letters, 21v-22v; OIC 89, Ternate to Batavia, 13 September 1796, 76. On 8 November 1796, Governor Budach instructed Sultan Kamaludin to send an expedition to Gita to fight Nuku's forces, but it seems that Sultan Kamaludin did not follow his orders. See also ANRI, Ternate 127, Letter of Governor Budach to Sultan Tidore, 8 November 1796.

⁸ Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate," 286-8.

⁹ NA OIC No. 65 General Letters, 11; ANRI, Ternate 127, From Governor Budach to Prince Regent of Bacan, 18 March 1797; See also Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 236.

¹⁰ ANRI 89.1, Secret Letter from Johan Godfried Budach to G.G. Willem Arnold Alting (Batavia), 71-5.

he had been obliged to do so. Prince Nuku's fleet also attacked and burnt Christian villages. When they requested the English to help them kill all the Christian inhabitants, they met with a stern refusal.¹¹ Two days later, when Prince Nuku, the Prince Regent, and the English were examining the fortress, a sergeant of Labuha reported that Nuku's people had detained two Christian women. The English demanded Nuku release the detainees and hand over the people who had been responsible for the outrage. As a punishment the English tied the perpetrators to a flag pole.¹²

Nuku, assisted by these country traders, proceeded to lead a fleet of seventy *kora-kora* to Tidore, where they made their appearance on 12 April 1797.¹³ Instead of joining Nuku's force, as Patra Alam had done during the 'Tidoreesche Revolutie' in 1783, Sultan Kamaludin and the Dutch garrison abandoned Tidore and fled to Ternate on five *kora-kora*. Nuku's followers plundered what remained, especially gunpowder, and eventually destroyed the Dutch military post.¹⁴ The Ternate Government allowed the Sultan and the refugees to remain on Ternate under their protection, but on the same day, in the middle of the night, three of the five *kora-kora* left Ternate again, and joined Nuku's forces. Commenting on the escape of the three vessels to Tidore, the Governor Budach said: 'No Tidoran can be trusted.' Consequently the presence of the remaining two *kora-kora* was no longer tolerated.¹⁵ Kamaludin, the Tidoran princes, royal relatives, and children were put under protection of the Dutch, and provided with half a *last* of rice, three cans of coconut oil, two pounds of candles, cotton, and Rds 2 per day.¹⁶ Eleven days later, on 23 April, Sultan Kamaludin admitted to the Dutch Governor that the Tidoran grandees no longer wanted him and desired Prince Nuku to be their Sultan. *De facto* Prince Nuku now became Sultan of Tidore. At this time, Budach believed that the surrounding area had been encircled and that he could be attacked at any time.¹⁷

During Kamaludin's reign (1784-1797), Nuku had one supporter with an important position in the Tidore Sultanate: Mohammad Arif Bila, the *Jogugu*, the 'prime minister.' In the Dutch sources he is simply referred to as Jogugu Tahane.¹⁸ Since 1786, he had been suspected of having led a faction within the Sultanate in support of Nuku's rebellion. In 1796, Sultan Kamaludin had

¹¹ ANRI 89.1, Interrogation Soldier Hilbert Keegel of Ternate, 24 April 1797, 113-7.

¹² ANRI 89.1, Interrogation Soldier Hilbert Keegel of Ternate, 24 April 1797, 118-9.

¹³ Katoppo, *Nuku*, 115-6.

¹⁴ NA OIC No. 65 General Letters, 11v, 11r. See also W.G. Miller, 'The Moluccas under the British' (M.A. Thesis: University of Hull, 1974), 85.

¹⁵ ANRI 89.1, Secret letter from Budach to Alting, 76-7, Extract of daily report, 145.

¹⁶ ANRI 89.1, Secret letter from Budach to Alting, 80-1.

¹⁷ ANRI 89.1, Letter from Sultan Kamaludin to Governor Budach, 125-7.

¹⁸ Tahane was a name of a settlement in Makian, the place from which Mohammad Arif Bila came. See ANRI Ternate 8, Council Meeting, 15 September 1794.

him arrested after some letters which betrayed the prime minister's clandestine correspondence with Nuku were intercepted. His was a brief detention as he was soon released on the orders of the Company in order to sustain the flow of information from Nuku's side. Arif Bila left Tidore a few months before Nuku's triumphant return to Tidore in 1797 and joined the rebel's forces which were in East Halmahera at that time.¹⁹ In the past he may have acted as a mole leaking information to Nuku from Tidore about the plans for the various expeditions sent by Sultan Tidore and the Dutch, which were never able to capture Nuku, even at a time when Nuku's force was really dwindling.

In 1789, Kamaludin's victory over Nuku was actually only a hair's breadth away. During 1791-92 the Sultan managed to persuade the people of Galela, Tobaru, and Tobelo to join his side in the rivalry. But when Nuku regained his power with the support of North Halmaherans, the Gamrange and Raja Ampat regained confidence in the rebel Prince.²⁰ It was a real blow to Sultan Kamaludin in 1794 when Prince Zainal Abidin, who had returned from Ceylon on board an English ship, was entrusted with the command of the Gamrange and Papuan forces by Nuku. In 1795, Nuku sent Kamaludin an intimidating letter urging him to terminate his relationship with the Dutch, now that most of the North Malukans and the English were on his side.²¹ The effect of the letter was truly demoralizing. Subsequently Sultan Kamaludin offered to welcome Nuku and confer his title of Sultan on him.²² Nuku had won the game.

The Conquest of Ternate (1798-1801)

The idea of conquering Ternate had been clearly on the cards since the beginning of English occupation in 1796. Ambon and Banda had already fallen into the hands of this lurking enemy, but the Dutch on Ternate were still determined to resist. Two months after the occupation of Ambon by English naval forces, Nuku dispatched a fleet of seventy vessels under the command of his ally, Prince Ibrahim of Ternate. In his meeting with the commander of the Royal Navy operations in the East Indies, Rear-Admiral Peter Rainier, Prince Ibrahim requested the assistance of the English in overmastering the Dutch on Ternate and in the territory of the Tidore

¹⁹ R. Z. Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur dan Raja Jailolo: Pergolakan Sekitar Laut Seram Awal Abad 19* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1996), 145.

²⁰ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 36.

²¹ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, Separate Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 16 September 1795, § 42-58.

²² NA OIC No. 91, Ternate to Batavia, 29 April 1796, §16.

Sultanate. However, the English commander declined the proposal.²³ The following year Nuku tried again. He sent Prince Ibrahim and Raja Muda Zainal Abidin to meet Farquhar, the British Deputy-Resident on Banda to test the plan afresh. Cautiously, Farquhar did no more than to advise them to see his superior in Ambon, Resident William Jones.²⁴ After taking over Tidore from Sultan Kamaludin, Nuku had been persistent in contacting Resident Jones in Ambon about the reduction of Ternate. Receiving no decisive answer from him, the Prince directed himself straight to the higher echelon of the East India Company in Madras. By letter, Nuku reminded the English Company that he was desperately waiting for an answer.²⁵ As Farquhar would later recall, the English administration in Maluku had never had one moment's respite from Nuku's pressing solicitations to assist him against the Dutch.²⁶

While he was courting the English administration, Nuku, with the support of the English country traders and his subjects in Halmahera, did all he could to cut off Ternate's supply lines with Batavia and other places.²⁷ During a visit to Gebe, Lieutenant Frost of HMS *Bombay* was informed about the impact of Nuku's blockade of Ternate. In January 1798, Nuku's forces also tried to strike up a closer relationship with another English naval officer, Captain Ballard of HMS *Hobart*. Frost and Ballard lent a willing ear to Nuku and also proposed an attack on Ternate to Resident Jones. When the *Hobart* and the *Bombay* were anchored at Tidore, friendly encounters took place between the naval officers and the local people and their leaders.²⁸ In other words in the English leadership there was considerable disagreement between Captains Pakenham and Ballard of the Royal Navy on the one hand and the Commercial Resident on Ambon, William Jones, and Lieutenant-Colonel McNeile of the army on the other.²⁹

²³ Walter Caulfield Lennon, "Journal of an expedition the Molucca Islands," 305-309; See also, Miller, "The Moluccas," 69; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 235; Dalrymple, "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 22.

²⁴ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 11 Agustus 1797, Jones to Farquhar, 17 February 1797, 2633.

²⁵ IOR/P/242/11, M.M.Pol.C., February 1799, From Deputy Commercial Resident R. T. Farquhar, Banda, to Madras, 2 December 1798, 508-9. See also Translated letter from Prince Zainal Abidin to Governor General at Bengal, no date, attached to the former letter, 510.

²⁶ IOR/P/255/18, MMC, 18-02-1803, "An Account of Tidoreeze Revolutions from the year 1779 ... until the expulsion of the Dutch from the Moluccas in 1801." From Farquhar to Colonel Oliver, 1 June 1802, 1015.

²⁷ Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate," 266, 275-6, 280.

²⁸ See Miller, "The Moluccas," 90-1.

²⁹ IOR/P/254/01 MMC, 8 August 1797, Colonel McNeile to Lord Hobart, Madras, 20 May 1797, 4840.

The break-through came in 1799, when Farquhar replaced Jones as Resident Ambon. This changed the complexion of the political situation completely. Unquestionably Nuku's ambitions to bring down Ternate coincided with Farquhar's, but for different reasons as each had his own agenda. Farquhar was actually eager to prevent the expansion of Nuku's power and consequently would have preferred to reduce Ternate without Nuku's assistance. At the back of his mind, he was also afraid that, if the English did not conquer Ternate, Tidore and Nuku might ally themselves with the Dutch to expel the English from the Maluku.³⁰ In the first attack on Ternate on 22 January 1801, the English forces under the command of Colonel Burr, on the orders of Farquhar, declined Nuku's offer of assistance, even though a large fleet of *prahu* and *kora-kora* had appeared in the roads under the command of the Prince Major. The Prince remained within hailing distance during the attack which was a failure.³¹ In the second siege stronger forces were thrown into the fray, after Farquhar had concluded that he had no option but to accept the assistance of the Tidoran prince. A country trader by the name of Captain Lynch was ordered to organize the Tidore forces, instructing so as they would be capable of firing cannons of a larger calibre, chiefly nine-pounders.³² The siege lasted more than two months before Ternate Government finally surrendered on 21 June, despite Governor Cranssen's refusal to concede defeat.³³ The English appreciated the very substantial service the Tidorans had rendered during the siege. Without their aid, said Burr, it would have been utterly impossible for the English troops to have moved beyond the beach. They had furnished the English troops abundantly with every item of provisions their

³⁰ IOR/P/242/14 M Pub C, 31 May 1799, Resident Farquhar, Amboyna, to Madras, 5 April 1799, 2184-5. IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar to Commander of the forces at the Moluccas, Lieut. Col. McNeile, 22 June 1799, 2998. See also IOR/F/4/74/1617 Memoir concerning the capture of Ternate, Alexander Dalrymple, 31 March-11 April 1801; IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar to Commander of the forces at the Moluccas, Lieut. Col. McNeile, 22 June 1799, 3007. Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802, Deposition of Abdul Djalil Al-Mukadar a principal Ternatean chief, 15 October 1801, 117.

³¹ IOR/P/254/74 MMC, 2 June 1801, Burr to Madras, 28 February 1801, 4057-8 and 4066-8. See also IOR/P/254/74 MMC, 2 June 1801, Detailed Narrative, No 18, Burr to Madras, 28 February 1801, 4073-82.

³² IOR/P/255/11 MMC 7 September 1802, Resident Farquhar to Francis Lynch, 13 March 1801, 5822-3

³³ IOR/P/242/35 M Pub C, 30 October 1801, Terms of capitulation demanded by the undersigned deputies of the council of Ternate, John Rodijk and Lucas Huizinga and the English captains J Brougham and J Walker, 21 June 1801, 4838-50. See also Report of the conquest of Ternate, P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 30 June 1801, 7233-46.

region produced.³⁴ Raja Jailolo, Mohammad Arif Bila, who had originally joined the expedition itself, was detached to cover the northern side to cut off the Dutch supplies of men and provisions from Halmahera (Jailolo), on which the Ternate garrison had long been dependent and from where it had recruited its bravest soldiers.³⁵ Consequently, Resident Farquhar showed his gratitude to Sultan Nuku for the loyal attachment he had shown to the English.³⁶

Sultan Nuku and Resident Farquhar concluded a treaty on 12 November 1801 and Sultan Nuku was finally inaugurated by the English.³⁷ Although he had ruled the Sultanate of Tidore for almost four years, to be acknowledged and confirmed by a European power was a sign of important recognition.³⁸ He was no longer a 'prince rebel' but a 'Sultan' in the eyes of the English, who referred to Tidore as an ally, not as a vassal. In the first article of the treaty, it was stated that Sultan Nuku of Tidore was in 'uninterrupted and unshaken fidelity, amity and alliance to his Imperial Majesty George the Third'. Having obtained a superior position to that of the Sultan of Ternate, Nuku would annually receive recognition money from the British Government amounting to 6,000 Spanish dollars. Earlier treaties concluded by the Tidoran Sultanate were annulled, and no new treaties would be allowed with other nations. Therefore, under the terms of the treaty, Tidore regained its position as an independent state. Unfortunately the treaties and reports of Farquhar's arrangements on Ternate did not reach Madras until June 1802.³⁹

The political events in Europe, however, changed the fate of Tidore. In the eyes of the Madras and Bengal Governments 'the impetuous action' of Farquhar and Burr was out of step with 'the system of their policy'. The Governor of Madras decided to relieve Farquhar as Resident of Ambon and Banda and Colonel Burr as military commander in Moluccas. In their place Colonel Oliver was appointed to take charge of the entire civil and military

³⁴ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7207.

³⁵ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7202.

³⁶ Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802, "Substance of the extracts of a letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, to the Madras Government relative to Sultan Newco and the Island of Geby, transmitted in October last to Amboyna for the guidance of the Civil authority there," 3.

³⁷ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2547.

³⁸ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2535.

³⁹ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2568.

administration in these islands.⁴⁰ Only two months after the replacement of Farquhar by Colonel Oliver, in Ambon on 16 January 1802, the treaty of peace between the French Republic, the King of Spain, and the Batavian Republic on one side and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland on the other side, was concluded on 25 March 1802 in Amiens. This treaty stipulated that the evacuation by the English and the restitution to the Dutch of the settlements in the East Indies should be made six months after the ratification of the treaty.⁴¹ The treaties between Resident Ambon, Farquhar, and Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan were abrogated. Henceforth, the legality of Sultan Nuku as an independent ruler under the Law of Nations could not be recognized.⁴² Nuku had to accept that he had to commence his struggle against the Dutch for Tidore independence all over again.

During the course of conquering Ternate, Nuku also had to defuse a risky affair involving a prince by the name of Hassan, who sought to topple Nuku as Sultan and himself become Sultan of Tidore. Hassan, a half-brother of Nuku and a full brother of Zainal Abidin, had the reputation of being a meddler of sorts among both the Dutch and Nuku's party. He never joined Nuku in exile but rendered the Dutch service by supplying them with information. In 1792 he had revealed the rise of pro-Nuku Tidoran and Gamrange leaders who persuaded the people of Galela and Tobaru to join Nuku to the Dutch.⁴³ At the end of 1795, on the orders of the Governor Ternate he made a trip to observe Nuku's force on Maba and to gain intelligence about the presence of the English country traders.⁴⁴ In the year which followed, he led a commission to Gebe to negotiate with Prince Nuku.⁴⁵ Governor Budach had ordered him to travel to Tidore in secret and entice his brother Zainal Abidin away from Nuku. In 1797, he went to Tidore ostensibly to fetch his wife but his real task was to sap Nuku's support.⁴⁶ When Governor Cranssen arrived in 1799, Prince Hassan was still

⁴⁰ Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802, "Copy letter from Madras to Farquhar" 14 July 1801, 15. See also IOR/P/242/35 M Pub C, 16 October 1801, From Madras to Farquhar, 17 October 1801, 4554-5.

⁴¹ IOR/P/242/55, M Pub C, 21/10/1803, Dutch Articles signed by W.J. Cranssen, C.S. Wieling, and A Mellison, 21 February 1803, 3904-8; English articles signed by Oliver and Arthur Molesworth, 5 August 1803, 3908-18.

⁴² IOR/P/316/121, M Pol C, 3/5/1803, Bengal to Madras, 15 March 1803, 341-2, 345-6.

⁴³ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate Council Meeting, 26 October 1792, n.f; OIC No. 91, Ternate, Interview No 193, 10 October 1794, 10-1.

⁴⁴ NA OIC No. 91, Report Prince Hassan to Governor Budach, 29 February 1796, 77-8.

⁴⁵ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate to Batavia, 29 April 1796, §17, 21-3, 25.

⁴⁶ Miller, "The Moluccas," 120; Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate," 309-10.

on Ternate and he was again ordered to exploit the rumbling disunity in Tidore and to lure the Buginese troops away from Nuku.⁴⁷

In his letter to Batavia, 10 September 1797, Governor Budach boasted that Prince Hassan had many supporters on Tidore. He had persuaded his younger brother, Zainal Abidin, to renounce all hostile behaviour towards the Company. He had proposed schemes to vitiate Nuku's authority plus a host of other achievements.⁴⁸ In a letter to Cranssen from Batavia in 1800, Hassan was described as a shrewd (*schrander*) and cunning man and the 'most faithful and brave ally of the Company' as well.⁴⁹ On 11 September 1800, Governor Cranssen, Hassan, and other six Tidoran grandees attended the meeting of the Council of Ternate. Cranssen explained that Nuku had transferred his authority to Hassan, as Raja Muda, and Zainal Abidin, the former Raja Muda, had been banished to Madras by the English. He presented a letter, which was signed by Hassan and other Tidoran grandees, endorsing the transfer of authority and requesting a pardon for Nuku. There were real doubts about whether Nuku, who had been fighting Dutch power since 1780 and had gained the power over Tidore in 1797, would relinquish all he had won so easily. Be that as it may, the Council on Ternate accepted the validity of the letter and of the delegation. On 14 September, Hassan was installed as Raja Muda and Nuku was granted the title 'old Sultan'. It was a festive day for Ternate. The town was decorated and a ball was held that night.⁵⁰

On 30 September, in a letter to Governor-General Van Overstraaten Cranssen confidently wrote that were he able to capture Nuku dead or alive, the moderate Tidoran leaders, and finally the majority of Nuku's supporters would certainly submit and be loyal to the Company.⁵¹ This was nothing but a self-fulfilling prophecy as became clear a few days later. On 3 October, Hassan reported that there was some trouble on Tidore because Nuku still refused to concede on several issues. On 5 October, Cranssen agreed to Hassan's proposal to send a military force to Tidore to eliminate what was termed the rival group on Tidore. He also planned to join Hassan on the island of Mare (close to Tidore). According to this scenario, Cranssen would blockade the island of Tidore and stop all provisions reaching the island. But on Mare he was visited by Nuku's envoy, who asked him why he was preparing a military expedition against an ally. In return, Cranssen delivered

⁴⁷ Nuku did actually employ some kind of Buginese 'mercenaries' who strengthened his forces, but they are hardly mentioned in the Dutch sources. See Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 121.

⁴⁸ Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate," 309.

⁴⁹ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 122; Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 392-5; Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate," 309.

⁵⁰ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 121-2.

⁵¹ ANRI Ternate 89.1, J.W. Cranssen to Mr.G. van Overstraaten, 30 September 1800.

an ultimatum demanding the extradition of Major Ceylon, Raja Jailolo, and Lieutenant Jalaludin, who were assumed to be opposed to Hassan. The ultimatum was ignored and Hassan did not deign to make an appearance on Mare. On 13 October, Cranssen was informed that Hassan had been murdered and thereby his plans collapsed like a house of cards.⁵²

Many questions and interpretations might be raised about the motives for the murder and who was behind all this, but it is impossible to retrieve the details from the archival sources. However, the curious course of events and the dramatic ending reveal that the Dutch were ensnared in their own trap. Hassan may well have compiled fake reports about the transfer of authority. Cranssen may have been overwhelmed by his obsession to resolve the 'Nuku problem'. Nevertheless, Tidore society, re-invigorated under Sultan Nuku, overcame its common weaknesses by dealing with the treachery of its own compatriots. If this interpretation is accepted, whoever killed Hassan must have been supported by Nuku or at the very least Nuku must have felt triumphant when the political intrigues of Hassan and Cranssen were brought to a sudden end.

Nuku's long struggle since 1780 had shown his unwavering endeavour to unify North Maluku under his power. In this strategy the island of Bacan played a crucial role. On the way to Tidore in 1797, Nuku's fleet in the company of English was not in any hurry to sail directly to Tidore but first took the time to conquer Bacan. Admittedly this was a small kingdom and could raise an insignificant force compared to Ternate and Tidore but it was an important cornerstone in the Malukan worldview. It was one of four kingdoms which shaped the world of Maluku. As far as Nuku was concerned, conquering Bacan was an integral part of unifying Maluku. The cost of such a conquest would not require any great expenditure as Bacan was located on the way from Halmahera to Tidore and Ternate.

The political stance of Bacan during the Nuku rebellion was indeterminate. In the sources there is no evidence of communications between Nuku and Sultan Bacan or vice-versa. During the reign of Nuku's father, Sultan Jamaludin, Sultan Bacan had worked hand in glove with the former, with the result that both of them were exiled to Batavia. Afterwards, it seemed that the next Sultan Bacan, Patra Iskandar Alam, took advantage of Nuku's rebellion to move the people from North Seram over to Bacan. For instance, in 1787, Sultan Bacan transported 246 persons from Hatileng to his island. In his letter to the Dutch Governor, he wrote that he had been forced to land in North Seram owing to stormy weather. When he departed, he had taken along those people who had been suffering from Prince Nuku's exigencies to Bacan. The Dutch who did not believe Sultan Bacan's story dispatched the frigate the *Lijns en Pijl* and the barque the *Vervagting* to

⁵² Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 123-4.

Bacan to pick up the North Seramese and escort them back to their villages via Ternate.⁵³ In 1797, after the conquest of Bacan by Nuku, the Prince Regent of Bacan was accused of treason, but Cranssen defended him arguing that he found himself in a similarly difficult situation to that of Kamaludin in 1797.⁵⁴ This Sultanate suffered from a chronic lack of manpower and hence was militarily weak. Therefore it had fallen victim to the competition for power between Tidore, Ternate, and the Dutch.

There is evidence to support the hypothesis that Nuku's aspirations seemed to spread wider than the realm of Tidore itself. He was dreaming of an independent 'Greater Maluku'. When his power was resurgent in 1795 and Kamaludin offered him the throne of Tidore, Nuku simply ignored this gesture. Likewise he repudiated the Dutch Governor-General's offer to allow him rule North Seram as a 'Sultan'. Gamrange (Maba, Weda, and Patani), Gebe, and the Raja Ampat had already returned to his authority. He was quite sure that even those Tidorans, including the palace elite, who resided on the island of Tidore supported him. This was proved true in 1797 when his fleet entered Tidore waters. No significant resistance was reported and Sultan Kamaludin and his family simply left the island to seek protection with his 'father', the Dutch Governor in Ternate.

Ternate was traditionally the most powerful Sultanate in North Maluku. In Nuku's eyes, Ternate with its impregnable Dutch fort formed the most difficult target in his strategy. At the beginning of 1790s, despite his dwindling support from Gamrange and Papua, Nuku took a decisive step by winning over some erstwhile allies of Ternate, namely Galela, Tobaru, and Tobelo. This achievement not only strengthened his fleet, it also boosted the moral of his old adherents such as Gamrange and the Raja Ampat. Under the Sultan of Ternate the three North Halmaheran groups enjoyed the reputation of being brave and reliable warriors. When they turned their political loyalty to Nuku, this was a sign to Sultan Ternate that he was losing his satellites. Since 1796, Nuku had also won the support and assistance of Prince Ibrahim of Ternate, whom he assigned to negotiate with Rear-Admiral Rainier of the Royal Navy, in Ambon in 1796. Nuku's struggle to debilitate the position of Ternate booked further progress when Sultan Aharal of Ternate was arrested in 1796, on account of his secret communications with Nuku through the intermediation of Gula Manis.

The restoration of the 'Jailolo Sultanate' was another central idea in the context of Nuku's dream to restore the four kingdoms in the Maluku.⁵⁵ In

⁵³ ANRI Ternate 85, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 15 July 1787.

⁵⁴ ANRI Ternate 89.1, J.W. Cranssen to Mr. P.G. van Overstraaten, 27 February 1800.

⁵⁵ Concerning this matter, Farquhar explained, 'Before these Islands became subject to Europeans and even under the dominion of Portuguese the territories of Gilolo formed a sultanish of themselves but when the Spaniards obtained possession of Spice Islands and

his negotiations with Farquhar, Nuku tried to win recognition for Raja Jailolo's claims to the throne of Jailolo. Farquhar fully understood that this move was a part of Nuku's scheme to weaken Ternatan power in Halmahera (Jailolo) and, consequently, that of the Dutch as well. By restoring the Sultanate of Jailolo, the whole of Halmahera which was a portion of Ternate territory would fall under Nuku's influence. Farquhar therefore foresaw that the restoration of the Jailolo Sultanate would make Nuku even more powerful and chose to proceed cautiously because it was important to keep the balance of power between Ternate and Tidore. He did not reject Nuku's main request out of hand, but prudently compromised by recognizing Raja Jailolo during the siege of Ternate, granting him a 'certain sum for his service during the siege'.⁵⁶ Ironically the Treaty of Amiens of 1802 put a spoke in the wheels. Nuku's dream of re-inventing the unity of a 'Greater Maluku' under the aegis of Tidore remained a mirage.

Negotiations for an Independent Tidore (1803-1805)

After the evacuation of the British from the Maluku, under the terms of the Amiens Treaty, Nuku had to deal once more with his old enemy, Governor Cranssen. On 19 January 1803, Cranssen arrived in Ambon and it did not take him long to negotiate an agreement on the manner of the transfer between British Resident, Colonel Oliver, and the Dutch Commissioners which was to take place on 1 March.⁵⁷ The Dutch were better prepared than the British. News of Farquhar's appointment as a British commissioner arrived only on 2 June 1803. Not until 4 March 1803, did Oliver receive directions on the manner of the transfer of the Moluccas to the Dutch, by then it was too late in the day.⁵⁸ These stated that Willem Jacob Cranssen was thereby appointed Governor of Ambon, of which the Governments of Ternate and Banda were subordinates. Right from the beginning, the

other valuable dependencies which had belonged to the Sultauns of Ternate and Tidore, they deemed it politic to destroy the sovereignty of Gilolo and to divide its territories between the two powers of Ternate and Tidore as a sort of compensation to them for abdicating other possessions. But when Prince Newco seized upon the throne of Tidore and commenced hostilities against the Dutch he endeavoured to bring under his influence the whole of Gilolo and the more effectually to accomplish this end and to weaken the power of the Dutch or what was the same thing that of their ally the King of Ternate...' IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2530-1.

⁵⁶ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2530-3.

⁵⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 413.

⁵⁸ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 169, 174.

Gezaghebber of Ternate, Peter Adrianus Goldbach (1803-1804) had the impression that impetuous Cranssen was not the right person to deal with indigenous affairs, especially in Tidore (Nuku) and Ternate. Cranssen had an inclination to rely over-heavily on Zainal Abidin who had a conflicting relationship with Nuku. On assuming office, he had immediately sent his envoy to East Seram, Halmahera, and Papua to meet Zainal Abidin. Knowing this, Nuku sent Raja Jailolo to meet Zainal Abidin before Cranssen's envoy could reach him. Haga asserts that Cranssen began fomenting unrest before he even set foot on Ternate.⁵⁹

In early May 1803, the formal discussions between the Dutch commissioners and British commander on Ternate, Webber, were concerned with matters of a logistics, rather than those of a political nature: the date of the disembarkation of the Dutch troops; the withdrawal of the British troops from Fort Orange; the condition of the defences and so on. The relationship between the British and the Sultans seemed to be mentioned only in passing. Nuku's attitude during the first visit of the Dutch commissioners to Ternate remained cool and non-committal, but could not be described as uncommunicative or hostile.⁶⁰ On 23 May 1803, the British left Ternate for Ambon.⁶¹ One month later, Oliver and the whole of the remaining British force finally withdrew from Ambon on the *Queen Charlotte*. As far as Oliver was concerned, British political ties with the Maluku appear to have been too insignificant to need any further discussion. Nevertheless, the British flag continued to be flown at the capital of Tidore, Soasio. When the Dutch protested about this, Oliver wrote a letter clarifying the 'flag affair' at Soasio, explaining that Nuku had not received any authority from him to make use of the flag.⁶²

Nuku clearly made no positive attempt to present a friendly face to the returning Dutch; one sign of which was his persistence in continuing to hoist the British flag at Soasio.⁶³ As soon as Cranssen arrived from Ambon on Ternate on 5 August 1803, the Ternate Sultanate and its council held a meeting. Sometime later, Nuku sent a letter asking whether Cranssen planned to visit him or expected him to send his envoy. Cranssen replied that he expected Zainal Abidin to act as intermediary. When Zainal Abidin appeared on Tidore, Nuku smiled in the face of adversity. He received Zainal Abidin hospitably and with honour. He offered him the title of Raja

⁵⁹ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 414-5.

⁶⁰ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 176, 178.

⁶¹ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 238.

⁶² Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 177-8.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 179.

Muda which the latter refused saying that he preferred to remain *rijksbestierder*, 'prime minister'.⁶⁴

At some time between 12-16 August 1803, Zainal Abidin proposed that the Nuku's political status and position should be discussed. But Cranssen was determined that nothing would be forthcoming before Nuku had demanded a formal pardon.⁶⁵ A few days later, Nuku did indeed send a letter to Cranssen in which he confessed his guilt at having acted against the 'Company', and requested the forgiveness. This act of repentance was made conditional on the meeting of several terms. His first demand was the restoration of the Jailolo Sultanate. He requested a subsidy of Rds 8,000 for Tidore – considerably more than Sultan Ternate was receiving. He was adamant in demanding a higher status for Tidore than Ternate. Finally he insisted that the Makian people and the thousands of Ternatan subjects who had rallied under his aegis the right to choose for themselves under whom they would live. Nuku was prepared to renew the treaty which Tidore had made with Simon Cos on the basis of equality between the two signatories: that is as an 'ally'.⁶⁶

On 20 August 1803, Nuku's terms were discussed and largely agreed to.⁶⁷ One sticking point was that Cranssen did not accept to Nuku's proposal for the right to choose being granted the Makian people. He discussed the Jailolo issue with Zainal Abidin and the possibility of granting Kayasa, the southern side of Dodinga to Raja Jailolo, plus Rds 600 for recognition. Nothing was immediately forthcoming and Cranssen affirmed that he was awaiting the consent of High Government in Batavia for the final decision, which would be made within six months. In the matter of Kayasa, Raja Jailolo demurred as he found the area was too small. On 31 August, before his departure, Cranssen granted Nuku and the Tidoran grandees a general amnesty and pardon. After the departure of Cranssen, Goldbach who was keen on improving the relationship with Nuku showed a conciliatory attitude by returning the Tidoran throne, which had been kept by Kamaludin's children. A meeting was arranged at Kayu Merah and on the agreed day, Nuku approached Kayu Merah where Goldbach was already awaiting him on board a large vessel. Then a storm suddenly arose making it impossible for the vessel to land safely. This was taken as such a bad omen

⁶⁴ Zainal Abidin was still willing to punish severely those who had 'murdered' his brother Prince Hassan, namely Prince Ceylon, Makassarese Jalaludin, and Raja Jailolo. Cranssen gave his word to help him revenge them. See Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 416-8.

⁶⁵ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 418. Katoppo, *Nuku*, 186. Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 191-2.

⁶⁶ ANRI, Ternate 107, Letter from Sultan Nuku to Governor General at Batavia, 1 Jumadilakhir 1218 (18 August 1803), n.f.; Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 192. Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 418-9.

⁶⁷ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 192.

the meeting was cancelled. After this incident, both fell sick although Nuku still tried to visit Goldbach at Ternate. On 6 December, the news of the renewal of hostilities in Europe brought deterioration in the comparatively peaceful state of affairs in the Maluku.⁶⁸ The Dutch were again at war with the English.⁶⁹

During 1803-1804, the settling of the new treaty between Tidore and Batavia reached an impasse. Cranssen who continuously intervened in the affairs on Ternate hindered Goldbach's attempts to improve the Dutch relationship with Sultan Nuku. First, the promise of the High Government in Batavia to ratify the concept of agreement failed to eventuate within the six months agreed upon. This foot-dragging embarrassed Nuku a great deal. Moreover, before the term of six months had even elapsed, Raja Jailolo had resumed his practice of raiding Ternatan subjects. Certainly, the news of the new outbreak of hostilities in Europe of course did not spur Nuku on to seek reconciliation with the Dutch either.⁷⁰ On 13 January 1804, the administration of the provinces of Ternate and Banda was made subordinate to that of Ambon. Cranssen was appointed the Governor of Eastern provinces. On 27 January 1804, Governor-General Siberg in Batavia wrote to Nuku in a conciliatory tone, as friend and ally, but totally avoided acceding to any of the latter's demands.⁷¹

In April 1804, Prince Ibrahim moved to Tidore and conspired with Zainal Abidin to design a plan to attack Ternate with the help of the Patanese. Prince Mossel did his best to foil this plan but failed to do so. Raja Jailolo also contributed to the turbulence by raiding Dodinga, but Nuku and Zainal Abidin exculpated him by blaming the attack on the Ternatan Alifuru. Caught in the throes of this ticklish situation, Cranssen relied on Zainal Abidin in dealing with Nuku.⁷² Throughout the whole month Tidorans attacked Ternatan *kora-kora*. Zainal Abidin defended Ibrahim and Jailolo who had a hand in this and blamed the outbreak of hostilities on the Sultan of Ternate. On 8 June 1804, a Dutch envoy went to Tidore to settle a treaty with Nuku. Twenty days later, a provisional treaty was drawn up by the Dutch and sent back to Tidore for Nuku's endorsement.⁷³ In June 1804, Carel Lodewijk Wieling (1804-1809) replaced Goldbach as Resident of Ternate. On 27 June 1804, the Dutch sent an expedition to punish Raja Jailolo for his raids, but the latter excused himself by complaining that recognition as Raja and the payment of the subsidy within six months, as

⁶⁸ Ibid. 194.

⁶⁹ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 419-21.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 422.

⁷¹ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 195.

⁷² Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 422-3

⁷³ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 196-7.

Cranssen had intimated, had not been fulfilled. When the expedition against the Raja who commanded no fewer than ninety *kora-kora* misfired, the Dutch complained bitterly to Nuku.⁷⁴ During July and August 1804, the number squabbles between Ternatan and Tidoran princes seemed endless.⁷⁵

On 11 September 1804, Nuku's comments on the provisional treaty were received on Ternate. Nuku disagreed with seven of the twenty-six Articles. His most important objection regarded the cession of Seram and the intervention by the Dutch Governor of Ternate in the prosecution and punishment of the rulers and princes of Tidore. Nuku refused to demolish forts and defensive works on Tidore, rejected the demand to deliver twenty Papuan slaves, repudiated the appointment of chiefs by the Dutch instead of according to traditional procedures, and finally declined to be responsible for the return of the Ternatan princes (such as Ibrahim), the Makianese, and the Alifuru who had established themselves on Tidore, even though he would have been glad to be rid of them. Nuku was clearly doing his best to maintain the independence of Tidore. Referring to the intervention of the Dutch in internal Tidoran political affairs, he insisted on saying, '*zulk's geschiedt enkel volgens usantie, dat die qualiteiten aan degeen die ze toekomen gegeven worden, anders niet.*'⁷⁶ Patently the Sultan was not prepared to tolerate any interference in internal affairs. On a more conciliatory note, in October 1804, he sent Imam Abdul Gaffar, the secretary of Tidore, to Ternate to discuss again the issues concerning East Seram in the provisional treaty.⁷⁷

Raja Jailolo's attacks against Ternate continued unabated and his claims to areas of Halmahera became even more grandiose. He took over Galela and Kau. Nuku believed that the conduct of Raja Jailolo was not meant to demonstrate hostility to the Dutch, but was directed towards Ternate. After all, the Raja deserved a territory for his people whom Ternate had conquered in the past. The Dutch should not intervene in this. Adopting this argument, Nuku was referring to events as long ago as 1551 when a combined force of Ternatans and the Portuguese destroyed the Jailolo Sultanate under Sultan Katarabumi. In the wake of the campaigns waged by Raja Jailolo, Ternate was suffering from a lack of sago, because the supply of this foodstuff from Halmahera had been obstructed. At the same time, the Papuans were making continuous raids on a number of areas in the Malukan waters. On 19 December 1804, Cranssen launched a fifty-three *arumbai* strong expedition to restore order in the area of Seram (Kelang and Manipa) and to punish the Patanese. Three commanders led the expedition: The Raja

⁷⁴ Ibid. 198.

⁷⁵ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 424-5.

⁷⁶ "This shall take place according to the custom, that those who are in charge will decide, and in no other other way."

⁷⁷ Ibid. 425-7; Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 198-9.

of Negeri Suli was responsible for the indigenous soldiers; Captain-Lieutenant Schroijsen for the fleet; and Sub-Lieutenant Tarowsky for the military. Suffering from illness and a lack of provisions the crew of the fleet did not even encounter any of their enemies. Unsurprisingly, in this hostile atmosphere, the correspondence between Tidore and the Dutch stopped entirely after 15 October 1805. Then on 22 November 1805, Nuku passed away and was succeeded by Zainal Abidin.⁷⁸ His new title was Sri Sultan Halifatur Rifai Amiril Mu'minil Mohammad Zainal Abidin.⁷⁹

Nuku had remained confident of his power even during his last days, retaining his independent attitude towards the Dutch until his final breath. He never deigned to visit Cranssen on Ternate and continued to fly the English flag. He realized henceforth he had to face the Dutch without English support, but he still remained in control of all Tidore and a part of Ternatan territory. He realistically complied with the conditions proposed by Cranssen but he also continued to set his own terms. His proposal that all the treaties between Tidore and the Dutch be disregarded and that the old one with Simon Cos in 1657 and 1667 be renewed showed his efforts to build an equal relationship with the Dutch, even though in the above-mentioned treaty Tidore had actually ceded a part of its independence. Seemingly undeterred by this, he raised strategic issues concerning the independence of Tidore as a sovereign entity. He openly refused intervention in internal policy making in Tidore, especially in matters concerning exercising justice over chiefs and princes and the building of defence works on Tidore. He believed that such matters should be left to Tidoran leaders to deal with according to their own customs. After all he had struggled and achieved, no new treaty was concluded. The High Government in Batavia and the Provincial Government in Ternate were both quite aware that Nuku did not have long to live. The Dutch estimated he was between seventy and eighty years old.⁸⁰ Once Nuku died, they believed that the political affairs with Tidore could be handled with less difficulty.

Post-Nuku Struggle: the Decline of Tidore(1805-1810)

Sultan Zainal Abidin (r. 1805-1810) had assumed an important role during the Nuku era. Records about of this prince are hazy before 1794. His name suddenly occurs in the sources when he arrived in Maluku on an English

⁷⁸ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 428-9, 432; Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 199-200, 202.

⁷⁹ ANRI, Ternate 105, An interview (broken), 1 December 1807.

⁸⁰ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 193.

ship from Ceylon in 1794. He was one of the princes that had been banished with the former Sultan, Jamaludin, in 1779. The puzzle is that his name cannot be traced in the sources of that period. It seems that Nuku and his adherents were unquestionably already well acquainted with him; otherwise he could never have joined Nuku and taken command of one of his fleets immediately. He even claimed Nuku's authority over the whole Papua region (Raja Ampat). Perhaps this was true because later he was referred to as *raja muda*.⁸¹ For three years (1796-1798) Zainal Abidin was entrusted by Nuku with the delicate diplomatic task of negotiating with the English Governments in Ambon and Banda.⁸² In 1799, Zainal Abidin and Prince Ibrahim of Ternate seemed to be for more interested in trading spices with the English country traders in East Seram than in fighting for Nuku's cause. They were even accused of disloyalty by Nuku, who complained about usurpations of authority, the creating of disturbances, and then their refusal to support him against Ternate. The English Resident, Farquhar, asserted that their activities in East Seram were illicit and harmful to the English interests. Therefore on 21 October 1799 Nuku and Farquhar agreed to arrest Zainal Abidin and Prince Ibrahim.⁸³ They were eventually banished to Madras.⁸⁴

When Zainal Abidin returned from his exile at the beginning of 1802, Nuku – even though he sent a letter expressing his disappointment to the English Government in Madras that it had let the men go – approached him again.⁸⁵ This was because Nuku knew that Cranssen might otherwise strive to employ him in dealing with Tidore affairs. What is interesting is that Nuku avoided any open conflict with strong figures such as Zainal Abidin and Prince Ibrahim but he was not averse to having them punished vicariously by the English. When Zainal Abidin returned to Tidore, he actually welcomed him. This attitude was consistent with Nuku's efforts to preserve the unity in Tidore, and rightly so because in the long run Zainal Abidin turned out to be more loyal to Nuku than to Cranssen. From 1804,

⁸¹ NA OIC No. 91, Report of Ternate's envoy, 27 September 1794; Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 355-6.

⁸² IOR/P/242/11, M.M.Pol.C., February 1799, From Deputy Commercial Resident R. T. Farquhar, Banda, to Madras, 2 December 1798, 508-9. See also Translated letter from Prince Zainal Abidin to Governor General at Bengal, no date, attached to the former letter, 510; IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 11 August 1797, Farquhar to Madras, 17 February 1797, 2611-4, 2633.

⁸³ IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Resident Farquhar to Madras, 20 February 1800, 2077; IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Farquhar to Bengal, 20 December 1799, 2139; and IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Interrogation with First Lieut. John Currie, 3 November 1799, 2101.

⁸⁴ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 117-8.

⁸⁵ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 166.

both Zainal Abidin and Prince Ibrahim of Ternate were back on the Nuku's side. Zainal was also becoming close ally of Raja Jailolo, Muhammad Arif Bila. Most of actions undertaken by Zainal after his return from Madras were in Nuku's interests. Directly after Sultan Nuku's death, Raja Muda Zainal Abidin succeeded him as Sultan without any challenge from the other princes.⁸⁶

With time the relationship between Tidore and the Dutch achieved a hostile *status quo* because the negotiations between Nuku and the Dutch had never been concluded. At the end of 1805, armed clashes – in which Prince Major Ceylon was wounded – aggravated the situation. Cranssen lost no time in writing to Sultan Zainal Abidin in order to come to terms with him.⁸⁷ But as the *Gezaghebber* of Ternate, Wieling, complained, Zainal Abidin did not show the slightest inclination to make peace and Raja Jailolo also continued harassing the Company vessels.⁸⁸ On 6 July 1806, Zainal Abidin's position was strengthened even more by the arrival of a British Navy squadron. The Dutch were thrown on the defensive and feared a joint Anglo-Tidore attack.⁸⁹ On that day, the British ship HMS *Greyhound*, escorted by the brig the *Harrier*, captured a small Dutch brig the *Belgica*, armed with twelve guns and with a compliment of thirty-two men.⁹⁰ After the British had left, on 13 November 1806, the Dutch and Ternate forces launched an attack on Tidore and re-occupied the island which had been taken over by Nuku on 12 April 1797. Ten days later, a number of Tidore chiefs signed an amnesty. Haji Umar, who had been one of the greatest and most important supporters of Sultan Nuku, was handed over to the Dutch and sentenced to death. Two days before the attack, a Ternatan prince had spied on the local situation and the military strength in Tidore. Fortunately for the Tidore party, Prince Abdul Halim of Tidore informed Zainal Abidin and Raja Jailolo and Tidorese grandees about the attack, enabling them to escape to Weda.⁹¹

On Weda, Zainal Abidin explained that he was prepared to lead a war against the Dutch just as Sultan Nuku had done. He ordered the chiefs of Weda to support him, but to his surprise they refused to join. At that time, most of the pro-Tidoran supporters resided on Bicoli (Maba). Five days later, Zainal Abidin moved to Patani, where he ordered the heads to mount

⁸⁶ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 422; Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 198, 202.

⁸⁷ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 202-3.

⁸⁸ ANRI, Ternate 127, Letter from Wieling to Zainal Abidin and Tidore Grandees, 30 March 1806.

⁸⁹ Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 437.

⁹⁰ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 204.

⁹¹ ANRI, Ternate 89.2, Secret Advice to Batavia, May 1807, § 69; Ternate 107, Letter from Wieling Ternate to Daendels Batavia, Ultimo May 1808, § 42-3, n.f; See also Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 206.

an expedition to attack Kau, Galela, Makian, and Tidore. Again he met with a stubborn refusal. While he was engaged in these fruitless negotiations, Wieling's fleet chased him around Maba, Weda, and Patani which were subsequently conquered in February 1807.⁹² In December 1806 he lost one of his most able commanders when Raja Jailolo died as he and his family (including his son) accompanied by Sangaji Weda and his slave Njenga Magoro sought refuge in the forests on Mount Kia in Halmahera.⁹³ Around April 1807, an English private vessel, under Captain Elkelek (?), called at Gebe and Patani. Zainal came on board himself and requested assistance to defeat the Ternatan force. This time he even failed to win support from the English. Everybody was turning their back on him.⁹⁴

In May 1807 Zainal Abidin ordered Raja Misool, Salawati, Waigeo, and Waigama to kill *Sangaji* Patani, Mancay, and *Kapiten Laut* Weda, Lukman, who had refused to carry out his orders. Because the Dutch had granted the four *raja* of the Raja Ampat a general pardon and their honour was at stake, they had no option but to refuse to obey Abidin's commands. Afterwards Zainal Abidin found out that most of the heads of Weda and Patani were also no longer obedient to him. Three months later, Governor Wieling of Ternate issued a general pardon to the heads and people of Weda and Patani.⁹⁵ On Patani, the Sultan continued to live with only a small entourage: Prince Alting, Kapiten Sehe, Secretary Achmad, and Major Ibrahim. Prince Mossel and Prince Baba, who had joined the flight, were in Maba. All of them finally assembled at Misool. To make matter worse, the Tobelo people murdered Prince Hassim and his wife and the people of Loloda murdered Prince Syukur and Prince Santosa. Their bodies were thrown into the sea. Consequently there were now only two pro-Tidoran leaders left who were still loyal: Kapiten Laut Rachmat and Kimelaha Gotowassi, Galilba.⁹⁶ Most certainly, Zainal Abidin was now in great trouble.

Smarting from his failure to mobilize the Papuan Rajas and heads of Weda and Patani, in October 1807 Zainal Abidin dispatched an envoy from Misool to Ambon to deliver a letter to Governor Cranssen who welcomed the envoy and sent the Sultan a diamond ring. Eager to make the most of the moment, Cranssen dispatched four *arumbai* and one brig to Kilmuri, where they were supposed to meet Zainal Abidin. But the latter changed his

⁹² Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 207.

⁹³ ANRI, Ternate 89.2, Report of Patani and Weda heads, 1807, n.f; Ternate 107, Letter from Wieling Ternate to Daendels Batavia, End of May 1808, § 26-7.

⁹⁴ ANRI, Ternate 89.2, Report of a Ternatan prince, 11 November 1806; ANRI 89.2, Report of Patani and Weda heads, n.d.1807; Secret Advice to Batavia, May 1807, § 78, 84, n.f; See also Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 206.

⁹⁵ ANRI, Ternate 103, Copied articles, from Gezaghbeber of Ternate, Wieling to Albertus Henricus Wiese at Batavia, 19 August 1807.

⁹⁶ ANRI, Ternate 89.2, Report of Patani and Weda heads, n.d. (1807).

mind again because of the sudden arrival of the English country traders' ship the *Lord Minto*.⁹⁷ Princes Mossel, Ibrahim, Achmadi, and Hadi, who were supporting Zainal Abidin, were puzzled his behaviour at a juncture which he seemed to be trying to make peace with Governor Cranssen, but simultaneously in a blatantly hostile move mobilized Tidoran subjects to fight against the Dutch. When Abidin, adding insult to injury, also affronted Prince Sehe by seizing his wife, he found himself faced by open conflict from these princes, especially Prince Mossel.⁹⁸ By the second half of the year, Dutch control had already reached as far as the east coast of Halmahera. When Zainal Abidin fled farther east to Misool, *Sangaji* and *Kimelaha* Gebe refused to join him.⁹⁹

On 14 November 1807, the English country trader Captain William Grieg anchored at Tidore and sought out Zainal Abidin and his family.¹⁰⁰ The Tidoran leaders received him hospitably, even waving the English flag. Apprised of this action, some of them, including *Kimelaha* Bukati, were later interrogated by the irate Dutch Government on Ternate. The Dutch were furious because not having reported the English presence was construed as a major act of insubordination.¹⁰¹ The Ternate Government immediately sent a group of fifty Madurese soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Swarts to attack the English, but for some reason the planned assault did not materialize.¹⁰² On 3 January 1808, another expedition of some twenty-five soldiers (Madurese, under the command of Raden Kudani Larsa) and a fleet of ten Ternatan *kora-kora* under the command of Lieutenant Herder were sent to Maba.¹⁰³ Karel Wieling, the *Gezaghebber* of Ternate, who had learned from events of 'Tempel treachery' perpetrated by Tidorans in 1783, did not involve Tidorans in these expeditions. He recruited only non-Tidorans, namely Ternatans, Madurese, Buginese and sundry others.¹⁰⁴ When Lieutenant Herder was on the point of arriving at Negeri Gotowasi, he had to beat a retreat because the Ternatan auxiliary-fleet had lost thirty men to disease and another eighty men were terribly ill and not able to fight. At this

⁹⁷ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 207.

⁹⁸ ANRI, Ternate 105, Testimony Kalim of Maba, 7 March 1808.

⁹⁹ ANRI, Ternate 105, Testimony of Lieutenant (Sangaji) Sahasoen, 21 March 1808; see also Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 207.

¹⁰⁰ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 208.

¹⁰¹ ANRI, Ternate 105, Interrogation with Kimelaha Bukati, n.d.

¹⁰² ANRI, Ternate 107, Letter from Wieling Ternate to Daendels Batavia, End of May 1808, § 26-7.

¹⁰³ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 208; ANRI, Ternate 89.2, Separate Letter to Batavia, 6 April 1808.

¹⁰⁴ ANRI, Ternate 108, From Wieling to Daendels, End of February 1809, § 66.

juncture Zainal Abidin had eleven *kora-kora*, which had been well equipped by the English, at his disposal.¹⁰⁵

On 14 August 1808, Captain Grieg sailed away leaving behind two guns and as much ammunition as he could spare. In return for this gesture, he was able to load about 100 *pikul* of nutmeg. Zainal's secretary, Muslim, went on board the *Lord Minto* bearing a letter to the English Governor-General in Calcutta demanding 200 barrels of gunpowder, 300 muskets, ten six-pounders, and twelve swivel guns.¹⁰⁶ Muslim was accompanied by Hatibi Patani, Malefu, and a man of Sumbawa by the name of Achmadi.¹⁰⁷ Zainal was already in debt to the English but he hoped to make up for it in spices.¹⁰⁸ On its way, the English fleet encountered a Dutch *pancalang* and a brig the *Zwerver* on 19 August in Patinti Strait. An engagement which lasted a few hours occurred. On the side of the Dutch, four men were killed and three were wounded. The Captain of the Dutch brig, C.J. Gebhardt, was captured and carried on board the *Lord Minto*.¹⁰⁹ Eventually, the brig the *Zwerver* and her captain, Gebhardt, were released after Gebhardt had promised not to serve the Dutch against the English.¹¹⁰

On 11 January 1809, the Governor-General in Calcutta expressed his extreme concern at the unhappy plight to which Sultan Zainal Abidin had been reduced. He consequently supplied all the weaponry the latter had requested, and also sent a company flag, a gold seal, and unsolicited gifts.¹¹¹ English ships now appeared everywhere in Maluku. In February 1809, Wieling was informed that two English country traders had called at Wosso, collected nutmeg and mace in exchange for clothes.¹¹² On 29 March, the arrival of an English brig escorted by thirteen *kora-kora* manned by Woso people was reported. *Kapiten Laut* Maba, Sapor, reportedly dealt intensively with the English country traders; therefore he was detained and taken to Ternate by the pro-Dutch heads of Weda and Patani. Avoiding an encounter with the English fleet, the Patanese and Wedanese moved to Pajahe. When the people of Woso and the English landed at Weda, they failed to win support from the local inhabitants and subsequently burned the houses after

¹⁰⁵ ANRI, Ternate 107, Letter from Wieling Ternate to Daendels Batavia, End of May 1808, § 56-60; Ternate 105, Daily report of Jacobus Herder, 10 May 1808; Ternate 108, Wieling to Daendels, End of February 1809, § 58. The name of Madurese Kapiten was mentioned.

¹⁰⁶ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 212.

¹⁰⁷ ANRI, Ternate 105, Report of *Kapiten Laut* Naimoedin, 22 September 1808.

¹⁰⁸ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 210-1.

¹⁰⁹ ANRI, Ternate 105, Report of Mariner Anthonij van Santen, 24 August 1808.

¹¹⁰ ANRI, Ternate 105, Notes written by Captain Grieg of *Lord Minto*, 19 August 1808; Ternate 105, Letter from Wieling to Daendels, 17 October 1808.

¹¹¹ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 212.

¹¹² ANRI, Ternate 108, Letter from Wieling to Daendels, 2 March 1809, § 130.

seizing anything that was transportable.¹¹³ In March 1809, two heads of Weda and Patani arrived from Weda reporting the situation in Gamrange. One Patanese leader suggested to Wieling that certain Patanese leaders, who were suspected of being pro-Zainal and had made contact with him through a slave, should be arrested and banished to Manado. At long last, the Ternate Government was prepared to launch an expedition against Zainal Abidin. Indigenous troops from Ternate and Makian, who had been involved in the expedition sent by the Governor of Ambon to Wosso the February before, were on stand by.¹¹⁴

Knowing that any approaches to Zainal Abidin would prove fruitless, Governor Cranssen decided to abandon his policy of reconciliation.¹¹⁵ In a bid to restore 'law and order' in Tidore and Ternate, the *Gezaghebber* of Ternate, Wieling, proposed that Prince Mossel (54 years old), son of the late Sultan Jamaludin, be appointed the new Sultan in Tidore.¹¹⁶ Cranssen shared his view and offered the Sultanate of Tidore to Mossel, who would not accept the honour unless a strong expedition first be mounted against Zainal Abidin.¹¹⁷ In April 1809, after having succeeded Cranssen as Governor of Ambon, Wieling¹¹⁸ sent an envoy to Seram. He invited Prince Mossel to come to Ambon. A month later, Mossel sent his son Achmad to Ambon to discuss the succession and his concerns about the force of Raja Jailolo II (the son of Mohammad Arif Bila). Governor Wieling promised military assistance. Seemingly not reassured Mossel remained indecisive and refused to leave until Zainal Abidin had been finally removed.¹¹⁹ Zainal Abidin was informed about the Dutch plans and tried to win Prince Mossel over by offering him reconciliation.¹²⁰ Mossel was inclined to accept the Dutch offer, but he was still afraid that his newly gained power could easily be subverted if Raja Jailolo II and Zainal Abidin still roamed at large with impunity.

At the end of the 1809 Wieling died and was succeeded by Colonel Filz. He continued to try to win the co-operation of Prince Mossel, who was still procrastinating because of the debts he owed the local chiefs. Hearing that Mossel also suffered from a shortage of supplies, Colonel Filz sent him the requisite victuals and promised that he would reimburse all the chiefs were they to accompany him to Ambon. In November 1809, Mossel's son,

¹¹³ ANRI, Ternate 102, Letter from Wieling, Ternate, to GG Herman Willem Daendels, Batavia, 17 June 1809, § 153;

¹¹⁴ ANRI, Ternate 108, Letter from Wieling to Daendels, 2 March 1809, § 131.

¹¹⁵ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 210.

¹¹⁶ ANRI, Ternate 107, Letter from Wieling to Daendels, Batavia, 7 August 1808, § 91.

¹¹⁷ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 210.

¹¹⁸ ANRI, Ternate 105, Letter from Wieling to Daendels, 15 October 1808.

¹¹⁹ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 213-4.

¹²⁰ ANRI, Ternate 102, Letter from Wieling to Daendels, 23 June 1809.

Achmad, who had been in Ambon all the while, was sent back to East Seram to fetch his father. On 5 February 1810, the Englishman Captain Tucker, commanding HMS *Dover*, arrived off Amboina to impose a blockade, and after capturing a number of Dutch vessels, occupied the town on 19 February. After Ambon had fallen to the English, Prince Mossel finally made up his mind. He accepted the throne of Tidore.¹²¹ In March 1810 he was appointed new Sultan under the protection of the English.¹²² Colonel Filz and other Dutch officers in Ambon may have influenced the English on this matter. The late Governor Wieling had given Mossel a good recommendation, because he found him a pleasant person, attached to his people, and above all someone who would not make any trouble for the Europeans.¹²³

In April-May 1810, in Maba Zainal Abidin was still at war against the fleet of Ternate sent by the Dutch, and was able to repulse them. One *kora-kora* from Ternate and one from Makian even fell into his hands. Twenty-eight Ternatans were killed and another ten men were captured. Just as Zainal Abidin's men before them, the Dutch-Ternatan soldiers were weakened by the 'Papuan disease' (*beriberi*).¹²⁴ In the following months Zainal Abidin's *kora-kora* continued to wreak havoc, but then suddenly in the middle of July the British on Ambon were informed that Sultan Zainal Abidin had died. As his successor, the people of Maba, who had remained loyal to him, appointed his son Jamaludin to be Sultan.¹²⁵

Zainal Abidin was not a charismatic 'Tuan Barkah' which is what Nuku was called by the Malukans. Compared to Nuku, both his personality and leadership were weak. When dealing with the Dutch his stance was never bold and clear cut. Embroiled in a conflict with Nuku, he gave Cranssen the impression that he was willing to co-operate, but when Nuku welcomed him and offered him the important position of *jogugu* in Tidore, he had absolutely no compunction about shifting his allegiance. After Nuku died, he was supposed to be the man who could lead the struggle and he showed himself inimical to the Dutch. In fact he could never make up his mind. The princes and his followers in Maba, Weda, and Patani were equally at a loss what to make of him. As a consequence, he forfeited the help of his supporters from the Raja Ampat and could not retain the loyalty of his main followers from Maba, Weda, Patani and Gebe.

¹²¹ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 214-5.

¹²² ANRI, Ternate 108, Letter from Commander of Ternate, Johan von Mittmann, to Daendels, 11 April 1810.

¹²³ ANRI, Ternate 108, Letter from Commander of Ternate, Johan von Mittmann, to Daendels, 17 April 1810.

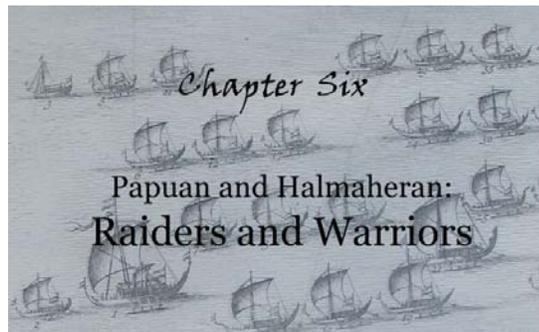
¹²⁴ ANRI, Ternate 108, Letter from Commander of Ternate, Johan von Mittmann, to Daendels, 31 May 1810, § 55-6; Haga, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea*, 453.

¹²⁵ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 219.

As Sultan, he was incapable of acting as an exemplary figure who could gain the respect of other leaders. The reverse was true. He acted with the utmost selfishness. He sent Prince Sehe, one of his loyal adherents, to fight far away in order to seize his wife. This was a moral blunder. Both in the Tidoran scheme of things and by Muslim moral standards; the action of seizing another person's wife was an insupportable and humiliating act.

Despite Zainal Abidin's moral cowardice, English support for Tidore was unwavering until his death in 1810. Every time English ships arrived in Maluku, weapons and ammunition were delivered in exchange for spices. Significantly, the English Governor-General avoided making any real political commitment to Tidore, but Zainal Abidin's demands for weapons and ammunition were faithfully fulfilled, even though he was never able to maximize the help of the English.

Zainal Abidin's big mistake was that he did not follow the developments in the political relationship between the English and the Dutch. When the English fleet entered Malukan waters and conquered Ambon in 1810, he was still entangled in a fight in East Halmahera. He did not anticipate events as Nuku had done in 1796 by sending Prince Ibrahim to Rear-Admiral Rainier. He should have sent an envoy as soon as the English conquered Ambon in 1810, in order to have his position as Sultan of Tidore recognized. The English commander at that time, it seemed, did not realize what had happened on Tidore and what Zainal Abidin's true position was. As a result, Prince Mossel or Mohammad Thaher, whom the Dutch had greatly favoured, was inaugurated as Sultan, instead of Zainal Abidin or his son Jamaludin, who had been elected as an alternate 'Sultan' by the people of Maba. Zainal Abidin totally failed to control his realms and maintain his power.



The theme of this chapter is a discussion of the roles of the different groups of people who were generally unceremoniously thrown together under the pejorative label *Papuase Zeerovers* 'Papuan Pirates' by the Dutch. The term *Papuan*, as Gerrit Knaap has observed, refers not only to the Papuans of Raja Ampat but was also applied to Tidoran subjects in the south-eastern part of Halmahera – the Gamrange, and Bird's Head Peninsula on the New Guinea mainland.¹ In a number of cases of raiding, the sources also refer to Papuans living in islands around Geelvink Bay² and to the Papuans of Onin residing around the west coast of New Guinea.³ During the rebellion of Prince Nuku, the Papuan role in strengthening the rebel forces was decisive in a number of skirmishes. From 1791, the involvement of the Gamkonora group from North Halmahera, namely Galela, Tobelo, and Tobaru who had formerly been subjects of the Ternate Sultanate, was also quite significant. This chapter explains the relations between the Tidoran leaders, Prince Nuku's coterie, and these peoples. These relations were basically articulated on the practice of raiding and robbery.

Information about these Papuans is scanty, scattered throughout the VOC sources. Frequently mentioned are the raiding enterprises of the Gamrange Halmaherans from Maba, Weda, Patani, and Gebe, and of Papuans from Salawati and Misool in the Raja Ampat. The other two groups, the Waigama and Waigeo, appear less often. In the sources the Gamkonora raiding groups are mentioned after 1791, following their involvement in Nuku's rebellion. The raiding enterprises of the Onin people were sporadically reported in the seventeenth century and attracted less attention in the eighteenth century because the Dutch focused more on the

¹ G.J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen: de VOC en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), 73; See also Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea en de Papoese Eilanden: Historische Bijdrage, 1500-1883*, (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co., 1884), 1-2.

² F. Ch. Kamma, *Korori: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Nunfor Culture Area*, (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972), 215.

³ NA VOC 3595, Part 3, Appendix of Ambon Resolution, 14 September 1781, 36.

Raja Ampat and Gamrange. The Papuans inhabiting the areas between Onin and Kobiai used to ally themselves with the East Seramese who traded regularly in the region between New Guinea and East Seram. These Papuans of Onin were well known for the swiftness of their vessels and their sudden attacks with such traditional weapons as arrows, their traditional spears which the Dutch referred to as assegais, and swords.⁴ The involvement of the Papuans of the Geelvink Bay area in the raiding was embedded in their alliance with the Raja Ampat groups, particularly Misool.⁵ Because the situation of the region during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries was not much written about, it is virtually impossible to piece together a complete account about these people.

The Dutch descriptions of the Papuans in the seventeenth century and even in the nineteenth century tend to be denigrating, especially when they deal with the physical appearance and character of these people. Leupe described them as follows. 'Men and women are completely naked, with the exception of their *schamelheid* 'genitalia', which they deck with roots. Their necks and arms are decorated with all sorts of corals, broken bits of pipes and the like. They are very stupid and ignorant, but nevertheless cruel, rapacious, and murderous. Their weapons are bow and arrow, shield and 'sword', and javelin as well.'⁶ The description of the coastal people was slightly different. They were portrayed as good sailors who employed long, narrow, but very swift canoes. The majority of the heads of the coastal people originated from Tidore and Seram and sported long hair and clothes according to the fashion of the rest of the Malukans. As Leupe says, they went through the motions of being Muslim, but in daily life they still practised the local religions. They hid their local religious practices as they were more afraid of Tidoran law than of that of Mohammed.⁷

Papuans of the Raja Ampat

The oldest report mentioning the name 'Papua' appears in the travel account of Pigafetta in 1521. He talks about a Raja-Papua who had resided in Jailolo (Halmahera). The name 'Papuan Islands' which probably refers to 'Raja Ampat,' was mentioned for the first time in the journal of the Spaniard

⁴ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Banda to Batavia, 1784 (?), 23.

⁵ Kamma, *Koreri*, 215.

⁶ "Zoowel mannen als vrouwen gaan geheel naakt, met uitzondering dat zij de schamelheid met een wartel (sich) bedekken, bals en armen met allerlei soorten van koralen, stukjes van pijpen (?) enz. versieren. Zij zijn zeer onnoozel en onkundig, doch wreed, roofzuchtig en moorddadig. Hunne wapens zijn pijl en boog, schild en zwaard, ook werpspies." See the following footnote.

⁷ P. A. Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders naar Nieuw-Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw,' *BKI* 21 (1875), 205-6.

Martin de Uriarte in 1527.⁸ Two myths of the origin Malukan kingdoms, recorded by Galvao in 1544 and Coolhaas in 1923, suggest that Bacan had relationship with the Raja Ampat (Misool and Waigeo) earlier than Tidore. The letter of Adriaen van der Dussen in 1610 also confirms this suggestion. In the myths, Ternate, Tidore, and Jailolo were not even mentioned. It probably means that the relationship between Raja Ampat and Tidore occurred in later period.⁹

The Raja Ampat kingdoms were ruled by four raja: Salawati, Waigeo, Misool, and Waigama. The Raja Ampat Islands is a mountainous archipelago lying between Northern Maluku and the West New Guinea mainland. Of its main islands, only Salawati and Batanta were situated in any proximity to the mainland. Longer distances from the mainland separated these from Waigeo to the north and Misool to the south. The description of the area is elaborated by a Dutch expedition in 1705 which had visited Salawati and Waigeo. The 'kingdom' of Salawati was located on the south-eastern and south-western part of the island, surrounded by numerous tiny islands and reefs. Raja Salawati and his *jogugu* lived in a separate settlement located on the opposite side of a large river, located in the south-eastern part of the island. The houses stood on high piles and were perched over the river. The people in the interior and the mountains lived a nomadic existence in small temporary hamlets. Those who lived near the coast especially the chiefs to whom the interior people paid allegiance were Muslim. They earned their living mainly from slaves (the majority from New Guinea), sago, tortoiseshell, ambergris, and spices which they sold to traders from Tidore or Keffering in East Seram.¹⁰

With a length of fifty-five kilometres Waigeo is the largest of the Papuan islands and it is indented with many bays. Raja Waigeo lived on the south-eastern side of the island in the settlement Kabilolo. Warjo lay on the Eastern Cape and Umpain, consisting of four villages, was located on the western side of the island. The *kapiten laut* lived in Waigamerok, close to Lake Waigeo. As on Salawati, the settlements were built along the large rivers but the settlement of Raja Waigeo was situated near a lake which measures some eleven kilometres in circumference. Surrounded by rugged cliffs, it has a piece of flat land jutting out into the water. Excluding those people who had gone to Misool, fifty-six able-bodied men lived there. The main sources of food were freshwater fish, sago, fruit, and tubers.¹¹

⁸ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 5.

⁹ A.B. Lapien, 'Bacan and the Early History of North Maluku,' in L.E. Visser (ed.), *Halmahera and Beyond* (Leiden: KITLV, 1994), 13, 14, 17.

¹⁰ L.Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 101-102; Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 204.

¹¹ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 102; Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 205.

Misool consists mainly of islands and reefs. It is roughly sixty-four kilometres (40 miles) in circumference. The island was divided between the petty kingdoms of Misool and Waigama. The kingdom of Misool was on the east side, at the farthest point inland of a bay. Right next to the Raja's settlement was that of *Kapiten Laut*. Both these chiefs were supreme in their own settlements which could muster a total of 3,000 fighting men. Most of the people retained their local beliefs and lived in the inland or in the mountains. The undisputed leadership of the Muslims who lived in houses on stilts on the coast was acknowledged. The settlement of Raja Waigama was located in the north-west part of the island, not far from its westernmost point. Later it was moved to the southern part. The inhabitants of Waigama, just as those of Misool, were divided into the subjects of the Raja and those of the *Kapiten Laut*. Together they could mount a fighting force of 500 to 600 men. Misool produced only a few fruit trees, and the people's main staple was sago. This land could supply excellent water and possessed a reasonable anchorage. The most important trade item was slaves, whom they obtained either by raiding or from the market on Salawati. The people of Misool also sold birds of paradise to traders from East Seram.

The Raja Ampat Papuans maintained close connections with the Biak-Numfor people. In 1705, Raja Salawati was reported to have sailed to Numfor to purchase tobacco.¹² The Raja Ampat areas were a haven for traders and raiders from Biak-Numfor, who had settled several areas in this archipelago. The Schouten Islands, namely Biak, Numfor, Supiori and some smaller islands which also served as bases are situated in the northern part of the Geelvink Bay on the West New Guinea mainland.¹³

From an early eighteenth-century report, it is known that the Raja Ampat kingdoms recognized the power and authority of Sultan Tidore. In 1705, the Raja, *Jogugu*, and *Kapiten Laut* on Salawati and Waigeo received an envoy of Tidore with great respect. When the envoy finished reading the letter from Sultan Tidore, all those who were present uttered an 'Amin', the response normally made at the end of a Muslim prayer. Andaya has suggested that since their incorporation into the periphery of Tidore, the Papuans associated Tidore with Islam. Consequently they accorded Sultan Tidore's words and the physical presence of his letter with the same devotion reserved for the name of Allah in the Holy Koran.¹⁴

¹² Ibid. 202-3; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 101, 103.

¹³ A.C. van der Leeden, 'The Raja Ampat Islands: a brief general description,' in Masinambow (ed.), *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat: konsep dan strategi penelitian* (Jakarta: Leknas-LIPI, 1980), 17.

¹⁴ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 101.

In 1787, Governor Cornabé complained that the waters around the Raja Ampat, south-east Halmahera, and East Seram abounded with reefs and innumerable small islands, which made them dangerous and impossible to navigate (*onbevaarbaar*) for strangers. The climate, particularly in the Raja Ampat, was deadly to Europeans.¹⁵ Leupe describes the air in the Raja Ampat as being unhealthy and ‘contagious’ (*bessmettelijk*).¹⁶ In 1737, a fleet of four vessels of the Ternate Government, sailing to Salawati under the command of Lieutenant Jan Oordwyn Sandbergen, ran into bad weather and consequently suffered from a lack of provisions and water. To make matters worse, the people of Salawati declined to provide them with victuals. Sixteen men died and the rest fell sick. In 1744, in the same area a squadron of three ships under the command of Matheus Feretz du Rietx was hit by a storm and shipwrecked. Most of the crew drowned and the survivors were attacked by the Papuans on reaching the coast.¹⁷ In 1762, a big punitive expedition was sent to the Onin area, the Raja Ampat, and East Seram. It consisted of eight vessels from Batavia carrying a hundred Europeans, and was accompanied by more than ten supporting vessels from the Governments of Ternate, Banda, Ambon, and Makassar, plus twenty-five Ternatan and Tidoran *kora-kora*. This fleet suffered the same fate near Salawati.¹⁸ It was a double-edged disaster, adversely affecting both the Europeans and the Tidorans. In 1789, during the rebellion led by Nuku, the pro-Kamaludin Tidoran fleet suffered an outbreak of disease which left sixty of its men dead. This was a disaster for the Europeans who could not sail these waters in safety without Tidoran pilots. Deprived of such help they risked losing their way and falling victim to surprise attacks.¹⁹

Raja Ampat and Geelvink Bay

Some folk stories imply that the Raja Ampat people inhabiting the coastal areas originated from the Schouten and Padaido Islands (present-day Biak) lying slightly to the north of the entrance to Geelvink Bay (present-day Cenderawasih Bay). Around the fifteenth century a Biak man - one version of the legends claims – became the clan leader of the Raja Ampat. This may indicate the beginning of the migration of people from Biak to the Raja

¹⁵ ANRI Ternate 85, Secret Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 8 March 1787; Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, End of April 1763.

¹⁶ Leupe, ‘De Reizen der Nederlanders,’ 206.

¹⁷ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, End of April 1762; Leupe, ‘De Reizen der Nederlanders,’ 266-92, 293-5.

¹⁸ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, End of August 1762.

¹⁹ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 323-4.

Ampat. The exogamic *keret* (clans) sailed away as groups in which individuals could operate in specific social functions. They designated the new, foreign place of arrival in their own language, using a name similar to that of their place of origin, such as Mamoribo (inhabitants of a gravel shoal) and Warjo (inhabitants of the river). Often they also used the names of big clans such as Osba, Omkai, Kafdarun (the first lived on Ayau and the second on Batanta). The Omkai had a fierce reputation for their raiding enterprises to Seram and Ambon, from where they took away women as captives. Their culture hero, known as Korwar, was worshipped in a form of memorial statue (*zielenbeeld*) after his death. They sang '*Snonsja nggo mun, binsja nggo mun*', which means 'We killed the men and took away the women'.²⁰

For a long time, these first occupants of the Raja Ampat, especially those from Omkai and Besew, were embroiled in fights with the Sawaiers (probably from Sawai on the north coast of Seram) who also strove to occupy the same archipelago. A number of names of places are related to Sawai, for example, Yensawai (the coast of Sawai) in the northern and southern part of Batanta Island or Nyandesawai (landing path of Sawai) in south Waigeo. Eventually, according to the legends, the Biak settlers under the leadership of their culture hero Sekfamneri (or Gurabesi) drove the Sawai settlers away to the farthest point of the Jailolo passage (Halmahera). Their victory was commemorated in a place-name Bukorsawai, which meant the 'skull of Sawai'. The end of the story was that the Biak immigrants became the masters of the Raja Ampat Archipelago. The Omkai and Besew people were also known on (North) Seram. Under the leadership of Sekfamneri, they also landed on Patani. There the Sawaiers defended themselves from a great fort. But, by exerting his extraordinarily great force, Sekfamneri conquered the areas.²¹

The Myth of the Raiding Leaders and Tidore

According to oral tradition, the oldest rajas of the Raja Ampat lived on the north-east coast of the island of Waigeo. They belonged to the clan Kawe which was related to the Wawiai who lived in the inner bay (Kabu), where in earlier times they had formed a strong entity. The centre of their power was located on the Kabu Bay, which the oldest story refers to as the birthplace of their tribe and their religion. There the small Wai-Kew River, from which the name Waigeo is derived, can be found. One of the small, rocky islets in Kabu Bay was the site of the pantheon of Wawiai. It had a deep cave which

²⁰ F. C. Kamma, 'De verhouding tussen Tidore and de Papoesche eilanden in legende en historie, I,' *Indonesië*, 1-6 (1948), 365-7.

²¹ *Ibid.* 368-70.

had once been a treasury chamber of the culture hero, Sekfamneri. At the headwaters of the bay was located a small 'temple' in which the family accoutrements were worshipped. In Kabu Bay itself a similar group of 'gods' was also erected at the same early date on the small island Efdulu. On the top of the cliff carved steps led to the place where the sculptures of the heads of the gods and their consorts had been erected. The cave sheltered such treasures as brocade *sarong* (cloth), Chinese vases and blue-and-white porcelain plates, and large earthenware storage jars (*martavanen*). The treasures were said to be of a supernatural origin. These Papuans may have sailed as far as the east coast of Halmahera, around Gamrange, before the era of the well-known Raja Ampat or *kolano fat*. This title was associated with Tidore and the raja who governed on behalf of Tidore.²²

With pride it was told how Sekfamneri and his Papuan countrymen had travelled to distant foreign lands where they seized specific objects and local products and harassed the inhabitants. In their overseas enterprises they were hampered by a relative shortage of able-bodied men, so this had to be compensated for by taking captives who could be used as rowers. It seemed to be a practical method, but sometimes they encountered unexpected local resistance and suffered losses. Their rowers were mostly *do mamun* or 'dead persons', meaning people seized from such various islands as Seram, Buru, Amblau, Selayar, Makassar, Java, and Malaka. Sekfamneri, so the legend recounts, continued his voyage to the west in a great vessel manned by thirty rowers. Driven by the west monsoon, they arrived in the neighbourhood of Seram. Whenever they suffered from a lack of fresh water at sea, Sekfamneri could summon the rain by using his supernatural power. When they were in need of food, he called big fish to approach them. Thus reassured his people maintained their zeal for raiding foreign lands.

In the course of his extensive raiding voyages, Sekfamneri heard of four Malukan kingdoms Kororo (Tidore), Karnaki (Ternate), Jailolo, and Batsjani (Bacan). Hence he and his crew sailed along the east coast of Halmahera in southerly direction, rounded Cape Libobo, and headed due north through Patinti Strait. Even though this strait was notorious for its fierce storms, they managed to keep going. The south wind brought them to Tidore, which at that time happened to be at war with Jailolo. At the time the Sultan of Tidore was in need of seaworthy vessels and brave able-bodied men to repel the Jailolo fleet which had already been sighted in a distance. A great attack was expected as the horizon was full of the white patches – the sails of the prahu of the enemy. Sekfamneri and his men landed just in time. The Sultan promised to give him his daughter as his wife if he could defeat Jailolo fleet. Within a short time Sekfamneri and his Papuan fellows overmastered the

²² Ibid. 364, 536.

enemy and hauled in the Jailolo prahu. He was then awarded ‘the hand of the beautiful daughter of the Sultan’: Princess Boki Tabai.²³ Before he left, Sultan Tidore told Sekfamneri that he was now the king of his country and that the Sultan would help him establish his kingship. As vassals, he and his people would have to pay tribute every east monsoon. Finally with the princess on board, Sekfamneri sailed back to his homeland and established his kingdom on Wai-Kew in the centre of Waigeo.²⁴

Afterwards Sekfamneri expanded his power by consolidating the strength of his Papuan kingdom. He controlled strategic points along the coastal areas and the entry ports to the inland areas,²⁵ and hence made contact with the inland natives.²⁶ The Biak men taught the inland inhabitants how to forge iron, but they also learned their language and through the centuries became the intermediaries between the coast and the inland areas acting as interpreters in the trade and intercourse with foreigners. The Biaks of Numfor, who resided at Amberbaken, prided themselves on having had influence over the natives for many years. These middlemen, later bearing the title *sangaji*, married local women, and converted to Islam as their great master in Tidore had done, although the strength of their devotion was questionable.²⁷

Regarding the origins of the Raja Ampat kingdoms, there are various creation myths. The findings of De Clercq claim that Sekfamneri had four sons.²⁸ However, Kamma tells a different version with a similar content. One day Sekfamneri and his wife went rowing on a small river and found six eggs hidden beneath the grass on the bank.²⁹ Sekfamneri wanted to consume them but his wife was curious about what the eggs would produce and took them to the ‘palace’. Indeed something extraordinary happened. After a few days the eggs hatched and four boys emerged. The fifth egg was a girl.³⁰

²³ Sekfamneri has another name, Gurabesi. According to another version, he was not married to the eldest daughter of Sultan Tidore, but to her younger sister, Boki Taiba (Tabai). See Johsz R. Mansoben, ‘Sistem Pemerintahan Tradisional di Salawati Selatan, Raja Ampat,’ in Masinambow (ed.), *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat*, 165-6.

²⁴ Kamma, ‘De verhouding,’ 537-40.

²⁵ F.S.A De Clercq, ‘Noord- en Westkust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea,’ in *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 10 (1893), 166.

²⁶ Idem, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Leiden: Brill, 1890), 324.

²⁷ Kamma, ‘De verhouding,’ 540.

²⁸ De Clercq, ‘Noord- en Westkust,’ 164-5.

²⁹ This version is slightly different from Van der Leeden’s (1980) finding. He notes that the number of eggs is only four. See Van der Leeden, ‘The Raja Ampat Islands,’ 21.

³⁰ Another version of the myth, written by an indigenous Papuan from Salawati, differs slightly from the piece in Kamma. The finder of the eggs is not Gurabesi from Biak, but Raja Gaman and his wife. Gurabesi, according to this version, had been transformed sexually from being a woman called Pintako who had also been hatched from the eggs. See Arfan 1981: 2-4. This difference, I suggest, can be attributed to the origin of the

Within short time they grew bigger and the people recognized them as princes. These four boys and one girl used to go to the forest and the beach together, but one day something embarrassing was discovered. The girl had become pregnant. As a consequence she was taken to the beach and locked in a big shell and floated out to sea on the outgoing tide. Carried away by the current she arrived on Numfor Island. This explained how the people of Waigeo were related to the Papuans of Numfor.

Meanwhile, the harmony between the four princes did not last long. They quarrelled over a turtle. When this animal escaped, the oldest prince speared it, which led to an outburst of rage. The three younger princes decided to go away. Each went a little farther: the second prince moved to Salawati; the third sailed on to Misool; and the fourth took up residence on Waigama after having sailed to Seram.³¹ The eldest prince remained in their place of origin and later moved from Mumus (the mouth of the bay) to the outer north corner of the bay, Kabilolo. The reason for this move was the growth of the trade with foreigners in the area.³² The sixth egg fossilized. For this egg, the people built a 'temple' on a tributary of the Wai-Kew. For centuries this egg was the object of worship. At critical moments, in times of sickness or death, they had to bathe it and the water which was believed to then be imbued with magical power, was sprinkled on the faces of the participants. Women were strictly prohibited to see or even to talk about the stone egg on pain of never bearing children. The taboo (*pamali*) on talking about this stone was extended to all people and those who infringed it would be sentenced to death.³³ There was a regular contact between the Raja Ampat people and their relatives in the Schouten Archipelago. Affinal relationships were common. After their marriages, the men of the Raja Ampat were sometimes obliged to remain on Biak in order to build a house or to make a garden for their father-in-law as bride price.³⁴

The Papuans of the Raja Ampat, according to Kamma, believed that their society consisted of three categories. The first was composed of the common people. Every individual among the common people always had a genealogy from which their family of origin or *koek sarita* could be identified. The other two groups at each end of the social scale, namely slaves and raja or *kolano* did not have a genealogy. The slaves were denied one because they formed the bottom layer of the society and were totally subject to it, thereby forfeiting their freedom. The raja likewise lacked a genealogy because he was

informants from whom Kamma had collected it on Biak. The latter was recorded in the Raja Ampat.

³¹ Kamma, 'De verhouding,' 540-1.

³² Ibid. 543.

³³ Ibid. 542.

³⁴ Ibid. 543.

considered elevated above the community. The raja was perceived to pertain to the higher order of the universe. When attempting to depict the higher authority, people would talk about the legends and myths about the kings. Throughout the whole area of the Raja Ampat Archipelago, people told stories about kings who were hatched from eggs of dragons, crocodiles or were otherwise of 'indefinable origin'. In Biak itself, there are stories of Manseren Manggundi,³⁵ a figure born of an unknown father who possessed power transferred from *sampari* or the 'morning star'.³⁶

These myths offer a clue to the perspective of the Papuans on raiding enterprises. It implies that the focus of their culture was travelling to foreign lands, to raid the people and to rob them of their goods, and not forgetting to bring home foreign brides. Raiding a foreign land was an integral part of the whole religious and social life of the Papuans. The figure of the culture hero Sekfamneri was a model for great raiding leaders. The booty was stored in sacred places as treasure. Going raiding was a sacred and legitimate activity. Consequently violence was a method embedded in this enterprise and seen as a manifestation of power or martial prowess. Importantly the raiding was not limited to foreign lands. In 1705, when Jacob Weyland led an expedition to Geelvink Bay, he found that the people to the north of Biak or on the north-east corner of Yapen lived in enmity with each other. The people fled away immediately the Dutch expedition approached the shore.³⁷ This was obviously how slaves were obtained. An oral tradition collected and interpreted by Kamma recounts there was a rivalry between villages among the Papuans of Biak. The violence of raiders from Biak therefore not only terrified the Malukan traders, it generated great terror and distress among their own neighbours because they were afraid of being kidnapped. As late as 1886, a fleet of eighty Biak canoes assailed Kurudu, a village of Biak emigrants from the Samber clan.³⁸

Chris Ballard argues that this kind of Melanesian creation story derives from myths embracing significant clues to the 'sacred geography' of a cultural area. They explain the structure of the universe and the nature of the relationship between people, their geographic position in relation to the neighbouring areas, the prevailing strategic interests within a region, and the

³⁵ F. J. F. van Hasselt, 'De legende van Mansren Mangoendi,' *BKI* 69 (1914), 90-100.

³⁶ Kamma, 'De verhouding,' 363-4.

³⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 166-7; See also G. J. Held, *The Papuas of Waropen* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1957), 16-7. On the south-western coast of Papua, Onin, rivalries and competition among the people themselves also made the area dangerous for inhabitants and foreigners alike. In 1858 the people of Kairufa were still at war with Patimuni, a settlement east of Karas Island. See T. Goodman, 'The *Sosolot* Exchange Network of Eastern Indonesia during the XVII and XVIII Centuries,' in *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia* (Leiden: IIAS, ISIR, LIPI, 1997) 438-9.

³⁸ Kamma, *Koreri*, 216.

distribution of minor and major trade resources. The travelling creator myths serve as 'charters' for regional trade and political relationships.³⁹ Andaya suggests that the travelling creator stories, such as that of Sekfamneri, also serve as socio-political blueprints.⁴⁰ Moreover, their stories also assign pre-eminence to justify power in the sense that they serve the interests of the dominant groups. Raiding as a violent practice is legitimized. They conceal the power interest of the dominant from the subordinate groups to ensure that the raiding is beneficial. They mask the 'economic' calculation, the political goals, and the power struggle for domination between the powerful groups.

The stories about the relationship between the Raja Ampat and Tidore recognize the special relationship between the Papuans of Raja Ampat (as well as of Biak) and Tidore and explain the dominance of the latter. Raiding other villages, abducting women, plundering foreign goods and the other violence which inevitably ensued was explicitly conceived as ideal and model behaviour, represented by the conduct of the powerful Sekfamneri alias Gurabesi. As the outcome of his power and success, he was granted a woman who became his wife by the foreign 'superior' King of Tidore. From this point of view, the relationship between Tidore and the apparently subordinate Papuans may have been conceived as the basis of their existence and a recognition of their identity and, moreover, of reciprocal benefit. Tidore was supposed to protect and support the raiding 'tradition' and in return, as a gesture of reciprocity, the Papuans paid homage and tribute. The Papuans saw this as a 'rule'. When Tidore 'broke' this rule, for example, by punishing the Papuans or their allies for the raiding they had perpetrated, the Papuans were ready to subvert this Dutch-inspired policy of Tidore. Above all the myth stressed that the ideal pattern of relationship was Tidore-Papuan, not Ternate-Papuan. Therefore when the situation was understood to be returned to 'order' the Papuans tended to pay homage to Tidore.

The social organization of the Biak villages (*menu*) was in accordance with their character as a combat group. One of the leader categories which enjoyed special prestige was called *mambri*. The position of its members was emphasized at the ceremony of initiation known as *k'bor* 'young adult man.' A *mambri* might distinguish himself in distant raids from which he brought home slaves and valuable goods, or by successfully resisting attackers. Biak people who had made a long voyage to faraway foreign lands and returned home won great honour. They carried from afar such rare goods as *sarong*, Chinese vases, blue-and-white ceramic plates, beads, bronze gongs, and large banners. These foreign goods were displayed to other groups with whom they were in competition in order to augment their fame and to put the

³⁹ Ballard 1994: 130-148, as cited in T. Goodman, 'The *Sosolot* Exchange Network,' 435.

⁴⁰ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 53-5.

other party at a disadvantage. The upshot was that others would be challenged to conduct an even more spectacular raiding voyage and obtain even more goods.⁴¹

The raiders accumulated the foreign wares they had acquired in their homes. These precious goods were presented or displayed during the bride wealth payments, gift exchange, payments of fines and other ceremonies. The gifts delivered at life-cycle feasts were seen to protect their recipients and endow them with exceptional powers. The goods were conceived of as being imbued with foreign powers. By the act of laying their hands on them, the Papuans believed that they had absorbed this power. In Rutherford's terms, this also shows an aspect of the fetishization of the foreign, namely, the corporeality⁴² of foreign value. In its visible forms, value appeared as a 'proof' of an encounter with the outsiders. Yet value also appeared as the generic potency conveyed in the gifts of food and ceramics, which enabled Biak people to brave the perils of voyages to distant lands.⁴³ Kamma saw the circulation of goods and foodstuffs as the lifeblood of the society because this was what determined its socio-economic aspects. Those possessing such rare goods accumulated only through trading, marriage, or raiding, were recognized as reputable members of the society.⁴⁴

Papuan raiders or envoys also paid tribute to the Sultan's vassal on the islands of Halmahera and Gebe⁴⁵ and never failed to travel to Tidore to pay homage at the Sultan's court. Entering the palace and prostrating themselves before the throne, the Papuans claimed they were absorbing the *barak* 'blessing' emanating from the Sultan. Along with the goods obtained and Tidoran titles which the Papuans would be granted, the raiders carried this *barak* back to their communities. Upon disembarking in their homeland, the travellers shook hands with their relatives, who then rubbed their own eyes, a gesture transferring the *barak* they had received. Tidore appeared to the Papuans as the source of the valuables which served as evidence of a voyager's prowess, and of a potency which imbued others with the ability to travel.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Kamma, 'De verhouding,' 537.

⁴² *Adj. corporeal*, 'of or relating to person's body, especially as opposed to their spirit.' Oxford Dictionary.

⁴³ D. Rutherford, *Raiding the Land of Foreigners*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton UP, 2003), 17, 149; Kamma, *Koreri*, 12-4, 270; Idem, *Dit wonderlijke werk*, I, (Oegstgeest: Raad voor de Zending der Ned. Hervormde Kerk, 1977), 235.

⁴⁴ Idem, *Koreri*, 66-7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 8.

⁴⁶ Rutherford, *Raiding the Land of Foreigners*, 17.

The Papuans of the Onin and Kobiai areas

Accounts of the Papuans of the Onin and Kobiai areas in the eighteenth century are very few and far between. The following description relies mostly on an account from the seventeenth century. The Papuans of Onin were mentioned in the sources - probably for the first time - by Miguel Roxo de Brito in 1582. Onin was located on the west coast of the New Guinea mainland. The Onin area consisted of a number of villages: on the southern side Emalat and Gornanang, and on the northern side, Rumbati, from all three of which most men went out raiding.⁴⁷ Up across the McCluer Gulf (present day Berau Gulf) at a distance of about twelve miles, resided the people of Rumakai. Down to the south-east, lived the Kobiai people. Across the sea on the south-west side lies a small island called Wessels Island (Pulau Adi), where about a hundred Papuans lived.⁴⁸ All the people of Onin worked very hard to obtain gold, which could be obtained in an area called Offin, located between Onin and Ogar.⁴⁹ Raja Waigeo told De Brito that the area was inhabited by 40,000 people. The people of Ogar also went into the interior to collect gold. Besides a desire to procure the gold, traders from Serdanha (Seram Laut) came to this place to buy *massoi* (*Cortex Oninius*) which they bartered for ironware, especially swords called *talisas*. Most of the inhabitants on the shore were merchants. The coastal inhabitants were black (that is non-Austronesian) but some of them were of mixed blood, quite probably because there had been intermarriage with East Seramese. Their staple food was roasted sago. They also kept chickens, pigs, fish, goats, and buffaloes.⁵⁰ In 1610, Adriaan van der Dussen informed the Gentlemen Seventeen in Holland that the people of Onin maintained trading contacts with the Papuans from Misool.⁵¹

In the seventeenth century, all of these places had a reputation as providers of slaves and suppliers of massoi. From 1623, the Dutch in Banda had been aware that all these people, but especially the Onin, were in very close contact with traders from East Seram, the Seram Laut group, Gorom,

⁴⁷ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Banda to Batavia, 1784 (?), 22; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 26-7.

⁴⁸ Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 10-37.

⁴⁹ A Spaniard Andres de Urdaneta who had lived in Maluku from 1525 to 1536 reported the existence of some gold of high quality on Bacan. According to a Malay he had met, the gold came from an area called 'los Papuas'. It was not clear whether the area mentioned was an area of Onin on the mainland of New Guinea. See Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 6.

⁵⁰ J. H. F. Sollewijn Gelpke, 'The report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of his voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf, and Seram,' *BKI* 150 (1994), 135.

⁵¹ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Banda to Batavia, n.d., 22 (1784?); Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 26-7.

and Geser. It was known that the inland Kobiai, who reportedly lived in caves in the hinterland, would approach the coast when an East Seramese vessel hove in sight. In 1636, during the month of August, many East Seramese returned home carrying massoi from the coast.⁵² In 1653 a VOC vessel visited Gorom where she encountered a vessel from Onin. The VOC employees obtained the information that in Onin there were about ninety slaves waiting to be exchanged for cloths and axes either on Gorom or on Banda.⁵³ Onin was the centre of the slave market where slaves were collected from its neighbours such as Rumakai by the *orangkaya* of Onin, and then sold to East Seramese traders who handed over cloths and such ironware as axes, Tombuku machetes, and swords. Through the intermediation of Goromese interpreters, the first friendly contact between the Dutchmen Joshua Braconnier and Frederick Gommersdorp and the raja and *orangkaya* of Onin was established in 1654. It was even agreed that the raja would provide 200 to 300 slaves and a great quantity of massoi per year, but this agreement failed to eventuate.⁵⁴

Travel accounts of the seventeenth century referring to the climate, winds, and weather reveal a situation similar to that in the Raja Ampat. On 9 December 1655, Jacob Borné, on board the yacht the *Coutchin*, accompanied by the sloops the *Batavia* and the *Japara*, sailed to Gorom and then to Onin. The Dutch ran into severe storms and unremitting tropical rain and were separated from each other, which put the crews in a precarious position as the inhabitants were aggressive.⁵⁵ The records reveal that at least thirteen expeditions were launched to the areas around the south-west coast of New Guinea in the seventeenth century by the Banda Government. Out of these thirteen expeditions, eight fell victim to surprise attacks by the Papuans inhabitants of these areas. Many of the crew were killed and wounded. For example, in 1657 the *Japara* which had stranded on the coast near the village of Karas was destroyed by the local inhabitants. All of the crew were killed, with the exception of Anthonie Adriaansz Multum who was captured and resided in the area for three years before being bought free by a trader from East Seram.⁵⁶ The Dutch, who once nurtured a scheme to seize the trade in slaves and massoi from the hands of the East Seramese and explore the area more thoroughly, found it to distinguish between friendly and hostile Papuans. The investigations and the subsequent contract which had been concluded with the East Seramese for the monopoly of the slave and massoi

⁵² Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 10-37.

⁵³ Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, II, 679.

⁵⁴ Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 46-9.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 49-55.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 49-55, 57-8.

trades were never put into effect.⁵⁷ As mentioned above, in 1654 Braconnier and Gommersdorp managed to establish friendly contact with the Raja of Onin, but Burgert Pietersz. who visited the same place in 1664 was fiercely attacked. Later, he learned that the Raja was not in Onin at the time of the attack. The Dutch found this situation highly perplexing and frustrating.⁵⁸

The people in this area were described as being locked in constant warfare with each other. These tribal wars were profitable for them as they captured the defeated people and enslaved them. In 1680, an *orangkaya* of Karas called Moffon killed the *kapiten* of Rumbati, called Masola and raped the wife of Raja Jeef of Onin. This led to a pitched fight between the two groups. The captives were sold as slaves.⁵⁹ As an irrevocable part of their warlike tradition, the Papuans of these areas organized raiding parties. In 1684, not far from Tior Island seven Papuan *kora-kora* from either Fatagar or Rumbati robbed a trader from Banda named Waru. The majority of his men were killed. Three were sold as slaves and another three of the crew made it home alive. *Orangkaya* Jum'at retaliated by raiding Ogar and Fatagar. Thirteen persons were captured. The East Seramese of Keffing became embroiled in these chronic, violent encounters. In 1678, traders from Keffing, allied with the Papuans from Kobiai, attacked Chinese traders from Makassar who were looking for business in the area. In all these cases, the well-spring of the violence was competition over the slave and massoi trades.⁶⁰

The most important contemporary investigation of the Onin people by the Dutch was conducted by Johannes Keijts in 1678. He identified the network 'system' or *sosolot*, in which the trading relationship between the East Seramese and Papuans of Onin, was embedded. As Nicolaes Vinck had stated in 1663, in terms of trade the *orangkaya* of Onin controlled almost everything. He was working hand-in-glove with East Seramese traders and listening to and conducting almost all his business on the advice of these *schelmen* 'thugs'.⁶¹ The Dutch in Banda were not able to wrest the market out of the hands of the East Seramese and to establish a trading relationship with Onin because of the obstacles posed by other East Seramese traders and the surprise attacks by Papuans which continued until at least the end of the seventeenth century.⁶²

As might have been expected, this relationship between the Papuans in these areas and the East Seramese traders was not always co-operative and

⁵⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 101-20.

⁵⁸ Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 68-9.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 94.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 9.

⁶¹ Ibid. 61.

⁶² Ibid. 38, 49-55, 95.

fruitful. Trading relations and inter-group intimacy varied from one person to the other. Certainly the various *orangkaya* of East Seram had a good relationship only with certain groups in the area. If one *orangkaya* had amicable contact with Rumbati people, there was a good chance that he was perceived as an ‘enemy’ by people inimical to the Rumbati, such as the Karas. In the light of this complicated situation, *sosolot* was not a single network between one single entity on the west coast of New Guinea and one single group of traders in East Seram, but a series of multiple and intermingled networks. In the case of the Keijts’ contract with *Orangkaya* Laku and Uwan, we can infer that other *orangkaya* from East Seram with their own networks in the Onin area would have striven to hinder this co-operation in monopolizing the purchase of slaves and massoi, in order not to jeopardize their own networks. In 1683, the Governor of Ambon, Padtbrugge, sent a commission to check the rumour that Keffing traders had threatened a trader from Banda, Burger Melis Caes, boasting that they would attack the Company’s vessels, kill the crew, and loot the cargoes.⁶³

During the Tidore alliance with the Spaniards prior to 1657, the latter laid claim to the New Guinea mainland, on the grounds that Inigo Ortiz de Retes had taken possession of it in the name of the Spanish Crown in 1545. They acknowledged however that Tidore was master of Onin.⁶⁴ In 1673, on Kobiai a *juru bahasa* from Tidore, on board a big vessel with many able-bodied men, interrogated Schipper Gerrit Adriaensz. who had arrived there from Banda in order to check whether he was in possession of a pass issued by Sultan Tidore. He claimed that no one was allowed to trade in this area without the consent of and a pass from Tidore. He even warned the local raja not to trade with foreigners. During the night Adriaensz. was advised to leave the area because the Tidorans were planning to kill him.⁶⁵ In 1697, when the Governor of Ternate, Pieter Rooselaar, complained about attacks and the prevalence of ‘robbery’ in Onin, perpetrated by a force from Misool under the command of Kaicil Bulam of Tidore, Sultan Tidore unequivocally argued that his forces had been forced to punish the Onin people because they had raided villages in the Kei Islands. The punitive expedition of Tidore

⁶³ Ibid. 95.

⁶⁴ ‘Het was hier, dat de Kapiten bezit nam van het eiland voor de Spaansche kroon, en het den naam gaf van Nieuw Guinea’ However Haga argues that ... *de naam ‘Nieuw Guinea’ van Ortiz afkomstig is, maar niet, dat dit land voor de Spaansche kroon in bezit werd genomen.* He suggests that the term ‘island’ most likely does not refer to the mainland of New Guinea. As evidence Haga??? refers to the Great-Ducal map of 1558 on which he found New Guinea mainland as yet unnamed. See Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 11; Leupe, ‘De Reizen der Nederlanders,’ 81.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 72.

was carried out in response to the plea to Raja Misool from the heads of Kei.⁶⁶

These scattered pieces of evidence suggest that Tidore assumed that Onin was also its vassal. However, on the basis of information collected during his expedition in 1678-1679, Johannes Keijts concluded that there was no indication of any influence or authority whatsoever of either Misool or Tidore in Onin. Governor Paddtbrugge also concurred this conclusion. He was convinced that Tidore had no real influence in Onin. The Tidorans had mounted an expedition to this place only to raid the settlements and collect slaves. When writing his letter on the state of affairs in the area to his successor in 1710, Governor Jacob Claasz. of Ternate acknowledged the authority of Tidore only on the north coast of New Guinea. Onin on the west coast was excluded. In 1714, the Spanish claim to the New Guinea mainland was ended under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. During the reign of the Charles II, King of Spain 1665-1700, the claim to New Guinea had already been completely omitted, thereby tacitly ending it.⁶⁷

Gamrange

Gamrange is a regional name used to refer to a group of three areas, namely Maba, Weda, and Patani. Gebe was not formally a part of it, but its inhabitants always participated in the raiding enterprises launched from there, areas in south-east Halmahera. The description of these people by Governor of Ternate, Pieter Rooselaar (1705), has been extensively quoted by Leonard Andaya in his study. The Resident of Manado, Joan Pieter Cornelis Cambier, also wrote an interesting report on Gamrange while he was pursuing his duties as a Commissioner of Tidoran Halmahera at Bicoli in 1825. Cambier describes the men of Gamrange as follows:

De inlander is niet misdeeld van verstandelijke vermogens, integendeel hij is zeer vlug van begrip. De langdurige onderdrukking, waaronder hij leeft, heeft zijnen moed en trots nog niet geheel kunnen uitdooven; in den oorlog is hij dapper, daarbij echter niet van wreedheid vrij te pleiten. Hij jaagt in den strijd of op andere tochten zijn doel met eenen ijver na, die zonderling afsteekt bij zijne, ...gewone luie levenswijs...⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ibid. 105; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 132-135.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 196.

⁶⁸ "The native is by no means lacking in intellectual capacities. On the contrary he displays a rapid comprehension. The long-lasting oppression under which he lives has not yet been able to extinguish completely his spirit and pride. In war, he is valiant but not entirely devoid of brutality. He pursues his goal in battle or on other voyages with a zeal which contrasts markedly with his usually indolent way of life." (Cambier 1872, 253)

The people of Gamrange were generally regarded as the most important in the Tidore periphery. The two principal settlements of Maba were situated in a place of the same name on the south-eastern Halmahera mainland and at Bicoli where the best anchorage was located. In 1825 Maba consisted of two districts, Bicoli (three *negeri*) and Maba (nine *negeri*). Each district (and the head *negeri*) was headed by a *sangaji*, while the other *negeri* were under the leadership of *kimelaha*. At the beginning of eighteenth century Maba had a total of 2,000 to 2,400 able-bodied men. It abounded in freshwater springs, rivers, timber,⁶⁹ and produced bumper crops of spices, sago, and fruit.⁷⁰ The people traded spices, mainly nutmeg. In 1825, Cambier estimated that the population of Bicoli, Gotowasi, Buli, Panga, and Wasile amounted to 2,500 souls. Another 2,500 souls were living on the west coast, far fewer than in 1706.⁷¹ The area of Maba extended as far as the north-west as the overland route at Bobane, and some 800 to 1000 fighting men could be assembled from its settlements. The dominant people on Weda, just as those in the Raja Ampat, were Muslims even though most of the population still adhered to the local religion. In some cases, the Weda people were able to make use of Islamic teachings as a pretext to avoid the Dutch request to comply with their extirpation programme.⁷²

Patani was described as stony and hilly with very little flat land. Off the coast of Patani lies a small island called Mor blessed with fertile soil which was where the people cultivated their gardens. There are numerous cliffs at the cape of Patani and no good anchorage. Officially no one could visit Patani without the permission of Sultan Tidore, and to arrive without a letter from the ruler was to ask for trouble. Whenever a boat appeared in the harbour, hundreds of Patanese would rush to the beach armed with bows and arrows. They were labelled 'the greatest pirates and rogues known in the eastern quarters' by the Dutch. In 1706 a *sangaji* and seven *kimelaha* governed a population of which only half was Muslim. In the whole of Patani there were some 1200 men capable of bearing arms.⁷³ In 1825 the population from Lelewi, Patani, and Liloba was estimated at 5,800 souls, many more than in 1706. The number of women exceeded that of the men by a quarter.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ NA VOC 8074, Extract of a daily report of an expedition to Salawati and Waigeo, 11-13 September 1705; NA VOC 8075, MvO Pieter Rooselaar, 11 June 1706, 159-259; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 100.

⁷⁰ J. P. C. Cambier, 'Rapport over Tidoreesch-Halmahera,' in Robidé van der Aa, 'Een tweetal bijdragen tot de kennis van Halmahera,' *BKI* 19 (1872), 245.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 250.

⁷² Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 100.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 99-100.

⁷⁴ Cambier, 'Rapport over Tidoreesch-Halmahera,' 250.

Gebe was not a part of the area called Gamrange but it had close links with it. This island was considered the 'treasure house' of Tidore because of the abundant ambergris which could be collected there. In 1703, Sangaji Gebe, the collector of tribute for Sultan Tidore in the Papuan Islands, indicated that Gebe was still a place of significance to Tidore. Its seamen attracted traders to Gebe's ports and made that island an entrepôt for local goods. There were three settlements on the northern side of the island, where half of the population was Muslim and the other half followers of local belief. In total there were some 400 to 500 able-bodied men on Gebe.⁷⁵ In general the population in Maba, Weda, and Patani may have been decreasing as the result of fighting, raiding and, most importantly, the Nuku rebellion and the war between Sultan Zainal Abidin and the Dutch. Many people moved to Seram and the Raja Ampat. Cambier even claimed that since the period of Nuku (1780-1805), Zainal Abidin's war (1806-1810), and the more recent endeavour of Raja Jailolo, more than 2,000 fighting men and their families had left Gamrange. Many of them had settled in North Seram.⁷⁶

Long History of Raiding

The emergence of the raiding enterprise and any links this may have had with the presence of the Dutch or other European foreigners in Malukan waters is not yet clear. Boxer and Manguin indicate that the raiding enterprise emerged in 'Serdanha' on the east side of Seram early in the sixteenth century.⁷⁷ Pigafetta, a comrade of Magellan, mentioned the existence of the Raja Ampat as early as 1521. Its importance in Malukan political dynamics was reported in the year 1534 when the Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan Sultanates tried to involve these petty kingdoms in their efforts to expel the Portuguese from Maluku.⁷⁸ This shows that the regional importance of the military force of the Raja Ampat was already recognized at that time. A letter from Van der Dussen of 24 December 1610 reports that the Papuans from the Raja Ampat had captured coastal Seramese and taken their gold. At this time, raiding and robbery were repeatedly perpetrated to collect slaves and booty.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 99; Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 205.

⁷⁶ Cambier, 'Rapport over Tidoreesch-Halmahera,' 251.

⁷⁷ C. R. Boxer and P. Y. Manguin, 'Miguel Roxo de Brito's narrative of his voyage to the Raja Ampat, May 1581-November 1582, *Archipel* 18 (1979), 175-194 as quoted by A. B. Lopian, *Orang Laut-Bajak Laut-Raja Laut: Sejarah Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Abad XIX* (Diss. Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, 1987), 236.

⁷⁸ Kamma, 'De verhouding,' 545.

⁷⁹ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 24.

In 1650 and 1653 the Governor of Ambon, Arnold De Vlaming, dispatched expeditions in an attempt to eradicate this bane once for all. Misool was attacked by sixteen *kora-kora* and many captives were taken. Hatuwe, Weda, and Patani were also punished. But instead of submitting, Raja Salawati, with the support of some Tidorans, retaliated against the Ambonese Quarter.⁸⁰ Calm was only restored again to these waters at the end of 1650s. It was of fleeting duration. During the years 1660, 1662, 1665, and 1666 the raiders were once again posing a threat to the Ambon Islands and North Seram. The inhabitants of Amblau were regular victims. In 1666 the Company launched another expedition of sixteen *kora-kora* reinforced by smaller vessels for the defence of North Seram. They captured only one Papuan *kora-kora* but did drive the raiders out of the area.⁸¹ After this exploit the raiding ceased for a while, but after a couple of years it revived again. In 1673 Limau, Raja Misool's brother Mangenane, and his *Kapiten Laut* were detained by a cruising sloop the *Vlissingen* of the Ambon Government. This success did not contribute favourably to an amicable climate of negotiations with the Raja Misool. On the contrary, in November 1677 many bigger and smaller vessels manned by 400 to 500 Papuans appeared in the Banda Archipelago where seven inhabitants were captured.⁸² The raiding groups then moved on to Ambonese waters, where they captured another thirteen to sixteen Amblau people and caught sixteen fishers on the Hitu coast and in south Seram.⁸³

In 1678, with three *kora-kora* and two smaller vessels at their disposal, one of the heads of Patani and the *Kapiten Laut* of Tidore launched another spectacular attack against the Ambonese Islands. About fifty to sixty Ambonese traders and fishers were captured and exchanged in East Seram for Rds 38-40 per person. This resurgence was indubitably linked to the war between Sultan Sibori of Ternate with whom the Crown Prince of Tidore had taken sides. This evidence shows that the raiding enterprise involved members of the Tidoran elite and was closely related to the inner circle politics in the palace. Knaap argues that after 1680 the raiding enterprises could at least be repulsed, even though they were not completely eradicated.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, in Ambon waters in 1684 the Onin Papuans still managed to capture about sixty-five people and transported them to East Seram.⁸⁵ The majority of the raiders and robbers originated from south-east Halmahera (Weda and Patani) and the Raja Ampat (Misool and Salawati)

⁸⁰ Ibid. 65-8.

⁸¹ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 74.

⁸² Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, IV, 242-3.

⁸³ Lopian, 'Orang Laut-Bajak Laut-Raja Laut,' 238.

⁸⁴ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 76.

⁸⁵ Lopian, 'Orang Laut-Bajak Laut-Raja Laut,' 238.

and occasionally from Onin. The raiders of Onin, sometimes operating under the command of Raja Misool, prowled around the Kei and Aru Islands. They also ventured farther afield and raided Seram, especially Keffing and Gorom, the Tanimbar Islands, and the area under the Banda group. In 1689 and 1694, the raiders of Onin, aboard twenty *kora-kora*, harassed the islands of Kei and Banda and captured a number of people.⁸⁶

It was not clear how all of these raiders were linked or organized among themselves. The victims were chosen indiscriminately whenever they were not prepared for defence. The raiders plundered booty and captured men, women, and children. The North Seramese played a dual role, not only were they victims, they also collaborated with the raiders. For example, in 1660 a leader of Lisabata welcomed the raiders and collaborated with them in their attack on his neighbours and the inland people. The alliance was not restricted to raiding enterprises but extended to trade in sago and captives.⁸⁷ In short, raiding was endemic even though the VOC organized many 'punitive' expeditions, which resulted in the detainment of some of the perpetrators and destruction of their villages. One of the factors raiding and robbery continued unabated was that the leaders and groups of raiders or robbers sailed in joint fleets. If one or two leaders were captured and punished, there were always other groups who were ready to seize the opportunity to start raiding the areas which had been relieved of the presence their former tormentors.

Closing Remarks

Raiding enterprises existed long before the arrival of the European power in Maluku in the sixteenth century. From the myths described above, and the rivalry among villages within the communities in Raja Ampat Islands and west coast of New Guinea, it is clear that the raiding had its root in the habitus of the Papuan communities. In the wider context of Seram Sea social geography, raiding enterprises could also be seen as a part of alternative trading systems. In the sixteenth century, De Brito indicated that raiding, especially by the people Waigeo and Misool, was meant to capture people and to obtain redemption money from their sale. If the captives were not redeemed, they would be killed. This pattern changed in the seventeenth century and continued thereafter. Not all captives were redeemed or offered

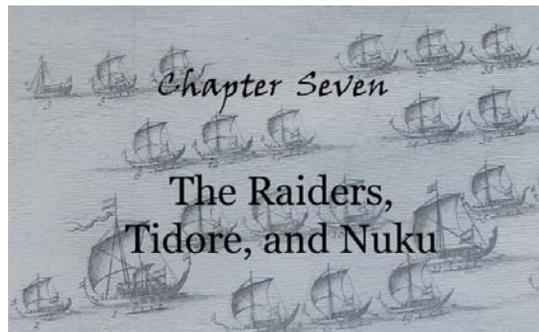
⁸⁶ Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 104-5.

⁸⁷ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 73; Idem, 'Robbers and traders, Papuan piracy in the seventeenth century,' unpublished paper at International Workshop on *Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 9-11 November 2005, 2.

for sale. Male captives were also employed as slave labour at home, while the female captives were taken home as wives.

For Papuan and Halmaheran raiders, the raiding enterprises were a socially accepted activity as was reflected and internalized in their myths. The Papuans of Raja Ampat, for example, conceived of such an undertaking as a voyage for gathering foreign power. The raiders as well as the imported goods acquired were treated as objects imbued with the magical power of the foreign world. The people tended to make a fetish of the objects and beings with a foreign origin. Most of the foreign goods were used as precious objects in their rituals. Tidore at that time was conceived of as representing the source of foreign power. The leaders of raiding expeditions had a prestigious position in the ranks of the leadership of the local community. So the people themselves perceived that raiding opened the road to higher status and more power within the community. From this perspective I would say that the Papuans manipulated their relationship with Tidore for their power interests within their own communities. This is different from what Kamma, using the perspective of the ruler, suggests in 1940s that the Papuans were subordinate to Tidore.

The arrival of the European power, the need for slaves, and the increased flow of foreign goods certainly did stimulate the raiding activities. The Banda nutmeg plantations, which were always in need of slaves, are a good example. The increase in raiding activities, indicated by the wider areas of raiding and the more groups involved, was also related to the implementation of the Dutch Spice Monopoly. Those who were deprived by the Dutch-controlled trade or those who saw more potential in raiding preferred to participate in these violent enterprises.



Chapter Seven

The Raiders,
Tidore, and Nuku

There are indications that at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century the Papuan raiding enterprises extended their areas of operation. As Andaya puts it, raiding was no longer limited to Ambon, Buru, and Seram but extended southwards to the Aru-Kei Islands, Tanimbar, Seram Laut, and westwards to the Sula, Banggai, and northern Sulawesi. This development challenged the *rust en orde* 'peace and order' which the Company needed to foster its policies. Consequently the Company forced Sultan Hamzah Fahrudin of Tidore (r.1689-1707), who had become Sultan by grace of Company intervention, to condemn this practice. In 1704, in an act especially shocking to the Papuans, he sent an envoy to Misool on a Dutch vessel, which also carried Dutch representatives. Eager to show his gratitude, he then delivered the leaders of one particular raid to the Company. This unpopular gesture of political correctness led to a crisis in the political relationship between the Tidore Sultanate and the Papuan-Halmaheran raiders.¹

Before the era of Sultan Hamzah Fahrudin, the co-operation between the Papuans, East Seramese, and Sultan Tidore had been deeply rooted. It had even been rumoured that Sultan Tidore provided the Misoolese raiders with gunpowder and that envoys of Sultan Tidore had been spotted in person in the Papuan raiding fleet. Unquestionably the raiding enterprises involved a mutual power contest between the parties but they were nevertheless prepared to work hand-in-glove to maintain the raiding and trading networks beyond the control of the VOC. For example, the Papuan Misoolese harvested sago in North Seram and sold it to the traders in the Bay of Seleman. To ready themselves for the raids, these people obtained some of their gunpowder from Sultan Tidore through the intermediation of middlemen from Hatiwe and Rarakit. In return, the Misoolese paid tribute

¹ L.Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 192.

to the Sultan.² By complying with the Dutch demand, Sultan Hamzah Fahrudin undermined the existing mutual co-operation between Tidore and the raiding parties.

The disappointment of Gamrange persisted during the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin (r. 1708-1728). As a consequence of this smouldering discontent, the first open act of defiance was perpetrated in 1716 by the people of Maba, Weda, and Patani. They blatantly refused to deliver an annual tribute any longer to Tidore. The Patanese complained bitterly that their submission to Sultan Tidore had been rewarded by seizure and punishment, instead of the expected support and protection. The conflict was aggravated when in 1725 Sangaji Patani led a fleet of seventeen *kora-kora* and six other smaller vessels, and 700 men of the Papuan Islands, Maba and Patani to Sultan Saifudin of Ternate to express their loyalty and to foreswear their previous subordination to Tidore.³ The Sultan formally welcomed Sangaji Patani and the other Papuan and Gamrange leaders, and exchanged gifts in recognition of their new bonds. Participation by Tidore subjects in this symbolic act deeply offended Sultan Tidore and eventually led to a crisis between Tidore and Ternate.

As has been described in the previous chapter, Sultan Malikilmanan (r.1728-1756) restored the broken relationship with Gamrange and the Papuans. He granted a general pardon to the rebels and rehabilitated the Sangaji Patani who had led the rebellion. The reconciliation was sealed by a treaty agreed upon by both Tidore and Patani.⁴ It was a step in the right direction but it did not completely assuage the relationship between Tidore and the Papuans. In 1729 a combined fleet of Tidoran and Dutch vessels, which sailed to Gamrange and the Raja Ampat in order to collect tribute and to check on the continuing presence of any spice trees, met with resistance from the Papuans. The people of Waigeo refused to submit tribute and consequently the Tidorans and the Dutch attacked their villages. A number of skirmishes also occurred in Waigama and Misool. In Salawati a fight almost broke out but could be appeased in time when the parties talked to each other and found out that the resistance had been incited by one local head. In 1730 it was again reported that *Kapiten Laut* Madjela of Waigama and Raja Soemaple of Misool had led a raiding fleet to the coast of Seram, where villages were destroyed and burned.⁵

² G.J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen: de VOC en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), 73.

³ Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, VIII, 71; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden: Historische Bijdrage, 1500-1883*, (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co., 1884), 193.

⁴ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 199.

⁵ P. A. Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders naar Nieuw-Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw,' *BKI* 21 (1875), 258-62.

In 1732 another punitive expedition was launched to locate the leaders who were involved in the 1730 Seram raiding expedition and their Papuan followers – a virtually fruitless exercise as the perpetrators had prudently fled to other islands. On 6 April the Tidoran envoy and the Dutch were informed by people of Gebe who had just returned from the Raja Ampat that the plan hatched by Sultan Tidore and the Dutch to punish the raiders had been betrayed to them. It was discovered that the secretary of Sultan Tidore, Abdul Kadir, and a Tidoran called Swodja had journeyed to the Raja Ampat. Kadir and Swodja had warned Raja Waigeo, his *Kapiten Laut*, *Kapiten Laut* Waigama, Raja Misool and other heads who had been involved in the previous raiding, advising them to escape to the Island of Monfoor, because Sangaji Patani, who was seeking for ways to reconcile himself with Sultan Tidore and the Dutch, was poised to descend on their areas to arrest them. The same news was also passed to Raja Salawati and Waigama. To make matters worse, in these areas, six Bajau and Makassarese vessels were found trading with the Papuans, and damningly the Dutch found a quantity of nutmeg in a house in Waigama.⁶ This shows that Tidoran leaders were secretly maintaining their co-operation with the Papuans despite its inconsistency with the policy pursued by their Sultan with the Dutch. In the following years, a number of expeditions, for instance in 1737 and again in 1744, were launched to punish the Raja Ampat leaders, especially Raja Salawati, but all these misfired because of bad weather and sickness.

In 1756, on Tidore a new Sultan, Muhammad Mas'ud Jamaluddin Syah (r. 1756-1779), was inaugurated, but the raiding continued unabated. It was the same old song: in front of the Dutch, the Sultan stated his intention to bridle the raiding of his subjects, but in practice he was reluctant to mobilize his forces to punish any perpetrators. In December 1761, Raja Salawati aided and abetted by Patani recruited about 500 men for a raid on Sula and Besi, while his son led a major expedition against Buru. Villages in both areas were plundered and destroyed. As a result of this raiding, 200 men were captured and carried away to Patani and Weda. Reacting to this challenge, in 1762 the High Government in Batavia, with the support of the four Governments in the East and the Ternate Sultanate, launched a big expedition under the command of Jan Jonkers. This fleet consisted of more than forty vessels big and small and more than 500 warriors, including about 100 Europeans. The Tidore envoys and their men did not appear and cancelled their participation at the last minute for reasons which remained obscure. The chief destination was Salawati where the plan was to capture the Raja, his *Kapiten-Laut*, as well as the *Kapiten-Laut* of Misool. The only information to be derived from the report was that the fleet arrived in

⁶ Ibid. 262-3.

Salawati in November 1762 and returned to Ternate on 2 January 1763 with empty hands. Most of the crew were felled by diseases and many died.⁷

Raja Salawati, who had arrived home from a raiding expedition, had obtained prior knowledge of the expedition. He immediately sailed to Patani for safety and to sell the captives they had taken from Buru and Sula Besi to the East Seramese and Makassarese.⁸ Sultan Jamaludin reported that his *jogugu* who had been sent to Salawati to arrest Raja Salawati, had sailed instead to Patani where he had some 'connection' with the daughter of the suspected Sangaji Maunere of Patani.⁹ A Dutch soldier who had been captured on Sula was later returned to Ternate thanks to the intervention of this same *Jogugu* of Tidore. Sifting through these facts, the Dutch suspected that the Tidore palace had been secretly involved in the raiding enterprise. The *Jogugu*, his brother, the *Sekretaris* of the Sultan and the *Kapiten Laut* were not of Tidoran origin.¹⁰ Andaya suggests that they were from an influential Javanese family on Tidore.¹¹

In 1765, Sangaji Patani with fifty *kora-kora* and smaller vessels had called at Galela and demanded the *Jogugu* Gamkonora to supply rice on pain of having his village destroyed.¹² Similar events occurred in 1769 when 250 *kora-kora* and smaller vessels from Maba, Weda, Patani, and of the Papuans called at Morotai and threatened the area. The post-holder requested guns and two canons from the Government. At the same time a Tidoran prince, *Mayor* Malikudin, was said to have gone to Dodinga taking the land route. From there he had supposedly sailed to Morotai to conspire with raiding groups from Gamrange and the Raja Ampat.¹³ In 1771, in a conversation with the Dutch Governor at Ternate, Sultan Jamaludin of Tidore stated that he could no longer tolerate the behaviour of his subordinates of Gamrange and Gebe. He believed that all four raja of the Papuans had meddled with the former groups. He planned to send four armed *kora-kora* under the command of the Raja Muda to punish them. To facilitate this plan, he requested the Dutch Government to augment the expedition with a well-equipped sloop.¹⁴ It is not clear whether the plan was realized and even whether the request was approved. As matters transpired, it seems the Sultan

⁷ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letters from Ternate to Batavia, the end of August 1761, 8 May 1762, the end of August 1762 (1763?), the end of April 1762 (1763?) and the end of April 1763. See also Leupe, 'De Reizen der Nederlanders,' 296-307.

⁸ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, the end of August 1761.

⁹ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 1 July 1762.

¹⁰ ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 8 May 1762.

¹¹ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 216.

¹² ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 31 July 1765.

¹³ ANRI Ternate 18, Resolution of Ternate Government, 19 December 1769, 130-135.

¹⁴ ANRI Ternate 96, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 31 May 1771.

was only paying lip to the Dutch in order to appease the Governor and to maintain good relations.

Andaya stipulates that the raid led by Sangaji Patani and Raja Salawati in 1761 was not simply an act of robbery and violence but was actually more of a political rebellion against their former overlords, Sultan Tidore, the Company, and Sultan Ternate. When Sultan Tidore decided to send an expedition to punish the rebels, he faced opposition from the various *bobato* in the Tidore Sultanate. This internal opposition was not simply the fruit of traditional political ties; it was also inextricably linked to the existing kinship relations between the *bobato* of Tidore and the elites of the Raja Ampat.¹⁵ In my opinion, this particular raid was just as the previous raids in which the important ministers and leaders of Tidore were constantly involved. The involvement of Tidore grandees or officials in such enterprises was ineluctably linked to the monopoly of the spice trade and the policy of spice eradication.

Before the monopoly was imposed, Sultan Tidore, his grandees, and the *bobato* had enjoyed a regular income from the spice trade. It is not too far fetched to speculate that since seventeenth century, and especially after the arrival of the Dutch in Maluku, these grandees had found themselves deprived of a substantial part of their income. They were perfectly aware that opposition to the raiding enterprises of the Papuans and the Gamrange people could harm their long-fostered relationships with Papuan leaders which had been enshrined in what Andaya labels 'blood ties' and kinship relations.¹⁶ Raiding may have provided them with quite a bit of pocket money. Booty and captives were distributed among those who had joined the fleets of the raiders. In terms of manpower for a fleet, in general Tidore was also dependent on the delivery of slaves from Gamrange and the Papuans. This was one cogent reason the officials of Tidore did not want to lose their support. Comparing the events of 1761 and the 'subversion' by Tidoran subjects between 1716 and 1728, we may conclude that the latter was more an expression of disappointment on the part of Gamrange and Papuan leaders than a real rebellion. After sometime, Sultan Malikilmanan managed to placate his subjects.

Prince Nuku and the Papuan-Gamrange Warriors

The 'alliance' between the Tidore elite and the Papuan raiders improved considerably during the reign of Prince Nuku's father, Sultan Jamaludin. On 23 December 1779, the Ternate Governor passed on the information that

¹⁵ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 216.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 217.

Rajawali, a Bacan-born sailor who had been regularly sent to Misool by Sultan Jamaludin, was invariably conspiring with the Papuan raiders.¹⁷ As has been explained in Chapter Four, the political turmoil on Tidore generated by the conflict between the VOC Government and the Tidore Sultanate in 1779, eventually strengthened and reconsolidated the alliance between the anti-Dutch Tidoran leaders, North and East Seramese, and Papuan and Gamrange raiders. At the end of 1779, soon after the detainment of Sultan Jamaludin, the raiders were back in action terrorizing Dutch subjects. This time their raids formed a virtually united front. Among the leaders were Raja Lukman of Kililuhu, *Sangaji* Patani, Raja Rumasoal (Misool), *Sangaji* Salawati, an unnamed Papuan Onin leader, as well as the *Kapiten Laut* of Gah and *Orangkaya* Agnisa of Rarakit.¹⁸ Behind this action, I suggest, lurked the involvement of the Tidore elite.

The raiding enterprises under the flag of Prince Nuku's uprising in 1780 reveal a new dimension. Nuku's leadership succeeded in uniting most of the long-experienced rebellious local leaders whether they were *kapiten laut*, *orangkaya*, *gimelaha*, *sangaji*, or even *mambri* who were experienced in sea-raiding and battles around the Raja Ampat Islands, Gamrange and North and East Seram; it also embraced the Tidoran people and grandees, and even south-eastern Malukans, namely people from Aru and Kei. Looking even farther afield, he investigated the possibility of allying himself with Mindanao raiders, and Thomas Forrest's visit in 1775 gave him the idea of attracting the British to his cause. In the context of Malukan politics and power struggles, he was able effectively to gain the support of the prominent raiding leaders and to transform these into his loyal following to put himself into a position to be able to challenge Dutch-dominated Maluku.

Right from 1780, the time when Nuku launched his rebellion, the heads of Gamrange and the Raja Ampat supported him unreservedly as was testified to by his inauguration as Prince Nuku, Sultan of Papua and Seram, in the last months of 1780.¹⁹ Taking into account that Nuku and his Tidoran supporters left Tidore after the Toloa attack in July 1780,²⁰ it must have taken just five short months to build up the formidable alliance with the Papuans, Gamrange, and the East Seramese. He is said to have succeeded in mobilizing more than 150 vessels. If one vessel carried an average crew of fifty men, Nuku may have mobilized as many as 7,500 able-bodied men.

¹⁷ NA VOC 3586, Apart From Ambon to Batavia, 23 December 1779, 83.

¹⁸ NA VOC 3595, Part 3, Appendix of Ambon Resolution, 14 September 1781, 36, 40-41, 180.

¹⁹ NA VOC 3603, from Ternate to Batavia, 22 May 1781, 17-26.

²⁰ NA VOC 3602, from Ternate to Ambon, 11 September 1780, 75-8; See also E. Katoppo, *Nuku: Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Maluku Utara* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984), 50; W.G. Miller, 'The Moluccas under the British' (M.A. Thesis: University of Hull, 1974), 23; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 220.

Caution prompts us to suspect that the number of vessels reported was exaggerated by the Dutch reports. However, considering the vast distances which had to be covered and the many captives seized, the numbers do make sense. Within five months in 1780 the rebel forces raided Amblau, Haia, Hatiling, and then Sula and Besi, their depredations reaching all the way to Obi and Bacan. Even Selayar, Buton, and Bawulang in southern Sulawesi and Talaud at the northern tip of Sulawesi were attacked.²¹ During these raids more than 300 persons were seized.²² These vast, far-flung areas and hundreds of captured people could never have been handled if only a small number of vessels and crews had been involved.

The support of the Papuans and Gamrange was challenged when Dutch expeditions attacked and destroyed Maba, Patani, and Waigama in the closing months of 1780 and the beginning of 1781.²³ After the victory, the Dutch, as usual, imposed a contract in which they appointed new heads who also had to sign it. In the contract, the new heads of Maba, Weda, and Patani expressed their regret and repentance for their past misdeeds against the Company and Sultan Tidore. They swore that raiding activities would come to an end and formally recognized the authority of Sultan Tidore and the Company. They promised to fight against Prince Nuku's adherents and either to extradite them to the Company or root them out. They also promised to help the Company to eradicate spice trees and report any important events occurring in their districts to the Company. The contract was concluded on 8 November 1781, and on the same occasion, new heads for the three districts of Gamrange—three *sangaji*, three *kapiten laut*, and seven *kimelaha*—were inaugurated.²⁴

The contract had a little effect. Nuku's fleet was back raiding Hatuano (Saparua), Amet (Nusa Laut), Hulaliu, Kriu, and Pelau (Haruku) only a month after peace had been concluded in December 1781.²⁵ It is impossible to judge how many men of Gamrange and the Raja Ampat altered their allegiance after the punitive expeditions and the contract. Nor do we know how effective the Gamrange heads who had been newly appointed by the

²¹ NA VOC 3586, Letter from Saparua to Governor of Ambon, 9 March 1780 and 10 March 1780, 55; VOC 3586, Letter from Ambon to Ternate, 4 May 1780, 74; VOC 3577, Part 3, Daily Report of Ambon expedition, 165-84; VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, n.d. 1781, 11; Testimony Orangkaya of Gesser, Kobiai, 17 September 1779, 82-3; VOC 3602, Letter from Ternate to Ambon, 3 June 1780, 72-3.

²² NA VOC 3603, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 22 May 1781, 6-16.

²³ NA VOC 3603, Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 22 May 1781, 17-26; ANRI Ternate 22, Ternate Resolution, 8 November 1781, 143-150; NA VOC 3622, 273; See also *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI: 480-2.

²⁴ ANRI Ternate 22, Ternate Resolution, 8 November 1781, 143-150; NA VOC 3622, 273; See also *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI: 480-2.

²⁵ NA VOC 3620, Part 2, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 70, 75.

Dutch were at exercising their authority. Judging from the unabated persistence of attacks, the number of Papuans and Halmaherans who had transferred their loyalty was not significant. One tiny clue can be derived from the fact that a *sangaji* of Weda by the name of Muka, who paid homage to Sultan Tidore Patra Alam in 1783,²⁶ was not one of new heads who had been inaugurated by the Dutch in November 1781. Muka had been supporting Nuku and he knew that after the signing of the contract he was no longer recognized by the Dutch. In an attempt to cling to power, he may have tried to obtain support and recognition from Sultan Patra Alam. Another possibility is that he changed his loyalty to Patra Alam and the Dutch with some hidden agenda in mind.

The ‘*Tempel* Treachery’²⁷ in 1783 may have been related to the plan that the Papuans, the Gamrange, and Nuku had forged. The incident took place on Batanta, Raja Ampat, where translator Coenraad Van Dijk and his soldiers and crew were massacred by Papuans who had pretended to offer their submission. The fleet of 120 vessels of Maba and Patani which had accompanied Van Dijk’s fleet suddenly turned hostile. The plot was perfectly executed. Van Dijk and his European and Ternatan soldiers were caught unprepared and overwhelmed by Nuku’s supporters.²⁸ This temporary success led to another attempt to occupy Tidore, an incident which was known as the ‘Tidoreesch Revolutie.’²⁹ However, the Dutch-Ternatan joint force proved to be superior to Nuku’s party even though the latter had mobilized the greatest force he could gather together. The first boost to Nuku’s struggle which culminated in 1783 reveals the significant role of Gamrange and the Papuans in the rebellion. After the defeat of Nuku’s forces on Tidore in 1783, the rebel force was depleted. Its later attacks were not as powerful as the earlier ones.³⁰

In fact Prince Nuku eschewed creating new alliances. Capitalizing on his great influence among the Gamrange people and the Papuans of the Raja Ampat, he improved the co-operation between the existing raiding groups. By doing so he may have produced new leaders and recruited more people in the Tidore periphery to improve his naval and military forces. He transformed the unruly rabble of raiders and robbers into a political force and attacked the Dutch subjects selectively. In most of their attacks Nuku’s adherents did not seek an open engagement with the Dutch forces. Hence,

²⁶ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 307-8; *Corpus Diplomaticum*, VI: 480-2.

²⁷ The term ‘*Tempel* Treachery’ refers to the name of the ship the *Tempel*.

²⁸ NA VOC 3676, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 8 March 1784, 140-4; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 308-9.

²⁹ Haga quoted this from the statement of Governor Alexander Cornabé. Ibid. 310.

³⁰ NA VOC 3698, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1785, 97-8; VOC 3737, Secret Resolution, 2 March 1786, 13-4.

areas where the defence was weak and the Dutch presence was limited were chosen as favourite targets. Whenever the VOC launched a bigger expedition, Prince Nuku chose to avoid confrontation because the Dutch armaments and the organization of their fleet were superior to his own. In 1783 when Prince Nuku tried to occupy Tidore, he openly fought the Dutch and their allies who, despite the limited number of their vessels and soldiers, still managed to keep Nuku's forces at bay.

During an increasing number of punitive campaigns mounted by the VOC against the areas of Seram, the Raja Ampat, and Gamrange, Prince Nuku lost many of his important leaders and supporters from these areas. Many of them were not killed but chose to surrender. This decreased the number of raids during 1786 and 1790. The only record of an attack was in 1787 when a Bandanese barque was captured and plundered by Raja Salawati.³¹ Apparently undeterred, Nuku remained constantly on the move from one place to another to avoid being captured. As part of their 'guerilla warfare at sea', the Gamrange and Papuan leaders gave him shelter whenever an expedition approached his base.

The decrease in the support of Gamrange only gradually became significant after the installation of Nuku's rival, Sultan Kamaludin, in Tidore 1784. It remained on the wane for five years. Under Kamaludin's command, a joint fleet of Tidore, Maba, Weda, and Patani, successfully defeated Nuku's forces on Salawati on 26 February 1789. Raja Bagus of Misool, Raja Massan of Waigama, and some leaders of Salawati surrendered to Kamaludin. In 1790 most of the Gamrange and the Raja Ampat groups no longer supported Nuku.³² This turning-point in Gamrange and Papuan support was related to the success of Kamaludin and the Dutch in suppressing and then persuading them of the futility of Nuku's cause. Nuku had to find an alternative way to rebuild his forces.

Gamkonora³³ and Renewed Loyalty from Tidore's Periphery

In 1791, after having been in a difficult predicament for more than five years, Prince Nuku managed to recover some of his forces. It was reported that a brother of his, whose name is unknown, assaulted the northern and the southern parts of Seram with two fleets of raiders. Meanwhile, the Prince himself sailed to Hote in north-eastern Seram with a fleet of eighty

³¹ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 316.

³² Ibid. 321-5.

³³ *Gamkonora* or *Gamokonora* in Malay means 'negeri di tengah betul' or 'negeri right in the middle.' See W. R. van Hoëvell, 'Aanteekeningen, gehouden op eene reis aan de noord- en westkust van Halmahera,' *TNI* 18, II (1856), 209-228.

vessels from Tobelo, Galela, Maba, Weda, Patani and Gebe to await the fleets from Gorom and others from the East Seram area to launch a planned attack on Sawai and Manipa. Seven more vessels were joined between Manipa and Buru on 28 August 1791.³⁴ Newcomers to Nuku's fleet were people from Galela, Tobelo, and Tobaru. The support from these Ternatan subjects in North Halmahera – who were collectively called Gamkonora – was quite decisive because the south-eastern coast of Halmahera, Gamrange and all Papuan Raja Ampat, except Salawati, now chose to rally behind Nuku again.³⁵

The Tobaru people belonged to the Gamkonora in North Halmahera, one of the most important areas in the periphery of Ternate. The settlement of Gamkonora could raise an estimated 400 men in 1662, but by 1686 the number had declined to about only 100 of whom sixty were Muslim and the rest were Tobaru and other interior tribesmen. About a three hour row to the north of Gamkonora was Tolofuo, a settlement located on the banks of a river. The Muslim inhabitants had once been the personal subjects of Sultan Amsterdam (r. 1675-1690), but after the 1679-1681 war, they were led by a *sangaji*. Upriver lived about 300 Tobarus who were in the habit of coming to the river mouth to fish. As Andaya puts it, it was the presence of these Tobarus which made Tolofuo of importance to Ternate. The Tobarus of the interior had such a fearsome reputation they were supposed to be able to assume a cloak of invisibility. Their fierce loyalty to the person of Sultan Ternate made them a major factor in the ruler's ability to withstand challenges to his authority. In the war between Ternate and the VOC, only the Tobarus remained faithful to Sultan Amsterdam up to the very point of his capture.³⁶

Galela also officially fell under Sangaji Gamkonora. In 1662, when Loloda could summon some 200 men, half of these were Galelas who lived about two and half kilometres south of the river estuary, in two neighbouring villages on the shores of an inland lake. Sago, coconuts and other palm trees supplied their basic food and the materials they needed for daily life, but they also grew rice, obtained fish from the lake, and hunted wild pigs in the forests. With this substantial food surplus, they were able to supply Ternate's needs, alongside carrying on a profitable trade. The Galelas

³⁴ This report came from Johannes Latoemalea from Soija who had been kept prisoner on Gorom for eight years, and a raja of Iha Pohon Pattij as well as a Goromese *orangkaya* from Negeri Keliakat who had submitted himself to the Governor in 1790. Raja Pohon Pattij was often dispatched to Gorom (by Van Pleuren) because he had a good knowledge of the local *negeri*, islands, and anchoring places. NA OIC No. 90, Ternate Council Meeting, 28 September 1792, 26 October 1792; OIC No. 90, Ambon to Ternate, 27 September 1792.

³⁵ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 36; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 233.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 93, 98, 185.

who had a close relationship with the Patanese were led by a *bukum* and was accountable to *Sangaji* Gamkonora who in turn represented the interests and authority of Sultan Ternate. In the late seventeenth century, there were an estimated 300 able-bodied men in Galela. After the Dutch attack on the Patani settlement in 1722, the Patanese and Mabas moved to Galela in Ternatan Halmahera and even joined their Galela hosts with thirty boats in a raid on Salawati in 1724.³⁷

South of Galela on the north-eastern coast of Halmahera was the seawards settlement of Tobelo (Tobelo-tai) in which Muslims and the Alifuru lived together. The *Sangaji* and the lesser officials resided on a hilltop, while the rest of the population lived on the lower slopes to the north and west. The staple diet of the people was sago bread supplied by the abundance of sago forests. Every three or four months they would venture to the seashore to fish and gather oysters which they smoked and took back upriver with them. Eight villages of the Tobelo (Tobelotia) were located inland on the shores of a freshwater lake. They had a reputation for being 'evil and murderous', and only those from Gamkonora dared to visit them. They were known to possess large amounts of silver and gold – some would wear three, four, and even five silver and gold bracelets at a time. The Dutch claimed that Sultan Sibori Amsterdam of Ternate enticed 600 Tobelo warriors with silver and gold with silver and gold to fight in the 1679-1681 war against the VOC.³⁸

The Gamrange, East Seramese, and Tidoran leaders helped build alliances with the people of Gamkonora. In 1792 it was reported a new alliance had been forged between Gamrange and Tobelo. Alferis Hassan of Tidore passed on the information that a *paduakang* had called at Morotai with five East Seramese, plus a number of people from Maba and Patani and they had engaged in a symbolic exchange with eight inhabitants of Kau and Tobelo-tai. The East Seramese and Gamrange leaders presented a gift of two doves, a sword, and an assegai to the daughter of *Kapiten Laut* Tobelo, Afir. At this event a Tidoran named Sarjeti Haruna and a man of Marieko, Madiru, were also present on board two smallish crafts with ten crew members. After the exchange, forty *kora-kora* were prepared for a raiding expedition to Manado.³⁹ The sequence of events reveals how a new alliance was established. Gift exchange and marriage were two instruments employed to serve as a 'charter' between the groups involved. The presence of a Tidoran officer may also have legitimized the new alliance, which indicates new support for Nuku's struggle among the people of North Halmahera.

³⁷ Ibid. 94, 196-7; See also Hoëvell, 'Aanteekeningen,' 221-2.

³⁸ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 94; See also Hoëvell, 'Aanteekeningen,' 224-5.

³⁹ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate Council Meeting, 26 October 1792.

Not all efforts to cajole the people of North Halmahera to join Nuku's forces elicited a positive response. Some of the leaders and inhabitants chose to remain loyal to Sultan Ternate. In 1792 two ordinary men of Tobelo informed Alferis Hassan that a brother of *Sangaji* Maba on board *kora-kora* manned by a number of his compatriots and Kau people had failed to convince the inhabitants in the Tobelo area to go to Morotai to 'make sago' – another expression for going raiding.⁴⁰ Again in the same year, several men of East Seram joined by leaders from Galela and Tobaru returned to Wossi on a *kora-kora*. The *Kapiten Laut* of Weda had sent two of his men and proposed that the people of Galela use the *kora-kora* to conduct joint raids, but Hatibi Baharun of Galela refused because he had received no orders from Sultan Ternate.⁴¹ On a different occasion, five vessels from Maba had landed on the shore of Gane. The raiders offered friendship and co-operation in fighting against their common 'enemies.' But the *Sangaji* repudiated the offer because that he had had no orders from Sultan Ternate.⁴²

Generally speaking, Nuku's campaign to win the support of the people of Gamkonora was effective: more and more people from Tobelo, Tobaru, and Galela were involved in raiding enterprises. In October 1792, a man from Sula, Hamisi, reported that ten *kora-kora* from Tobelo under the command of *Kapiten Laut* Kitabi and Colu had destroyed his village, including his house, on Taliabu Island. Some were killed and others were carried off. Eight of the Tobelo *kora-kora* fleet then sailed to the coast of Sula while the other two remained in the vicinity of Taliabu.⁴³ In October 1792, a fleet of Sultan Tidore, under the command Lieutenants Abdul Habu and Soseba Abdullah, sailed to Weda to fetch Prince Major Hassan of Tidore. On Maba the envoys were told that a *kora-kora* belonging to the people Galela and Tobaru had called at Wossi and Gane looking for provisions in the form of raw sago and water. The inhabitants had been forced to provide them with twenty barrels of sago. After they had seized a small *prabu* and killed two people from Gane, they left for Great Gane.⁴⁴

A Makassarese named Rasit, who had been at *Negeri* Jerongo on Gane in October 1792, had also seen a fleet of ten *kora-kora* manned by the Alifuru of Tobelo, nine by Papuans and one by people from Hatiwe. Rasit and his companions had been surprised by these raiders as they had been cutting cane on the shore. One *paduakang* belonging to his companion was seized.

⁴⁰ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, Interview No 193, 10 October 1794, 10-11.

⁴¹ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate council meeting, 26 October 1792.

⁴² NA OIC No. 90, Ternate council meeting, 21 December 1792, 61.

⁴³ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate council meeting, 21 December 1792, 58-60.

⁴⁴ NA OIC No. 86, From Sergeant Fredrik Mannis at Fort Tobo-Tobo (Tidore) to Ternate, 16 November 1793.

The *anakoda* and slaves had run away to the forest. Afterwards the *negeri* on Gane was burned down. Sixty-eight of its inhabitants were either killed or captured. Among the captives were two children, the mother, and the brothers of Sangaji Gane.⁴⁵ After their attack on Gane, the Tobelos and other raiders went cruising to the Widi River, while the Papuans sailed to Buton.⁴⁶

In between July-August 1793, a Chinese trader Kwee Tenie had purchased a Butonese captive called Kapita from an Alifuru of Tobelo area called Wali. It later turned out that Kapita was a son of the raja at Matam in the Strait of Buton. Raiders from Maba, Weda, and Patani on board of a fleet of seven *kora-kora* had attacked and captured them when Kwee Tenie and other six men were fishing on Siampo Island. After he had been transported to East Seram, Kwee Tenie and his friends fled to Obi but unfortunately they again fell into the hands of Tobelo raiders. He did not know where his friends were. It later transpired two were being looked after by Sultan Ternate. Three other Butonese were handed over to Cornabé and sent to Makassar.⁴⁷ In October, the same fleet of raiders seems to have continued their raid southwards to the area around the islands of Kelang and Manipa where twenty-five vessels of a Papuan and North Halmaheran raiding fleet burned down four villages.⁴⁸

In 1794, two men of Sula called Dego and Bay, who had been captured and remained in the hands of the raiders for eleven months, reported that after having raided Buton, the Galelas and Tobelos on board of twenty-six *kora-kora* arrived on Sula and Besi where they captured many people. The raiders then continued to pursue their raiding as far as Amblau where they captured a dozen men. After this, they headed back to Waru where Prince Nuku resided. The victims who reported the incidents managed to escape after finding a *prahu*, on which they sailed to Ambon.⁴⁹ Makian people were targets in Prince Nuku's campaign. A man from Makian reported to the Dutch that as he and his fellows were working in the gardens on Gunaga Island, a huge group of Papuans, Seramese, Galelas, Tobelos, Mabas, Wedas, and Patanese surrounded his people. Seventy were captured and taken to Prince Nuku on Waru. There the captives were sold to the East Seramese, for seven to ten pieces of white-and-blue cloth a head. Later they were sold to Banda as slaves. This Makianese had made a daring escape the raiders and

⁴⁵ On 21 December 1792, a brother of Sangaji Gane Ridjal had come to report this to Ternate Government. See NA OIC No. 90, Ternate council meeting, 21 December 1792, 58-60.

⁴⁶ NA OIC No. 90, Ternate council meeting, 21 December 1792, 61.

⁴⁷ NA OIC No. 90, Secret Advice Ternate to Batavia, 18 September 1793, § 23-4.

⁴⁸ NA OIC No. 80, Dagregister van de hongi tocht, 1793.

⁴⁹ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, Interview No 193, 10 October 1794, 10-11.

taken refuge on one of the Papuan islands, where he was saved by Raja Bobo and sent to Obi. On his way he was chased by Alifuru, but after fleeing into the forest he eventually arrived on Obi.⁵⁰

A Ternatan Alifuru called Suwui, who had been captured and remained on Salawati, reported that the rebel force numbered up to a hundred vessels. He asserted that new recruits from Galela, Ratu, and Use were joining the raiders of the pro-Nuku Papuan fleet of fifty-three vessels which had assembled at Waigama (Misool). Corporal Jacobus Laiso and Burger Lucas Johannes who were sent to locate the English Fort Coronation – a palisade fortress which had been built by the English Captain Hayes on Dorei, on the north coast of New Guinea mainland in 1793 – were attacked on Gebe by three *kora-kora* of Nuku (See Chapter Eight).⁵¹ The return of Prince Zainal Abidin from Ceylon in 1794 contributed to the greater fighting capability of Nuku's forces. When Tidoran envoys met him on Salawati in May, he was commanding twenty-five *kora-kora* belonging to Papuans, East Seramese, and Makassarese.⁵² The Gamkonora may have already joined Zainal's fleet. In that year it was reported that the Papuans and Gamrange people (including those from Gebe) attacked and plundered a village on Ternate.⁵³

In 1795, some Maba and Weda people who had earlier abandoned Prince Nuku changed their minds as soon as they found out that the English ships were helping the Prince. They then joined him wholeheartedly again. When the English ships the *Resource* and the *Duke of Clarence* were seen to be accompanying Prince Nuku's fleet, all the doubts of the Tidore subjects in the peripheries were dispelled. They were especially impressed when the envoy of Prince Nuku sailed on board an English ship to Bengal to ask the Governor-General in Calcutta to send more ships to support the rebellion. In August 1795, Nuku and his English allies moved from Waru to Gebe, where they remained about a month.⁵⁴ By now Nuku's allies openly announced that they were no longer afraid of the Company.⁵⁵

Considering the weight of the evidence, it seems raiding was the perfect medium for the alliance. The first party offered its co-operation in fighting the second party's enemy and raiding foreign lands or islands. The above facts show that the Gamrange often forced the other groups to join their raiding enterprises. We may speculate that the bonds between the allies, even

⁵⁰ NA OIC No. 91, Interview appendix No 192, 2 October 1794.

⁵¹ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 355-6.

⁵² NA OIC No. 91, Report of Ternate's envoy, 27 September 1794. Tidoran Kimelaha Sokonora, Writer Abdul Kadir, and Vaandrig Djjinir.

⁵³ NA OIC No. 65A, Ternate, General Letters to Batavia, 364r; see also Secret letter of Ternate to Batavia 1794, **δ** (margin) 35.

⁵⁴ Miller, 'The Moluccas,' 65.

⁵⁵ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 360.

though only one story has been found, were established and confirmed through exchanging gifts and even marriage between men and women across the groups involved. The Gamkonora groups, especially the Galelas, Tobarus, and Tobelos, had once been known as brave reliable warriors of Sultan Ternate. Enjoying a blood-thirsty notoriety they were perceived as an asset to Nuku's cause and the Gamrange leaders, supported by the East Seramese, endeavoured to win their support. The alliance between Prince Nuku, the Tidoran prince, and the people of Tobelo, Tobaru, and Galelo was unheard of. Indubitably, this was perceived by the people of North Maluku as a sign of the prowess of Prince Nuku. They joined the rebellion at a time at which Prince Nuku was badly in need of manpower to sustain his campaign.

Raiding (and Trading) Networks

The raiders covered quite long distances. The voyage from Patani to Amblau (a small island near Buru), to Sula (on the eastern side of Sulawesi) or to Selayar (on the southern side of Sulawesi) took weeks. Therefore they needed transit places where they could obtain victuals and fresh water. As they did not come from one single place of origin, they also needed to agree on a *rendez-vous*. Most of the raiding groups had such places where they could meet each other, reside temporarily, and obtain fresh water and sago. Valentijn tells us that the Papuans of Onin used the islets of Gussa and Serowaki in the vicinity of Seram Laut as meeting points and hiding places. On Gussa the Keffingese also pursued their trade in the slaves from Onin. Some Papuans also lived on Serowaki and married East Seramese. The settlement of Iha was a place where Patanese raiders used to hide. The raiders of Weda and Salawati preferred occupying Hatileng and Permata in North Seram. Close to Hatileng, Tulusei provided an abundance of sago. They also used these sites to hide themselves from the authorities and trade with the Misoolese. Besides dealing in slaves, they sold birds of paradise.⁵⁶ The Misoolese raiders had a permanent border post at Hote in North Seram, where they could rely on an abundance of sago palms and fresh water and also raided the neighbouring villages. In the Saifudin era (r. 1657-1689), the Ambonese had often complained to the Sultan and the Ambon Government about these depredations. The meeting points of these raiding groups were quite close to each other and located between north-east Seram, eastern Seram, south-east Seram, and Seram Laut.

⁵⁶ F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 50, 55-6, 60-1.

Remembering a raiding incident in January 1780, a Dutch soldier by the name of Hardingsveld indicated that the raiders consisted of a motley crowd of Tidoran, Halmaheran, East Seramese, and Papuans. The flag ship flew the standards of Prince Nuku and the English.⁵⁷ The raiding parties before and during the rebellion of Prince Nuku consisted of multi-ethnic groups, which spoke different languages.⁵⁸ These different groups formed a sort of confederation of raiders in which each leader commanded a sub-group according to place of origin. For example, the Raja Ampat raiders were organized under the command of a *kepatla* (or *kapiten laut*), who was usually subject to a certain raja.⁵⁹ Among the people of Maba, Weda, Patani, and Gebe, the *kapiten laut* also occupied a prominent position alongside the *sangaji*. In this case the *sangaji* was perhaps the highest decision maker among the Gamrange. *Sangaji* Patani was often mentioned in the sources as leading a fleet of raiders. Among the Raja Ampat raiders, Raja Salawati must have been the most active as he was constantly mentioned in reports. For a big expedition raja and *sangaji* often joined the fleet.⁶⁰ Besides these few scant facts, little is known of the lines of command and the hierarchy on board.

In 1781 four Dutch and Ternatan vessels attacked the raiders' lair at a *gam* 'settlement' on Waigama and captured eighteen local leaders who had gathered there.⁶¹ Among the captured leaders were one *kapiten laut*, four *keimelaha*, and four *sangaji*. From an examination of a similar sort of event, a *hongji* expedition, I have abstracted the fact that there was one category of leaders, who were not expected to participate in raiding parties, the *imam* and *batibi*. These leaders were, none the less, captured during punitive expeditions because they were suspected of being privy to the organizing of raiding activities. On the basis of information obtained from detainees, it appears that a raiding enterprise was an activity which involved all levels of leadership. The differentiation between leaders among the communities was not strictly defined and everybody could be a warrior, because raiding was considered the most central activity of the male population in the area. Therefore it can be postulated that in a fleet of raiders the leadership followed the structure and hierarchy of governance on land. It was central, perhaps, because raiding was one of the main means by which to obtain

⁵⁷ NA VOC 3586, Ambon Council Meeting, 7 February 1780, 35-8; Letter from Ambon to Ternate, 4 May 1780, 74.

⁵⁸ NA VOC 3595, Interview with a former captive, 12 November 1780, 180.

⁵⁹ H. Arfan, 'Peranan Pemerintahan Tradisional di Kepulauan Raja Ampat Waktu Dulu,' unpublished paper in the *Seminar Halmahera dan Raja Ampat*, Jakarta: Leknas-LIPI, 1981, 2-4.

⁶⁰ R.Z. Leirissa. 1983. 'Factors conducive to the Raja Jailolo movement in North Maluku (1790-1832),' *The fourth Indonesian-Dutch history conference*, Yogyakarta-University of Gajah Mada, 3-4; Idem, *Halmahera Timur and Raja Jailolo* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1996), 62.

⁶¹ NA VOC 3627, Part 1, Letter from Ternate to Ambon, 81-2.

foreign goods. From the booty and captives, the participants were awarded a portion depending on their status in the community.

After a raid was over, it was essential to have markets at which the captives could be exchanged. At this stage, the role of middlemen who were ready to redeem or pay off the captives was important. The raiders seem to have relied on East Seramese traders who were experts in this trade. This may have been the reason these men did not participate in the raiding themselves. They were *orangkaya* and raja, similar to those in the Ambon Islands, who probably controlled the non-VOC trading in the Seram Sea region. Of the various meeting points on Seram, East Seram was likely to have been the most important market for the trade in human captives. Sometimes the purchasers of captives also visited Patani and Salawati when the crews arrived back home carrying a number of captives. Sometimes woman captives were taken as a wife or wives by the raiders.

Despite all these details, important elements in the raiding enterprise remain obscure. It is not known, for example, who took the initiative for a raid; how exactly the raiding fleet was organized; how it was decided who would be in command among those *kapiten*. During Prince Nuku's rebellion, I would suggest that it was the Prince himself who controlled these enterprises. Nevertheless, how the project was managed and how Nuku distributed orders and passed on strategies remains unclear.

Some of the captives were sold as human commodities. The price was relatively high, but depended on gender, age, place of origin, and the wealth of the captives. In the 1780s a certain Kobiai, *orangkaya* of Gesser, redeemed eleven Selayarese captives from Tanete (men, women, and children) from the Papuan *kora-kora* for Rds 160. The price was relatively low perhaps because among the captives there were several children.⁶² The new owners who bought from the raiders sometimes doubled the ransom demanded from their families.⁶³ A Chinese trader who had been captured around Onin and was handed over to the post-holder on Sawai had to pay redemption in kind equal to the value of Rds 100.⁶⁴ The captives who had no families or masters and were not able to pay the redemption were sold as slaves. In 1667 the price of a Makassarese or Buginese female slave in the hands of a trader was about Rds 30-35, while a male slave was about 40 rds.⁶⁵ Valentijn records that Balinese and Makassarese slaves could be sold for about Rds 80-100 because these were considered the best slaves. The other ethnic groups were cheaper at about Rds 40-60.⁶⁶

⁶² NA VOC 3586 Testimony Orangkaya of Gesser, Kobiai, 17 September 1779, 82-3.

⁶³ NA VOC 3595, Appendix of Ambon Resolution, 14 September 1781, 66.

⁶⁴ NA VOC 3602, Testimony, 114-5.

⁶⁵ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 132-3.

⁶⁶ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 345-6.

In a series of raiding voyages, the number of captives would range from dozens to hundreds. In 1780 a raiding party managed to capture 113 people. The number of captives increased in 1783 when an alliance between Papuan raiders and Tidoran rebels captured 200 Ternatan subjects. Even if a captive were exchanged for only Rds 25, the raiders could still earn a huge income. Slaves may have been one of main commodities in the alternative trading network, but according to Kamma, not all captives were sold because the raiders also carried some of them home.⁶⁷ For instance, in January 1775, when Thomas Forrest treated Moodo, a Papuan leader to tea and sugar candy at breakfast time, this guest was accompanied by two of his wives who had been taken at Amblau during a raid. It was reported that both had long black hair and that their skins were of the Malay colour.⁶⁸

Closing Remarks

The raiding enterprise was thus more than mere *zeeroverij* ‘sea-borne robbery’ or ‘piracy’, it was also an element in power struggles within the local communities and an element in the resistance of the Papuan-Malukan ruling elite, against the VOC-imposed political and economic policies, which systematically dispossessed the local rulers, especially the *bobato*, of their main natural resources (spices) and deprived them of their authority to control their own subjects. Both social worlds, in which alternative and Dutch-controlled trading existed, provided arenas in which the struggle for and against domination exerted violence on rivals.⁶⁹

The raiding enterprise revealed a new dimension during the rebellion of Prince Nuku. The targets of the attacks seemed to be selected deliberately. The raiders attacked areas and people who were perceived to be Dutch subjects and allies or those who declined to support the rebellion. At this stage, Papuan and Halmaheran raiders had contributed significantly to the strengthening of Prince Nuku’s rebel group. In the context of the rebellion, the trading and raiding fleets were transformed into a naval and military power by Prince Nuku. Not only did he encourage and improve the predatory escapades of Gamrange and Papuan, he also employed them to gain new support from North Halmaherans who had traditionally been the most important suppliers of manpower for Sultan Ternate.

Was the raiding enterprise a lucrative business? The raiders may have gained plenty of money or a great amount of goods from trading captives,

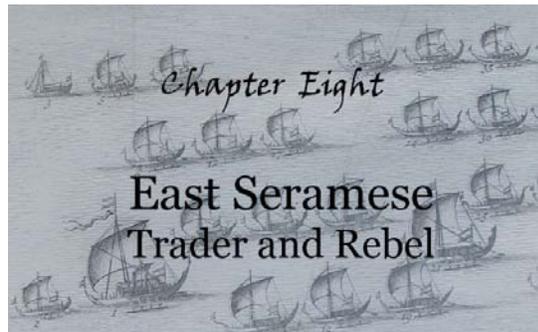
⁶⁷ Kamma, *Koreri*, 13.

⁶⁸ Thomas Forrest. *A Voyage to the New Guinea and the Maluku, 1774-1776* (Oxford University Press, 1780), 84-5.

⁶⁹ For further discussion one can compare this proposition to Leirissa 1986: 20.

but these profits had still to be distributed among many members at home whose number might reach one hundred or even more. The costs of investment in a great number of vessels, the provisions of food for crews for about two-three months, weapons and gunpowder must also be taken into account. Raiding was a highly risky business. During a mission a number of lives were usually lost and many were wounded. In particular, when the VOC Government sent out a punitive expedition, many villages and vessels were destroyed. All things considered, it is likely that many of the raiding enterprises were not really profitable at all. They were mounted because there must have been other reasons and interests in addition to purely economic considerations which motivated the Papuans and the Halmaherans. After all, although the foreign goods did have an economic value, they were equally imbued with enormous political and cultural kudos as well. In particular, Chinese porcelain and copperware brought back from their voyages and raids by the islanders gradually acquired an important function in the ceremonial exchange of presents. In the course of time, the number and variety of these valuables of foreign origin multiplied. Gongs and copperware, Chinese porcelain, beads, lengths of red-and-blue cotton cloth, hatchets, and iron bars were the most important.⁷⁰ The raiders could use their booty for the payment of fines, for bride wealth and other forms of ceremonial exchange. In return they would accrue recognition, fame, and influence in their families and kin groups. Those who possessed these foreign goods enjoyed prestige, authority, and power. The *mambri*, 'hero', who triumphantly returned from a raid with foreign goods, won such intangible distinction. Foreign goods made him a 'big man' or promoted him to the ranks of any kind of local category of important person or leader or man of fame.

⁷⁰ Kamma, *Koreni*, 9.



*Cerammers eene natie waarmeede men van de eerste tijden tot hier toe zo min door zachte als harde middele veld heeft kunnen winnen, en te regt door veele beroemden mannen onder onze voorgangere beschreeven voor het snoodste en trouwlooste volk dat onder de zon te vinden is...*¹

The relationship between Prince Nuku and the East Seramese was extraordinary. During his fifteen years in exile from Tidore, Waru – on the east part of Seram – was one of the safe hiding-places of the prince while he pursued his struggle. The role of the East Seramese in the whole gamut of the struggle throughout the course of Prince Nuku's rebellion was significant. The bulk of this chapter revolves around the East Seramese traders and their relationship with the protracted rebellion. It begins with a description of the historical background to the East Seramese experience in dealing with the VOC in the seventeenth century. It goes on to focus on and underline the persistent endeavours of the Seramese to maintain their 'traditional' trading networks in the Seram Sea and beyond, despite the hindrance and intervention of the VOC and the British East India Company (EIC), both eager to secure the spice monopoly. This sheds light on the dogged resistance of the East Seramese to the Dutch and, to some extent, the English. Indubitably this explains the prominent roles of the East Seramese, including the Goromese and the Seram Laut people, in Prince Nuku's rebellion. The discussion concentrates heavily on the East Seram areas, including Seram Laut, Geser, Gorom and the surrounding areas, but South Seramese and North Seramese also enter the picture whenever they figured prominently in Nuku's rebellion.

¹ 'The Seramese are a people with whom from the very beginning we have never been able to attain anything by either gentle or harsh means, and they have been correctly described by many of our renowned predecessors as the most wicked and untrustworthy folk ever to have been found under the sun.' See NA VOC 3704, MvO Governor Van Pleuren, 6 June 1785, 121.

East Seramese

The main supporters of Prince Nuku during the time he spent in Seram were the East Seramese. The majority of them were commercially oriented people from prominent *negeri* with a reputation as centres of trade. Rarakit was one of the big *negeri* and was considered a centre of trading and raiding networks, because Papuan raiders used to carry their captives and goods there for sale. Among the indigenous inhabitants were also many Bandanese who had fled and settled there after 1621. Big houses and a mosque could be found in Rarakit in the eighteenth century. Even one hundred year earlier, in 1619, there had been plenty of wealthy traders over there.² In the first years of the Nuku rebellion, in 1780 the inhabitants of Rarakit armed themselves with fine Makassarese guns. Some houses were guarded by four small, heavy swivel guns (*rantaka*), a little longer than the *draaijbas* used by the Company. The colonial administration had no idea how these weapons had been obtained. At the arrival of the *hongji* fleet, the people of Rarakit quickly buried or hid their goods and pieces of artillery and were not prepared to show open resistance because the Dutch *hongji* fleet carried superior weaponry and was supported by an indigenous fleet. Instead, they chose to disappear temporarily in the forest for safety.³

Between Hote and Rarakit was located Waru where a great amount of sago was sold. The old Waru settlement had nine compounds. Valentijn stigmatized the inhabitants as ‘wild’ because they invariably refused to join the *hongji* of the Ambon Government. When a *hongji* approached the area, all of the inhabitants simply fled into the forest.⁴ Located in between two rivers and protected by reefs, Waru was one of the favourite hiding-places of Prince Nuku. Not far from Rarakit to the south, in Keffing, traders and raiders also met each other at the *Pasar Besar* ‘big market’ which was open seven days in a week. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the people of Salawati were reported to be selling their slaves, sago, tortoiseshell, ambergris, and spices to Keffing traders.⁵ Keffing had four settlements: Kesongat; Kelibon; Kuwau; and Ernanang. In 1633, it could muster 4,000 fighting men. Even so, in 1659 through the collaboration of one *orangkaya* of Keffing, the inhabitants were subjected to VOC oppression. One year later the settlement was harassed and destroyed. Just as other East Seramese, the people denigrated as the ‘unruly and perfidious rabble’ of Keffing were also

² G. E. Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC: zoals opgetekend in de Ambonse landsbeschrijving*, (Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2002), 167-70; F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 57.

³ NA VOC 3595, Interview with a former captive, 12 November 1780, 181-2.

⁴ Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC*, 167.

⁵ Ibid. 171; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 103-4, 109, 216.

lauded as astute traders. The Makassarese and Bandanese frequently came there to trade and settle. As their part of commercial network, the Keffing people fostered special trading connections with Onin and Pulau Adi to the east of Onin.⁶

Seram Laut lies to the east of the peninsula on which Keffing is located. Governor Anthonio van den Heuvel of Ambon (1634-1635) estimated that in 1633 it boasted of having about 3,000 able-bodied men.⁷ Around it cluster five small islands, of which Pulau Geser is one. From east to west Seram Laut measures only 3.7 km across and it is 1.5 km long north-south. Because there was no fresh water on this island, it had to be transported from its neighbours. In 1633 Artus Gijssels attacked Seram Laut and arrested most of the *orangkaya*. Their houses were burned and the spice trees destroyed. The inhabitants were removed to Keffing where they built eleven settlements: Kilwaru; Kiltai; Rumatameri; Keliluhu; Ena; Kelibia; Kilberau; Kelimala; Rumaesi; Rumamaru; and Rumalolas. A hardy breed of intrepid traders the Seram Laut people worked assiduously to maintain their trading networks. In the 1670s *Orangkaya* Uwas (Rumatameri) and Uwan (Kilwaru) controlled the massoi and slave trade with Onin, especially with Rumbati and Karas, but were deeply involved with Kobiai as well. On the eastern side of Seram Laut lies one other small but important island: Suruwaki (Panjang), which belongs to the Gorom group of islands. On this island, slaves, the property of the Goromese, used to be kept temporarily before being sold. Papuan raiders also used to hide on these thirteen small islands to the south-eastern of Seram Laut.⁸ Within the Gorom group, there are two other islands: Manawoka and an eponymous island. Gorom and Seram Laut represented two prominent groups in East Seram. As were their counterparts on Seram Laut, the Goromese were very active traders.⁹ In 1633 Gorom could muster around 10,000 able-bodied men.¹⁰

To the west of Geser, on the main island of Seram, there were substantial settlements whose inhabitants were known to be bold and skilful in their commercial dealings. These included the Guli-Guli, Kelibon, Kumilang, Kilmuri, and Werinama as well as the Elpaputi on the western side. In 1633 Gulu-Guli had 2,000 able-bodied men. In 1648 Kelibon and Kilmuri had 300 brave, strong, armed men. They were mobile traders and

⁶ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 56, 57, 59.

⁷ MvO Anthonio van den Heuvel in G.J. Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon in de Zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, RGP 62 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1987), 100.

⁸ Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC*, 175-6; Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 60-61.

⁹ J. G. F. Riedel, *de Sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1886), 146-53.

¹⁰ Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 100.

spoke good Malay.¹¹ In 1765, these people, supported by raiding groups from Maba, attacked an Ambon Government *pancalang*, the *Garnaal*, which was cruising around Pulau Geser and murdered its crew.¹² Refusing to be browbeaten by the Company, they were often subjected to punitive expeditions from Ambon. When such an expedition loomed, they usually also carried their property away and disappeared into the forest.¹³

East Seram Trading Networks

At the end of sixteenth century, 1581-1582, Miguel Roxo de Brito described Serdanha (very probably Seram Laut) as being inhabited by 5,000 men, most of whom were wealthy merchants. These Serdanha heads employed Papuan slaves and produced sago bread which they traded in Banda for nutmeg and mace. The people of Serdanha built seaworthy vessels on which they sailed as far as sandalwood-producing Timor. Voyaging west, they also traded to Bali where they acquired substantial amounts of gold and cloth, to Bima where again much gold, ambergris and wax were to be found, and to a number of Javanese ports. They also traded with merchants of Marcho (probably Makassar) and Butung, where they bought quantities of gold, textiles, and cotton yarn. During this period, Tombuku was already a supplier of quantities of iron (ware) which the traders of Serdanha sold on the New Guinea mainland, particularly, as De Brito mentioned, at Magusia on the southern shore of the MacCluer Gulf, where they exchanged it for Massoi which they sold to the Javanese who valued it as a medicine.¹⁴

Leupe collected various reports of VOC voyages to Raja Ampat and even to the north coast of New Guinea during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He shows that there were intensive trading connections between East Seram and Papua.¹⁵ Despite the Dutch-administered trade, which had been concentrated on what was known as the *Pasar Kompeni*, 'Company Markets', in Ternate, Ambon, and Banda since the seventeenth century, the Seramese trading networks which were centred partly on Seram Laut and Gorom were not obliterated and even continued to show a development during the period 1750 to 1850 in response to the Chinese demand for exotic produce.¹⁶ The traders of East Seram, especially those from Gorom and Seram Laut, played an important role in linking Maluku with the trade networks - called *sosolot* - in the Raja Ampat Islands to the

¹¹ Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC*, 178.

¹² ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 31 July 1765.

¹³ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 61-62.

¹⁴ J. H. F. Sollewijn Gelpke, "The report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of his voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf, and Seram," *BKI* 150 (1994), 130, 132-3, 135.

north and with the western coastal areas of the Papuan mainland, Onin and Kobiai. The coast between the various south-eastern Seram polities was divided into *sosolot*, bays or anchorages in which one individual, descent group, or polity maintained a recognized monopoly in trade.¹⁷

The *sosolot* as a socio-economic unit was discovered by *Opperkoopman* Johannes Keijts who was posted in Banda. On 9 July 1678 with the help of East Seramese traders he mounted an expedition to Onin from Banda. This expedition resulted in a fund of knowledge about the network of the west coast Papuan trade with Seram. Keijts was the first European to realize that there was a network and that the Seramese and the Onin people participated in it. This traditional network gave the East Seramese merchants the privilege of purchasing slaves, massoi, and reef pearls provided by the Papuans. Before heading to Onin, Keijts visited *Orangkaya* Laku in Keffing in East Seram. While he was there he was witness to how an Onin 'prince' called Jeef visited Laku to ask him for help in family matters.¹⁸ It turned out that carefully constructed commercial ties were strengthened by marriages between Seramese men and Papuan women. There was also a 'charter of mythology' as the relationship between the Onin people and the Seramese, for example, was enshrined in the myths found in East Seram (Suruwaki Island). These facts indicate that the relationship between Onin and the Seramese was socially and religiously rooted.¹⁹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, A. J. Bik specified that the trading relationship between Gorom and Onin was concentrated exclusively in the hands of the leaders of Kataloka. Only traders from this respected *negeri* were allowed to trade with various trading points in the Onin area, namely Rumbati, Petisi, and Ati-Ati. Other *negeri* on Gorom, which was eager to procure Onin products such as tripang, turtles, and massoi, were obliged to purchase these from Kataloka traders. In return, Kataloka supplied the people of Onin with machetes and other items. Trading relations with the people of Teluk Berau (McCluer Gulf) was also limited to the East Seramese traders. Consequently, traders from South Sulawesi had to co-operate with the East Seramese when they wanted to collect products

¹⁵ P.A. Leupe, "De Reizen der Nederlanders naar Nieuw-Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw." *BKI* 21 (1875), passim; Ellen, *On the Edge of Banda Zone*, 101-2; R.Z. Leirissa. "The Bugis-Makassarese in the port-towns Ambon and Ternate through the nineteenth century" in *BKI* 156 (3) 2000, 630.

¹⁶ Ellen, *On the Edge of Banda Zone*, 101-2; Leirissa. "The Bugis-Makassarese," 630.

¹⁷ Ellen, *On the Edge of Banda Zone*, 101.

¹⁸ Leupe, "De Reizen der Nederlanders," 75-86, 114-57; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 103-6.

¹⁹ Tom Goodman, "The *Sosolot* Exchange Network of Eastern Indonesia during the XVII and XVIII Centuries." In *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, (Leiden: IIAS, ISIR, LIPI, Leiden, 1997), 435-6.

from the area.²⁰ The *sosolot* network also spanned the Banda and Aru Archipelagos. Many outside traders, mainly Buginese and Makassarese, joined this network in Seram Laut and Gorom. They functioned as trading agents, exchanging textiles and ironware for local products. Around 1660, the East Seramese traders borrowed about twenty to forty vessels from the Makassarese and Buginese to collect a great quantity of massoi bark and other items from New Guinea.²¹

The most sought after items were massoi bark, nutmeg, bird of paradise feathers, and slaves. Slaves had been a major export of New Guinea from the earliest period and were originally been taken by the East Seramese to supply their own labour needs. Only later were they traded on to Banda and farther afield. The development of seventeenth-century colonial society in such manpower-poor areas as South-East Asia created a new need for slaves in Banda, Ambon and elsewhere. The 1689 decree of the VOC forbidding the purchase of slaves in large tracts of the western archipelago also increased the demand for this human commodity in the East, where free burghers and Mardykens (freed slaves of Christian Asian origin) were licensed to supply the VOC which relied on their extensive knowledge of local trade networks. Although local traders were initially excluded from dealing in slaves by the VOC, they were soon able to evade the controls imposed and to restore the profitability of their involvement.²² The slave trade intensified again in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century.²³

It was reported that Rarakit, Gah, Kelibat, and Seram Laut were meeting points where captives from raids were exchanged. In the trade in this human commodity, the role of the East Seramese traders was prominent and it should be recalled that in 1780 the rebellion of Prince Nuku began with the raiding of Dutch subjects. These raids had resulted in the taking of more than fifty captives who were sold to a number of *orangkaya* of Gorom and Ondor in exchange for guns, bullets, assegais, and gunpowder. The readiness of the East Seramese traders to purchase this lucrative source of manpower

²⁰ R. Z. Leirissa, *Halmahera Timur dan Raja Jailolo: Pergolakan Sekitar Laut Seram Awal Abad 19* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1996), 48; See also A. J. Bik, *Dagverhaal eener reis, gedaan in het jaar 1824 tot nadere verkenning der eilanden Keffing, Goram. Groot en Klein Kei en de Aroe eilanden*, (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1928), 23-26, 34, 36.

²¹ G. J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en christenen: de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*, (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), 68.

²² L. Y. Andaya, "Local Trade Networks in Maluku in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries", in *Cakalele*, Vol. 2 No. 2 (1991), 83, 88.

²³ R. Needham, *Sumba and the slave trade*, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper No. 31. (Melbourne: Monash University 1983); A. Reid, "Introduction: Slavery and Bondage in South-east Asian History" in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1983).

encouraged the Papuan raiders to hunt more captives. Once they were in their hands, these East Seramese transported them to Saparua in order to try to make a profit on them, partly by demanding a ransom either from their relatives or partly from the Dutch Governor in Ambon. The ransoms could sometimes be paid in cash and in commodities like clothes, machetes, and Chinese ceramics.²⁴

The westward trading connections of the East Seramese traders with markets in Sumba, Sumbawa, Lombok, and Bali are also traceable throughout both the seventeen and eighteen centuries. Leirissa notes that there were two possible passages. The first went in a northerly direction along the north coasts of Seram, Buru, Buton and then south-westwards across to the Java Sea via Bonerate to Timor or Sumbawa, finally ending up at Bali. The second was the southern passage via the Kei-Aru Islands, the Banda Archipelago, the Tanimbar Islands, then onwards to Wetar and Timor, eventually reaching Bali sailing west along the Lesser Sunda Islands.²⁵ Some operated with Dutch passes, but most without. The Goromese traded directly with Bali. Traders from *Negeri Amar* in particular had close links with a Balinese principedom, as is reflected in their modern oral history.²⁶ There are traditions of a Goromese presence in Bali among people from Kilmuri.²⁷ In the month of August, the other East Seramese left from Banda and Nusa Laut to sail to the Burning Islands and from there through the Bali Strait, Lombok, to Pasir and Bancahulu, possibly returning via Nusa Barong, Parigi, and Balambangan.²⁸ It seems there were even more than two passages to Bali. Governor Van Pleuren recorded that the period between October and February was the best time for the East Seramese to sail for Bali and Buton. This voyage was also undertaken by the Mandarese and Buginese.²⁹

East Seramese vessels, sailing to Bali, were laden mainly with Papuan nutmeg, massoi, some tripang, and bird of paradise plumes. Bearing south of Rosengain, the vessels would put in at Nila, where they picked up sulphur which could be sold in Bali for two Spanish *mats a pikul*. Bik also points out

²⁴ NA VOC 3595, Daily report of Hongi, 16 November 1780, 69-70, 89-90; VOC 3704, MvO Van Pleuren, 136.

²⁵ Leirissa, *Halmahera Timor dan Raja Jailolo*, 48.

²⁶ H. J. Jansen, "Gegevens over Geser, Boela, Gorong-of Gorom-eilanden", *Adatrechtbundels* 36 (1928), 491.

²⁷ J. C. van Eerde, "De Madjapahitsche onderhoorigheden Goeroen en Seran," in *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap te Amsterdam*, 28 (1911), 219.

²⁸ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1781, 6-7.

²⁹ NA VOC 3704, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 21 March 1785, 8.

that in the earlier period³⁰ there had been direct trade with Java, attested to by the fact that many people in the area had visited Surabaya.³¹ Those from Kilwaru, Geser, Kelibia, Kuwai, Urong, and Guli-Guli travelled to Buton, Timor, Bali on their own vessels and indeed ventured even farther to the west to exchange commodities. The trading groups' vessels were loaded with massoi bark, tripang, *totombo*, Papuan slaves, *loeri*, and *kakatua*. In 1784 it was reported they also carried long nutmegs (local, *warong*) from Halmahera and the Papuan Islands. The reward reaped as the result of this long voyage was that the traders exchanged their commodities at a healthy profit for paddy, clothes, copperwork, swivel guns, and coarse earthenware, not to mention stocking up on ammunition and bullets.³² Traders from Keffing sometimes sailed to Tombuku and Buton. They carried baked and unbaked sago; in return they procured Javanese and Buton cloths, various kinds of yarn, paddy, and swivel guns, but no opium.³³ In 1785, in his memorial to his successor Van Pleuren noted that the islands of Keffing, Geser, Seram Laut, and Gorom were important points to watch because these islands were a hub of alternative trading. Besides the Seramese, Mandarese, Buginese, and English country traders were also involved.³⁴

In French archives from Mauritius, it has been discovered that the non-Dutch trade in spices was not quelled by the VOC and that its tentacles also reached as far as the southern parts of the Philippines. For instance, it was reported that in May 1754 sailing on board *La Colombe*, the well-known French mariner Pierre Poivre departed on his second voyage to Manila and then to Zamboanga in Mindanao in the southern part of the Philippines, a port to which Malukan vessels carried their spices. Upon his arrival, Governor Oscotte of Zamboanga told him that he had missed a great opportunity, because a few months earlier in January 1754 two Malukan vessels had called with a cargo of mature cloves and fresh nutmegs.³⁵ What Oscotte meant by 'Malukan vessels' could have meant 'East Seramese traders' or 'Makassarese and Buginese'. In the Dutch sources, it is reported that in 1761 many Makassarese and Buginese without bothering about a Dutch pass bought up nutmeg in Misool, Waigeo, and Onin, called at Gorom, and then transported their cargoes to Manila and Bali.³⁶ The Malukan vessels in this case most possibly referred to the Buginese or

³⁰ I interpret 'the earlier period' as the end of eighteenth century as Bik wrote his diary in the early nineteenth century.

³¹ Bik, *Daagverhaal*, 13, 25; Ellen, *On the edge of the Banda zone*, 104-5.

³² NA VOC 3763, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 24 June 1784.

³³ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1781, 6-7; VOC 3595, Interview with a former captive, 12 November 1780, 180-2.

³⁴ NA VOC 3704, Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 21 March 1785, 8.

³⁵ M. Ly-Tio-Fane, *Mauritius and the spice trade* (Esclapon Ltd: Mauritius, 1958), 6.

³⁶ ANRI, Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, end of June 1761.

Makassarese who had collected the spices from these respective areas. Wild long nutmeg (*Myristica argentea*) was traded from New Guinea throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some of it was taken to free ports in Borneo by East Seramese traders, while cloves were leaked out from such domains as Kilmuri.³⁷

On the basis of the knowledge he acquired during his eight years' tour of duty in Makassar, Alexander Cornabé, the Governor of Ternate, stated that the westward trade was neither harmful to the Company nor undermining the spice monopoly because he believed that no spices were traded there. However, he was informed that East Seramese traders – co-operating with Makassarese traders – also secretly sent a fleet of six *pancalang*, ten *arumbai*, and ten *paduakang*³⁸ to sail the waters between Nusa Laut and the Schildpad Islands, in the Bali Strait during the months of August, September, October, and November. This period was a good time to keep watch, which would give the Dutch an opportunity to waylay this 'illicit' trade. Despite such optimistic predictions, no successful seizure could ever be achieved. The East Seramese, who always had to juggle with limited quantities of water, used hide-aways on small rivers and creeks in which to conceal themselves from any patrols.³⁹

The purchase of spices was not restricted to collection points outside the production areas. In 1760s East Seramese vessels laden with goods and various kinds of cloth from Sulawesi paid annual visits to clove-producing areas. Under cover of darkness, they approached such parts of Hitu as Hatu, Alang, and Liliboi by stealth and met local inhabitants to exchange their goods for cloves. Sometimes the vessels which were supposed to deliver cloves to Saparua called at the southernmost point of Nusalaut where they had a rendez-vous with traders from East Seram. The East Seramese sometimes hid in places between Honimoa and Oma. At home, Company subjects in the clove-producing areas concealed cloves in holes in the ground, caves, or buried them packed in bamboo boxes. Whenever East Seramese, Chinese, or even free burghers happened to pass by, they were then ready to hand over the cloves. The Governor of Ambon, Willem Fockens, strove to solve the problem by sending a messenger to investigate this 'smuggling' and ordered the post-holders to keep a check on the number of vessels, the names of *anakoda*, and the quantity of bags of cloves

³⁷ Ellen, *On the edge of the Banda zone*, 100.

³⁸ A *padevakang* (or *paduakang*) was a large but light trading vessel with a square poop, double rudders, a large rectangular sail, and a smaller fore-and-aft sail on a tripod mast, two jibs on the bowsprit, and a smaller rectangular sail on a second tripod toward the stern. See C.C. MacKnight, *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan trepangers in northern Australia*, (Melbourne: Univeristy Press, 1976) as quoted by Ellen, *On the edge of the Banda zone*, 298.

³⁹ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1781, 6-7.

carried carefully.⁴⁰ In 1763 in Haia, Central Seram, a small expedition from Ambon under Lieutenant Albertus Michiel found 11,838 pounds of cloves as well as *rantaka* belonging to a 'Buginese' trader hidden in a cave. They also burned vessels belonging to Buginese and East Seramese in which 370 pounds of clove had been discovered.⁴¹

During the harvest season of 1764-1765, Fockens dispatched one sloop, four *pancalang*, and twenty-two *arumbai* of his subjects to cruise around outside their own areas but within Ambon-Lease Islands. During the patrol, the vessel of Pathih from Suli encountered four East Seramese vessels with which they had a small engagement. In 1766 he also ordered the post at Alang to send one soldier to remain in Hatu and another in Liliboi.⁴² Muslim Ambonese, mainly from Hitu and Haruku, were also involved in the contraband trade. These Ambonese provided cloves which were exported to Sulawesi and elsewhere by Buginese and Makassarese. Raja Kuwaus of East Seram, for example, had a kinsman in Batu Merah near the town of Ambon, and through his influence, his son became a raja in Batu Merah. Leaders of East Seram settlements such as Seilor, Urong, and Guli-Guli also had kinship ties with Muslim *negeri* in Hitu, namely in Larike, Uring, Asilulu, Tial, and Tulehu.⁴³ Certain Ambonese, Buginese, and Makassarese had married villagers and settled there.⁴⁴ In 1772 a Malukan named Matiahi explained that every year these East Seramese traders who had relatives in Ambon sent their vessels to collect cloves clandestinely. The voyage was sometimes led by the owner of the vessels himself but, sometimes vessels were sent under the command of an *anakoda*. After they had collected the spices, they carried these along with tripang, tortoise-shell, massoi,⁴⁵ Papuan slaves, birds of bright plumage, ambergris, pearls and other products from Seram and the islands to east of it, to Bali, Pasir and other trading centres to the west, including eastern Java, where they exchanged them for rice, fire-arms, and such oriental manufactured goods as piece goods, pottery, copper utensils, and silks. Buginese and other seafarers from the west came to Seram to trade and also met the East Seramese in Bali and elsewhere. The 'smuggled' spices ultimately found their way to the markets of China and India.

⁴⁰ MvO Willem Fockens (1764-1767), in Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 375-7, 410-1.

⁴¹ Ibid. 399-400.

⁴² Ibid. 410-1.

⁴³ Leirissa, *Halmabera Timor dan Raja Jailolo*, 47; Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 410.

⁴⁴ R.Z. Leirissa, "Changing maritime trade patterns in the Seram sea," *Fifth Dutch-Indonesian Historical congress*, (Lage Vuursche-Netherlands, 1986), 8-9.

⁴⁵ A tree bark which, when powdered, was in demand for Asia for application to the skin.

Nanyang Chinese⁴⁶ vessels frequented Bali, and the Buginese had contacts with Chinese, Indian, Arab, and European traders in many ports.⁴⁷

Roy F. Ellen explains that VOC policing of the spice monopoly, backed up by an efficient body of regulations, a strict system of accounting, and a commercial bureaucracy, in conjunction with the damaging punitive expeditions to extirpate clove and nutmeg trees, caused sufficient disruption for the indigenous population of the 'Banda zone' to seek economic alternatives to spices, at least after 1669.⁴⁸ The system which the VOC imposed was certainly designed with preserving the monopoly in mind, but controlling the complex indigenous trading networks was also part of the exercise and therefore it threatened and jeopardized the basic livelihood of the East Seramese. The contracts and punitive expeditions proved an inadequate deterrent to dislodge this traditional trade largely because East Seram was a relatively remote area from the perspective of the Ambon and Ternate Governments. At such a distance, surveillance and punitive expeditions were expensive to mount. The tyranny of distance could not be overcome by the Dutch. In the long run the VOC faded into something of a paper tiger for the East Seramese, even more so because their trade networks did not really harm the spice monopoly. Spices were only smuggled out on a small scale and not in quantities significant enough to undermine the monopoly. Undaunted whenever the opportunity presented itself, the East Seramese would continue their economic pursuits and maintain the trade networks.

East Seram-Dutch Relationship in the Seventeenth Century

In hindsight indigenous trading networks may not have posed a huge threat, but the VOC in Ambon had a stake in limiting the trading networks of East Seram-based traders. The southward route led mainly to Banda, Kei, and Aru. Banda, the centre of nutmeg production, was dependent on such indigenous networks for its daily needs, especially food provisions.⁴⁹ In view of this dependency, the trading relationship between Banda and East Seram was of necessity intensive. This explains why, after the conquest of Banda in 1621, many Bandanese traders fled to East Seram.⁵⁰ The mounting hostile

⁴⁶ Chinese merchants who live in Java, Sulawesi, and elsewhere.

⁴⁷ Leirissa, *Halmahera Timor dan Raja Jailolo*, 47. He cited from ANRI Ambon 687, Daily Report; H.R.C. Wright, "The Moluccan spice monopoly, 1770-1824," in *Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXI, Part 4, (1958), 6-7.

⁴⁸ Sutherland and Brée 1987: 3-4 as quoted by Ellen, *On the edge of the Banda zone*, 100.

⁴⁹ Leupe, P.A. "Beschrijvinge van de eijlanden Banda, van de Mollucse eijlanden en van de westcust van Sumatra." *BKI* 3 (1855), 76.

⁵⁰ About the conquest of Banda, see Chapter II.

relationship between the East Seramese and the Dutch was allegedly instigated by the newly settled Bandanese. Because he foresaw that the Bandanese refugees would encourage the East Seramese to subvert the VOC policy on the spice monopoly, on 23 December 1624 Herman van Speult, Governor of Ambon (1618-1625), concluded a contract with *orangkaya* from Seram Laut, Keffing, Gorom, Guli-Guli, Urong and Kuwaku (south-east corner of Elpaputi Bay) with the aim of circumventing any injurious influence infiltrated by traders of Banda origin.⁵¹

Under the terms of the contract, the *orangkaya* were prevented from allying themselves with enemies the Company. In their westward trade, they were obliged to obtain a pass from the Government of Ambon. This passport was more than simply a *laissez passer*, it also obliged them to report any complaints and misbehaviour which may have occurred in every west monsoon. To maintain 'law and order' they were also obliged to cease hostile actions against each other. Whenever possible, any captive taken in a raid, especially subjects of the Company should be redeemed. The Company would subsequently pay Rds (Rix dollars) 20 for an indigenous captive and Rds 40 for a 'Hollander' captive upon presentation of a receipt.⁵² These captives were perhaps redeemed because of humanitarian motives, but once they returned home they were subjected to debriefing sessions to find out more about the movements of the raiders who had ransomed them.

In practice, the East Seramese traders paid scant attention to these prescriptions and continued their westward trade without soliciting a Dutch pass. For this reason, in 1633, Governor Artus Gijssels of Ambon launched a punitive expedition on Seram Laut and imposed a contract, stipulating that the heads of Seram Laut were obliged to pay a fine of 50 *taël* of gold and 200 slaves for any infringement. This fine impoverished many of the East Seramese traders,⁵³ as under the terms of this contract the Dutch could obtain slaves without having to organize a costly expedition. Another contract with the Papuan Raja of Rumbati or Rumakay had been attempted, but this agreement proved a disappointment because besides the inconsistent attitude of the Papuans, the Dutch faced continual obstruction from East Seramese traders in their attempts to obtain slaves.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, I (1596-1650), 200-3. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 67-8.

⁵² *Corpus Diplomaticum*, I (1596-1650), 200-203.

⁵³ MvO Artus Gijssels (1631-1634) in G.J. Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 110; Idem, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 68.

⁵⁴ Leupe, "De Reizen der Nederlanders," 46-60. In 1663 the East Seramese, in particular those from Gorom and Seram Laut, threatened to kill a Dutch guide and interpreter Anthony Adriaensz Multum because, with his help, the Dutch had succeeded in establishing a friendly relationship with the Raja of Onin and had consequently obtained a number of slaves. The East Seramese also tried to persuade the Papuans of Onin that the

In 1649, Governor Arnold de Vlaming launched another violent reprisal in East Seram and succeeded in forcing Rarakit to surrender.⁵⁵ As an outcome of this stern measure, a similar contract was again imposed. There was an additional article stating that the heads of Rarakit had to join the *hong* fleet of Ambon every year, should they fail to do so a penalty of 200 real would have to be paid. To pre-empt any attempts at resistance, the heads were not allowed to build new fortresses.⁵⁶ Two separate contracts were imposed on the *orangkaya* and raja from Gorom on 30 November 1650 and their counterparts from Seram Laut, Keffing, Kilmuri, Rarakit, and Gorom on 18 November 1656.⁵⁷ In December 1657, a small force from Ambon under Herman van Outhoorn attempted to establish a post at Guli-Guli and subsequently tried to detain the three heads. This triggered more resistance. Four Company soldiers and one crew member were killed.⁵⁸ The war which broke out as a result, known as the Sixth Ambonese War, lasted three years. In 1661, succumbing to a shortage of provisions, the East Seramese and Papuans allies surrendered. A contract with basically the same contents was imposed on 10 February 1661. To the relief of the East Seramese, under its stipulations, the Dutch post at Guli-Guli was to be abandoned.⁵⁹

One of the reasons for the persistence of the East Seramese in maintaining their westward trade was the trade in massoi bark from New Guinea, which was regularly exported to Java where it was used for medicinal purposes. In order to solve the problem, the Ambon Government decided to buy small amounts of this commodity even though it was not lucrative. In 1666, following the Makassarese-Dutch War, seven Makassarese vessels made port in an East Seram harbour and collected massoi. Then nine to ten Seramese vessels sailed to Gresik in Java to sell massoi. In reaction to this disturbing development, the Dutch decided that the remedy was to impose another similar contract in 1670.⁶⁰ Undeterred, the East Seramese continued sending vessels to Java and Bali, especially when the price of massoi was sliding down to around Rds 6 to 8 in Ambon. Resorting to tried and tested methods, the Government of Ambon remained vigilant, regularly

Dutch would dominate them and kill them all as they had done everywhere else. Ibid. 58-60.

⁵⁵ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 68.

⁵⁶ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, I (1596-1650), 534-7.

⁵⁷ *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II (1650-1675), 5-8.

⁵⁸ A. Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden: Historische Bijdrage*, 1500-1883, I (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co, 1884), 73-4.

⁵⁹ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 69; *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II (1650-1675), 182-186; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 79.

⁶⁰ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 71.

patrolled the waters, and confiscated vessels without a pass whenever they were encountered.⁶¹

In 1674 *orangkaya* from Kilwaru and Keliluhu requested a pass to send vessels westwards. Instead of granting the request, the Governor of Ambon proposed buying up the massoi at Rds 8 per pikul. This eliminated the profit for the traders as the price was the same as that in Banda or East Seram. Not unsurprisingly the traders preferred to carry the massoi farther westwards where they knew it would fetch a good price. In 1675, the Batavian High Government issued a pass for the East Seramese to sail westwards, but Fort Victoria in Ambon cancelled the licence as it claimed the East Seramese were untrustworthy and continued to welcome foreign traders. In 1679, when the massoi price fell as low as Rds 4 per pikul, one *orangkaya* from Kilwaru sailed to Batavia to request permission directly from the High Government. Because of the infestation of piracy around Banten, he only ventured as far as Cirebon. The pass for the westward trip was not granted. Again, in 1683, the tension mounted when the East Seramese reportedly obtained a letter from Sultan Banten promising help them to fight against the VOC. Immediately, an expedition to East Seram was launched to prevent the situation worsening.⁶² Another way of obstructing the East Seramese trade was the brainchild of Governor Dirk de Haas of Ambon. In 1689 he established a new rule which obliged the East Seramese traders to obtain a pass on Honimoa before pursuing trade in massoi, slaves and other commodities in the 'East', which meant in the Raja Ampat, on Halmahera, and on the New Guinea mainland.⁶³

At almost any cost, the Dutch endeavoured to obstruct the possibility of smuggling spices outside Maluku. The contracts functioned more as signs of conquest and tokens of the superiority of VOC power rather than the outcome of negotiations. By and large these contracts accommodated the interests of the Dutch and tended to undermine the interests of the other parties. With its greater power, the Company kept imposing its directives to protect the spice monopoly by rigorous regulation. Administering the trade by issuing passes was one way of controlling the movement of vessels. For their part the East Seramese proved a foe worthy of their steel and never relinquished either their westward or their eastward trade. They had to run the risk of punishment by the Company when they sailed without a pass but when they did at least try to request a pass from the VOC for westward trade, it was not granted. The relationship between the East Seramese and the Dutch in the seventeenth century therefore never reached a point of agreement which satisfied both parties.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid. 71-2.

⁶³ MvO Dirk de Haas (1687-1691) in Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 276.

East Seram under Tidore (1700-1769)

From their history of running the Dutch gauntlet, the East Seramese traders built up long and varied experiences in resisting and subverting Dutch rule. Despite the limitations on and the control of trade, they doughtily strove to find a safer route to avoid Dutch surveillance and to transport their commodities. Therefore the East Seramese traders had to be in a state of continual vigilance while engaged in trade. As a consequence, in the eyes of the VOC Governments in the East, the indigenous trade in East Seram was regarded as a threat to the interests of the spice monopoly which it was the duty of the three Dutch Governments in Maluku to promote and uphold. The English historian H. R. C. Wright has even exaggeratedly described the islanders as the 'chief threat' to the Dutch spice monopoly.⁶⁴

In the eighteenth century, especially the period prior to the outbreak of Nuku's rebellion, the main Dutch problems concerning East Seram were how to control the movement of the East Seramese vessels, the leakage of spices out of Maluku, and the increasing raiding activities being facilitated by the East Seramese traders. Under the terms of 1700 contract, East Seram was under the authority of Tidore. Therefore Sultan Tidore was expected to participate in East Seram affairs, but Tidoran authority and presence in this troublesome area was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In 1743 the questionable nature of Tidore authority in East Seram was addressed by the High Government. There were two choices for Sultan Tidore: comply with the Dutch directives in East Seram or relinquish this authority and the concomitant enjoyment of the compensation. It seems Sultan Tidore preferred to retain his authority in East Seram, probably because the Sultan received a sizeable annual tribute from the leaders of this part of his Sultanate.⁶⁵ Freed from all but the most nominal authority, the East Seramese were going about their own affairs and dealt with the Dutch in their own way. In 1740, traders from Seram Laut and Keffing sailed to Bali and Banjarmasin, carrying nutmeg, massoi, and Papuan birds of paradise. The nutmegs had supposedly been collected from *Negeri Sikara*, somewhere in the Raja Ampat Islands, and transported to Urong. In Banjarmasin, the traders encountered and traded with the English.⁶⁶ In July 1747 a Muslim cleric (*khatib*) reported to the Dutch Government in Banda that two Buginese vessels had arrived at Gorom and Keffing to purchase nutmegs. The nutmegs had been collected from the forest of Hatumeten

⁶⁴ Wright, 'The Moluccan spice monopoly,' 6.

⁶⁵ Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 398.

⁶⁶ Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, IX, 497, 598; See MvO Jacob de Jong (1738-1743), in Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 339.

which was known to be a *muskaatbos* ‘nutmeg forest’ and from Gorom, but the nutmegs traded were unripe. Alerted by this report, Batavia ordered the Ambon Government to take steps to prevent any further trade of this spice in this area.⁶⁷

During the first half of eighteenth century, I have found only one violent incident between the Dutch and the East Seramese in the records. In 1746, the Ambon *hongji* under the command of Governor Nathaniël Steinmetz (1743-1748) was attacked by the people of Waru, supported by Papuans armed with their bows en arrows. Four indigenous soldiers and one European soldier from the *hongji* were wounded. In retaliation, the Dutch troops attacked villagers and killed forty reducing the village to ashes.⁶⁸ East Seramese society itself was not at peace either. In 1726 a collective fight broke out between groups from Gorom and Manawoka causing those people who did not want to be embroiled in the fighting to flee to deep into the inland or at least into the forest.⁶⁹ These two minor examples show that the situation in the first half of the eighteenth century did not differ much from that in the previous century as far as the relations either between the East Seramese and the Dutch, or indeed among various groups within East Seramese communities.

In the second half of the eighteenth century it seemed the Day of Reckoning was about to dawn. On 12 March 1764 a punitive expedition consisting of two sloops, two *pancalang*, and twelve *arumbai* was launched bound for south and north Seram. This time it targeted not only the East Seramese but other nominal Company subjects too. During the *hongji*, Haia, Taluti, Tobo, Seilor, and Batulomi were punished, but in the neighbourhood of Keffing, Geser, and Seram Laut, the Dutch fleet was hemmed in by thirty to forty East Seramese vessels (Seram Laut, Keffing, Keliluhu, and Kilbia) under the leadership *Orangkaya* Geser and Raja Kilmuri. In the affray two of the *hongji arumbai* were captured. Four of their crews were killed, six wounded, and sixty-two were reported missing. Retaliation followed a year later. On 14 March 1765, a stronger fleet under Hendrik van den Brink and the *Patih* of Suli, Pieter d’Costa, was dispatched. This fleet had one extra barque and the number of *arumbai* was doubled from twelve to twenty-six. Enna-Enna, Batulomi, Kwamor, Kilmuri, and Urong came under fire. In Awang, Dawang, Kelibon, and Kisalaut, fifteen vessels were burnt, including two big Makassarese vessels. Keffing and Kisalaut, which were left empty by their inhabitants, went up in flames too. The *hongji* lost two men and eight wounded. Even so, none of the East Seramese leaders was captured.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, XI, 641, 645.

⁶⁸ MvO Nataniel Steinmetz (1743-1748), in Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 352-3.

⁶⁹ Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, VIII, 131.

⁷⁰ Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 399-401.

In April 1767 Governor Fockens of Ambon launched an even more powerful fleet under the command of Captain Van den Brink. This fleet consisted of two sloops, two *pancalang* with 226 soldiers and forty crew members plus thirty *arumbai* carrying native warriors. A secret letter from the High Government dated 23 December 1766 stated that no pardon should be granted to the East Seramese. When the fleet unexpectedly attacked Keffing, Seram Laut, and Geser, these places were overwhelmed with dread and no resistance was met. Sixteen vessels, including a ship seventy-five feet in length, were burnt. To make matters worse, the native warriors plundered the remaining wealth of the Geser, Keffing, and Seram Laut inhabitants and seized two bags of cloves, four metal *draaijbassen*, nine guns (*snaphanen*), and about sixty small cannon. Ninety-three people of Geser and Seram Laut and thirty slaves were captured. Other such nearby settlements as Urong, Dawang, Batulomi, Enna-Enna, and Guli-Guli suffered similar attacks. The latter had allegedly previously been involved in the murder of *Patih* Wasu in Ambon area. Two *draaijbassen*, one bag of nutmeg, one cannon, four *snaphanen*, one bag of gunpowder, and some clothes were looted. Spared by the south-eastern winds which relentlessly drove the fleet westwards, the Gorom area was left untouched.⁷¹

Two years before the contract of cession was imposed on East Seram by the VOC (1769), Governor Fockens forced four heads of East Seram, namely Raja Werinama, *Orangkaya* Seilor, Raja Kilmuri, and *Orangkaya* Kelibon to sign a contract in which they had to recognize the contracts concluded between the VOC and Tidore of 29 March 1667 and on 5 May 1700. In this contract of 1766, the East Seramese were obliged to cease their commerce with foreign traders (European and Indian), and such indigenous merchants as Makassarese, Mandarese, Butonese, Buginese, Selayarese, Javanese, and their traditional trading Papuan partners. They also were expected to apprehend these and hand them over to the VOC were they to call at their shores. To conduct trade outside Seram, the Seramese had to obtain passes from the VOC Government. The contract obliged the East Seramese to assist the VOC during its regular *bongji* expeditions to which they, *nota bene*, themselves had been subject. To serve the main interest of the VOC, the preservation of its spice monopoly, the East Seramese were still expected to help the VOC eradicate spice trees whenever they found them in their area.⁷²

The cession of East Seram from the authority of Tidore to the Dutch was one Dutch manoeuvre by which they hoped to gain a better grip on East Seramese traders who had been incorrigibly involved in 'smuggling' cloves and stubbornly continued their westward trade despite a number of

⁷¹ Ibid. 408-9.

⁷² *Corpus Diplomaticum*, V (1726-1752), 265-8; Wright, 'The Moluccan spice monopoly,' 7.

contracts forbidding these activities. Despairing of any real input from Tidore, the Dutch Government on Ternate pushed Sultan Jamaludin of Tidore to cede East Seram to Dutch authority in 1769. In the previous contract of 1700, when Tidore was ruled by Sultan Hamzah Fahrudin, the Dutch had recognized the authority of Tidore in East Seram from the promontory of Hote, on the northern side of Seram, to the southern side of Hatumeten and to Gorom, including other small islets around Seram Laut. Knaap argues that the recognition of the authority of Tidore over the islands off the coast of East Seram was a reward for the Sultan who had been complying with the Dutch policy over Papuan raiding.⁷³ The cession in 1768 may have allayed some Dutch fears but it also stirred up unrest among the Tidoran grandees and aggravated the relationship between the Tidore Sultanate and the VOC.

East Seram and Nuku

As was recounted in Chapter Four, Nuku and his adherents left Tidore and took refuge in, among other places, Waru, in East Seram. The East Seramese leaders among whom traders predominated were more than ready to welcome Nuku's decision to use Waru as one of his headquarters. So far no explanation has been found in the sources which elucidates why the majority of East Seramese traders tended to support Nuku. The most straightforward answer to this question would seem to be an age-old reason, they shared a common enemy. The East Seramese had regularly been victims of the Dutch punitive *hongji* expeditions which had resulted in their impoverishment. The *hongji* fleet not only destroyed their villages and sometimes killed their people, it also deprived them of the wealth they had been used to accumulating for a long time. In *such* a situation the arrival of Nuku in East Seram in 1780s must have been quite welcome. Moreover, the presence of Nuku who was imbued with royal legitimacy as this Tidoran prince strengthened the political position of the already dominant East Seramese traders in the areas.

In a *hongji* expedition during the November and December of 1780, Governor Bernardus van Pleuren of Ambon visited many villages along the coasts of north and south-east Seram. He openly warned the village leaders, *orangkaya*, *kapiten*, and elders he had met, not to help Prince Nuku and his raiding parties, let alone join them. He also remorselessly threatened that those who were involved in raiding or in illicit trading would be treated as an

⁷³ Knaap, "Robbers and traders, Papuan piracy in the seventeenth century," unpublished paper at International Workshop on *Ports, Pirates and Hinterlands in East and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 9-11 November 2005, 5-6; *Corpus-diplomaticum*, IV, 180-4.

'enemy'.⁷⁴ But the inhabitants and local heads who had resolved to support Prince Nuku clearly refused to be intimidated, because raiders and rebels continued assaulting and harassing the inhabitants of Seram and its surroundings. These raiders attacked villages whose inhabitants were loyal to the Dutch or refused to support the raiders and the rebels. From the various steps it took, it seems that the Ambon Government realized the weight of the role played by the leaders of the East Seramese.

At the end of 1782, the Ambon Government in Fort Victoria launched a *hongji* expedition consisting of sixty-one native vessels, five Ternatan *korakora*, one sloop, and three *pancalang*.⁷⁵ The first major engagement in East Seram occurred at Kilmuri, where the *hongji* fleet of Governor Van Pleuren skirmished with Prince Nuku's fleet, composed of 150 vessel, under the command of Raja Lukman from Keliluhu. After five hours of exchanging hostilities, Kilmuri was set on fire, but many of the rebels managed to escape. One hundred and twenty four prahu and *kora-kora* were seized: eighty were burnt and forty-four rendered unseaworthy. The Dutch captured many flags, cannon, and other weaponry. The Victoria fleet then proceeded to Kotarua, Kelibon, Dawang, Awang, Pomilang in East Seram, and Ondor and Camar in Gorom. Raja Kilmuri, *Kapiten* Kelibon, and *Orangkaya* Batumoli as well as Imam Sarassa of Geser, one of the most prominent pro-Nuku supporters, were forced to surrender. The East Seramese residing in Urong, Enna-Enna, and Guli-Guli were chased away and their houses and vessels were destroyed.⁷⁶

In this particular expedition the role of two East Seramese leaders on the Dutch side was important. *Kapiten* Keffing, Baukan, was the one who had suggested the Governor destroy villages on Keffing. *Orangkaya* Kuwaus, Kana-Kana, even advised the *hongji* commander to attack and destroy his own village. Attacks such as these were actually no more than side-shows; the most important target in the operation was the illusive Prince Nuku. Because Van Pleuren believed the Prince was in Rarakit with a full force, two villages near Rarakit, Kelinga and Kelibat, were attacked. Although the people this time defended them resolutely, the two *negeri* were destroyed. Prince Nuku's brother, Abdul Mutalib, surrendered and asked to be pardoned. He informed the Governor that Prince Nuku had run out of

⁷⁴ NA VOC 3595, Daily report of Hongi Tocht, November-December 1780.

⁷⁵ NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 46-64; MvO Bernardus van Pleuren (1775-1785) in Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 491-3.

⁷⁶ The next day, at Kuamur, the leaders of the *hongji* were informed by the people of Keffing that on the previous night those from Keliluhu, Kota Banda, Kuwai, Kelibat, and Geser had sought refuge. The next day, at Kuamur, the leaders of the *hongji* were informed by the people of Keffing that on the previous night those from Keliluhu, Kota Banda, Kuwai, Kelibat, and Geser had sought refuge. NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 68-71; VOC 3704, MvO Governor Van Pleuren, 6 June 1785.

weapons, and had already disappeared to one of the Papuan Islands, perhaps Salawati. The Governor indeed discovered one of Prince Nuku's residences but not the Prince himself. He also chanced upon a huge vessel thirteen and half feet in the beam and fifty-three feet long, which had been designed for Nuku and his wife. The Dutch-commanded troops also looted any portable wealth: copper-work; textiles; and sago. The inhabitants were hunted down and slaughtered even in the fastness of the forest.⁷⁷

After the punishment of East Seram in 1782, the arena of struggle was moved out elsewhere, but the resistance was not spent. In 1785, Adrian de Bock claimed that he had overwhelmed Rarakit but, because information of his arrival preceded him, it was not a total success.⁷⁸ Nuku was not in East Seram at that time. In 1788 people from *negeri* Amar and Salakat on Gorom were allegedly involved in a raid on the garrison on Aru.⁷⁹ In 1790 the area close to the Nuku's headquarters was attacked again.⁸⁰ Another fleet under Captain Warner Gobius was also sent the following year.⁸¹ Generally speaking, the operation was successful but Captain Gobius himself was killed.⁸² On 1 March 1793, the Governor of Ambon who had heard rumours that the strength of Nuku's forces on Gorom totalled about 20,000 – 30,000 men grew very anxious. The number was perhaps exaggerated but it reflected the magnitude of the support Nuku could rally.⁸³ At this time Nuku was busy concentrating his forces drawn from many parts of Maluku in East Seram.

On 10 September 1795, Prince Nuku demonstrated to the East Seramese that the alliance with the English was both real and significant. That day an English ship appeared carrying on board forty *kimelaha* of Tidoran tributaries – most of them from villages on Maba, Weda, Patani, and the Tidoran cleric Tipsale. The East Seramese also witnessed the moment when Prince Nuku had sent envoys on board an English ship to solicit more support from the British Governor-General in Bengal. The English ship presented Prince Nuku with *saphanen* and cannon to strengthen his forces. After this display of strength, the rebel messenger Sai Sai and many ordinary

⁷⁷ NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 68-71.

⁷⁸ MvO Adriaan de Bock (1785-1788) in Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave*, 505.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 506.

⁸⁰ E. Katoppo, *Nuku: Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Maluku Utara* (Jakarta, Sinar Harapan, 1984), 327.

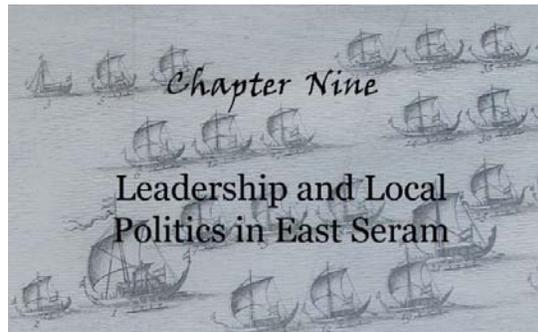
⁸¹ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 328.

⁸² Ibid. 328. In his account Farquhar writes, "...the military commander in chief was murdered by one of his own men. See IOR/P/255/18, MMC, 18-02-1803, From Farquhar to Colonel Oliver, 1 June 1802, 1010.

⁸³ NA OIC No. 79, From Ambon to Batavia, 1 March 1793, 273.

people from Gorom and the north coast of Seram openly rallied to Nuku, the 'Sultan Papua and Seram'.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ NA OIC No. 81, Separate Letter from Ambon to Batavia, 19 September 1795 § 31-3.



Is hij een Radja, ik ben het ook. Heb ik vaartuigen, slaven, lila's, kruid, en lood, en geld om strijders te bezoldigen, dan beorloog ik den eersten vorst die mij beleedigt, hoe groot hij ook zijn moge, en behaal ik de overwinning, dan komen alle Radja's mij de voeten kusschen.¹

Leadership

At the end of sixteenth century East Seramese people, especially those from Seram Laut (Serdanha), were described by De Brito as wealthy merchants. Besides an abundance of gold, cloths, and other forms of wealth, at that time they also possessed about 600 small fire-arms. De Brito said that they kept these for reasons of prestige, but were ignorant of how to use them. Their wealth was derived from their wide-ranging eastward and westward trading networks. Their obvious riches had attracted the Papuans from Misool to raid this area regularly and carry off such booty as gold, gongs, and cloths. Conscious of the dual necessity of pursuing their trading activities on the one hand and defending their country on the other, the East Seramese decided upon a change in their commercial activities. They organized a shift in trade. Two of the heads set off on their vessels each year to trade, while the rest remained behind to guard and if need be to defend their country. On the return of those who had gone away, those who had not ventured forth immediately set out. In Serdanha they had 'treasurers' whose function was to take care of the deposits of gold and cash which they could use for the common needs and well-being of the entire village. Each time the vessels returned from a trading voyage, they contributed to the

¹ 'Is he a raja, I am as well. If I have vessels, slaves, *lila* (a small cannon), ammunition, and money to employ fighters, then I will fight the first raja, who insults me, however great his power is. If I achieve the victory, then all of the raja will come to kiss my feet'. Kolff, D.H. *Reize door den weinig bekenden zuiderlijken Molukschen Archipel en langs de geheele onbekende Zuidwest-kust van Nieuw-Guinea in de jaren 1825 en 1826* (Amsterdam: no publisher, 1829), 16.

fund. In times of emergency or when embroiled in war with other regions, for example with the Bandanese, they handed over a certain reward to the people with whom they made up a fleet to defend themselves, and sometimes they were even prepared to pay to launch attacks. This fund was also used when the raiders from Misool took hostage a respected individual of Serdanha who was unable to redeem himself.²

The situation in the seventeenth century changed significantly after the VOC established its spice monopoly and strove to control the trading activities of Malukans, including the East Seramese traders. The East Seramese were in dire straits as they could no longer regularly obtain nutmegs and mace from Banda or elsewhere. The westward trade was also officially forbidden. And, by the end of seventeenth century, the traditional eastward trading route to the Papuan Islands, the mainland of New Guinea and elsewhere also required a pass. These new Dutch regulations placed the East Seramese traders in very difficult situation because trade had lain at the very heart of their livelihood. When Valentijn strove to understand the reasons for persistence shown by the people of Urong in continuing their 'illicit' trade at the beginning of the eighteenth century, he ended up concluding that, '*Zy van de zeevaart moeten leven*' (they had to live from seafaring).³ From the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century descriptions, it appears axiomatic to state that the East Seramese could not live without trade.

In 1829 after an interview with someone in Seram Laut, Kolff quoted the opening remarks at the beginning of this chapter. The statement casts light on how the contest for power was undertaken. Wealth was an important factor in acquiring power. Surplus wealth could be converted into more followers which was the real wealth in sparsely populated regions. Therefore the communities on East Seram were dominated by traders who could employ a great number of followers and sail large vessels. Trade was located at the very centre of the society. Slaves were also an important item in trade, because the possession of many slaves, either directly in New Guinea or from raiding groups, was profitable. Slaves undertook the labour needed to support daily life and provided the manpower to row the vessels. In the sixteenth century, De Brito reported that the heads of Serdanha employed 1,000 slaves both to work in their gardens and to produce sago bread which could be exported to Banda.⁴ In Banda, before the virtual extermination of its society by Coen in 1621, most wealthy, powerful

² J. H. F. Sollewijn Gelpke, "The report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of his voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf, and Seram," *BKI* 150 (1994), 130-2.

³ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 60.

⁴ Gelpke, 'The report of Miguel Roxo de Brito,' 134-5.

orangkaya employed slaves to take care of and harvest the nutmegs.⁵ In 1780 a slave from Mandar belonging to Raja Tobo was a thirty years old Muslim married with a wife and children, who had worked at Tobo tending gardens for a few years.⁶

A vessel was the vital means of transport in a maritime community. Communication and social interaction among the people depended on maritime transport. Most of the community leaders therefore owned vessel(s). These had to be armed with guns and provided with ammunition for defence. In East Seram communities where enmity and concomitant hostility among villages were rampant, able-bodied men and guns were indispensable to any success. Possessing vessels made trade more secure and augmented the capacity of the community to attack rival or opposing parties. Raja Tobo had a vessel equipped with twenty-three crewmembers, weapons, and ammunition. He did not lead trading voyages himself but hired an *anakoda*. His vessel carried Selayarese cloths and Makassarese textiles which were exchanged for massoi and tripang.⁷ One important Nuku supporter, Raja Keliluhu, Lukman, owned several vessels, plenty of slaves, and so much ammunition that even without the Dutch pass, he could carry on regular, safe trade from Papua to East Seram, namely on Gah, Rarakit, and Waru.⁸

A man who pursued trade and consequently possessed slaves, vessels, money, and other foreign prestige goods enjoyed influence and power. Such persons were usually called *orangkaya* or raja. Both raja and *orangkaya* are terms borrowed from Malay. As Ellen has stated, their widespread use was partly because Malay was the main language used in trade. The proof that Malukans used Malay in their dealings with the outside world as early as 1514 is found in two Malay letters from Ternate translated into Portuguese. Probably spoken Malay had already been the trade language for some centuries before the arrival of the Europeans.⁹ The term *orangkaya* was employed variously to refer to indigenous ascribed leaders (chiefs), traditional leaders of the 'big man' category who had attained authority by the manipulation of resources in indigenously approved ways, local persons who acquired influence by virtue of being middlemen in the commodity trade, and foreign merchants.¹⁰ However the term remains confusing when

⁵ H. Aveling, 'Seventeenth century Bandanese society in fact and fiction: Tamberra assessed,' *BKI* 123 (1967), 354.

⁶ NA VOC 3586, Interview with a slave, 23 March, 1780, 89-90.

⁷ NA VOC 3586, Interview with a slave, 23 March, 1780, 89-90.

⁸ NA VOC 3586, Separate letter From Ambon to Batavia, 23 December 1779, 83.

⁹ Roy F. Ellen, 'Conundrums about Panjandrums: on the use of titles in the relations of political subordination in the Moluccas and along the Papuan coast,' *Indonesia*, 41 (1986), 50-51; See also A. A. Cense, 'Malaise Invloeden in het Oostelijk Deel van de Indonesische Archipel,' *BKI* 134, 4 (1978), 418.

¹⁰ Ellen, 'Conundrums about Panjandrums,' 50.

it has to be differentiated from the term *raja*. Riedel tried to distinguish between the two by stating that an *orangkaya* was chosen and that a *raja* was hereditary.¹¹ However this was not always the case. The quotation from Kolff implies that the term *raja* was also based on achievement. Furthermore, the arrival of European powers in Maluku strengthened the use of the terms. The Europeans bestowed titles on persons they perceived to be local dignitaries, first as a sign of respect following the protocol of European diplomacy, and later as an instrument of political control. Up to nineteenth century the rank of *orangkaya* was subordinate to that of the *raja*. For example, the *orangkaya* of Ainike and Besilan on Pulau Suruwaki were under the authority of Raja Amar.¹²

Type of Leaders

In the following paragraphs a number of leaders, both *orangkaya* and *raja* are described in relation with their trading and political activities during the Nuku rebellion. The first type is the *orangkaya* who benefited from the raiding enterprises by trading human captives as their commodity. In 1780 the Papuan raiders had taken captive fifty-five men, women and children of Haia. They were carried to and offered for sale in East Seram, at Rarakit, Gah, Kelibat, Kiltai and on Seram Laut. *Orangkaya* Haia and his people only had the means to redeem thirty-five captives from *Kapiten* Keffing, at Rds 80 per captive. Consequently twenty persons still remained captive. For these the 'owners' demanded such an excessive ransom that those who wished to redeem them were unable to do so.¹³ With the prospects of such profits, the Papuan raiders were encouraged to continue raiding to an even greater degree because the Goromese and other East Seramese were always ready to purchase the people captured by providing the Papuans with all kinds of necessities, especially textiles, local copper products, ceramics, machetes, and axes.¹⁴

On 17 September 1779, Kobiai alias Maba - an *orangkaya* of Geser origin - sailed to Rarakit on a vessel with eighteen people. He traded with Papuan raiders originally from Salawati. He purchased eleven Selayarese captives from Tanete, South Sulawesi, whom the Papuan had captured on Bawulang Island for the sum of Rds 660. Afterwards he sailed back to Geser and then to the Dutch post on Saparua to obtain a pass to sail to Selayar. On Selayar,

¹¹ J. F. G. Riedel, *De Sluik- en Kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1886), 154.

¹² Ellen, 'Conundrums about Panjandrums,' 52, 54.

¹³ NA VOC 3595, Daily report of Hongi, 16 November 1780, 70.

¹⁴ NA VOC 3704, MvO Governor Van Pleuren, 6 June 1785.

he made a profit of Rds 10 per head from the captive business, which allowed him to enjoy a profit of more than 15 per cent. Eager to earn more profit, in a village of Tanete he captured five children of a *karaeng*, local noble, by force. He planned to exchange his captives with other traders. The redemption which could have been earned from the *karaeng* family would have been fairly lucrative.¹⁵ During the punitive *bongi* expedition in 1782, this Kobiai was one of the targets singled out by the Governor of Ambon. Nevertheless his Dutch partner in his shady business— Free-burgher Fedder from Banda - had warned him about the arrival of the *bongi* from Ambon. Kobiai disappeared immediately to a hiding place on Gorom.¹⁶ Besides trading goods, Kobiai also raided undefended villages. In this business, he functioned both as a broker in captives and a raider himself. This implies that his vessels and men must have been equipped with plenty of guns and ammunition.

Imam Sarassa was also of Geser origin. This brother of Kobiai had earned a reputation as a *kapiten laut* in Nuku's fleet and was one of the greatest East Seramese traders.¹⁷ The Dutch had had him labelled a dangerous smuggler since 1780. His two vessels invariably sailed to Papua to collect Papuan forest and sea products. The Ambon Government was informed that under the leadership of Imam Sarassa (and in co-operation with Free-burgher Fedder) the people of Urong, Gumilang, Awang, Dawang, Kelibon, Kilmuri and Seilor sent a number of vessels to trade in Buton and Bali. Van Pleuren, was not very agitated as he claimed there were no spices transported, with the exception of some young nutmegs and mace. Despite this seemingly being shrugged off a fairly minor trespass, Imam Sarassa was a wanted man as he was one of the most prominent East Seramese leaders in Prince Nuku's forces. The Governor of Ternate strove to arrest him because he was convinced that this would scare off others who were also involved in illicit trade or supported Prince Nuku. In 1782, in the wake of the VOC punitive expedition, Imam Sarassa surrendered. But it seems that this did not dissuade him in his support of Prince Nuku,¹⁸ as in 1784 he was arrested again. Before the Dutch could commence their investigation, he died on the way to prison on board the *pancalang* the

¹⁵ NA VOC 3586, Testimony *Orangkaya* of Geser, Kobiai, 17 September 1779, 82-83; VOC 3586, from Ambon to Batavia, 26 January 1780, 47-8; VOC 3586, from Head of Saparua to the Governor, 9 March 1780 and 10 March 1780, 55-6; VOC 3704, MvO Governor van Pleuren, 6 June 1785, 127-8.

¹⁶ NA VOC 3704, MvO Governor Van Pleuren, 16 June 1785, 93; VOC 3698, Daily Reports, 12 July 1785, 90-4.

¹⁷ NA VOC 3595, Ambon Resolution, 10 January 1781, 47.

¹⁸ NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 68-71; VOC 3704, MvO Governor Van Pleuren, 6 June 1785.

Victoria.¹⁹ In his fortified residence the Dutch discovered: fifteen and a half pounds of ripe cloves, a number of cannon and guns, plus a significant supply of ammunition.²⁰

Orangkaya of Gah, *Agnisa*, was also known as one of Prince Nuku's adherents even though his role was not as important as that of Imam Sarassa. The Governor of Ambon put a reward of Rds 50 on his head. This *orangkaya* had not paid homage to Ambon for four years, and allegedly provided the rebels, Raja Keliluhu, Lukman, and his brother, *Kapiten* Mama, with a place to hide. He had transported them to Salawati where Mama later died. Two years earlier, about 1779, he had murdered two Bacanese headmen. The Dutch received this information from an inhabitant of Gah who had come back from Salawati. Begging for pardon, Agnisa denied all of the accusations made against him by the Governor. Concerning his relationship with Prince Nuku and the Papuans, he explained that he entered into it as he was driven by fear and powerlessness. Unmoved, the Governor concluded that his 'disloyalty' had been too blatant and he had him detained when his *honggi* visited the South and East Seram areas at the end 1780.²¹ In the company of *Orangkaya* Balukelang, he was banished to Batavia.²²

Raja Keliluhu *Lukman*, alias Witna, and his brother, Mama, had conducted regular trade from Papua to East Seram, to wit on Gah, Rarakit, and Waru. Blackening their reputation even more in Dutch eyes, these two traders had also worked for Nuku's father, Sultan Jamaludin, and then for Prince Nuku. When Sultan Jamaludin was still in power, they co-operated with Jamaludin's envoy and led a great fleet of a hundred vessels of Papuan raiders in 1779.²³ On 11 April 1781 a secret envoy of the Governor reported that Raja Lukman, leading a pro-Nuku fleet of twenty *kora-kora* from Patani and Salawati, had forced the inhabitants in North and East Seram to join his force. He threatened to punish those who declined to support the rebel. At this time Prince Nuku's force were based in Salawati.²⁴ From 26 January 1780, Governor Van Pleuren of Ambon had ordered Jacob Knop the Resident of Manipa to apprehend these 'vagabonds' and promised a reward of Rds 300 per head for those who captured them alive. Accordingly, the Resident informed the Alifuru and pro-Dutch groups about the reward. He

¹⁹ NA VOC 3704, MvO Governor Van Pleuren, 16 June 1785, 93; VOC 3698, Daily Reports, 12 July 1785, 90-4; VOC 3602, from Governor Ternate to Batavia, 1781, 6.

²⁰ NA VOC 3729, 187; VOC 3698, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1785, 93, 95-6, 98.

²¹ NA VOC 3595, Daily report of Hongi, November-December 1780, 24-5, 40-1.

²² NA VOC 3704, From Ambon to Batavia, 30 May 1781, 59.

²³ NA VOC 3586, Apart letter from Ambon to Batavia, 23 December 1779, 83.

²⁴ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1781, 9-10.

was sure that it would motivate them at least to provide some information.²⁵ In 1782 Van Pleuren increased the value of the reward to Rds 1,000 for those who were able to capture Prince Nuku, and another Rds 500 for capturing the main Nuku supporters, namely Raja Keliluhu, Lukman, and *Orangkaya* Geser, Imam Sarassa. These leaders were considered the most prominent Seramese traders on Geser and were then *kapiten laut* of Nuku's fleet.²⁶ In February 1797, Lukman was one of the members Nuku's embassy in which Raja Kiliwaru, Raja Muda Zainal Abidin and Prince Ibrahim Al-Mukaram were included, when this party paid a visit to the British Vice-Resident Farquhar on Banda.²⁷

For two years *Orangkaya* of Keffing, Balukelang, had been assisting traders from Urong and Enna-Enna and he had also allegedly been involved in the forbidden clove trade. When he appeared on board the Dutch *hongji*, he admitted he had gone to Bali but denied carrying cloves saying he knew nothing about the clove trade. He claimed complete ignorance of all those people from Seilor, Kelibon, Kotarua, Urong, Enna-Enna, Guli-Guli and elsewhere, who had been involved in the contraband trade. Accused of having harmed the envoy of the Governor and an *orangkaya* of Seilor and of having challenged the pro-Dutch *Kapiten* of Keffing, Baukan, to enter the fray, he was finally arrested by *Orangkaya* Boano in 1780.²⁸ At the beginning of 1781 Balukelang was banished to Batavia.²⁹

A different type of leader is represented by the *Orangkaya* of Ondor, Baliang. He neither joined Prince Nuku's rebellion nor allied himself with the Dutch, but was involved in the ransom business in league with Goromese and Papuan raiders. On 30 October 1780 Baliang with eleven men of Gorom came on board to pay a visit to Governor of Ambon, Bernardus Van Pleuren. He was also accompanied by the Governor's envoy, a Raja of Iha, Sinene. Baliang admitted he and other Goromese had traded in men, women, and children who had been captured by the Papuans. Later he exchanged three slave women and some *totombo*, buying allegedly for 'self-defence' three guns, two assegais, two hundred bullets and two flasks of gunpowder.³⁰ He provided Van Pleuren with detailed information about the

²⁵ NA VOC 3586, Letter from Governor Ambon to Resident Manipa, 26 January 1780, 48-9; VOC 3586, Letter from Resident Manipa to Governor Ambon, 4 February 1780, 54-5.

²⁶ NA VOC 3620, from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 68-72. VOC 3627, 29 April 1782, 7-8; VOC 3627, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 18 July 1782, 10; VOC 3620, from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 67-68.

²⁷ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 11 August 1797, Farquhar to Madras, 17 February 1797, 2611-4.

²⁸ NA VOC 3595, Daily report of Hongji, 10 November 1780, 46-48, 50, 68.

²⁹ NA VOC 3704, From Ambon to Batavia, 30 May 1781, 59.

³⁰ A slender, iron-tipped, hard wood spear.

number of captives (from Amblau, Buru, Manipa) who were still languishing in the hands of the raiders. He thereby managed to convince Governor Van Pleuren to give him various cloths, ceramics, and armaments in exchange for his assistance in freeing more Dutch subjects who had been captured.³¹ When Van Pleuren queried why he welcomed the Tidorans, Bacanese and other groups who were collaborating with the Papuan raiders to his shores, Baliang was always able to offer plausible excuses and convince the Governor that it was impossible for him to take on the powerful Papuan fleet and win. Governor Van Pleuren gave *Orangkaya* Baliang money from his private fund to bring home more of the ransomed victims, and supplied him with five pieces of Javanese cloth, five *sarong*, and ten lengths of fine cloth, thereby purchasing *Orangkaya* Baliang's loyalty and obedience to the Company.³²

Besides the leaders supporting or taking advantage of Nuku's rebellion, East Seram also had two important leaders who had been unswerving in their loyalty to the Dutch. They were *Kapiten* Baukan of Keffing and *Orangkaya* Kana-Kana of Kuwaus. In 1782, on a *bongi* expedition to East Seram, these two leaders guided the fleet in choosing its targets. *Kapiten* Baukan even suggested the Governor destroy a village on Keffing, of which he was a native. On Kuwaus, some *negeri* were likewise burned at the instigation of *Orangkaya* Kana-Kana of Kuwaus.³³ No wonder the Dutch counted *Kapiten* Baukan and *Orangkaya* Kana-Kana as their most two loyal local heads in East Seram.³⁴ They may personally have been paragons of loyalty but most of their people took Nuku's side. To strengthen Baukan's power, the Governor of Ambon recommended the Banda Ministry not allow traders from Gorom, Seram Laut, and Geser to trade on Banda without a signed letter of permission from *Kapiten* Baukan. This was a serious miscalculation because the inhabitants of Banda could not live without the provisions brought over from Gorom, Seram Laut, and Geser.³⁵

West and South Seramese

Compared to the East Seramese, the indigenous people of West and South Seram, showed less enthusiasm for supporting Prince Nuku. Their involvement in Nuku's rebellion lasted only two years, from 1781 to 1782. These people had been co-operative to the VOC Government in Ambon

³¹ NA VOC 3595, Resolution Bijlagen, 14 September 1781, 89-92.

³² NA VOC 3595, Resolution Bijlagen, 14 September 1781, 89-92.

³³ NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 68-71.

³⁴ NA VOC 3756, From Banda to Batavia, Mid August 1783.

³⁵ NA OIC No. 79, Ambon Resolution, 1 March 1793, 273-4.

since at least the second half of seventeenth century. When Prince Nuku recruited them in December 1781, the people he managed to convince to join him originated mainly from the area stretching from Tanunu in north-west Seram to Batuasa in south-east Seram. In West Seram the uprising was supported by people from areas stretching from Kaibobo to Hualoi. In South Seram, the supporters came from villages beginning in Amahai and then going eastwards as far as Batuasa. Some refused to join the rebellion and consequently were harassed by the rebels. In a series of campaigns at the beginning of 1781, Prince Nuku was able to mobilize 160 vessels, including the new support from the West and South Seramese. Details of precisely how this alliance between the rebels and the South and West Seramese have been blurred by the passing of time, but the alliance certainly did pose a problem to the VOC as it threatened one of the most important centres of the clove production in the Ambon-Lease group.³⁶

Some inhabitants of Amahai and other areas who refused to join the rebels were attacked and looted by their fellow Amahai and other Seramese who had switched their allegiance to Nuku. One native soldier and a Company messenger were beheaded. When the joint rebel forces moved to Hatuana, the northern part of Saparua, the Dutch mobilized the sloop the *Batavier* and the *pancalang* the *Beschermer* to strengthen their hold on Saparua and Haruku and challenged the rebels at sea.³⁷ These were joined by the ship the *Bataviase Welwaren* and the *pancalang* the *Manipees*, which were better armed and carried a number of free burghers and indigenous soldiers, dispatched by the Government of Ambon. In the encounter which followed the rebels lost many vessels and men, and were forced to make for the shore. One of Prince Nuku's most important captains was beheaded, and his head was borne away as a trophy. Four more Papuan and Seramese fighters were hacked down. The rebels were again attacked at Itawaka and chased as far as Noloth. The Dutch also suffered losses: Sergeant Cornelis Stephanus and another European soldier who had continued to pursue the fleeing rebels too eagerly were shot dead by them.³⁸

Without wasting any time, Governor Van Pleuren of Ambon dispatched more vessels under the command of Johan Borgguits with orders to crush the rebels, who had disappeared, probably fleeing to Amahai on the Kuwaku promontory where the main supporters of Nuku resided. The villages

³⁶ NA VOC 3620, From Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 68-72.

³⁷ Between 1781 and 1782, another small Ternatan expedition under the command of an officer named Veegler was cruising near Sawai in North Seram hoping to hunt down and capture the rebel fleet. Veegler also carried a letter from the Governor of Ternate for Prince Nuku which contained a serious warning, ordering him to submit himself to the Company. It was never used as the expedition did not encounter any of raiding rebels. NA VOC 3620, From Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 68-72.

³⁸ NA VOC 3620, From Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 68-72.

Amahai, Makariki, Soahuku, Elpaputi, Paulohi, Latu, Iha, Hualoi, Sulor, Rumakai, and Tihulale on West and South Seram which were not willing to submit to the Company were plundered and set alight. Two *kapiten* of Kamarian were detained and later gaoled in Ambon where one of them died soon afterwards. While *Negeri Kaibobo* in West Seram looked quiet and peaceful, some of the inhabitants of Hatusua, a settlement south-east of it, had actually fled away with their leader. Those who had remained submitted themselves to the Company. The Alifuru of *Negeri Kairatu* and others had declared earlier that they had had no dealings with the rebels and promised to come to Ambon to make a formal submission.³⁹

In the middle of 1782, the Government of Ambon recommenced the sending out of punitive expeditions. A number of *pancalang* and sloops, including the *Bataviase Welvaren*, a two-masted *arumbai* belonging to the Governor, were prepared with the support from the military posts of Saparua, Haruku, Hila, and Larike (Ambon). Their crews were strengthened by a lieutenant, four sergeants, eight corporals, and sixty-four men-at-arms under the command of Merchant William Beth. However, before all the elements of the Ambon *hongji* fleet could unite, sixty-four vessels of the rebels attacked them off the island of Babi. Three vessels of the *hongji* were captured. The young raja of Nusa Laut – probably from Titawai – and his men were killed in the fray and their vessel and weaponry were seized. The *Gnataboedij* Mardika, Raja of Soya⁴⁰ and of his twenty-nine men were drowned, killed, or captured by the raiders. When the *arumbai* belonging to *Orangkaya* Hutumuri (Ambon) sprang a leak, his life was saved by an *arumbai* sailing close by. Fortunately for the Dutch, the post at Luhu was secured in time. The Governor decided it was worthwhile to continue protecting this post because it was the *broodkamer* (bread-basket) of the Ambonese. The other vessels, the *Bataviase Welvaren*, the *pancalang* the *Delft*, and the *Beschermer* sailed back to Saparua and Haruku. Within approximately two and half months, the *hongji* fleet succeeded in driving away the raiders and preventing them from harassing the centres of clove production in the Ambon-Lease group. Villages in the higher areas whose inhabitants had allegedly been supporting the rebels were plundered and burned. A great number of sago and coconut palms, which were considered to be a source of the raiders' food supply, were also destroyed.⁴¹

³⁹ NA VOC 3620, From Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 73-5.

⁴⁰ There were two settlements of Soya: Soya di Bawah dan Soya di Atas, There is no specific mention of the origin of Raja Soya. However, as described by Knaap, only Soya di Bawah had a raja. Soya di Atas was under the leadership of a *patih*. See G. J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en christenen: de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*, (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), 353.

⁴¹ NA VOC 3620, from Ambon to Batavia, 20 August 1782, 76-9.

Governor Van Pleuren had no wish to halt the campaign until Seram and all its adjacent islands were well and truly under his control. From 29 October to 22 December 1782, another *bongji* expedition was sent to cruise the area to reinforce the authority and power of the Company among the West, South, and East Seramese. The local people and their leaders were simplistically categorized as friend or foe by Van Pleuren who set about punishing all those belonging to the latter category. In West Seram, for example, Raja Kaibobo, Abraham Kuhuwael and his son were apprehended because, despite the pardon that they had received, they had once more taken up arms against the Dutch. These people and leaders of Waisamu who had refused to submit and had abandoned their village were also dealt with ruthlessly by the Dutch who incinerated their village. *Orangkaya* Hatusua, Elias Tetehuka, who had deserted his village and people was removed and replaced by a new *orangkaya*, Jonas Matiari. In South Seram, the main leader of the uprising, a man from Amahai called Jacob Stevens, was detained and banished to Batavia. To escape punishment, Raja Werinama and Raja Tanafora disappeared, but *Orangkaya* Kamarian, Nikolas Pesirerun was arrested. Nevertheless, those who successfully convinced the Governor that they were not guilty were freed. Among them was *Orangkaya* Haia, Saliu Wailisa who had been captured by the raiders, and was released and retained his position. The people of Latu, Iha, and Hualoi (south-west Seram) were also forgiven. The Governor successfully reconfirmed their status as loyal Dutch subjects.⁴²

Most of the leaders who had begged the Governor of Ambon for a pardon explained that they had been afraid of confronting the rebel, as they had been petrified by fear. They had no choice but either to join the rebels or flee from their villages. Indeed those who had not joined the rebels were attacked by them.⁴³ The protection the Dutch could offer in this vast Seram area was quite limited, because, through no fault of their own, they often arrived too late. These confessions made to the Dutch may have been genuine, but there were still some leaders who refused to submit. They had taken a refuge when the *bongji* came. Their reasons for throwing in their lot with the rebels are not clear. Were they also afraid of opposing the rebels or did they have a stake in joining them?

The open involvement of the West and South Seram people in the Nuku rebellion dried up at the end of 1782. It would seem that a lack of internal consistency is the explanation for their short-lived participation. Looking at those who were either detained and punished or rewarded and forgiven, a pattern emerges. On Tanunu, *Orangkaya* Terson Heireri joined Nuku but its raja opposed him. In Kaibobo, its raja, Abraham Kuhuwael, chose Nuku's

⁴² NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 46-64.

⁴³ NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 46-64.

side but *Orangkaya* Matius Patiratu was pro-Dutch. In Sahulau, the raja and his supporters were helping Prince Nuku's troops, but another group of the people of the *negeri* was not. In Hatusua and other *negeri*, a similar pattern emerges. Only in Waisamu did all the heads and their people wholeheartedly support the rebels, hence they all had to leave the village when the *bongi* approached their *negeri*.⁴⁴ It is worth noting that the West and South Seramese who decided to ally with the rebels were not organized into one big alliance. As the examples above show; one village was usually divided between pro-Nuku and pro-Dutch groups.

Was this lack of consistency derived from particularistic politics such an internal rivalry between, for example, the raja and the *orangkaya* in one village? Analysing the West Seramese in the seventeenth century, Knaap argues that the village was the most important political unit and the political situation revealed a great deal of particularism. Rivalry and animosity between village leaders may easily have resulted in small-scale warfare. The main leader who was only a *primus inter pares* was regularly challenged from within. It was customary for one faction to involve an outside party when making a federation to fight for its specific cause.⁴⁵ This same explanation may also apply to the situation at the end of eighteenth century. The evidence presented shows that in every single village there was almost always a division between two parties. Confronted with the great force assembled by Nuku, besides obviating the fear of being victimized by the rebel, some groups decided to take advantage of the presence of the rebel force to fight against their fellow villagers or their neighbours who had once been their rivals or enemies and were therefore not really concerned with Nuku's cause.

North Seramese

Valentijn and Rumphius describe the area called North Seram as stretching from Tanunu, Tanuru, Hatiwe, Lisabata, Seleman, as far as east as Hote. Seleman was a small *negeri*, located half a mile on the western side of Hatiwe. Its people used to sail on one *kora-kora* with the people of Sawai during the *bongi* expedition. Sawai itself was a big *negeri* and lay one mile to the west of Hatiwe at the head of a small bay. Both were under the leadership of a raja.⁴⁶ At the time of Gerrit Demmer (1642-1647), Lisabata had nine *soa* or

⁴⁴ NA VOC 3646, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1783, 46-64; also VOC 3704, MvO Bernardus van Pleuren, 105.

⁴⁵ Knaap, "Saniri Tiga Air (Seram)", *BKI* 149 (1993), 254-5.

⁴⁶ G. E. Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC: zoals opgetekend in de Ambonse landsbeschrijving*, (Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2002), 162.

settlements populated by various immigrants. At the end of the Ambon War, in 1655, a remaining group of 600 pro-Majira Makassarese troops fled to this area, where they were hunted down and massacred by the VOC soldiers and its native troops.⁴⁷ Lisabata had a reputation for being aggressive to its neighbours. Its population was also keen to impose its power on the inhabitants of Sawai and Seleman, loot their harvest, and force them to deliver tribute.⁴⁸ The other head *negeri* in North Seram was Hatiwe which had two *soa*: Nurulatu and Nurubesi. Its inhabitants were composed mostly of a mixed Papuan-Seram population. Rumphius says that the people of Hatiwe submitted themselves voluntarily to the authority of the Dutch. They regularly joined the Ambon *bongi* expedition.⁴⁹ As was Hatiwe, Kara had reputation of being a hiding-place of Papuan and Tidoran traders and raiders.⁵⁰ Papuan (Salawati, Misool) and Halmaheran (Weda) trade was thriving on Permata, Ipaputi, Laulata, and Tulusei. Captives and birds of paradise were the main commodities. The Patanese conducted their business in Hatileng and Tulusei which were also rich in sago. Hote was known as a colony and a *vergaderplaats* or ‘assembly point’ of Misool.⁵¹

In 1780s, in the opinion of Governor Van Pleuren of Ambon, the people of North Seram had shown themselves more rebellious than those of South Seram. During the rebellion of Nuku, many of the North Seramese showed an inclination to support the prince.⁵² Trying to map the political division presents a real conundrum. Inhabitants of Nuniali often had to move to escape the grip of their *orangkaya* who was very oppressive. Those Lisabatans who lived in between Sawai and Nuniali, and co-operated with Prince Nuku and the Papuan raiders often attacked the inhabitants of both places. During the *bongi* expedition in 1784, they fled to Seleman and to the island of Kelang off the western side of Seram and remained loyal to the rebels. The inhabitants of Seleman were also unswerving in their loyalty to Prince Nuku.⁵³ The Muslim Lisabatans were different. They entertained a good relationship with the people Boano – an island just off the north-western coast of Seram - and had settled in Maluang. At other times they collaborated with Tidoran and Papuan raiders. The people of Hatiwe, Pasanea, Besi, and Sawai were stigmatized as *het slegste zoort van volk* ‘the worst kind of people’ by the Dutch because they invariably collaborated

⁴⁷ Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*, 29, 34.

⁴⁸ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 54.

⁴⁹ Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC*, 162.

⁵⁰ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 53-54; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 2.

⁵¹ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, II (Ambon), 55-56; Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC*, 166-7.

⁵² NA VOC 3704, From Ambon to Batavia, 21 March 1785, 9.

⁵³ NA VOC 3698, from Ambon to Batavia, 12 July 1785, 88.

with the Bacanese and Tidorans. Despite this notoriety, the Dutch postholder in Sawai succeeded in keeping some of them loyal to the Dutch rather than have them turning their support to Prince Nuku. Hote was infamous as the basis of operations of the Papuan raiders. In order to avoid being recruited for a *hong*i, they invariably retreated to Misool. Their raiding activities increased after they allied themselves with Prince Nuku. The Alifuru of Kara were an exception. They were on a very friendly footing with the Boano people whom the Governor considered to be good and, above all, co-operative towards the Dutch.⁵⁴

The Papuan raiders, especially those from Misool, invariably called at Hote when they needed such provisions as sago, firewood, and water. The Government of Ambon constantly forbade the inhabitants to provide help to the Papuan raiders, but the latter paid no heed whatsoever. The people of Hatileng and Hote refused to consider relinquishing their co-operation with the Papuans of Salawati and Misool, or that with the south-east Halmaherans of Maba, Patani and Weda, risking punishment for their support of the raiders. In their meetings with Governor Van Pleuren, the *raja*, *kapiten*, *orangkaya*, and their elders argued that when these raiders came and asked for help, the people were not prepared to refuse because they did not have enough weapons and gunpowder to be able to contemplate offering any resistance. They could not expect the Dutch post at Sawai to help them as it was manned by very few soldiers and was located too far from their villages. They even complained that their own villagers had also been captured but that their families had not received a subsidy to buy them free. The Governor found these reasons unacceptable and warned that if they helped the enemy of the Company again, they would also find themselves stigmatized as an 'enemy' of the Company. The people, the Governor insisted, should defend themselves with their bows and arrows and fight off the Papuan raiders.⁵⁵

Governor Van Pleuren did not accept the reasons adduced by the people of Hote because he was aware the Papuan raiders were not equipped with modern weapons or ammunition. These too were armed only with arrows, bows, and machetes. Consequently, in a fair contest, the respective *negeri* should have been able to put up a decent defence. So far, the Dutch had seen no proof they had really offered any resistance to the Papuan forces. The Governor, however, did concede that the speed and skill of the Papuan rowers who attacked like lightning and retreated just as quickly were likely to strike terror into the hearts of the people, robbing them of their fighting spirit.⁵⁶ Hatileng used to be friendly to the Ambon Government. Because of

⁵⁴ NA VOC 3704, MvO Governor Van Pleuren, 6 June 1785, 130-1.

⁵⁵ NA VOC 3595, Daily report of Hongi, 4 November 1780, 31-2.

⁵⁶ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1781, 11.

this, the Papuan raiders had attacked its people during a recent expedition. Many were massacred. One hundred and thirteen people were captured and taken into captivity in Salawati. The *orangkaya* of Hatileng managed to escape into the forest.⁵⁷ The Governor of Ambon also confirmed during the *hong* surveillance that there was no convincing proof that Hatileng had supported or assisted the Papuan raiding fleet.⁵⁸

The people of the Palansui River, near Hote, complained bitterly to the Governor Van Pleuren that for many years they had been victims of violence perpetrated by Papuans originating from Onin. Consequently they had moved upriver where they were eking out a meagre existence. They had had no option but to seek refuge in the forest from their old *negeri* on the other side of the river after suffering the repeated assaults by the Papuan of Onin. They only dared to show themselves when free burghers from Ambon came to their place to exchange cloths for sago. Later they had moved back downstream and settled in their present village near the coast where they hoped to be able to live in safety. To supply the rest of their needs, they fished and hunted wild animals. They dried or baked the fish which they exchanged for tobacco and vegetables with the Alifuru of Leimu and others who came twice a year. Entertaining them on board, as a mark of his esteem, Van Pleuren gave the *kapiten* and the local priest a few presents: a bag of rice; one bottle of *arak* and one of wine. Satisfied with the gesture, they left for their village.⁵⁹

Broadly speaking, the people in North Seram could be said to have enjoyed a better relationship with Tidore and the Papuans. Despite their denials to the contrary to the Governor of Ambon, the people of Hote, Lisabata, Seleman, Sawai, and Nuniali sympathized with the rebels and the raiders. The description sketched above reveals some elements of inter-village conflicts. In all this, the contest for power and control between the Dutch and the Nuku's forces was apparent. In this area Nuku enjoyed some real advantages because it was situated not far from his headquarters on Waru and Rarakit. Proximity apparently made it easier for the rebel prince to maintain his sphere of influence in this area, either by threats or cajolery. Importantly, the majority of the Papuan raiders who were dominant in the area were strong adherents of Nuku. As far the Dutch were concerned, North Seram was a remote periphery which required long and costly expeditions to keep an eye on. The post at Sawai seems to have been ineffectual, given the involvement of the Sawai in the rebellion. On balance, the involvement of the North Seram people in Nuku's rebellion was not as blatant as that of the people of East Seram. It seems that their main

⁵⁷ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1781, 11.

⁵⁸ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, 1781, 7-8.

⁵⁹ NA VOC 3595, Daily report of Hongi, 6 November 1780, 36-7.

contribution to the campaign of Prince Nuku was made via the Papuan raiders.

Closing remarks

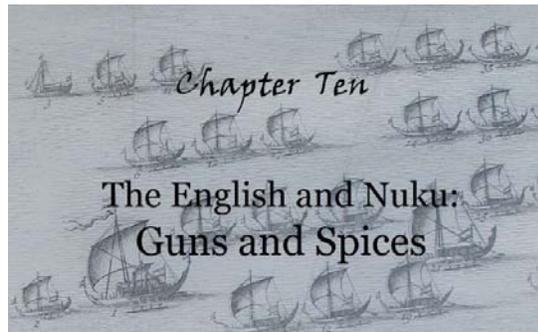
Since at least the sixteenth century the East Seramese had been maintaining well-developed trading networks. De Brito reveals that at the end of that century the East Seramese enjoyed a certain level of prosperity. The presence of the VOC Governments in Maluku - Banda, Ambon, and Ternate - threatened a large section of their trading networks and this economic damage marked the onset of a process of impoverishment. The Dutch spice monopoly not only terminated most of the trade in spices by the East Seramese, but also ushered in a limitation on shipping movements, especially to the west and later in any area outside the Seram Sea. Proven superiority of armed and naval forces was always followed by a conquest and confirmed by a contract. Most of the contracts concluded between the Dutch Government and the Seramese were decidedly in the interest of the VOC. They were not the result of free negotiations between two parties. They simply represented what the VOC would like to happen in Seram, depriving the Seramese of most of their interests. Yet the contracts were almost impossible to enforce because of the tyranny of distance.

The state of the relationship between the East Seramese and the Dutch in the seventeenth century shows that the East Seramese had no option but to sign contracts, because, besides having to deal with the endemic local rivalry among themselves, they would have been subject to even more aggression had they not complied with the Dutch directives. As was outlined earlier, the East Seramese showed no compunction about breaking the contracts imposed on them, but whenever possible did their utmost to avoid the punitive oppression meted out by the VOC forces. Throughout the two centuries of the rule of the VOC, Dutch never had enough power to enforce the contracts fully, especially after the second half of the eighteenth century when VOC power declined significantly. The control grew even more attenuated when Prince Nuku moved in to the area with his adherents and encouraged the East Seramese to join his rebellion.

It is almost impossible to trace how effective the authority Tidore exerted in East Seram was. In many ways, East Seram was independent. With or without Tidore, the people continued to maintain their trading networks. From the scattered evidence, I think it fair to conclude that the relationship between East Seram and Tidore flourished significantly during the rebellion of Prince Nuku. Alongside the princes of Tidore, Nuku's most prominent *kapiten laut* were recruited from among the East Seramese traders.

We can find only two East Seramese heads - *Kapiten* Baukan and *Orangkaya* Kana-Kana - who consistently supported the Dutch. As a result of their loyalty, these two heads lost the support of their own people. Despite the risks of being involved in the rebellion, Prince Nuku's presence in East Seram encouraged and protected the trading networks which had been under threat for a considerable period of time as the East Seramese had long been in 'enmity' with the Dutch Governments in Ambon and Banda.

Nuku's support from the South and West Seramese did not last long because their areas lay within too a short distance from the centre of VOC power in Ambon. In this case distance was the factor which prevented Nuku from maintaining his influence on this area. The headquarters in which he spent most of his time, Waru, was located in East Seram, far enough away from South Seram where the VOC could wield a degree of influence. It was another story again with the people in North Seram. The North Seramese support for Nuku was inextricably linked to the involvement of the Papuan raiding forces. It seems that Nuku did not develop any specific strategy to nurture the support of the North Seramese. As long as the main force of the Papuan raiding parties could be controlled by Nuku, the North Seramese would be on Nuku's side.



This chapter revolves around two principal themes: The ways by which Prince Nuku and his supporters strove to gain English assistance in their fight against Dutch power in Maluku and, as a corollary to this, the impact of English Government policy on his protracted struggle. It recounts the long and arduous road followed by Prince Nuku to win English sympathy and favour in order to gain victory in his war against the Dutch and succeed in his endeavour to become the Sultan of Tidore. In this latter ambition naturally he wanted to be superior to the Ternate Sultanate. He not only availed himself of the English presence and its potential use to him, he also shrewdly manipulated the fear of the Dutch and the longing of his dependencies for foreign assistance by creating rumours of an English arrival in the islands. He used cloves and nutmegs, spices which were abundantly available in Maluku and the adjacent islands, first to attract and then persuade the English - both the country traders and the English East India Company (EIC) - that an alliance with Prince Nuku would reap their trade enormous benefits. In exchange, he hoped to collect armaments and then to enjoy their assistance to win his war and to achieve recognition of his power from both Malukan rulers and European powers.

English Interests in Maluku

The High Government of the VOC in Batavia tended to support the Sultan of Tidore in upholding his control of the areas in the Raja Ampat and the island of New Guinea and its vicinity because of its fear of the insidiously increasing English threat to the Dutch spice monopoly, which had had a cautious beginning almost a century earlier.¹ In 1697, 160 English merchants were enraged after having been expelled from Bantam. A year afterwards, in 1698, a squadron of five warships under the command of Captain Warren

¹ A. Haga. *Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden: Historische Bijdrage*, 1500-1883, vol. I (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co, 1884), 18.

was made ready for an expedition to the Great East to obtain spices. Most of these ships did not reach their destination, but the *Resolution* did appear in Ambonese waters, between Boano and Asahudi, and immediately set course for Kisar. The crew members landed on the island of Pisang but were driven away by the inhabitants.² In 1700, Dampier landed on the island of Sabuda and spent several days at the entrance to the McCluer Gulf. The English menace had been conceived as real as early as 1701, when the *Gentlemen Seventeen* in Holland learnt that a quantity of spices had been exported to Chili without them having any idea about their origin. They probably assumed that the spices had been collected somewhere on the New Guinea coast. On 31 December 1705, the Dutch took pre-emptive action by arresting Dampier when he dropped anchor at Bacan, and took him to Ternate.³ Striving to protect the spice monopoly against intervention by other Europeans, the Company was eager to extend its control and power over the eastern part of the Archipelago. Suiting actions to words, by dint of making contracts it pushed the local rulers to help it control these areas.

The English interest in Maluku during the second half of the eighteenth century was indissolubly connected with the growing need of South-East Asian products as an alternative form of payment in Canton. As Nicolas Tarling explains, the English EIC had difficulty in finding money to finance its expanding exports of silk and tea from Canton, and sought to limit its enormous shipments of silver to China by using South-East Asian produce, much sought after in China, as an alternative form of payment. Therefore the EIC industriously looked for ways to assist English China-bound ships in finding a source of spices and a steady supply of jungle and marine products; conversely also opening markets for the sale of Indian textiles and opium.⁴ In order to achieve this objective, the English EIC developed a number of schemes to establish an *entrepôt* or a settlement in the Eastern Seas. One of the most favoured schemes for an eastern *entrepôt* in the 1760s

² Ibid. 150-2; In between Asahudi and Boano, a free skipper, Jan Bonk, outward-bound from Ternate around 10 May, met the big English ship. Arriving on their ship's boat, six men came on board his vessel requesting provisions and alcoholic beverages. See Coolhaas, VI, *Generale Missiven*, 116, 122. Governor Balthasar Coyett of Ambon, (1701-1706) reported that in the same year during the clove-harvesting season, a small vessel with Englishmen on board was detained. No spices were found. It is not clear whether Coyett was referring to the same event as no names of persons or the vessel were mentioned. See MvO Balthasar Coyett in G.J. Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave Ambon*, RGP 62 (1987), 295.

³ W.G. Miller, *The Mollucas under the British* (M.A. Thesis, University of Hull, 1974), 41-2; William Dampier reportedly even remained in New Guinea for about four months. See Coolhaas, VI, *Generale Missiven*, 329, 382.

⁴ N. Tarling, *Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the Malay World 1780-1824*, (Australia: Cambridge UP and Queensland UP, 1962), 4-5.

originated from Alexander Dalrymple.⁵ He considered a settlement in the Sulu Archipelago and participated in the temporary British occupation of Manila in 1762-1764.⁶

Parallel with this, the English endeavoured to promote the Bengkulu factory in West Sumatra by enticing indigenous traders to bring products such as cloves and nutmegs from Maluku. The President of Bengkulu, Roger Carter, was urged to attract the spice trade as a means of augmenting local revenues and offsetting the costs of the settlement which was running at a deficit. In 1764, Carter hit on the scheme of buying cloves at \$100 per *pikul* on the Company's account. His brainchild was not a success. One of the major causes of the failure was the stepping up of Dutch vigilance in Maluku. In 1765, an Ambon *bongi* expedition under the command of Captain Hendrik van den Brink attacked many of the villages in East Seram from where contraband cloves were transported. At least fifteen vessels, including two big Makassarese vessels, were destroyed.⁷ The English reported forty vessels destroyed, five of which belonged to Edward Coles, the English Company's warehouse keeper.⁸

The chances of an effective English intrusion into the Dutch-monopolized Spice Islands intensified when Captain Wilson discovered a new course from Batavia to China via Maluku by 'accident'. At the end of 1758, this skipper of the *Pitt* arrived in Batavia on his way to China. Finding it too late to proceed along the usual route, seized by the spirit of adventure he attempt to accomplish his voyage by sailing eastwards from Batavia, through the Malukan Islands and along the northern coast of New Guinea into the Pacific Ocean, only then veering northwards round the Philippines and steering a course between Luconia and Formosa to Canton. His business concluded, he returned the same way. This route took less time than was usually required in the South China Sea when ships were too late to

⁵ Dalrymple was a brilliant eighteenth-century chart-maker and hydrographer at the British Admiralty. In 1752 he worked for the East India Company and was posted at Madras as a writer. While with the EIC he became interested in the possibilities of trade with the East Indies and China and subsequently negotiated a treaty with the Sultan of Sulu and visited Canton. In 1765 he returned to London where he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

⁶ See D.K. Bassett, *British trade and policy in Indonesia and Malaysia in the late Eighteenth century* (Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, 1971), 1.

⁷ G.J. Knaap, *Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon in de zeventiende en achtiende eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1987), 401. The Dutch never realized that five of the vessels destroyed belonged to the English employee.

⁸ Bassett, *British trade and policy in Indonesia*, 9-11.

take the usual route and had to sail against the monsoon. Once he had set an example, other English Company ships also used the same passage.⁹

Aware of the machinations of the English, the Dutch increased their vigilance. In this situation, the stretch of water known as Pitt's Passage, which passed between the islands of Gomona and Obi so much nearer to the Dutch settlements than usual, fanned Dutch suspicions and gave them great offence.¹⁰ As a consequence, the Dutch sent a snow and a sloop literally to dog Captain Wilson's wake. When Wilson anchored, the master of the snow prevented the launching of any boats from Wilson's vessel. As a result of this, Wilson protested to the Dutch Governor-General in Batavia. He insisted that the English had undoubted right to sail wherever they wanted.¹¹ Three years later, on 2 October 1761, the Dutch reaction was even more stringent. The English Company ship *Warwick*, homeward-bound from China, was boarded in the vicinity of Maluku - between Misool and Popa (Kofiau) Island. The Secretary of the Dutch settlement on Tidore informed the supercargo and captain of the *Warwick* that he had orders to forbid all English ships to sail these seas because the entire area fell under the aegis of the VOC under the terms of a treaty between the Sultan of Tidore and the Company. The Dutch followed this admonition with a written protest in the Dutch language, signed by the Governor of Ternate, with the same purport, accompanied by another document in the Malay language from the Sultan of Tidore. In contrast to this, the Raja of Salawati, a subject of Tidore, was reported to have gone on board the English ship and received gifts.¹²

Salawati presents an interesting case in the history of rivalry between the Dutch and the English. The Dutch knew that their protest would be ineffectual in preventing the English from pursuing their enterprises in Maluku. Their anxiety grew greater when they heard rumours that the

⁹ IOR/H/97, From the East India House to the Right Honourable The Earl of Halifax, 16 January 1764

p. 9-10.

¹⁰ IOR/H/97, From the East India House to the Right Honourable The Earl of Halifax, 16 January 1764

p. 11.

¹¹ IOR/H/97, Appendix No 1, Copy letter from Captain Wilson *The Pitt* to the Dutch Governor-General Jacob Mossel in Batavia, 24 December 1758, 19-20. See also the Dutch response to the protest, copy letter from the Dutch Governor-General Jacob Mossel at Batavia to Captain Wilson *The Pitt*, 25 December 1758, 21.

¹² IOR/H/97, From the East India House to the Right Hon'ble The Earl of Halifax, 16 January 1764, See also the testimony of Mann Horner of the late Supra Cargo and Captain James Dewar late commander of the ship *Warwick* in London the 2nd July 1762, 12; and copy letter From the Governor at Ternate Jacob van Schoonderwoert to the English, 31 August 1761 25; See also ANRI Ternate 84, Secret letter from Ternate to Batavia, 1 July 1762.

English were settling in Salawati and they were prepared to obstruct the 'usurpers' by force.¹³ On 19 June 1761, Governor-General Van der Parra held a secret meeting and decided that all the Papuan Islands (Raja Ampat) were to be considered under Tidore's authority. The spices which lured the English to the vicinity were allegedly supplied from south-east Halmahera, namely Maba, Weda, and Patani. The recognition that Salawati could be a potential centre for spice trading elicited the suggestion during the meeting that a force needed to dislodge the English from Salawati be provided. To execute this plan, Batavia provided one warship, three barques, two *pancalang*, provisions for one year's warfare, and an army force: one captain; two lieutenants; four *vaandrighs* (ensigns); 150 European soldiers and auxiliary troops of both the Sultans of Tidore and Ternate, consisting of 150 men (English sources mentions 200 to 300 men). The provisions were estimated to be enough to hold out for nine months. The expedition sailed at beginning of the year 1762. Instead of encountering the English in Salawati, as had often happened before, the expedition suffered from a lack of water and many men fell ill. Later it became apparent that the English had not made, nor had thought of making, any such settlement.¹⁴

While the Dutch were primarily nervous about an English intrusion, a French adventurer also posed a dangerous threat to the spice monopoly. The French botanist Pierre Poivre conceived a plan to establish a spice plantation on Isle de France and acquired nutmeg seedlings. In December 1753 he arrived in Port Louis, Isle de France, with five of the original thirty-two nutmeg plants surviving. In May 1754, on board *La Colombe*, he left again for Zamboanga, in Mindanao in the Philippines. From Governor Oscotte, he obtained a small bag containing mature cloves and some nutmegs. In 1769 Poivre ordered Provost to set sail for Maluku on a ship *le Vigilant*. In January 1770, he left from Manila for Maluku. In North Seram, in the vicinity of Sawai, it was learned that the plants had been destroyed by order of the Dutch, but the inhabitants provided the precious information that the spice-bearing trees grew on Gebe, where he then proceeded and collected an enormous quantity of nutmeg seeds and seedlings, and a smaller quantity of clove seedlings. Unfortunately for Poivre, the plantation started on Isle de France in the garden *Mon Plaisir* was tended by inexperienced

¹³ ANRI Ternate 89.3, Ternate to Batavia, 25 juli 1766; IOR/H/97, Appendix No 2, copy letter from the Governor at Ternate Jacob van Schoonderwoert to the English, 31 August 1761, 25.

¹⁴ ANRI Ternate 84, secret letters from Ternate to Batavia, end of August 1761, 8 May, 1 July, end of April, and end of August 1762, n.ff.; See also English sources at IOR/H/97, letter from the East India House to the Right Hon'ble The Earl of Halifax, 16 January 1764, p.12; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden*, 241; Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 45.

Makassarese. One year later, only fifty nutmeg and fourteen clove trees were still alive.¹⁵

In June 1771 Provost sailed east again with the corvettes *le Nécessaire* and *l'Isle de France*. On 20 February 1772, he arrived at Gebe and was welcomed by the same inhabitants whom he had encountered the previous year. The heads and their people helped his men find good anchorage and victuals. Besides what they had found on Gebe, they also collected a great quantity of nutmegs on Patani, where the price was cheaper.¹⁶ On 1 April Provost received many plants and 400 pounds of sea turtles, for which he exchanged only two or three cloths (*brasse de toile*). On 6 April the two French vessels left Gebe and sailed to *Isle de France* where they arrived on 4 June 1772.¹⁷ Provost's second visit to Gebe was in fact a great success, and Sonnerat, who was a member of the expedition, has written a lively account of the operation. The second expedition had cost the Royal Treasury 1,502,741 *livres*. In July, Poivre's agent, Gillot, set out for the Seychelles with plants to be grown in the *Jardin du Roi*. Poivre also sent some plants to *Ordonnateur* Crémont on Bourbon, who planted them in the *Jardin du Roi* at St Denis. Spices were also planted in Cayenne. All this led the way to Zanzibar.¹⁸

Captain Forrest and Political Turmoil

In January 1773, Balambangan was occupied by the English. According to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, this island, situated between Maluku and the Philippines, and blessed with a safe and commodious harbour, was strategically positioned. It could afford shelter and supplies for English ships plying the Eastern Seas. It could also facilitate the English obtaining a constant stream of information about the actions of any European power possessing establishments in the surrounding areas.¹⁹ Despite the glowing promise, the establishment did not last longer than two years, as the Sulu chiefs, with the aid of raiding troops, forced its precipitate abandonment. Before the attack, the Chief of Balambangan ordered Captain Thomas Forrest to ascertain the truth about whether spices were grown in New Guinea and other islands independently of the Dutch²⁰ and to do his utmost

¹⁵ M. Ly-Tio-Fane (Ed.), *Mauritius and the spice trade, the odyssey of Pierre Poivre* (Esclapon Ltd: Mauritius, 1958), 6, 7, 11, 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 98.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 99-100.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 13.

¹⁹ Tarling, *Anglo-Dutch rivalry*, 62.

²⁰ Ida Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes, his voyages and Life (1767-1831)*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), 141.

to promote the Balambangan establishment.²¹ From November 1774 to the end of March 1775, Thomas Forrest sailed on board the *Tartar*, accompanied by the two *kora-kora* *Banguay* and *Borneo*. Under the guidance of Haji Ismael and accompanied by Bacan and Tidoran officers, he set off on a voyage around Tomagui, in Waigeo Raja Ampat and along Dorei the north-westernmost part of the New Guinea coast. He managed to make friendly contacts with the inhabitants the Raja Ampat and the north-westernmost coast of New Guinea, whom he found were very helpful. At Manaswari, close to Dorei, he collected an abundance of *warong* 'long nutmegs.'²²

During his voyage, Forrest met a number of important rulers in Maluku. On 4 December 1774, Sultan Bacan visited him on Mandioli Island, off the western coast of Bacan. The Sultan presented him with twelve baskets of excellent sago and fine rice, and then promised him an interpreter.²³ In turn, *Sangaji* Salawati, Patani, and Gebe paid him a visit, and in return, he gave them some presents.²⁴ He also met Raja Misool and the wife of Raja Salawati who told a story about her husband who had been exiled by the Dutch.²⁵ Most of these leaders desired English intervention against the Dutch. In return, they promised to provide Forrest with spices aplenty. Forrest was sure that it would be easy to break the Dutch monopoly.²⁶ On Waigeo he also saw that a Dutch-affiliated Chinese sloop visited Haji Ismael.²⁷ This made him realize that the Dutch probably knew of his voyage. When he called at Misool, an ensign of a large *kora-kora* belonging to the Sultan of Tidore informed him that the Dutch had sent a sloop with Europeans to Jailolo, in search of him and his men. Forrest immediately left Misool for Balambangan on 30 March.²⁸

The political significance of Forrest's visit was that he handed over a letter to the Sultan Jamaludin of Tidore. In his book he mentions that he sent a handsome present to the Sultan but does not say a word about a letter.²⁹ In fact, Forrest alleges his purpose was 'only to desire he would

²¹ When he called at Sooloo (Sulu), he persuaded the noquedah (*anakoda*) of a Malukan vessel to carry their nutmegs to the English post at Balambangan. T. Forrest. *A Voyage to the New Guinea and the Maluku, 1774-1776*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press (originally published in London 1780), 18.

²² Ibid. 108.

²³ Ibid. 55, 62.

²⁴ Ibid. 60, 64.

²⁵ Ibid. 145, 148. Forrest does not specify the date, nevertheless, as Leupe shows that Raja, Kapiten Laut Salawati, and Kapiten Laut Misool were detained in 1762, during the big expedition to the Raja Ampat. See P.A. Leupe, "De Reizen der Nederlanders naar Nieuw-Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw." *BKI* 21 (1875), 300-4.

²⁶ Wright, "The Moluccan Spice Monopoly", 13.

²⁷ Forrest. *A Voyage to the New Guinea*, 76.

²⁸ Ibid. 145.

²⁹ Ibid. 147.

encourage his subjects of Batanta and Salawati, near which our ships often pass in their way to China to go freely on board with the refreshments, for which they would be well paid.³⁰ As was quoted by Dalrymple in his 1801 memoir about Prince Nuku, the Prince mentioned that Forrest's letter was received in 1777. The long span of time between the date of the letter and its receipt, Dalrymple concludes, if there was no mistake in the time of the receipt, was because the Tidoran official did not return to Tidore immediately. The purport of this letter, Prince Nuku claimed, was to declare 'the wishes of the English to enter into bonds of friendship with the Government of Malooka; and that the proposal was conveyed in terms of the most cordial, and in a style the most conciliatory.'³¹ It seems that, in his book which was published at that time, Forrest, deliberately avoided mentioning the letter so as not to provide the Dutch with evidence which would allow them to lodge a formal protest about the intrusion of the English into the Malukan polity. It intimates that Forrest, who was even then intending to publish his account on his voyage to New Guinea, anticipated the reaction of the Dutch and thought that it would be best for Sultan Jamaludin if he were to be discreet.

The contents of the letter indicate that Sultan Jamaludin and his grandees were weary of the tyranny of the Dutch and wished to form an alliance with the English, of whom they had heard nothing but good.³² He thought of the letter as a chance to initiate an alliance with the English and to challenge the Dutch domination over his Sultanate. Prince Nuku's interpretation was that 'the English were very desirous of becoming allied with the sultan. He instantly returned an answer testifying his great joy on this occasion and making them an offer of his whole country.'³³ Regardless the contents of his letter, it is apparent that Captain Forrest received a reply in 1778. Haji Jusuf was ordered to meet him and deliver the letter. When Sultan Jamaludin's envoy reached Fau (Fow),³⁴ Captain Forrest had gone. Unfortunately, Haji Jusuf still in possession of the letter fell into the hands of the Dutch. The

³⁰ Dalrymple quoted this from Capt Forrest Mem' of Apology, see Dalrymple, "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, p.3.

³¹ Letter from Mahomed Shah Ameer Eddeen Keecheel Nookoo dated 14th Jemedel Awal 1199 of the Hegira (Hijriah), answering to the 26th March 1785 (This date is certainly erroneous because the subject of the Bencoolen Consultation 21 Dec 1784 is introduced. See Dalrymple, "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 2.

³² Ibid. 5.

³³ IOR/F/4/9/715, Extract of Sultan Nuku's letter to the Governor General at Bengal 1795, December 1785 – February 1796.

³⁴ Fau is a little island with a fine harbour close to Gebe.

Dutch Governor of Ternate inveigled Sultan Jamaludin to Ternate, where he was seized and carried off to Batavia.³⁵

Sharing his custody were the Crown Prince, *Kaicil* Garomahongi, and Sultan Bacan. In Batavia they were brought to 'justice.' Besides the seditious letter captured by the Dutch, the Sultans and the Prince were formally charged with a number of misdeeds. The first of these was that they had not fulfilled their obligation to extirpate the spice-bearing trees. Sultan Tidore stood accused of not preventing or punishing his subordinates - Maba, Weda, Patani, and Gebe - for their raiding activities. Thirdly, it was alleged that the Sultan and the grandees of Tidore, had conspired with the Sultan of Bacan and nurtured evil inclinations to collaborate with the Sultan of Mindanao to attack Ternate and expel the Company from the Maluku.³⁶ The Company was also aware that Sultan Jamaludin and Sultan Bacan had made contacts, exchanged gifts, and sent their men to help Thomas Forrest in his expedition to the Raja Ampat and Dorei - the north-west coast of New Guinea.³⁷ Unsurprisingly, their detention stirred up unrest in Tidore, which increased considerably in 1779.

In order to lessen the tension and quieten the unrest in Tidore, in fact a forlorn hope, the Dutch diverted the Tidoran grandees and people for a long time by holding out the promise that Sultan Jamaludin and the Prince would be sent back to Tidore. After five years of frustrated waiting, Prince Nuku received a letter from the exiled Sultan Jamaludin.³⁸ In his letter to Sir John Shore, received in 1796, Prince Nuku wrote 'My father found means to convey a letter to me in his own hand writing to let me know that he was imprisoned for life and that my brother was banished to Ceylon.'³⁹ In his

³⁵ IOR/F/4/9/715, Extract of Sultan Nuku's letter to the Governor General at Bengal 1795, December 1785 – February 1796. See also Dalrymple, p.3. The detainment of Sultan Jamaludin is discussed in Chapter III.

³⁶ Heeres and Stapel, *Corpus*, vol 6, 435-436. See also E. Katoppo, *Nuku: Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Maluku Utara* (Jakarta, Sinar Harapan, 1984), p 42-3.

³⁷ NA VOC 3602, Secret letter from Ambon to Batavia, (?) 1781, 8-9. In December 1774, the Crown Prince of Bacan reported to the Governor Valkenaer of Ternate about the meeting between Sultan Bacan and Forrest (*La Tartare*) accompanied by Hadji Oemar (Haji Ismail?) who had been famous for his revolutionary zeal. Sultan Bacan gave presents and provided men and interpreter. Sultan Jamaludin sent only his envoy to meet Forrest in Waigeo. See also Forrest. *A Voyage to the New Guinea*, 48, 113, and 132.

³⁸ IOR/F/4/9/715, Extract of Sultan Nuku's letter to the Governor General at Bengal 1795, December 1785 – February 1796.

³⁹ It has been said he was banished to the Cape of Good Hope, where he was found by Commodore John Stone in 1781 and sent to India; but this appears to be a mistake, for, from the Governor-General of Bengal's letter, dated 20 December 1785, the person found at the Cape seems to have been a relation, and Capt Forrest mentions in his Mem' of Apology seeing a person at Madras, whom he calls Jamaloodine's nephew. Whether his son was actually banished to Ceylon or died in Batavia may be questioned. The translator

father's letter, Prince Nuku was apprised that the Dutch tried to take advantage of the difficult position of Sultan Jamaludin to diminish the Sultan's authority in Tidore. If Jamaludin had wished to remain as Sultan, he would have had to accept the degradation of the status of Tidore Sultanate from ally to vassal. Both Jamaludin and his son scornfully rejected this offer and preferred to submit to the sentence passed on them, banishment and imprisonment for life.⁴⁰

The most important message from Jamaludin to his son Prince Nuku was his advice never to become an ally of the Dutch, and to do all in his power to obtain an alliance with the English. This paternal message from the very respectable Sultan deeply affected Prince Nuku. It could be interpreted as the last words of someone who was about to die, because the old Sultan was banished for life. English power was obviously conceived to be one of the most hopeful potentials to aid Prince Nuku in his struggle against the Dutch.⁴¹

Initial Encounter

The date of the first encounter between Prince Nuku and the English country traders or any other English sailors is dubious. At the time, information on intrusion into Maluku territory by foreign ships was often based on rumours or reports from inhabitants which were not always true. The Dutch administration usually relied on spies sent to places about which it wanted to obtain some information. The Salawati case in 1761 is exemplary proof that these spies were often unreliable. It seemed that the inhabitants also had an interest in making up fake reports in order to win a glimmer of recognition from the Dutch officials and hopefully also have some presents bestowed on them. The cause may also have been that there was a political conflict or rivalry within a certain area, and consequently scores to be settled. Unquestionably, the rumours of an English presence not only spread fear and anxiety among Dutch, they also boosted the morale

of Stavorinus (p. 277 vol 1) quotes Ary Huysers as being 'witness to the deposition of two powerful Kings of the Malooka and the hereditary prince of Tidore, one of these died miserably near the place of my residence; I saw the venerable old man before his death, he was 72 years of age. When I expressed my commiseration at the deep humiliation he had undergone, he answered in the Malay Language with a sigh pointing to Heaven, "It is the will of God." See Dalrymple, "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 5.

⁴¹ IOR/F/4/9/715, Extract of Sultan Nuku's letter to the Governor-General at Bengal 1795, December 1785 – February 1796. See also Dalrymple, "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 5.

of people who were involved in Prince Nuku's rebellion. These supporters were given to believe that they had to keep on fighting because the English were poised to come and join them. Bearing this in mind, the leaders who took advantage of the many rumours were Prince Nuku and his followers.

One day in 1780, an inhabitant of Manipa, Karahita, whom the raiders had captured at Amblau and transported to Salawati, said that he had seen a foreign ship. He saw a three-masted vessel, as big as one of those of the Company, with two rows of cannon and a red flag with a white-blue cross flying from the stern.⁴² Raja of Misool and Salawati were seen on board talking to the captain of the ship who did not know Malay. The captain's skin was brown and he wore a red camisole. The other crew members wore short skirts, wide hats, and went barefoot. Some of them were white skinned (Caucasian). The captain of the vessel collected sago, for which cloths were exchanged.⁴³ The Governor of Ambon sent his own spies to check Karahita's report of the presence of foreign ships. On the basis of his spies' report, he concluded that Karahita's testimony was false.⁴⁴

In 1781, it was reported that Prince Nuku had courted English traders and received gifts consisting of twelve pieces of artillery, twenty *klambu* 'mosquito nets', and a quantity of white wax candles. The emissary promised him the support of three English vessels.⁴⁵ A Chinese trader Tan Senko also heard that an English envoy had remained with Nuku for six to seven days together and then departed for Sulu on a *kora-kora*, accompanied by a *jogugu*, a *hukum*, one of the Prince's clerks, and a *kasisi*. They planned to arrive at Unjong, the promontory of Patani sometime later.⁴⁶ The witnesses did not mention the name of the Englishman. However vague, it does indicate that there was perhaps some communication between Prince Nuku and the English. The English country traders, rather than officials of the English EIC, were involved in attempting to convince the Company headquarters in Calcutta of the commercial value of supporting Nuku. In their dealings with Nuku they pretended to be representatives of the Calcutta Government.⁴⁷

In January 1783, a boat's crew of the English ship the *Queen* which was passing through Pitt's Strait bound for China was captured off the island of Salawati. The Papuans of Salawati were thought to have been the culprits. With the exception of two lascar captives who were sent to East Seram where Prince Nuku resided, the captors let the sailors go. Three months later, in April 1783, another English ship the *Northumberland*, China-bound

⁴² NA VOC 3586, letter From Ambon to Batavia, 29 February 1780, 72-3.

⁴³ NA VOC 3586, Ambon Council Meeting, 26 May 1780, 41-7.

⁴⁴ NA VOC 3586, Ambon to Batavia, 20 September 1780, 125.

⁴⁵ NA VOC 3602, Interview with captives, 20 October 1781, 113, 106, 108.

⁴⁶ NA VOC 3602, Interview with captives, 20 October 1781, 114.

⁴⁷ Wright, *The Moluccan Spice Monopoly*, 29-30.

via Pitt's Passage and falling to the leeward of Seram, arrived off the southwest coast of New Guinea. The captain of the ship, Rees, sent a cutter and a long boat manned by the chief mate, the third and fourth mates, as well as a carpenter ashore with empty water casks. He then observed the firing of muskets from both the long boat and cutter, fending off the Papuans who were attacking them. The next day, soon after the long boat had returned to the ship, he sent the jolly boat to help the other men. Five lascars had been captured in the attack. Then the jolly boat was cut off and three crewmembers were killed. John Davies, Thomas Crotty and others who had been wounded were taken prisoner.⁴⁸

In the meantime, a group of Papuans arrived from Onin, on the southern side of the inlet in a prahu to purchase sago on the northern side, where they found the boat's crew being kept captive. On returning home to Onin, the Raja of that place sent a messenger to inform Prince Nuku in East Seram about what had happened. When Prince Nuku heard that Englishmen were being held captive at the Berau (McCluer) Gulf, he sent twenty-four vessels, under the command of a distinguished officer Mohamad Saleh to recover them.⁴⁹ In his efforts to liberate the English crew, Mohammad Saleh adopted conciliatory measures. He first assisted the Papuan captors in an attack on another district in the Berau Gulf, but ultimately succeeded in bearing off the English and their companions, sending them first to Onin, and from there onwards to East Seram.⁵⁰

One of these captives, the already mentioned Thomas Crotty, carpenter's mate on the *Northumberland*, testified to what had happened to him in his contacts with Prince Nuku in East Seram. Prince Nuku fitted out a prahu to send him and his surviving fellow captives, accompanied by Mohamad Saleh as his ambassador, to Bengkulu. Before Crotty's departure from East Seram, one of the other captives, a lad named John Corderoy, went on a voyage to the Raja Ampat with Mohamad Saleh who put him back on board the *Queen*, when he fell in with the ship homeward-bound from China in Pitt's Strait, on 31 July 1783. Prince Nuku's letter to Bengkulu was 'an address expressing his solicitation to be admitted to the friendship of the King of England.' What happened to the letter or to Corderoy upon their arrival back in England is shrouded in mystery.⁵¹

⁴⁸ "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 8-9.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

This account of Prince Nuku's friendly behaviour towards the English in 1783 is I believe more reliable than the previous two reports.⁵² The rescue of the crew of the *Northumberland* is cited repeatedly in a number of English sources. The Governor-General of the EIC in Bengal also took note of the story and showed his appreciation and feelings of gratitude towards Prince Nuku, the 'sultan.' The rescue operation must have transformed Nuku into a reliable partner in the eyes of the English.

Envoy to Bengkulu and Bengal

Thomas Crotty and his fellows remained in Seram for a few months and were looked after well before Prince Nuku fitted out a prahu to carry them to Bengkulu. Unfortunately, two crew members William Holmes and John Davies died of their wounds while still in East Seram. Two more members of the crew had died in Onin, before their group reached East Seram. As just stated, Prince Nuku decided to send Crotty and the other survivors to Bengkulu in the company of Mohamad Saleh and *Jurutulis* Marjal, whom he dispatched as his envoys with a retinue of a number of his supporters. Claiming to be Sultan of Tidore, he wrote a letter offering an alliance with the English Government in Bengkulu. After a tedious, disastrous voyage plagued by bad weather and a want of provisions and water, as a consequence of which many of the Nuku's people died, the vessel reached Cawoor (?) on the west coast of Sumatra but was no longer seaworthy enough to proceed any further. Finally most of the people managed to reach Bengkulu overland.⁵³

Determined to follow up the opportunity of forging an alliance with the Malukan rulers, on 21 December 1784 the Government of Bengkulu decided to send the envoy Mohamad Saleh and seven selected Malukans to Bengal. This was accordingly done in April and Mohamad Saleh arrived in Bengal by the end of May 1785.⁵⁴ He and his men returned to Bengkulu

⁵² The reason for my supposition is that in 1783 *Orangkaya* of Ondor told this story. He had witnessed that *Orangkaya* Kwaus, Kana-Kana speaking Malay to the captain of an English vessel equipped with two low cannons at Keffing. The vessel had just come from Java and would travel on to China. Kana-Kana observed many Indians on board, with yellowish colour skin, none of whom spoke Malay. And the vessel cruised southwards. On Gorom he received information that the English vessel had anchored at Negeri Roemakaj. NA VOC 3737, Interview with Orangkaya Ondor, 10 June 1783, 64-5.

⁵³ "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 11; *Jurutulis* Marjal is not mentioned in the English sources. His name is available in the Dutch sources. See ANRI Ternate 85, Separate letter from Ternate to Batavia, 6 September 1787.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 11.

almost a year later on 16 April 1786 accompanied by Captain Forrest.⁵⁵ The Governor-General and Council in Bengal had ordered Forrest to accompany these emissaries to their native country, but instead of following orders, he sailed to Padang on a private trading voyage and left Mohamad Saleh and his people stranded in Bengkulu protesting vehemently.⁵⁶ On some frivolous pretext, Forrest ultimately returned to Bengal to the dismay and dissatisfaction of the Tidore people. His thoughtless, discourteous behaviour completely expunged any memory of the attention the Supreme Council had paid to them.⁵⁷ Mohamad Saleh never returned to East Seram or Tidore. He remained in Bengkulu working on a nutmeg plantation for 20 dollars per month, and remarried there. The letter from Governor-General of Bengal never reached Prince Nuku.⁵⁸

At the time Mohamad Saleh and his company were on the point of sailing to Bengal, the Government of Bengkulu decided to send the other crew members who remained at Bengkulu home and their vessel was repaired for the voyage. The Governor also wrote a letter to Prince Nuku to thank for the humanity he had shown towards the English crew, who had been saved from the hands of the Papuans, and to inform him of his intention to send his envoy onwards to Bengal, where the Governor-General had the power and means to decide about initiating a close and permanent alliance with Prince Nuku. This letter was sent with a present of broadcloth, green and yellowish-scarlet, five barrels of gunpowder, and twenty muskets.⁵⁹

On the way back to Seram, the vessel called at Badung (Badom) in Bali. The captain of the vessel failed to make clear the purpose of his voyage when he was interrogated by the local authorities there, and was placed in some kind of confinement. Shortly afterwards, the vessel ran on to a reef of rocks and was wrecked. The English presents fell into the possession of the ruler of Badung. According to Forrest, as a Hindu this Raja ill-treated the Malukans because they were Muslims. Ten of them subsequently died. The ten remaining crewmembers were sent back in to Bengkulu on a chartered

⁵⁵ It was later reported by the Dutch post on the western coast of Sumatra that the English had taken two of Nuku's envoys to meet the English Governor-General in Calcutta and that they had returned safely at the end of 1786. See NA VOC 3763, secret papers, Ternate to Batavia, 6 September 1787, fols. 143-4, 185-6; See also Andaya. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 229; Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 316.

⁵⁶ Protest is dated Fort Marlboro 2 January 1787.

⁵⁷ Fort Marlboro Consultation 12 May 1787.

⁵⁸ "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 11-12.

vessel, with a letter of apology. What ultimately became of these men can no longer be traced.⁶⁰

As a consequence of this series of disasters, the efforts made by Prince Nuku to build an alliance with the English failed miserably. And to make matters worse, all this coincided with the signing the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1784. The initial response of the Governor-General in Bengal had been friendly, but he was in no hurry to accept the proposal of the prince to become an ally unreservedly. It was explained that, because they were at peace again with the Dutch, the English could not promise him any assistance in his struggle. On the contrary, Prince Nuku was even advised to make peace with the Dutch on terms which were safe and honourable to him. The Bengal Government offered to write to the Dutch Governor-General in Batavia addressing Prince Nuku's cause, but this letter did not reach him until twelve year later, in 1796.⁶¹

John McCluer and John Hayes

John McCluer sailed from Bombay on 24 August 1790 in command of two EIC vessels, the *Panther* and the *Endeavour*, Captain John Prochter.⁶² McCluer had been ordered to inform the King of the Palau Islands of the death of his son, Prince Lee Boo. On the initiative of his father, this prince had been sent to England where he succumbed to smallpox on 27 December 1784.⁶³ McCluer was also instructed to survey the coast of New Guinea, and to ascertain whether 'there was a navigable passage to the north-east of Aru Islands which might be suitable in the contrary winds.' On 22 January 1791, the two ships arrived at the Palau Islands and after a brief sojourn of three weeks, he proceeded to Macao. On 10 June they were back again at the Palau Islands.⁶⁴

On 27 June 1791, McCluer commenced a survey of the northern part of the coast of New Guinea. Calling at Ambon for two weeks to obtain

⁶⁰ "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 12-13.

⁶¹ IOR/F/4/9/715, copy of the letter of Governor General at Bengal to Prince Nuku, 20 December 1785.

⁶² He had been to Palau Islands as midshipman in 1783 with the *Antelope* under the command of Captain Wilson. Robert White was also ordered to accompany McCluer on the expedition. See G. Keate, *An account of the Pelew Islands* (London-New York: Leicester UP, 2002), 66, 273.

⁶³ The *Antelope*, under the command of Captain Henry Wilson, had run onto a reef off the Palau Islands and remained stranded there from 10 August-12 November 1783. See Keate, *An account of the Pelew Islands*, 7, 214, 268.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 278, 292-3, 295, and 301.

provisions,⁶⁵ he afterwards complained to the Dutch that he had not been treated properly as an English subject but as a spy.⁶⁶ No clear report has survived of the survey trip which continued until December. A Makassarese, Lieutenant Ibrahim, spotted the English ships near Salawati in August and Anakoda Ayuba also happened to see them near Ass (?). McCluer was said to have engaged in trade with the Raja of Misool and a *Hatibi* of Gebe. For this transgression, both leaders were punished and exiled to Batavia. The involvement of the *Hatibi* of Gebe was brought to light when John Wilcott and Barnaby Boyle — two deserters from McCluer's crew — who had been handed over to the Governor by the old *Raja* of Salawati, were interrogated on Ternate.⁶⁷ Sailing on to the Berau Gulf, McCluer obtained provisions and refreshments. On 29 October, when he returned there, the Papuan inhabitants murdered his doctor. From the Berau Gulf, the English headed for Kupang, where they arrived on 29 January 1792.⁶⁸ Whether McCluer made any direct contact with Prince Nuku during his survey trip is not known.

In February 1793, Captain John Hayes of the Royal Navy led an expedition to obtain spices in the eastern regions of Maluku. He arrived in Dorei Bay - present day Manokwari - on 18 September. Here he built a small reinforced post named Coronation Fort on 25 October 1793.⁶⁹ The natives of Restoration Bay - some 1,500 of them - welcomed Hayes and his comrades in a very friendly manner, and gave the sailors invaluable assistance in replenishing their supplies. Hayes found at least 300 trees bearing the elongated nutmeg called *warong* (*Myristica fatua*) and also true Banda nutmeg called *keyan* (*Myristica moschata*).⁷⁰ The Papuans brought him nutmegs, clove bark (*Caryophyllus aromaticus*), massoi bark (*Laurus sassafras*), birds of paradise and other items.⁷¹

Hayes took a cargo of spices back to India in the *Duke of Clarence*, while Captain Court and two other officers, twelve European seamen, eleven Sepoys and Lascars remained behind to man Fort Coronation and the ship

⁶⁵ NA OIC No. 79, from Ambon to Batavia, 6 August 1793, § 355. See also Keate, *An account of the Pelew Islands*, 310; Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 155-6.

⁶⁶ The letter, dated 25 April 1795, was written on board the *Venus* in Timor. It was translated into Dutch. See P.A. Leupe, "Captain John Mc.Cluer en zijn verrichtingen om de Oost. 1790-1795." In *BKI* 25 (1877), 253-9.

⁶⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 331.

⁶⁸ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 330; Keate, *An account of the Pelew Islands*, 310.

⁶⁹ The settlement which he built was called New Albion. See NA OIC No. 65A General Letters, 366r; No. 91, Ternate, Secret Letter to Batavia, 20 May 1795 and No. 91, Letter From Ternate to Ambon, 13 July 1795. See also Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 80, 88-91; Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 59.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 83, 84, 127.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 87.

Duchess, which remained at anchor.⁷² After Hayes had sailed on 22 December 1793, the men at Fort Coronation encountered severe problems. The stores dwindled and, as the rainy season set in, the climate turned far less salubrious. Court's men fell ill and the whole situation was exacerbated when the natives suddenly attacked the garrison, taking several prisoners who were sent to Seram where they were sold as slaves. Most of the captives were Papuans in Court's employment, but included two Sepoys who afterwards gave an account of their stay in Dorei to the Dutch authorities. On the basis of the report of Jan de Orous (Bengali, Sepoy or soldier) who had fled from the Fort Coronation, the Dutch wrote a letter of protest to the English in the name of Sultan Tidore.⁷³ The Governor-General in Calcutta did not deign to justify the whole enterprise in Dorei.⁷⁴

In Kirksey's master's thesis, he states that Captain Hayes established a settlement in Dorei after he had obtained permission from Prince Nuku.⁷⁵ He quotes this statement from F. C. Kamma's book. In fact, in the reports of Captain Hayes' activities in Dorei, there is not a single sentence indicating that there was any communication between Hayes and Nuku before the establishment of Coronation Fort. A meeting may have taken place later when Hayes sailed around Seram on his way to Buru, although there are no reports of this. Kamma, who was quoted by Kirksey, gives a general reference to Haga without indicating a specific page. Also in Lee's book on Captain Hayes' expedition, no reference can be found to any kind of permission being given by Nuku.⁷⁶ It also should be noted that the Papuans were not invariably hostile when they encountered foreign ships. If their welcome were friendly it was an indication that they expected to enter into a relationship of exchange and obtain goods from abroad from foreign ships peaceably; nor should ideas about the power of Prince Nuku be exaggerated. The adherents of Nuku were raiders from many parts of the north coast of New Guinea; the Papuans who remained in their villages were not always subordinate to or indeed have any direct interaction with the power of Prince Nuku.

⁷² Ibid. 108.

⁷³ NA OIC No. 65A, Ambon, General Letters, 366r; OIC No. 90, Secret advise of Ternate to the Netherlands, 18 September 1794, § 45. See also Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 176-7.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 113, 145-6, 153.

⁷⁵ S. Eben Kirksey, *From Cannibal to Terrorist: State Violence, Indigenous Resistance and Representation in West Papua* (M.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 2002), 38. F. Ch. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972), 217.

⁷⁶ Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 133-40.

English Country Traders

English ships showed up twice in Torres Strait between 1793 and 1794, but the captains and the names of the ships are not known.⁷⁷ Yet another English ship was spotted trading in Waigeo. This may have been Hayes who called there before he reached Buru. It was reported that he bartered cloth for spices. He called at Bacan as well. The inhabitants were evidently pleased with his visit, for they solicited the ships' officers on several occasions to remain and to take over the island.⁷⁸ Snippets of news about Prince Nuku and his followers and their possible intercourse with the English gave the Dutch great cause for concern. They were still very much in the dark about by how much Nuku's force had increased. On Tidore, Dutch-appointed Sultan Kamaludin realized that many of his subjects had defected and chosen to side with Nuku. However, according to Haga, there no large-scale attack occurred in 1794.⁷⁹

Hayes sold the greater portion of his cargo of spices in Canton for a high price.⁸⁰ He met McCluer there and requested him to take some provisions to those left behind at Dorei Bay. McCluer, who was intending to return to the Palau Islands again, immediately assented.⁸¹ He left Macao for Manila on 24 July 1794, and sailed on to the Palau Islands, where he took on board his family and some natives who wished to make a voyage. He then set course for Restoration Bay, where he found Hayes' colonists in a miserable plight. Several had died, and fourteen were so debilitated by illness that they were totally dependent on the kindness of the Papuans.⁸² Sometime between August and September, McCluer's ship, the brig *Venus*, arrived at Dorei Bay, bringing the sorely needed provisions.⁸³ On 25 October 1794, McCluer hoisted the British flag on Gebe and took possession of the island in the name of King George III. He had been forced to call at Gebe because the *Venus* had sprung a leak.⁸⁴ On 20 March 1795 McCluer left Restoration Bay in the *Venus* after he had done all in his power to render the *Duchess*

⁷⁷ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 332, 333.

⁷⁸ NA OIC No. 65A, Ternate, General Letters, 365v; No. 90, Secret advice of Ternate to the Netherlands, 18 September 1794, § 42. See also Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 113.

⁷⁹ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 355. The upsurge in Nuku's forces is discussed in Chapter III.

⁸⁰ Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 133.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 133-4.

⁸² *Ibid.* 156, 159.

⁸³ NA OIC No. 81, Interview with Javanese and Malakan crewmembers, 8 April 1795. See also Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 61.

⁸⁴ The Dutch fixed the date of his visit to Gebe at the beginning of 1795. It means that he called twice at Gebe. Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 159-60.

seaworthy again.⁸⁵ A fortnight later on 5 April 1795, McCluer also called at Portuguese Bay located inside the promontory of Nusa Laut.⁸⁶ Two days later, he wrote to the Dutch Governor, Cornabé, requesting a number of items to provision and repaired his vessel.⁸⁷

After somewhat of a slow start, mutual active political intercourse between Nuku's forces and the English Country traders intensified in 1795, although exchanges in commodities had already been occurring since the arrival of McCluer and John Hayes. Shortly after Captain Risdon and the *Duke of Clarence* (which had been taken over from Captain Hayes) put in at Dorei Bay from India, Prince Nuku was reported to have visited Fort Coronation. He invited Captain Court and his men to journey to his headquarters at Waru, where he provided them spices in abundance. Information gleaned from the examination of one of Court's men, Robert Lander, by the British Resident at Ambon on 24 April 1798 reveals that Nuku's invitation was accepted. Court resided in Waru for six weeks. From there they went to Gebe accompanied by Prince Nuku on the ship *Duke of Clarence* and the snow *Duchess*. The ships offered passage to forty *kimelaha* of Maba, Weda, and Patani, as well as a number of Muslim clerics.⁸⁸ They remained in Gebe about a month. From there, the *Duke of Clarence* left for Bengal carrying letters and envoys from the Sultan to the Bengal Government. The *Duchess* remained behind under the command of Lander.

When the country traders' *Duke of Clarence* left Seram for Bengal in 1795, she carried Prince Nuku's most important minister, the *jogugu*, as his ambassador to hand over a letter to the Governor-General in Bengal. In his letter, Prince Nuku recounted a long story of his struggle against the Dutch and implored the protection of the British Government. The Governor-General understood from the envoy that he had no credentials authorizing him to conclude any undertakings with the English Government but that his master, if encouraged, would depute another agent with plenipotentiary powers to negotiate and settle the terms of a future alliance between Prince Nuku and the EIC with the Bengal Government. He was also offering to supply the English with nutmegs, mace, and cloves produced within his dominions in preference to the Dutch.⁸⁹

In considering its response to Prince Nuku, the Council at Bengal toyed with the idea that the opportunity to participate in the affairs in the Maluku

⁸⁵ Ibid. 160.

⁸⁶ NA OIC No. 81, From Ambon to Batavia, 12 Mei 1795.

⁸⁷ NA OIC No. 81, From McCluer to Cornabé, 7 April 1795; No. 81, Apart Ambon to Batavia, 19 September 1795 § 20-1.

⁸⁸ NA OIC No. 91, From Ternate to Ambon, 16 September 1795, § 22-23, 42-58.

⁸⁹ IOR/F/4/9/715, Minutes of Meeting Governor-General in Bengal, December 1785 – February 1796.

might be advantageous. The main stumbling block was that the Governor-General did not consider himself authorized to hold out any expectation of an alliance between Prince Nuku and the Company, which might induce the Prince to expect its protection against the Dutch or any other enemies. He therefore suggested affirming the good will and friendship of the Prince by supplying him with many of the articles which the latter so greatly desired. After having consulted the Commander-in-Chief on the matter, he proposed that the Military Board be instructed to deliver four brass carronades, sixteen iron three-pounder cannons, 1,000 rounds of ammunition, 200 muskets, 20,000 musket balls, 200 barrels of gunpowder, four drums, and a company flag.⁹⁰ Despite the military nature of the aid, the Governor-General made no promise of assistance, military or otherwise.⁹¹

The envoys were honoured with a farewell audience and received from the Governor-General a letter containing a friendly answer, plus the weaponry requested, the Company's flag and a golden seal, engraved with the name and titles of Nuku as 'sultan' for Nuku himself. The presents were shipped on board three merchantmen: the *Duke of Clarence*, Captain William Bellamy Risdon; the *Sultan*, Captain Thomas Watkin Court; and the *Phoenix*, Captain Samuel Stewart. During January and February 1796, these ships, with Nuku's envoys as passengers, sailed from Calcutta on trading voyages to Maluku by permission of the Government of Bengal, to purchase spices from the 'subjects of the Sultan of Tidore and Ternate'.⁹² The ships proceeded to Maba, on the south-east coast of Halmahera. Meanwhile Lander had explored different parts of the island, on which he found round nutmegs and other spices growing. Risdon made several voyages to the Spice Islands, and Indian newspapers recorded the dates of his sailings and returns. He left Calcutta for the third time in the *Duke of Clarence* on 7 December 1796.⁹³ Lander remained on Gebe for eight months co-ordinating the collection of spices for the ships sailing to Bengal.⁹⁴

The evidence confirms that the presence of the English country traders around 1795 was significant. It augmented Nuku's already boosted optimism and that of his followers. The rebel group now exerted a greater attraction for new supporters. Nuku felt assured that with the ever-swelling ranks of his warriors, the support of the English country traders, and the ammunition from Bengal, he could manage to conquer at least Bacan and Tidore. On 9

⁹⁰ IOR/F/4/9/715, Minutes of Meeting Governor-General in Bengal, December 1785 – February 1796.

⁹¹ Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 163-6.

⁹² IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, John Shaw to Madras, 29 March 1800, 2179-2180.

⁹³ *Calcutta Gazette*, December 8th, 1796, cited in Lee, *Commodore Sir John Hayes*, 167.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 167.

September, a Tidoran soldier who had arrived from Patani confirmed that, besides having spoken to the Prince Rebel himself, he had witnessed that the people of Maba and Weda had presented forty bags of nutmegs to Prince Nuku and the English country traders. Prince Nuku swore an oath before the people of Maba and Weda that, with the support of the English, his fleet would overwhelm Tidore. The Governor of Ternate who had also sent a Tidoran envoy, *Kapiten* Gula Manis, to Gamkonora and Maidi confirmed that Nuku and the English country traders were collaborating with each other.⁹⁵

English Occupation

In 1793 the war between French and the English broke out again. Now the Dutch Republic was allied with the English. When the French Revolutionary Army occupied the Netherlands in 1795 and the Batavian Republic was proclaimed, the Stadtholder, William V, fled to England. He instructed the Government in Batavia to surrender and place itself under English protection. Once again the political situation in Europe influenced the policy in the East Indies.⁹⁶ On 17 February 1796, the English Navy under the command of Admiral Rainier took Ambon from the Dutch with no opposition. Governor Cornabé 'had given up every idea of resistance.' After the ratification of the treaty of surrender, the troops marched through the gates of Fort Victoria above which an inscription in Dutch could be seen, 'Obtained by blood, and so to be defended.' Under the English occupation, it was agreed that the private property of each individual and the continuance of their pay would be secured. As the English report puts it, 'The Dutch called themselves our friends and we treated them entirely as such.' The admiral himself came ashore the next day. Governor Cornabé welcomed him and escorted him to the fort. Most of the Dutch-appointed local leaders dressed in full suits of black and wearing swords and the Chinese officers were present and shook hands with him. There was some plundering in the town, chiefly by the Dutch soldiers who were expelled from the fort to make room for English troops. A fortnight later, on 9 March 1796, Admiral Rainier occupied Banda. The Dutch flag was hauled down on Fort Nassau and Castle Belgica.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ NA OIC No. 91, Ternate, Separate Letter from Ternate to Batavia, 16 September 1795, § 22-3, 42-58.

⁹⁶ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 361.

⁹⁷ W. C. Lennon, "Journal of an expedition the Molucca Islands under the command of Admiral Rainier," in J.E. Heeres (1908), "Eene Engelsche lezing omtrent de verovering van Banda en Ambon in 1796..." in *BKI*, III-IV, 276-8, 289.

The news of the English occupation sped to Prince Nuku immediately. Two months later, on 15 May 1796, a large *kora-kora* dressed with various flags and pennants, with drums beating and escorted by about seventy other vessels under the command of Prince Ibrahim Al-Mukaram appeared at Hila within sight of Admiral Rainier's fleet. One day later, at the invitation of Captain Lennon, Prince Ibrahim and the chief persons came on board. Introducing himself as the nephew of 'Sultan' Saifudin Syah (Prince Nuku) on an embassy to the English Command-in-Chief at Ambon, he was treated with respect. He informed Lennon that he had come from Waru where Prince Nuku had been about five weeks before. He boasted that his uncle was the 'true sovereign' of Tidore, Ternate and all of the Spice Islands. The news of the English occupation of Ambon and Banda had been obtained from three English Country traders who had been bartering on friendly terms with the forces of Prince Nuku at Maba and Gebe.⁹⁸

The Admiral and the envoy breakfasted together for about two hours.⁹⁹ 'Sultaun Ibrahim earnestly wished to establish a friendship and intimacy with the English, whom he seemed to have the utmost confidence in, and to regard in the sincerest manner.' The chief purpose of the embassy was to convey a request from Nuku for assistance in conquering Tidore and Ternate and to seek recognition of Nuku as Sultan. In his private conversation with Captain Lennon, he explained that Prince Nuku had sent him to congratulate the Admiral on the conquest of Amboina and Banda. And he was availing himself of the opportunity to request the aid of the English to attack Tidore, which would restore him, the rightful heir to the Sultanate, to govern over it. In return, he would secure absolutely the friendship of all the Islands pertaining to the Sultanate; unite their interest with that of the English in the best and safest manner. Prince Ibrahim failed to achieve his objective because Admiral Rainier prudently avoided committing himself to assisting in the capture of Tidore and Ternate.¹⁰⁰

Prince Ibrahim also had his own interest in some day becoming a sultan on Ternate. During the meeting, he spoke in his own name rather than in that of his uncle, Prince Nuku. 'He asserted in the most positive terms, that if he was supported by the English, the present king of Ternate and sultaun of Tydore would willingly acknowledge him as their lawful Sovereign, and promised that if the Admiral assisted him to expel the Dutch from Ternate, he would ensure them the entire monopoly of all the spices and the exclusive privilege of trade throughout all the islands and countries

⁹⁸ Lennon, "Journal of an expedition the Molucca Islands," 304-5, 309.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 305; See also, Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 69; Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 235.

¹⁰⁰ Dalrymple, "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 22.

belonging to him.’ Ibrahim also offered Rainier assistance in suppressing the disturbance stirred up by Hitu people — who were in uprising — and assured him that he could accomplish this in three days. Rainier declined Ibrahim’s offer. He pleaded that it was not in his authority to accept the offer of assistance.¹⁰¹ Lennon personally thought that Admiral Rainier lent too ready an ear to the suggestions of the Dutch: he paid very little attention to the embassy, and positively refused all aid or intervention on the subject of assistance. It seems that the Admiral conceived a prejudice against Prince Nuku, by which means the Dutch were able to put the government of Tidore upon its guard against Nuku.¹⁰²

The envoys left the meeting at 10 o’clock with no result. Admiral Rainier, who was still suspicious of these envoys, ordered HMS *Resistance* to escort Prince Ibrahim’s fleet until he had passed the Hitu Peninsula.¹⁰³ This was because it had been reported that one month before Ibrahim’s arrival, on 3 April 1796, several villages on Hitu on the western side of the island of Ambon had rebelled against the Ambon Government when they heard of the defeat of the Dutch by the British forces. Those Dutch who remained in Ambon with whom Admiral Rainier consulted were sure that Prince Ibrahim’s original intention was to join forces with the Raja of Hitu, but finding Admiral Rainier there, and the Raja in prison, he converted his expedition into an embassy. It was not true that the envoys did not know the presence of the English. They had obtained the news from the English country traders who were at the moment in East Seram with Prince Nuku. For his part, Ibrahim assured Captain Lennon that he could point out those *negeri* which were averse to the English Government, and that they never would be totally reconciled while the Dutch remained there. At Lennon’s request, he seized the most warlike of the rebels, Ulupaha, *kapiten* of Negeri Seit, and chief warrior of the Hitu Raja, and delivered him, with two other rebels, to Captain Chalmers at Hila. Later Ulupaha was executed by the English.¹⁰⁴

The second ‘incident’ took place again in *Negeri Seit* and Lima. On 25 June 1797, the people under the command of *Kapiten* Wakkal, Bukhari,, and Adam had risen up and murdered their *orangkaya*, and Lieutenant MacRae, the commander of the port of Hila.¹⁰⁵ A detachment, of Indian Sepoys and

¹⁰¹ Walter Caulfield Lennon, “Journal of an expedition the Molucca Islands...,” 310-11.

¹⁰² Dalrymple, “Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore,” IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 22.

¹⁰³ Walter Caulfield Lennon, “Journal of an expedition the Molucca Islands...,” 311.

¹⁰⁴ Dalrymple, “Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore,” IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 23.

¹⁰⁵ The *orangkaya* of the *Negeri Seit* enjoyed the best reputation among the Muslims, and had been uniformly faithful to the English, as he had been before to the Dutch Government. It is, however, alleged that he was severe with his people, and not popular as

twenty Europeans were immediately ordered to Hila.¹⁰⁶ While marching to the village of Seit, about four or five miles from Hila, they were fired upon by people who then retreated into the jungle, and none of the attackers could be captured. Some of the soldiers were also wounded by sharp pointed pieces of bamboos stuck in the ground. The overgrown mountainous, terrain of this island rendered the pursuit of the natives into the hills virtually impossible. Moreover, the rainy season had been the worst time of the year to send in troops.¹⁰⁷ In *Negeri Seit* the English detachment experienced considerable opposition from the local people, and four or five of its men were wounded. Eventually, the English were able to defeat their adversaries after having cleared the *negeri*; houses, boats, and nets all being totally destroyed.¹⁰⁸ Before the rebel party escaped to Hitulama, it murdered the *Raja* of Mamala who had refused to renounce his allegiance and join the rebels.¹⁰⁹

All the troubles in Hitu were finally overcome in November 1797.¹¹⁰ Rainier's report describes it in these terms: 'It appears from every account that tho' their aversion to the Dutch might be ever so great or just, and tho' the delay in paying for the spices might have occasioned some apprehensions amongst them, their declared hatred to all Christians was one of the leading motives; and the hope of recovering from the present change of government the exclusive dominion of the peninsula of Hitu, the memory of which they still celebrate in their songs and at their feasts, where they are sure to madden themselves with opium and bang, is the chief cause of the present insurrection.'¹¹¹ Despite the impression that Prince Ibrahim had

a consequence. In *Negeri Lima* there had existed a party against the *orangkaya* which probably wished to take advantage of the disturbance to put him to death. The only reason assigned for the murder of Lieutenant MacRae is that he had overworked the people baking some sago bread for the Company, and that having given out cloths, in the *negeri* of Seram???. They had killed him for the sake of putting an end to any further demands by his death. The sago bread was required for Banda, and the cloths were advanced to Lieutenant MacRae from the stores by Resident Ambon, for the purpose of obtaining it. The amount was Spanish Dollars 402,11. IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Governor in Council Lord Hobart, Madras, 4 July 1797, 3027-8. See also IOR/P/242/1 M Pub C, 15 December 1797, Jones to Lord Hobart, 1 September 1797, "Proclamation" 3874.

¹⁰⁶ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Governor in Council Lord Hobart, Madras, 4 July 1797, 3024, 3041)

¹⁰⁷ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Governor in Council Lord Hobart, Madras, 4 July 1797, 3027.

¹⁰⁸ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Governor in Council Lord Hobart, Madras, 13 July 1797, 3042.

¹⁰⁹ IOR/P/242/1 M Pub C, 15 December 1797, Jones to Lord Hobart, 1 September 1797, 3847.

¹¹⁰ Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 72.

¹¹¹ Walter Caulfield Lennon, "Journal of an expedition the Molucca Islands," 292.

made upon English captain by seizing a number of Hitu rebel leaders, the former had to leave Ambon without any encouraging news for Prince Nuku. The Ambassador therefore returned with his mission unaccomplished.¹¹²

On 13 February 1797, *Jurutulis* Bagus, the secretary to *Raja Muda* Zainal Abidin and Prince Ibrahim, accompanied by Paiman, Raja of Keliluhu, and Libervale, Raja of Kilwaru - villages on Keffing-Seram Laut - arrived on Banda. These important supporters of Prince Nuku paid a visit to Vice-Resident Farquhar bearing a letter from Prince Ibrahim dated 27 January 1797, in which he asked for English assistance in the capture of Ternate and Tidore. Farquhar told his visitors that the powers of this Banda Government were entirely subordinate to the Government of Ambon. He urged the envoy to return to his country immediately. Farquhar himself seemed rather irritated by the repeated visits.¹¹³ Responding to the report, Farquhar's superior Resident Jones in Ambon even suggested that the visits of the 'Seramese Princes' should be discouraged as much as possible.¹¹⁴

Despite the fruitless attempts to supplicate the support of the English Government, Prince Nuku and his main leaders persisted in their efforts to approach all levels of authority. From the moment of the capture of Ambon, the English Government in Maluku was never free from pressing solicitations by Prince Nuku to assist him against the Dutch. Those applications for aid as an old ally of the English were always favourably received by the different persons in authority in Ambon; they as well as the Supreme Government in Bengal promised help against the Dutch directly or indirectly.¹¹⁵ When he failed to rouse the assistance of the English Government forces on Ambon and Banda, Prince Nuku decided to go ahead and occupy the island of Tidore with his own forces and the limited support of the English country traders. On 12 April 1797 he managed to take over the island without meeting any significant resistance. The Dutch-appointed Sultan Kamaludin of Tidore simply left the island and took refuge with the Dutch Governor on Ternate.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Ibid. 311.

¹¹³ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 11 Agustus 1797, Farquhar to Madras, 17 February 1797, 2611-4.

¹¹⁴ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 11 Agustus 1797, Jones to Farquhar, 17 February 1797, 2633.

¹¹⁵ IOR/P/255/18, MMC, 18-02-1803, "An Account of Tidoreeze Revolutions from the year 1779 ... until the expulsion of the Dutch from the Moluccas in 1801." From Farquhar to Colonel Oliver, 1 June 1802, 1015.

¹¹⁶ Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate, onder den Gouverneur Johan Godfried Budach 1796-1799," *BKI* 17 (1870), 292. The return of Prince Nuku to Tidore is discussed in Chapter III.

After his victory on Tidore, Nuku flew the English flag and continued to seek a closer relationship with the English Resident in Ambon.¹¹⁷ He reiterated his intention to conquer Ternate with the help of the English. Although Resident Jones in Ambon did not give any positive response to Nuku's proposal, he believed that it was necessary to come to some arrangement with Prince Nuku who, since April 1797, was *de facto* Sultan of Tidore. Jones was convinced that such an arrangement would prevent Nuku's 'adherents engaging in the clandestine trade of spices, or troubling these islands with predatory incursions.'¹¹⁸ Again at the end of 1798, Sultan Nuku sent envoys to Banda, Raja Muda Zainal Abidin, his heir apparent, and Prince Ibrahim, from his 'palace' on Tidore. They were treated with great respect and showered with every possible attention upon their arrival. Their visit seems have been motivated by their inclination to give the English fresh assurances of their friendship and good faith, than by any other motive. Nevertheless, the envoys also expressed their disappointment that the British Government had concluded no treaty. Farquhar would not venture any farther than informing them that his authority did not enable him to give them any reply, but told them to proceed to Ambon and consult Mr Jones on this or any other political subjects. Dissatisfied with Farquhar's response, Prince Zainal Abidin and Prince Ibrahim requested he forward letters to the Government in Madras. In these letters, they reminded the English Company that they were desperately waiting for an answer. They again stated that their hope rested solely on the British Company.¹¹⁹

The frustration of the Tidoran leaders, especially Prince Ibrahim, had already been vented in the middle of 1798. It was reported that Sultan Nuku had sent Ibrahim to deliver a letter to Lieutenant Court, the English officer commanding Manado. When the commander informed the ambassador that all plans for the conquest of Ternate had been dropped, the latter immediately left greatly disappointed.¹²⁰ Apparently he afterwards proceeded along the southern coast of Seram, where he called at certain *negeri* and left orders for them no longer to obey the English Government. At the beginning, Resident Jones thought that the enemies of Sultan Nuku were trying to put the envoy in an unfavourable light, but a letter bearing his seal

¹¹⁷ ANRI Ternate 34, Resolution Ternate, 13 November 1798, 57.

¹¹⁸ IOR/P/242/11, M.M.Pol.C., February 1799, From Resident Jones, Amboyna, to Madras, 23 November 1798, 484-5.

¹¹⁹ IOR/P/242/11, M.M.Pol.C., February 1799, From Deputy Commercial Resident R. T. Farquhar, Banda, to Madras, 2 December 1798, 508-9. See also Translated letter from Prince Zainal Abidin to Governor-General in Bengal, no date, attached to the former letter, 510.

¹²⁰ IOR/F/4/74/1617, Second Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore, 7 February 1801, A. Dalrymple, from Bengal Political Consultation 11 January 1799, extract of a letter from Resident Jones to Bengal, 23 August 1798, n.p.

left at the *negeri* of Kulor, opposite the island of Saparua, seemed to lend authenticity to the report.¹²¹ It is not clear whether Sultan Nuku was behind Prince Ibrahim's move. There is a very good chance that he was unaware of it as the instructions to Prince Ibrahim were never alluded to in later correspondence.

Closing Remarks

Prince Nuku had been determined to seek an alliance with the English and fight against the Dutch power in the Maluku since the early years of his rebellion. One of the most important reasons for his stance was that his father, who had been banished to Batavia for life, advised him never to become an ally of the Dutch and to do all in his power to obtain an alliance with the English. For the son, the message from a father whom he would never meet again, assumed the status of a *wasiat*, the last words spoken by someone on their deathbed. This affected Prince Nuku deeply and was justification enough in his eyes for his hostile actions against the Dutch.

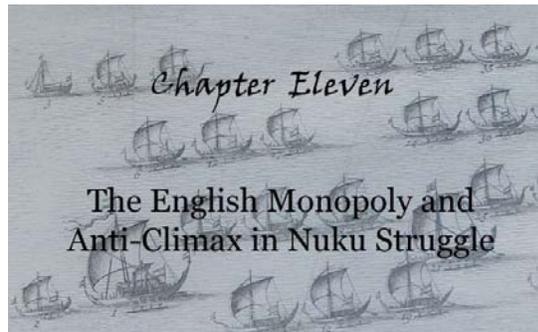
Constant intercourse with the English, chiefly with the country traders, was one of decisive factors in Prince Nuku's success as he persisted in his struggle for more than twenty years, ultimately achieving his goal, the Tidore Sultanate. Prince Nuku even took advantage of using English assistance when the English presence was still only a rumour. He manipulated the fears of the Dutch and sent fake reports to the Dutch Governments in Ternate, Ambon, or Banda through local people. By fanning the rumour of the arrival of the English forces, he could maintain the morale of his adherents at a high level.

His great efforts to save the life Thomas Crotty and his fellow crewmembers when they were captured by the Papuans in 1783 was a great symbolic investment in building a friendship with the English. His envoys to Bengkulu in 1784 and to Bengal in 1785, despite their failure to obtain formal support from the British Government in India, were treated with honour and cordiality. When the British Governor-General decided to supply Prince Nuku with guns and ammunition in 1796, he did so because of the help which the English had received in 1783. At this point, Prince Nuku had managed to build very strong good will with the English.

Mutual, active intercourse between Prince Nuku's forces and the English country traders intensified in 1795. Prince Nuku visited Fort Coronation, and Captain Court and his men were invited to visit Nuku's headquarters in Waru, East Seram. There were at least four English ships (*Duchess, Duke of*

¹²¹ IOR/P/242/9 M Pub. C, December 1798, Resident Jones to Madras, 23 August 1798, 4069.

Clarence, Phoenix, and Sultan) operating around East Seram and Gebe at that time. Subsequently an enormous amount of spices was traded. In return, Prince Nuku collected a small arsenal of guns and ammunitions. It was on the basis of this intercourse, it was decided to send envoys to Bengal in 1796. After this embassy, Prince Nuku received even more ammunition and guns from the British Governor-General in India. Parallel to this, the support of the local leaders and communities went from strength to strength. At this point, with the help of the country traders, the rising number of guns and munitions, and the increased support of the local leaders, the Prince no longer found himself in a defensive position. He already planned to occupy Tidore, Bacan, and Ternate. The seizure of Bacan and the take-over of Tidore in 1797 were the crowning phase in the successful co-operation between Prince Nuku and the English country traders.



This chapter is a continuation of the discussion of the relationship between Tidore under Sultan Nuku and the English, beginning with the English administration in 1797 and ending with the last breath of Nuku's successor, Sultan Zainal Abidin, in 1810. It elucidates the troubles of the English administration in maintaining the spice monopoly it inherited from the Dutch. Its biggest obstacle was the increase in the 'illicit' trade of cloves in the production centre. This contraband involved Ambonese planters, East Seramese traders, Tidoran grandees and members of the elite, and the English country traders. It delves into how Tidore, under Sultan Nuku, and the English in Maluku, under Resident Farquhar, managed to establish an alliance which was sufficiently powerful to conquer the Dutch on Ternate. Despite their successful victory over Ternate and the signing of a treaty between Tidore and English, the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 was what finally ruined all the achievements for which Nuku had struggled for more than twenty years. All the efforts of Prince Nuku were played out against the background of the vicissitudes in the rivalry and co-operation between the European powers. Consequently, interest in and policies concerning the affairs in Maluku were consistently subordinated to the greater interests of the European powers in their different corners of Monsoon Asia.

The Clove Monopoly Contested Again

The British occupation actually opened up an opportunity for East Seramese and the people in the region of the Amboina Islands to 'smuggle' cloves from the production areas. In 1797, the East Seramese and their merchant friends were busy pursuing their trade all over the region. Taking advantage of the unstable political situation, local 'rebels' joining people from East Seram had surrounded the fortress at Haruku during the night and forced the sergeant to fire upon them. When a guard was sent in pursuit of the

rebels' *prabu* which happened to be passing by, he was fired upon by the *prabu* which carried swivel guns, and compelled to retreat. This in conjunction with other reports of more *prabu* assembled in that neighbourhood and yet more information from Saparua that eighty *prabu* had assembled at another part of Seram, fuelled suspicions that some sort of concerted plan for an attack on the Islands was being hatched.¹ At the time of the insurrection, when the attention of the English resident and his forces was being directed towards the people of Hitu, cloves which had been withheld from delivery to the stores and kept hidden awaiting a convenient opportunity, were shipped away, the bulk of them from the *negeri* on Haruku and Saparua.² On 24 January 1797, an English brig picked a fight with a large Makassar vessel, but had to veer off when it ran out of ammunition.³

A third incident occurred in the area off Nusa Laut at the end of July 1799, when thirty vessels, plus three or four large *paduakang*, suddenly made their appearance and assembled at *Negeri Amahai*. They informed the *orangkaya* that they had come to secure the remainder of the cloves concealed on Nusa Laut. These vessels, Resident Farquhar averred, had been chartered by the groups of traders from Waru, a settlement on East Seram where Prince Nuku's headquarter had formerly been located.⁴ Afterwards an English officer on Saparua, Lieutenant Slingsby, captured the Raja of Amet, one of leaders on Nusa Laut, when he came across him trading spices with the East Seramese. Feeling he had been humiliated by the officer the Raja, who was sent to Ambon, ordered two men—Pieter Sawaitu and Pesega - to assassinate the man who had putatively disgraced him, promising them a reward of 100 Spanish Dollars.⁵ When this conspiracy came to light, the Raja was executed and his close relatives were banished to Madras.⁶

This third incident is proof that the East Seramese also did not shun the use of force to intimidate the local heads who remained loyal to their European rulers, the British. They terrorized any of the local heads, *orangkaya* or raja, who declined to sell them their spices. This scheme had

¹ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Governor in Council Lord Hobart, Madras, 4 July 1797, 3025-6.

² IOR/P/242/1 M Pub C, 15 December 1797, From Resident W. Jones, Amboyna to Lord Hobart, Madras, 1 September 1797, 950.

³ One seaman, one Sepoy, and one servant were wounded and the seaman died as a consequence. IOR/P/242/1 M Pub C, 15 December 1797, From Resident W. Jones, Amboyna to Lord Hobart, Madras, 1 September 1797, 950-951.

⁴ IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar, Amboyna to Captain William Hills of HMS *Orpheus*, 5 June 1799, 2975.

⁵ IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar, Amboyna, to Madras, 20 June 1799, 2935-6, 2942.

⁶ IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar to Madras, 8 July 1799, 3035.

clearly been orchestrated by some groups of traders from East Seram. Waru was mentioned specifically, but probably it involved various leaders from other settlements in east and south-east Seram as well as the elite of the Tidore Sultanate. It seemed that Raja Amet was also part of the conspiracy. 'Smuggling' intermingled with village politics can also be seen as a strategy for creating opportunities to open up the way to transport cloves to East Seram and its vicinity. Some areas such as Haruku and Nusa Laut benefited from the situation, revealing the relationship between the Seramese and other traders, notably the Makassarese, Sultan Nuku and other Tidoran grandees.

Later, it was discovered that the spice trade was flourishing in both East Seram, and East Halmahera; it was even rife in the Raja Ampat when the English Resident William Jones visited these areas between March and May 1798. On Geser he observed that the country trader ship, the *Diana*, under Captain Lynch, was loading a hundred *pikul* of cloves against a rate of five pieces of blue *serampore* cloth per *pikul*. Calling at the house of one of the chiefs, Abdul Kadir, he found some of four hundred *pikul* of cloves heap on the ground/floor, reputedly all from Ambon. When he put in at *Negeri* Kilmuri, one of the heads informed him that two Makassarese vessels were lying at anchor there ready to load spices. As Jones could obtain neither firewood nor water, he continued to Waru where he met the Tidoran Prince Saintalo, who told him that two of his vessels were collecting spices from the islands of Saparua and Haruku on the orders of Sultan Nuku and Prince Mangoffa. The prince likewise informed him that about a fortnight before, the ship the *Duke of Clarence*, under Captain Risdon, and the *schooner* the *Tweed*, under Captain Duncan, both heavily laden with spices, had sailed from that place for Pulau Penang.⁷

In Salawati, in *Negeri* Sailolof to be precise, Jones wanted to barter his commodities in exchange for food supplies. However, the *Kapiten Laut* of Salawati preferred to trade in spices. Its vessels were plying back and forth constantly from Tidore to Bacan. On 9 April a vessel, commanded by Salantar Jeef who had collected all the spices in Maba, arrived in Salawati where it was told to await some ships, but the names of these ships and their commanders were unknown. When Jones failed to procure the food supplies he desired, he proceeded to *Negeri* Namopope in Misool where he found the ship *Thetis*, commanded by Captains Court and Stuart, which had arrived a few days before him, and had just completed loading its cargo of spices. Afterwards, in May, he tried to obtain food supplies on Gorom but the inhabitants of three or four different settlements told him that his commodities were not worth exchanging. They would prefer to sell him

⁷ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, Resident Jones, Ambon, to Madras, 9 July 1798, 3505-9.

spices, showing him goodly supplies of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, besides quantities of the long nutmeg. Understanding that obtaining food from them was going to be impossible, he decided to leave on 10 May and set course for Banda.⁸

John Currie, one of the English country traders, had been in Waru since 6 June 1799. He had come to East Seram on the *Duke of Clarence*, under the command of Captain Risdon, bringing with him cloths worth 13,000 dollars. Abdul Kadir from Kiliwaru, acting as his local manager, distributed the cloths as advance payments on a sum of 2,800 dollars. Raja Muda Zainal Abidin owed Abdul Kadir 1,000 and Currie 4,000 dollars.⁹ With a flotilla of five to six vessels carrying seventy to one hundred *pikul* (forty sacks) of cloves and thirty sacks of nutmegs from Banda, Abdul Kadir had left the island for Gorom the night before the arrival of the British *bongi* expedition, led by Resident Farquhar.¹⁰ Another account says the spices were not taken to Gorom but concealed in a forest on the island of Seram Laut. Currie and Kadir made an agreement that six or seven days after the departure of the *bongi*, those spices would be carried down by Abdul Kadir.¹¹ The cloves originated from *negeri* on the southern part of Seram as far away as Tobo and Hatumeten. The *Kapiten* of Seram Laut, Babresi Kanesi, personally confessed that he had sent his vessel to Saparua and Nusa Laut to pick up cloves. These he sold to Currie on Seram Laut at 70 Spanish dollars per *pikul*, but paid for in cloths. All *negeri* without exception were said to be involved in the spice trade. Currie also sold muskets and ammunition to Abdul Kadir, who in turn sold them to the people.¹²

The Raja of Nusa Laut, Lelivet, recognized the authority of the English Government on Ambon when John Currie told him that he came with the authority of Raja Muda Zainal Abidin in Waru and by authority of Bengal Government. Zainal Abidin ordered the Raja to sail to Seram Laut and cooperate with the Englishman, in particular assist him in procuring cloves. To the Raja Currie claimed that his authority was equal to that of the Resident in Ambon. He hoisted the English flag everyday if he saw ships approaching. Worried by this, as a pretext, the Raja said that he was afraid to turn these ships away because of the power of the Raja Muda of Tidore. He

⁸ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, Resident Jones, Ambon, to Madras, 9 July 1798, 3505-9.

⁹ IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Interrogation with First Lieut. John Currie, 3 November 1799, 2101.

¹⁰ IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Testimony Mr Currie's servant, a man of Madras, Jack de Kroes, 7 December 1799, 2123.

¹¹ IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Testimony Mr Currie's servant, a man of Madras, Jack de Kroes, 7 December 1799, 2124.

¹² IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Interrogation with Babressi Canecy, Captain of Seram Laut, 4 November 1799, 2104-2107.

also admitted that he too was also involved in purchasing cloves on the southern coast of Seram. A proportion of the cloves purchased went towards paying off his debt to Abdul Kadir and the remainder was sold to the English. The price was 70 Spanish dollars per *pikul*. Currie paid for the charter of Abdul Kadir's vessel with a swivel gun, three muskets, a barrel of gunpowder, a number of rounds of ammunition, plus seventy lengths of white cloth. In his turn, Abdul Kadir sold them to East Seramese. Raja Lelivet also admitted that he had been ordered to lie to Resident Farquhar, by saying that he had been there to build a vessel and to purchase long nutmegs.¹³

In 1798 after being inspected on Pulau Buru, the captain of the country trader ship, *Phoenix*, Hugh Moore, and a member of his crew William Collins swore an affidavit at the request of Commercial Resident William Jones, saying that the approximately forty-five *pikul* of cloves on board had not been purchased at any of the EIC-controlled Spice Islands, but on islands eastwards of them, from people who considered themselves 'free and independent'. They asserted that they exchanged goods with the natives in a fair and honest way, and paid them in cash for every *pikul* of cloves at the rate of 75 Spanish Dollars per *pikul*.¹⁴ In another case, Resident Jones examined Captain Lynch of the *Diana*—also a country trader—who was allegedly involved in the 'illicit' trading of spices. The captain stated that he had purchased the cloves from subjects of Sultan Nuku.¹⁵ Even though Moore and Collins did not specify these islands exactly, the Resident believed that the cloves had been purchased on Gorom and Seram Laut. He also established that there had been prahu or bigger vessels cruising around the Ambon Islands during the clove season. All the cloves which were sold on Seram Laut or Gorom had actually been collected from Ambon.¹⁶ The upshot was that the amount of spices delivered to the British Government from production areas, especially from Hila and Haruku, was much smaller. The cloves sold to the traders on Seram Laut and other areas had allegedly been transported from Saparua and Nusa Laut.¹⁷ He concluded that spice 'smuggling' had reached its highest level during the two seasons since the English had held the Islands. The country traders from Bengal who had

¹³ IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Interrogation with Raja Lelivet of the Island of Seram Laut, Captain of Seram Laut, 8 November 1799, 2107.

¹⁴ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, Affidavit of Hugh Moore (Commander of *Phoenix*) and William Collins, 8 June 1798, 3495-6.

¹⁵ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, From Resident W. Jones, Amboyna to Bengal, 20 June 1798, 3490.

¹⁶ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, From Resident W. Jones, Amboyna to Bengal, 20 June 1798, 3941-2.

¹⁷ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, From Resident W. Jones, Ambon, to Madras, 9 July 1798, 3498.

been cruising around Halmahera and Seram were secretly dealing with Sultan Nuku who was seen a troublemaker by the administration of these islands, all the more so because his adherents continued 'smuggling' spices.¹⁸

The openness and the hospitality shown by the people of East Seram, Halmahera, and the Raja Ampat towards William Jones implied that they did not make any distinction between the private English country traders and the English EIC. Resident Farquhar, who had replaced Jones in 1799, explained that these country traders deliberately made 'themselves looked upon as delegates from the Supreme Government and being thereby treated with respect and obedience assume such liberties and arrogate such powers in the name of Government as only ensure them success in their smuggling views and private operations.'¹⁹ The affidavit sworn by Hugh Moore and William Collins makes no bones about the fact that the people in the respective areas opportunely waved the English flag as if their conduct of trade had been 'legitimate'. On the face of it, it would seem that on the arrival of Jones, the local heads, even the Tidoran prince, did not think to bother concealing the information about the spice trade or hiding their spices as they had been done during the occupation of the Dutch. There is also a possibility that Resident Jones did not inform the local leader about who he really was. Later, when the Seramese heads realized the 'danger', they did keep their council and no longer told the Resident about the principal authors of trade spice. They did no more than intimate that these were in Ambon, but they did not reveal their names or ranks. Prince Saintolo, for example, only told him in Malay that the principal leaders masterminding the spice trade were the *Toewan Toewan Walanda*, 'the Dutch gentlemen.'²⁰

The people of Saparua were also active in the trade. They had made some advanced agreements to supply the East Seramese with cloves, which they expected to be transferred on East Seram or the adjacent islands and then carried away by the Bengal ships in the same or some similar manner. This was evident from the papers found on board the brig the *Tweed*, the property of James Scott and Company at Pulau Penang. The crew of the *Tweed* was active in the trade on East Seram, and came to Ambon in 1798, evidently intent on the same business because the letter of instruction to the

¹⁸ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, From Resident W. Jones, Amboyna to Bengal, 20 June 1798, 3492.

¹⁹ IOR/P/242/14 M Pub C, 31 May 1799, Resident Farquhar, Amboyna, to Governor General in Council, Bengal, 4 April 1799, 2163. See also IOR/F/4/74/1617, Second Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore, 7 February 1801, A. Dalrymple, Bengal Political Consultation 28 June 1799, from letter of Resident Farquhar to Bengal, 4 April 1799.

²⁰ IOR/P/242/8 M.Pub.C. 26 October 1798, Resident Jones, Ambon, to Madras, 9 July 1798, 3509.

captain from the supercargo said that he was to purchase cloves at the rates agreed on the year before.²¹ Sultan Nuku, via his adherents on Seram and the islands east of it, exchanged cloves for the commodities which the natives of these islands wanted.²²

There is pretty strong evidence to draw the conclusion that the upsurge in the spice trade in these areas bore a strong correlation to the English occupation after 1796, but this trade had possibly already begun to pick up momentum before the occupation of the English when Dutch Government was severely debilitated and the power and control of Prince Nuku was on the rise in East Seram, Halmahera, and the Raja Ampat, which had been the case since 1792. Even then increasing numbers of English country traders were pouring in, although not as many as during the English occupation. During the first British occupation, the control and surveillance of the centre of cloves production had inevitably slackened. The English officers in charge of the security of the area had neither the power nor the experience of the Dutch to pursue this task properly. Pragmatically, the people of the central production areas saw this as an opportunity to sell their spices to English country traders in East Seram, Halmahera, and the Raja Ampat at much higher prices. For the Seramese in particular, the benefits of this trade were far greater than in the Dutch time.²³

Wright concluded that after the capture of Amboina and Banda in 1796, the global prices of cloves and nutmegs had fallen because the English Company did not control supplies with an iron hand and failed to prevent the Ambonese and Seramese from selling spices to other parties. Jones' successor, Farquhar, estimated that the Company had already 'lost' £400,000. In continental India, cloves were cheap and in abundant supply because of sales by the EIC in Madras and imports by the country traders. Given this situation, the most important issue in efforts to preserve the spice monopoly was how to deal with the Seramese, the English country traders, and Sultan Nuku's power over and claim to East Seram.²⁴ Resident Jones was confident that Sultan Nuku had no claim whatsoever to Seram itself, let alone the Seramese. In this affair, any rights the Seramese may have had were out of question, completely ignored. He 'only' considered that there had been a treaty concluded between Sultan of Tidore and the Dutch VOC

²¹ IOR/P/242/10 M Pub. C, 15 February 1799, From Resident Jones to Madras, 27 November 1798, 350-1.

²² IOR/P/242/11, M.M.Pol.C., February 1799, From Resident Jones, Amboyna, to Madras, 23 November 1798, 485.

²³ IOR/P/242/10 M Pub.C. 15 February 1799, Resident Jones to Madras, 27 November 1798, 349.

²⁴ IOR/P/242/14 M Pub C, 31 May 1799, Resident Farquhar, Amboyna, to Governor General in Council, Bengal, 4 April 1799, 2166; See also Wright, "The Moluccan spice monopoly", 27.

in the year 1769. He wrote, "The English being the protector of the Amboyna Islands and the exclusive traffic certainly belonging to the Company, the laws relative to the smuggling spices of course remain as they formerly did."²⁵

He was convinced that the English 'subjects' in contravention of the laws on 'smuggling' spices here ought to be punished, yet the danger of seizing property, unless on very sure ground, was enough to deter him from arresting these people.²⁶ Jones promulgated a placard stating that 'the Company had claims to the Islands of Seram and those eastward of it and would punish those who engaged in the contraband traffic of cloves.' The placard was read publicly in the presence of the heads of Werinama, Hatumeten, and Tobo, who were in his eyes 'notorious' for the spice trafficking. Raja Tobo, reportedly a staunch adherent of Sultan Nuku, was handed copies of the placard for distribution. These were given to him on the understanding he was to distribute them to other *negeri* at the eastern end of Seram. The Raja promised to forward it to them. The Resident told him that, if the traders on East Seram did not receive a copy, the Raja should return them to him in Ambon.²⁷

Jones believed that there should be an absolute prohibition on English private traders coming to these islands. Coastguard vessels would be stationed during the clove season to ensure that the produce of the islands would not be lost to the Company and fall prey to adventurers. He was certain that this strategy would stop the leakage of cloves, as no capital equal to that of the English merchants would be risked. Balinese, Buginese, and other Malay vessels which might try their hand at the traffic should be chased away or destroyed.²⁸ In this way, the monopoly of the spice trade could be secured although at heavy expense because of the enormous cost

²⁵ IOR/F/4/74/1617, Second Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore, 7 February 1801, A. Dalrymple, Bengal Political Consultation, letter of Resident Jones to Bengal, 23 November 1798.

²⁶ IOR/P/242/11, M.M.Pol.C., February 1799, From Resident Jones, Amboyna, to Madras, 23 November 1798, 485-7.

²⁷ IOR/P/242/10 M Pub. C, 15 February 1799, Resident Jones to Madras, 27 November 1798, 348-9.

²⁸ IOR/P/242/11 M Pub C, 23 February 1799, Jones to Lord Mornington, Governor General in Council, Bengal, 23 November 1798, 482-3. See also IOR/F/4/74/1617, Second Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore, 7 February 1801, A. Dalrymple, Comment on the above-quoted letter of Resident Jones to Bengal, 18 March 1799. "The Dutch with all their severe laws and great expense in armaments, were never able to prevent the trade of cloves; which were brought from Ceram to Bencoolen, Sooloo, Mannilla etc by the Macassar prows. Nor is it possible to monopolize them, as it is totally impracticable to root out from such an immense extent, the natural production such as cloves as the repeated expeditions of the Dutch for that purpose demonstrate although those expeditions were very limited in extent."

of supporting and supplying the coastguards with stores and necessities. Even so he was not sanguine. He feared that, while the Company bore the burden, a few adventurers would reap a great part of the profits under pretences fabricated to deceive the Government.²⁹

Jones' suggestions and bitter complaints were ignored by the Supreme Government.³⁰ At the end of 1798 the ship *Brisk*, commanded by Captain Francis Lynch, arrived from Bengal with a pass from the Supreme Council for Amboina, Banda, and Eastern Parts. She was accompanied by the brig *Tender* from Pulau Penang, with a pass to the same effect from the superintendent there. In a frustrated tone, Jones wrote, 'Every precaution in my power will be used to prevent the clandestinely carrying away of the spices but without the prohibition of ships coming to trade in them, all our precautions will be, in a great degree, nugatory.' At the close of 1798, Jones handed in his resignation as Resident of Maluku.³¹

Jones was replaced by Robert Townsend Farquhar who shared the same view about enforcing English spice monopoly.³² The difference was that Farquhar was more resolute and decisive. In 1799 he undertook an expedition to Seram. On the eastern coast, he arrested Prince Ibrahim of Ternate and Raja Muda Zainal Abidin of Tidore on a charge of 'smuggling' and sent them into banishment in Madras. An Ambonese headman who was suspected of leaking cloves was sent to Bengal in chains. He even apprehended a European called John Currie and confiscated his stores.³³ During this expedition he also discovered the roles of Sultan Nuku, the East Seramese, and the English country traders. The interrogation of a number of captives revealed that the adherents of Sultan Nuku left on East Seram had been obliged to engage in the spice trade with Ambon to support him in his endeavours to conquer Ternate.³⁴

²⁹ IOR/P/242/10 M Pub. C, 15 February 1799, Resident Jones to Madras, 27 November 1798, 352. See also IOR/F/4/74/1617 Memoir concerning the capture of Ternate, Alexander Dalrymple, 31 March-11 April 1801, "The hopes of the Dutch to re-establish the monopoly of the spice trade are in vain, and every exertion to that purpose will end in fruitless expense of ruin."

³⁰ Wright, "The Moluccan spice monopoly", 29.

³¹ IOR/P/242/10 M Pub. C, 15 February 1799, Resident Jones to Madras, 11 December 1798, 366-367.

³² IOR/P/242/14 M Pub C, 31 May 1799, Resident Farquhar, Amboyna, to Governor General in Council, Bengal, 4 April 1799, 2167.

³³ Wright, "The Moluccan spice monopoly", 32.

³⁴ IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar to Commander of the forces at the Moluccas, Lieut. Col. McNeile, 22 June 1799, 3007.

The English Residents and the Capture of Ternate

On 17 February 1797, Eduard Pakenham commander of HMS *Resistance* sailed to Ternate, accompanied by the frigate *Bombay* and the brig *Amboyna*. Pakenham delivered a letter demanding Governor Budach surrender.³⁵ For a while confusion reigned since nobody understood English. Stepping into the breach, a French-speaking man undertook to try to guess the meaning. The letter implied that should the Ternate Government accept the offer of protection, its people would enjoy freedom and their private property and goods and chattels would not be touched. All employees would retain their positions and continue to be paid their salaries, as in Ambon and Banda. Governor Budach decided to refuse any 'protection' and to do everything possible to defend the precious possessions of the Company.³⁶ Instead of attacking Ternate, Pakenham and his fleet then sailed to Manado which was taken over without any significant resistance. Resident Durr, who had been in authority, explained to Budach that at the time of the appearance of the English fleet, he had only twenty-four men and that the Alifuru, who were supposed to defend for the area, had fled into the forest carrying their weapons with them.

This news was quite worrying for Ternate because the bulk of their supply of rice came from Manado. Budach asked the help of Sultan Ternate in an effort to obtain sago from his dependencies. Captain Pakenham explained that the seizure of Manado reaped the profit of forty men³⁷ and the trifling sum of 8,000 Rix Dollars annually, which would defray the whole expense of its present establishment, not even half of what had to be paid for the freight of a ship from Bengal. He calculated that Manado produced from 500 to 600 *last* of rice, 400 *last* of maize, a great quantity of gold dust, hogs, tobacco, wax, oil, and other refreshments in great abundance annually.³⁸ About the same time, Captain Selby captured a small fort at Gorontalo, another Dutch settlement in North Sulawesi, and delivered it to the native chiefs, on condition it be held for the English Government.³⁹ Around the month of June 1797, he had taken Kupang but that time he had been less lucky. There were no supplies there. Moreover, when having the ward off the resistance of the Dutch and the natives there, several of his

³⁵ ANRI 89.1, Ternate Council Meeting, 29.

³⁶ Leupe, "De verdediging van Ternate," 282-3.

³⁷ Pakenham did not specify this. He may have meant compulsory labourers or warriors.

³⁸ IOR/P/254/01 MMC, 8 August 1797, Pakenham to Madras, 19 May 1797, 4824.

³⁹ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Madras, 4 July 1797, 3017.

men were killed. Finally, he destroyed the 'works' and offered a small copper-bottomed brig captured at Kupang for sale.⁴⁰

In January 1798, as Miller indicates, there was evidence of British naval officers moving closer to active and open co-operation with Nuku, despite the official policy of avoiding either involvement with him personally or the annexation of Ternate. Captain Ballard of HMS *Hobart*, after having received the news about the pressure Nuku was exerting on Ternate, asked the army commander, Lieutenant-Colonel McNeile, for troops to capture the island. But McNeile refused to collaborate. Nevertheless, Ballard left for Ternate and arrived there on 27 January 1798. He sent a summons to the Governor to 'safeguard' Ternate against seizure by Nuku offering him British protection. Lieutenant Frost, on board the *Bombay*, who had been at 'Gaba' (perhaps Gebe) on Halmahera and had heard about the impact of Nuku's blockade on Ternate, also summoned Budach to capitulate enclosing a letter of capitulation and a letter from Sultan Nuku promising not to attack Ternate if the British flag were flying over the settlement. When Budach again refused to pay heed to these summonses, the *Hobart* and the *Bombay* anchored off Tidore, the first evidence of contact of Royal Navy and EIC ships with Nuku. A friendly atmosphere developed between the Navy and the people of Tidore. On 31 January, Nuku was given a thirteen-gun salute when he paid a visit to the *Bombay*, and Major Ceylon, *Kaicil* Gomarahongi, was similarly honoured with a five-gun salute. On 1 February, the 'Sultan of Gilolo', an ally of Nuku, visited the *Hobart* and was also saluted. HMS *Hobart* remained at 'single anchor at Tidore' until the morning of 2 February. The *Hobart* finally weighed anchor and departed for Ambon.⁴¹

Indeed there was internal disagreement between Captain Pakenham and Captain Ballard of the Royal Navy and William Jones, the EIC Commercial Resident of Ambon, and Lieut. Col. McNeile of the Army. Resident Jones, for example, believed that there was little advantage in capturing Manado because all it produced was wax and gold dust of inferior quality and paddy, which would not soon be ready for harvest. He objected to reserving a garrison for Manado, even more so because Captain Selby of the *Bombay* had already left twenty marines there. This meant that the English lacked sufficient forces in Ambon to take proper charge of the security.⁴² Lieut. Col. McNeile, commanding officer of the garrison, did not agree either but for different reasons. The absence of all the ships during the entire clove

⁴⁰ IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Madras, 4 July 1797, 3033. See also IOR/P/242/1 M Pub C, 15 December 1797, Jones to Lord Hobart Madras, 1 September 1797, 3852.

⁴¹ See Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 90-91.

⁴² IOR/P/241/74 M Pub C, 15 September 1797, Resident Moluccas, William Jones to Madras, 4 July 1797, 3018.

season left the centre of the production area exposed to hordes of 'smugglers', who came from other islands in armed fleets day and night. To thwart their actions effectively, he needed to detach as many Sepoys as possible because there were not enough guards remaining in the garrison. At the height of the nutmeg season, Banda was equally exposed to any armed ship, with a consequent rise in the chances of cases of 'smuggling'.⁴³

Contemplating the suggestion of capturing Ternate, Resident Jones was equally convinced that the Sultanate might be a burden to the British. It would embroil them with Nuku who might expect to possess the island himself and, portentously had the power to cause the British a significant degree of trouble. Another perturbing consideration was the protection of the Dutch inhabitants at the time of the 'surrender' and the possible difficulty of dealing with Nuku if, at the end of the war with France and the Netherlands, the island would have to be returned to the Dutch.⁴⁴ In short, Nuku and his power were perceived as a hampering factor and a source of difficulties in relation to any attempt to conquer Ternate. Jones himself was not certain about his own authority. Commenting on Captain Ballard's proposal to capture Ternate, he wrote, 'If the place surrenders to Captain Ballard, and any charge of it should be offered to me, I shall certainly feel myself under some degree of embarrassment, so far as may regard your Lordship's authority given to me in civil matters, over any conquests made amongst the Moluccans, but I apprehend it was not the intention that I should be obliged to accept charge of places, that may be taken without any concert on my part, or without my being consulted.'⁴⁵ The commander of the garrison in Ambon, Lieut. Col. McNeile, shared the view that the capture of Ternate would be an encumbrance. His main point was that, strategically speaking if troops were split up into small groups this would endanger the defence of Ambon. Therefore he informed Captain Pakenham that he would not send his troops to garrison Ternate if it fell to the British. As Miller puts it in his study *The Moluccas under the British*, the united disapproval of the naval, military, and commercial sections of Government was indicative of the 'clumsiness of the triumvirate'.⁴⁶ In the second half of 1798, all these problems began to weigh heavily upon Resident Jones, who felt concerned about the increase in 'illicit trade' in Seram, and he began to contemplate co-operating with Nuku. 'If we are to continue longer in possession of these Islands, I think it would contribute to our advantage to have possession of Ternate also, and I should suppose Nooko would be willing to let us have it, on much the same terms as the Dutch, that is letting him have the title (of Sultan), and paying him a subsidy; whether

⁴³ IOR/P/254/01 MMC, 8 August 1797, Colonel McNeile to Lord Hobart, Madras, 20 May 1797, 4840.

circumstances admit of an expedition being sent against it is a matter which I cannot of course pretend to judge of.⁴⁷

Right from the outset of his administration, Robert Townsend Farquhar, who had replaced William Jones as Resident Ambon on 1 February 1799, was more determined than his predecessor to seize Dutch Ternate. He underlined the economic benefits which would accrue from the abundance of spices in its vicinity. 'By the possession of Ternate we should acquire that extensive knowledge of the Spice Islands which would prove of lasting benefit to our trade in these seas for from all the information. I have been able to trace, the produce of spices on the dependencies of Ternate is much more luxuriant and rapid than at Amboyna, and Banda spices indeed were first brought from thence and introduced afterwards in these Islands to facilitate the monopoly. The clove and nutmeg trees grow wild as far as the interior parts of New Guinea, which also appertains to Ternate, and so susceptible is the soil that the trees sprout up spontaneously faster than the Dutch can root them up...' Besides economic advantages, Farquhar also felt a conviction that the British would improve their political control if they could steal a march and capture Ternate before Nuku did. 'We become acquainted fully with the navigation and harbors thereabouts, the quantity of the produce, the manners, and customs of the natives and cultivate a friendship with them while we have it in our power which Newko, after he had once got possession would be equally tenacious of permitting us to obtain as the Dutch Newko's possession of the Island I am convinced would turn out but of small, if any advantage, to the English.'⁴⁸

Obviously Farquhar equated capturing Ternate with putting a check on the expansion of Nuku's power. If Nuku conquered Ternate, he would acquire far more influence over the native Malukans. 'The Ternateans would become his slaves in a certain degree and he was sufficiently powerful to have an absolute will of his own.' In view of his personality, there was a good chance that after seizing large acquisitions of military stores, ammunition, and boats from Ternate, Nuku's formerly courteous and friendly disposition to the British might undergo a sea change. Were he to

⁴⁴ IOR/F/4/74/1617, Second Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore, 7 February 1801, A. Dalrymple, Quotation from a letter of Resident Jones to Bengal, 11 January 1798.

⁴⁵ IOR/P/242/4 M Pub C, 27 April 1798, Resident Jones, Ambon to Madras, 11 January 1798, 936.

⁴⁶ IOR/P/254/18 MMC, 25 May 1798, Lieut. Col. McNeile to Madras, 1 April 1798, 3460. See also Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 83.

⁴⁷ IOR/P/242/9 M Pub. C, December 1798, Resident Jones to Madras, 24 August 1798, 4076.

⁴⁸ IOR/P/242/14 M Pub C, 31 May 1799, Resident Farquhar, Amboyna, to Madras, 5 April 1799, 2184-2185.

become more independent, this would definitely mean plenty of trouble for the British. Farquhar was convinced that Nuku's supporters consisted of 'deserters, pirates, smugglers, and every kind of despicable outcasts.'⁴⁹ He was perfectly well aware that the adherents of Nuku based on Seram had been obliged to undertake 'illicit' trade to support Nuku in hostile operations against Ternate.⁵⁰ If Nuku managed to capture Ternate, the survival of monopoly would be jeopardized.

Farquhar also observed that Governor Cranssen might not be averse to making a rapprochement with Nuku. In a meeting with Nuku's envoy Hukum Ismael, he was informed that the Dutch Government of Ternate had made Sultan Nuku tentative peace overtures. He said that Governor Cranssen had promised to double the yearly allowance to the Sultan, and to create a Sultan of Jailolo, in compliance with Nuku's wishes. Cranssen stressed that he would do his utmost to make the new alliance as profitable as the Sultan might possibly desire. He also promised he would furnish Sultan Nuku with cloths and all kinds of other merchandise on credit, to be paid for in one, two, or three years. For this purpose, Sultan Nuku and Raja Jailolo were even invited to visit the Dutch Government on Ternate. Farquhar reported that the Hukum had said, 'However advantageous these proposals were for the Tidoreans, he was empowered to declare, that if the English would undertake the capture of Ternate seriously, which Admiral Rainier had promised, as far back as the year 1796, they would immediately break off the existing negotiations with the Dutch; or that if the Resident would give them any prospect of our cooperation at any fixed period, they would decline the offer of the Dutch, who they could never look upon in any other light, than the most cruel and unfaithful of European Nations; but that the support of some European power was indispensable that they had been accustomed to it for centuries, and had flattered themselves that the English would have afforded them their support, for the last six years; and that now they would be reduced, by necessity, to accept of the Dutch terms, unless the English would come to some definite resolution.'⁵¹ Farquhar

⁴⁹ IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar to Commander of the forces at the Moluccas, Lieut. Col. McNeile, 22 June 1799, 2998. See also IOR/F/4/74/1617 Memoir concerning the capture of Ternate, Alexander Dalrymple, 31 March-11 April 1801, no page.

⁵⁰ IOR/P/242/15 M Pub C, August 1799, Resident Farquhar to Commander of the forces at the Moluccas, Lieut. Col. McNeile, 22 June 1799, 3007.

⁵¹ Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802, "Conference held in the Government house at the Fort Victoria, present RT Farquhar Esquire, Resident, Lieut. Aldridge, Malay Interpreter, and the Hoekoem Ismael, Ambassador from Prince Newco, and three chiefs of Tidore" 27 October 1800, 87-88. See also Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802; a copy deposition from Hookum Ismael, Senghadji Marieko, and Djurutulis Abdul

perceived that the friendly relationship between Sultan Nuku and the British would not last unless the British fulfilled their 'promises' to assist him in his war against the Dutch. He thought it was quite natural that Sultan Nuku should be disgusted with the manner in which the British had repeatedly put him off.⁵²

Despite his determination to seize Ternate, Farquhar could not afford to allow his attention to wander from the problem of dealing with the private traders in East Seram, who were thought to be acting in a way harmful to the British interests. The private trade in East Seram and Seram Laut involved the English country traders, Nuku's men, and princes of Tidore and Ternate. A number of people connected with the trade were interrogated. The property of John Currie was seized.⁵³ Farquhar also arrested Prince Ibrahim and Raja Muda Zainal Abidin because the princes had allegedly intercepted Nuku's annual revenues from East Seram and New Guinea.⁵⁴ Until the arrival of new military commander Colonel Burr in November 1800, Farquhar was not able to execute his planned expedition against Ternate because Burr's predecessor, Lieut. Col. McNeile, was opposed to the plan, which tied Farquhar's hands, making it impossible for him to mobilize the British troops.⁵⁵

On 22 January 1801, the fleet consisting of HMS *La Virginie* and *Hobart*, and the Company armed vessels the *Ternate* and the *Splinter*, the galley *Success* and the transport vessel the *Henrietta* departed from Amboyna. The ships arrived in the Ternate roads on 10 February, and Captain Boles, accompanied by Captain Aldridge and Lieutenant Rylee of the *La Virginie*, was dispatched under a flag of truce with a summons to the Governor demanding the surrender of the fort and its dependencies. When Governor Cranssen rejected the demands hostilities broke out. On that same day, a fleet of *prahu* and *kora-kora* loyal to Sultan Nuku appeared in the roads under the command of the Prince Major, who had orders from Sultan Nuku to join forces with the British. However Burr, who had been ordered by

Gaffar, commissioned from the Court of Tidore for the conclusion of a peace and entering into a contract of alliance with the Geovernor and Council at Ternate, 20 October 1801, 109.

⁵² Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802, 89. "Conference held in the Government house at the Fort Victoria, present RT Farquhar Esquire, Resident, Lieut. Aldridge, Malay Interpreter, and the Hoekoem Ismael, Ambassador from Prince Newco, and three chiefs of Tidore" 27 October 1800, 91.

⁵³ IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Resident Farquhar to Madras, 20 February 1800, 2077; IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Farquhar to Bengal, 20 December 1799, 2139; and IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Interrogation with First Lieut. John Currie, 3 November 1799, 2101.

⁵⁴ IOR/P/242/22 M Pub C, 11 July 1800, Farquhar to Bengal, 20 December 1799, 2140.

⁵⁵ IOR/P/254/18 MMC, 25 May 1798, Lieut. Col. McNeile to Madras, 1 April 1798, 3460.

Farquhar to dispense with Nuku's services, declined the offer accordingly. The Prince Major kept his distance during the whole of the attack but, as Burr put it, was 'perfectly ready to act in case he should be called upon.'⁵⁶ During the attack, a disagreement occurred between the Commander of HMS *La Virginie*, Captain George Astle, and Colonel Burr commanding the troops on the eastern part of the Island. Consequently the attack failed and most of the forces retreated to Ambon.⁵⁷

A second attack was soon prepared. On 2 April the fleet had been made ready.⁵⁸ Learning from the failure, Farquhar and Burr seemed to realize that the British needed more assistance from the country traders bolstered by the co-operation of Sultan Nuku.⁵⁹ Farquhar wrote a letter to Francis Lynch requesting him to go to Tidore and prepare fourteen to twenty big *kora-kora*, capable of carrying large-calibre guns, chiefly nine-pounders.⁶⁰

The British fleet reached Tidore on 23 April. It took a week for the Tidoran fleet to join the combined forces. Captain Brougham was dispatched to Governor Cranssen with a summons.⁶¹ By the time Brougham returned with a negative answer, the fleet had already arrived at Ternate. The ships had spent this period lying at anchor waiting for Sultan Nuku's vessels to arrive and preparing a plan of operations. Burr intended to attack the town with the assistance of the Sultan's boats, but the Tidorans did not obey Burr's order to row in close to the shore when the British troops attacked. Therefore the plan to take the town in one fell swoop was not accomplished.⁶²

On 5 May, Captain Walker disembarked with his European and native troops. They simply cleared away the jungle to set up a battery for the attack on the redoubt Kayu Merah (Kalamata). Burr and his men joined them three days later. In the end any fighting was superfluous because Captain Aldridge was able to gain possession of the strong redoubt Kayu Merah shortly after

⁵⁶ IOR/P/254/74 MMC, 2 June 1801, Burr to Madras, 28 February 1801, 4066-4068.

⁵⁷ IOR/P/254/74 MMC, 2 June 1801, Burr to Madras, 28 February 1801, 4057-4058. See also IOR/P/254/74 MMC, 2 June 1801, Detailed Narrative, No 18, Burr to Madras, 28 February 1801 4073-4082.

⁵⁸ The fleet consisted of six ships and the land forces amounted to 329 fighting men, Europeans and natives' infantry, and artillery. IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7184-5.

⁵⁹ Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 128.

⁶⁰ IOR/P/255/11 MMC 7 September 1802, Resident Farquhar to Francis Lynch, 13 March 1801, 5822-5823

⁶¹ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7185. See also letter containing offer of summons IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, 7220-2; Col Burr to Governor Cranssen, 28 April 1801, 7224-5; 29 April 1801, 7222-3; letter responding the summons, IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Governor Cranssen and council to Col Burr, 29 April 1801, 7226.

⁶² IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7186-7187.

midnight with the help of a Dutch deserter.⁶³ This was followed by the assault on the hill battery of Talangnani. After a bombardment by the *Swift*, the Tidorans tried to storm the hill but were repulsed. Thereupon Burr hacked a road through the jungle and hills to take up a commanding position at the rear of Talangnani. A detachment of 100 men, and two field pieces, plus the pioneers, lascars, and 300 Tidorans, set out for the final attack under the command of Captain Brougham on the morning of 15 May. The hill battery was taken on that same evening,⁶⁴ after the surrounding batteries had been captured.

The *Swift* and *Star* launched another attack on Fort Oranje and the town on 16 May. The blockade by the British ships aroused widespread resentment among the local inhabitants of Ternate who bewailed the constant danger to which they were exposed during the bombardments. Many inhabitants began to cross over to the British, complaining about their situation 'in very ominous and despairing terms' about the present occasion and imploring the protection of the British.⁶⁵ They were collected together on a neighbouring island and provided with a daily ration of rice, chillies, and salt sufficient to keep them alive.⁶⁶ Observing the superiority of his power and the demoralized attitude of the Dutch garrison, Commander Burr again sent Captain Brougham to Fort Orange to repeat the offer of 'protection' or surrender. The reply was again negative.⁶⁷

On 20 June a deserter arrived with the intelligence that Governor Cranssen had been arrested by the inhabitants and placed in confinement. This report seemed to be verified by the fact the Dutch had ceased firing during the day and was finally confirmed in the evening by the arrival of four commissioners under a flag of truce. They said that Governor Cranssen of Ternate had been relieved of his office and that they had been duly authorized by the members of the Dutch Council to discuss the terms of

⁶³ "It is a very strong redoubt surrounded with a fosse (a long narrow trench or excavation), and has a drawbridge but is commanded by the hill battery of Tallangnany consisting of two 18 pounders, two 6, and a 41/2 inch mortar. We could only bring two 12 to bear upon it, and for two or three days on heavy cannonade was kept up on both sides and many shells were thrown by the enemy but the works of the fort sustained very inconsiderably injury except the gate which was blown almost to pieces. Our loss was one European private and two Bengal Sepoys killed and two or three others wounded." Writes Burr. See IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7189-7191.

⁶⁴ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7191-7193.

⁶⁵ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7195-7196. See also IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, letter informing the capture of the Dutch vessels and the will to return the private letters and belongings of Governor cranssen, Col Burr to Governor Cranssen, 25 May 1801, 7228-7229.

⁶⁶ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7199.

⁶⁷ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7196.

capitulation.⁶⁸ The Dutch suggested surrendering on 23 June, but Burr wanted this done immediately. Despite Governor Cranssen's steadfast refusal, on 21 June, Ternate officially surrendered. The capitulation was performed symbolically when the Dutch soldiers marched out and laid down their arms.⁶⁹ On 6 July Governor Cranssen, his officers and soldiers were sent to Batavia with their families on the brig the *Kraay*—owned by a Chinese Jan Sitiong—for 3,000 Spanish Dollars.⁷⁰

Aborted Recognition

Colonel Burr was disappointed by the lack of fighting spirit displayed by his Tidoran allies, but he appreciated their help in supplying troops. Without their aid, said Burr, it would have been impossible for the British soldiers to venture away from the beach. The Tidorans furnished the British troops abundantly with local products and lived in the greatest harmony with them.⁷¹ More than 500 Ambonese had volunteered their services (among whom 150 were employed under their own raja) and behaved themselves 'in the most zealous, gallant, and faithful manner.' To show his gratitude Farquhar presented Anthony Petrus Manusama, the Raja of Ouw, with a medal in 'testimony and admiration of the Radjah's zeal in the British cause, strikingly displayed, by his leaving his native country, at the head of 150 Amboynese and greatly contributing by his heroic intrepidity to the success of the British arms at Ternate.'⁷²

In general, Resident Farquhar also showed his regard for and gratitude to Sultan Nuku praising the attachment he had shown the British, and sending him a number of presents with the *Princess Charlotte*.⁷³ After Ternate had been conquered, Farquhar subsequently occupied himself with the collection of spices. Not until mid-October 1801 did he arrive at Ternate to discuss the

⁶⁸ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7202-7203.

⁶⁹ IOR/P/242/35 M Pub C, 30 October 1801, Terms of capitulation demanded by the undersigned deputies of the council of Ternate, John Rodijk and Lucas Huizinga and the English captains J Brougham and J Walker, 21 June 1801, 4838-4850. See also Report of the conquest of Ternate, P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 30 June 1801, 7233-7246.

⁷⁰ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7209, 7254.

⁷¹ IOR/P/254/79 MMC, 3 November 1801, Col Burr to Madras, 31 July 1801, 7207.

⁷² Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February, fols. 41, 42, and 76.

⁷³ Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802, "Substance of the extracts of a letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, to the Madras Government relative to Sultan Newco and the Island of Geby, transmitted in October last to Amboyna for the guidance of the Civil authority there," 3.

contents of the treaty between the English Government and the Sultanate of Tidore with Sultan Nuku. This treaty, which consisted of eighteen articles, was signed on 12 November 1801. On this day, as Resident Farquhar expressed it, 'Newco was solemnly crowned in Fort Orange Sultauun of Tidore an honor which he had been fighting with the Dutch to obtain for 20 years. It must have been an inexpressible satisfaction to the old man 66 years of age perfectly decrepid from persecution and continued hardships to have still accomplished the darling object of his heart before his death and the pleasing reflection will no doubt contribute in a powerful degree to render his latter days a scene of happiness to himself and grateful thanks givings to the English.'⁷⁴ This coronation was important to Sultan Nuku. He had even specially requested that a day be appointed for the ceremony. Although he had reigned the Sultanate of Tidore for almost four years, to be crowned and confirmed by a European power was important recognition for him.⁷⁵ He was no longer a 'prince rebel' but a 'Sultan', at least in the eyes of the English.

In the treaty articles, Tidore was now referred to as an ally, no longer as a vassal. In the preamble it was stated that Sultan Nuku of Tidore was in 'uninterrupted and unshaken fidelity, amity and alliance to his Imperial Majesty George the Third.' Sultan Nuku, as he had wished for such a long time, now obtained a position superior to that of the Sultan of Ternate, receiving higher compensation money, and enjoyed a different atmosphere in his relations with the English. He would receive 6,000 Spanish Dollars recognition money annually from the British Government. All the treaties which the Tidore Sultanate had concluded in the past were annulled and no new treaties were allowed with other nations. Therefore, under the terms of this treaty, Tidore became an independent state. Nuku relinquished his claim to Banda, which was put under the direct administration of the British. Article 5 was the most important to the British: all spices (nutmegs, mace, and cloves) had to be delivered to the EIC at Rds 30 per *pikul* for mace and Rds 15 per *pikul* for cloves.⁷⁶ To guarantee the enforcement of the delivery of the spices in the following Article, 6, it was stated that 'smugglers' among the common people would be sentenced to death, whereas trespassing nobles or ministers would be banished to wherever the EIC might think it proper.⁷⁷ When it was all said and done, the EIC took over the VOC spice

⁷⁴ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2547.

⁷⁵ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2535.

⁷⁶ The price for nutmeg was mentioned.

⁷⁷ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2568.

monopoly. The treaties and the reports of Farquhar's arrangements on Ternate did not reach Madras until June 1802.⁷⁸

In Sultan Nuku's past battles against the Dutch, the possession of Seram, especially East Seram, had been an important bone of contention. He had insisted that the cession of Seram by his father Sultan Jamaludin to compensate the 'debt' of Sultan Tidore had only been made for a fourteen-year term, not in perpetuity.⁷⁹ During the negotiations with Farquhar, his representatives also asserted that the land of Great Seram should be restored to them because those territories were the most ancient dominions of the Sultanate of Tidore. Despite these claims, Farquhar was prepared to defend the British right to control Seram. In his face-to-face talks with Sultan Nuku, it seems that he managed to persuade him: '...after some conversation with his Majesty [it] was decided in favour of the Company, and Newco very handsomely agreed to relinquish all claims whatever to Ceram and the circumjacent small Islands to the eastward of it in favor of the Honorable English East India Company.' It was clear that the English had to keep Seram under 'the sole and undivided authority' if they were to suppress smuggling effectively.⁸⁰ This was certainly a setback in Nuku's struggle.

The revival of the 'Jailolo Sultanate' was another one of the ideas pivotal to Nuku's attempt to restore the four kingdoms in Maluku.⁸¹ In his

⁷⁸ Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 162.

⁷⁹ The debt that Sultan Tidore had incurred, according to the contract between the Dutch and Tidore 23 June 1733, had no follow up. In order to resolve the 'problem', Governor of Ternate Hermanns Munnik imposed a 'contract' on 12 June 1768 stating that Sultan Jamaludin did not have to pay the debt but he had to cede Seram and other islands, which rights had been attributed to him in the contract of 5 May 1700, to the Company in perpetuity. In his letter of 4 August 1768, the Sultan tried to negotiate that the cession would be for twenty years only. Prince Nuku also opposed the cession and insisted that it should have been only for fourteen years. However, the Company (HR) persisted that the cession was to be applied forever (*voor altoos*). In return for the cession, Sultan received a "geschenk" Rds 400. It was not referred to as a 'penningen' but as 'een vriendelijk gedenkteken van wegen de Compagnie tot vaster onderhouden der wederzijde harmonie and bondgenootschap.' See Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 262.

⁸⁰ IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2545.

⁸¹ Concerning this matter, Farquhar explained, "Before these Islands became subject to Europeans and even under the dominion of Portuguese the territories of Gilolo formed a sultanhip of themselves but when the Spaniards obtained possession of Spice Islands and other valuable dependencies which had belonged to the Sultauns of Ternate and Tidore, they deemed it politic to destroy the sovereignty of Gilolo and to divide its territories between the two powers of Ternate and Tidore as a sort of compensation to them for abdicating other possessions. But when Prince Newco seized upon the throne of Tidore and commenced hostilities against the Dutch he endeavoured to bring under his influence the whole of Gilolo and the more effectually to accomplish this end and to weaken the power of the Dutch or what was the same thing that of their ally the King of Ternate..."

negotiations with Farquhar, Nuku made every attempt to elicit Farquhar's recognition of the claims of the pretender known as 'Raja Jailolo' to that throne. Farquhar was not willing to honour the joint request submitted by Nuku and Raja Jailolo because he believed that this was a part of Nuku's scheme to weaken Ternate's power in Halmahera (Jailolo), and that of the Dutch as well. If the Sultanate of Jailolo were restored, all the Halmahera Islands would then fall under Nuku's influence. The restoration of the Jailolo Sultanate would indubitably give a real boost to Nuku's power, as the present 'Raja Jailolo' held significant sway over Halmahera which was now a portion of Ternate territory. Farquhar anticipated that Nuku would become much more powerful than the Ternate Sultanate. He argued that it was important to keep the balance of power between Ternate and Tidore. But he was careful not to reject Nuku's request too bluntly. He prudently compromised by showing his gratitude to Raja Jailolo for his assistance rendered during the siege of Ternate. He granted him a 'certain sum for his service during the siege'.⁸²

Anti-climax in Nuku's struggle

The English Government in Madras judged that the reduction of Ternate would run counter to the policy which it had been expressed in its despatches to the former commercial Resident, William Jones, and to the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Colonel McNeile, expressing the inexpediency of the enterprise. When the Madras Government heard about the first attack against Ternate, an order was immediately sent to delay any second such aggression, but the letter arrived too late.⁸³ The Government in Madras roundly condemned the actions of Farquhar and Burr: 'The Government in council was unprepared to expect the danger to be apprehended from the absurd and unjustifiable measures recently adopted by the civil and military authorities on the spot.'⁸⁴ Therefore they decided to relieve both of their office, Farquhar as Resident of Ambon and Banda and Colonel Burr as Military Commander in Maluku. On 16 January Colonel

IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2530-2531.

⁸² IOR/P/242/42, M Pub.C, 25 June 1802, From Farquhar to Madras, 1 January 1802, 2530-2533.

⁸³ Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 135.

⁸⁴ Add. Mss. 13869, Farquhar Defence on his conduct in the Moluccas, 28 February 1802, "Copy letter from Madras to Farquhar" 14 July 1801, 15.

Oliver was appointed to take charge of the entire civil and military administration in these Islands.⁸⁵

On 25 March 1802, only two months after Colonel Oliver had replaced Farquhar, the Treaty of Amiens was concluded between the French Republic, the King of Spain, and the Batavian Republic on one side and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland on the other. The treaty stipulated that the evacuation and restitution of the conquered places in the East Indies should be made within six months of the ratification of the said treaty.⁸⁶ As soon as he was informed of this, the Dutch Governor-General in Batavia appointed commissioners who were to sail immediately to the Malukan Islands in a Dutch frigate. A force of 1,000 men, under the command of the Frenchman Colonel De Jet, prepared to repossess all the settlements in the Malukan Seas.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the orders of the Governor in Madras to evacuate the Maluku were issued in Madras on 9 February 1803. The Governor-General in Bengal appointed Farquhar the British Commissioner.⁸⁸

In May 1802, there had been friction between Sultan Nuku, some country traders, and the Company when the Acting-Administrator in Ternate, Webber, learned that Nuku had agreed to supply a country trader, Captain Court of the ship *Sultan*, with spices at a purchase price 100 per cent higher than that paid by the Company. Initially Webber thought that deliveries had already been made, but understood later that Nuku was in Court's debt. After Nuku had informed him that the spices due for delivery to the Company were not yet ready,⁸⁹ the Resident Colonel Oliver reminded Nuku about his obligation to sell spices only to the Company. The Sultan of Tidore replied that 'he had already issued strict injunctions thro' his dominions to that effect, and should anyone be found to act the contrary, he assured Colonel Oliver that he (would) cause the smuggler to be beheaded'. Nuku may have been incapable of curtailing the smuggling among his

⁸⁵ IOR/P/242/35 M Pub C, 16 October 1801, From Madras to Farquhar, 17 October 1801, 4554-4555.

⁸⁶ IOR/P/242/55, M Pub C, 21/10/1803, Dutch Articles signed by W.J. Cranssen, C.S. Wieling, and A.Mellison (?), 21 February 1803, 3904-8; English articles signed by Oliver and Arthur Molesworth, 5 August 1803, 3908-1918.

⁸⁷ IOR/P/316/124, M Pol C, 15/11/1803, Commissioner for conducting the restitution of the eastern settlements to the Batavian republic, RT Farquhar to Madras, (Prince of Wales Island) 9 May 1803, 1785-1786.

⁸⁸ IOR/P/316/121, M Pol C, 3/5/1803, Bengal to Madras, 15 March 1803, 337. See also IOR/P/316/121, M Pol C, 3/5/1803, Bengal to Farquhar, 15 March 1803, 354-84; See also his special tasks concerning the possibility of the renewal of hostilities between the French and the Great Britain IOR/P/Sec/Mad/14, MSC 3/5/1803, from Bengal to Farquhar, 18 March 1803, 175-195.

⁸⁹ IOR/P/255/12 MMC 15 October 1802, Henry Webber, Ternate, to Col. James Oliver, Ambon, 12 May 1802, 6736-6737. See also Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 162.

subjects, but it is also possible that he was simply shrewdly selling to the highest bidder.⁹⁰

In political his negotiations Nuku had also displayed an insistent and independent attitude towards the British. During the talks between Nuku and Colonel Oliver about the cession of Gebe and Fau⁹¹ to the British, Nuku showed himself more uncompromising than he had been in his past negotiations. He demanded certain conditions if the cession were to be made: first raising the price of nutmegs to 50 Spanish Dollars per *pikul*, a price much higher than that agreed in the treaty. Oliver rejected the price, which he calculated would amount to an annual tribute to Nuku far above the payment of Sp \$ 3,000 or 4,000 he was willing to pay outright for the Island. Furthermore, Nuku insisted that the inhabitants of Gebe should remain under his authority, even though the Island would be under British rule.⁹² Oliver was furious. Responding to Oliver's rancour, Nuku replied by asserting that the inhabitants of Gebe 'must all be assembled in his (Nuku's) court on Tidore, for a decisive answer'.⁹³ Moreover, Nuku also again raised the issue of the recognition of the Sultan Jailolo, which he had allowed to lapse after his negotiations with Farquhar.⁹⁴ The relationship between the British and the Sultan of Tidore seemed close to breaking point when Nuku refused to visit Webber on Ternate to discuss the issues. This adamantly independent attitude adopted by Nuku may not have been unconnected with the rumours of peace emanating from Europe.

Indubitably, the Treaty of Amiens was bad news for Sultan Nuku. He had heard from Farquhar on Ternate that peace had been made between the English, French, and Dutch. He had stated that, with the exception of the English, he would never until Doomsday consider any European nation his friend, and begged that he might be looked upon as strictly attached to the British interests. Sultan Nuku averred that if the French or the Dutch were to regain possession of Maluku, he would not come to any terms of amity or alliance with them, but was determined to fight against them 'until his

⁹⁰ Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 163.

⁹¹ The English were interested in possessing Gebe and Obi as harbours to serve as victualling stations for their vessels. But this idea was soon abandoned because of the signing of the Peace Treaty of Amiens in 1802. See the cancellation in IOR/P/316/121, M Pol C, 3/5/1803, Bengal to Madras, 15 March 1803, 339.

⁹² IOR/P/255/12 MMC 15 October 1802, Col. James Oliver, Ambon to Madras, 6 July 1802, 6728; IOR/P/255/12 MMC 15 October 1802, From Sultan Nuku to Col. James Oliver, 12 May 1802, 6738.

⁹³ IOR/P/242/45, M Pub C, 8/10/1802, from Sultan Nuku to Oliver, n.d (around August 1802), 3978; IOR/P/255/12, MMC, 15/10/1802, From Oliver to Madras, 6 July 1802, 6728.

⁹⁴ IOR/P/255/12 MMC 15 October 1802, From Sultan Nuku to Madras, n.d., 6745.

dominions sink.⁹⁵ Consequently, after the restitution of the Maluku to the Dutch by the English, Sultan Nuku was unrelenting in his hostile attitude towards the Dutch, and continued to raise the British flag. This action certainly provoked the Dutch Commissioners to send a letter to the English Commissioner inquiring whether the British Government had authorized the Tidorans to use its flag and whether there were any English possessions on the Islands.⁹⁶

The various treaties between Resident Farquhar of Ambon and Ternate, Tidore, Bacan were also rescinded when the Governor-General in Bengal was apprised that stipulations of the treaties concluded by Farquhar with rulers in the Maluku could no longer be executed should there be an unreserved and unqualified restitution of the Dutch settlements and privileges in the Malukan Islands. Not only did the Governor-General in Council consider the agreements with Nuku to be abrogated, he categorized the Sultan of Tidore who had taken up arms against the Dutch as a 'rebel' against and a 'public enemy' of the Dutch. Accordingly, in the eyes of the Governor-General, the legality of Sultan Nuku could no longer be recognized. This abrogation was extended to the arrangements for the cession of the Gebe Islands. He stated: 'The assertion of our right to the Island of Geby might sanction a principle which eventually might prove extremely hazardous to the security of the British possessions in this quarter of the globe and the possible consequences of admitting such a principle with reference to our Tributaries and Dependants in India might greatly over balance any advantages which the British Government could derive from the possessions of the Island of Geby.'⁹⁷ Consequently, after the evacuation of Maluku by the British, Nuku had no choice but to deal with the Dutch under the leadership of his old enemy Governor Cranssen. Until his death in 1805, no treaty of peace had been concluded between Sultan Tidore, Nuku, and Governor Cranssen.

Tidore-English Relations in post-Nuku politics

The Treaty of Amiens was short-lived. In 1803 the war broke out again. This affected the attitude of Tidore towards the Dutch. It transpired that peaceful negotiations with Nuku were going to be extremely thorny as the enmity still smouldered. On 16 October 1804, the English Governor-General

⁹⁵ IOR/P/255/12 MMC 15 October 1802, From Sultan Nuku to Madras, 6745.

⁹⁶ IOR/P/242/55, M Pub C, 21/10/1803, From Dutch Commissioners, 23 June 1803, 4090.

⁹⁷ IOR/P/316/121, M Pol C, 3/5/1803, Bengal to Madras, 15 March 1803, 341, 342, 345-6.

dispatched an envoy (Francis Lynch), responsible to Farquhar who had been appointed British Commissioner, to maintain contact with Tidore. Whether this visit by the British Navy to Tidore was a stratagem of British policy to retain contact with Tidore is difficult to ascertain.⁹⁸ There is certainly no doubt that Nuku's successor, Sultan Zainal Abidin, who had to fight against the Dutch in the early months of his reign, enjoyed unexpected assistance from British Navy when the warship HMS *Greyhound* under the command of Captain Elphinstone, attended by the brig *Harrier*, arrived in the Ternate roadstead on 6 July 1806. After capturing the Dutch Brig *Christian Elizabeth* in Manado on 4 July, the British Navy captured another Dutch brig the *Belgica* at Ternate. The captured brig was brought by Elphinstone to Tidore, where Zainal Abidin welcomed the British captain with a military salute. They exchanged visits and on the basis of this cordial relationship, a deal was struck. The *Belgica* was sold to Zainal Abidin for 2,000 Rds.

In April 1807, an English private vessel, under Captain Elkelek (?), appeared off Gebe and Patani. Zainal Abidin sent *Kapitan Laut* Weda and Secretary Achmad on board with the information that Sultan Zainal Abidin was residing in Patani because Soasio, where Sultan used to live, had been destroyed by the Dutch. The ship called at Maba first to take on fresh water and here Prince Mossel arrived and came on board. He was saluted with canon shots and received a present of clothes, drinks and some more goods. Three days later the ship arrived in Patani, where Sultan Zainal Abidin came on board and requested assistance to defeat the Ternatan force which was stationed in Weda. He was given no firm commitment and the portents were bad: The captain did not salute him in the appropriate manner when he was leaving the ship. From Patani, the English ship proceeded to Weda and then sailed on Gorom. On Gorom, the crew was attacked by the East Seramese, infuriated by an attempt to harass a Seramese woman sexually by the English captain.⁹⁹ At the end of the year 1807, when the Dutch extended their control along the east coast of Halmahera, Zainal Abidin had to flee even further east to Misool.¹⁰⁰

On 3 January 1808, another expedition of twenty-five soldiers and a fleet of ten Ternatan *kora-kora*, under the command of Lieutenant Herder, were dispatched to the east coast of Halmahera (Maba).¹⁰¹ Zainal Abidin was lucky because he received assistance from an English country trader's ship, the *Lord Minto*, which also happened to be in Maba. During February-March 1808, a protracted and tiring battle was waged between the Dutch soldiers

⁹⁸ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 437; see also Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 185, 204.

⁹⁹ ANRI 89.2, Report of Patani and Weda heads, n.d. 1807.

¹⁰⁰ Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 207.

¹⁰¹ ANRI 89.2, Apart Letter to Batavia, 6 April 1808, n.p.

and a Ternatan force opposing Zainal Abidin assisted by the English ship the *Lord Minto*, armed with eight twelve-pounder and two six-pounder cannons, plus seventy-six soldiers most of whom were Muslims. In the resultant tug-of-war, neither side was able to gain supremacy.¹⁰² On 9 April 1808, Zainal Abidin and his wife sailed on the *Lord Minto* to Wosso - close to Maba - where he established his new base. In April-May 1808, Zainal and the *Lord Minto* unsuccessfully attempted to defeat the people of Patani who remained loyal to the Dutch. On 14 August 1808, Captain Grieg of the *Lord Minto* left behind two guns and as much ammunition as he could spare and departed. Zainal's secretary, Muslim, was on board, bearing a letter to the Governor-General in Calcutta, demanding 200 barrels of gunpowder, 300 muskets, ten six-pounder cannon, and twelve swivel guns.¹⁰³

The Governor-General in Calcutta fulfilled all of Zainal Abidin's demand. He even expressed his extreme concern about the unhappy condition to which the Sultan had been reduced. Carrying the presents and the requested munitions from the Governor-General, Captain Grieg of *Lord Minto* returned sometime around May-June 1809. All of a sudden Zainal Abidin's forces increased significantly. When the Dutch attacked again in June, they were surprised by the improved defences and the superior firing power of Zainal Abidin's men. In April-May 1810, two months after the re-occupation of Ambon by the British Navy, Zainal Abidin still was fighting the Dutch and Ternate, managing to force the Ternatans to retreat to Kau Bay. But before he was unable to return to his Sultanate and died on Tidore. Jamaludin, his young son, was appointed to succeed him as Sultan by the people of Maba on the east coast of Halmahera.¹⁰⁴

Closing Remarks

During the English occupation, Tidore and Nuku found that the English EIC Government had no intention of relinquishing the reins of 'Colonial Overlord.' The English persisted with the Dutch claim to possess the right to the monopoly on spices. In their attempt to enforce the monopoly, they ran into difficulties with Sultan Nuku and the East Seramese. Hampered by inadequate forces and lack of experience, the English were unable to prevent the 'smuggling' conducted by the local people in the centre of production, who willingly co-operated with the traders of East Seram and the Tidoran

¹⁰² ANRI 89.2, Apart Letter to Batavia, 6 April 1808; n.p. see also Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 209.

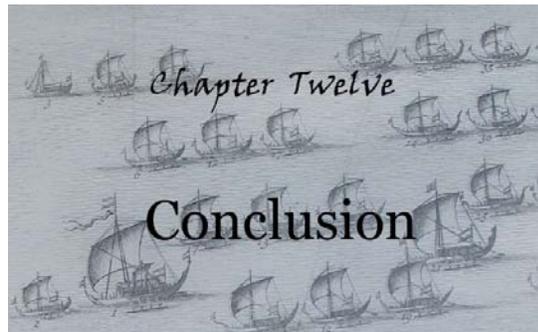
¹⁰³ Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 209, 210, 212

¹⁰⁴ Haga, *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea*, 450, 453; see also Miller, *The Moluccas under the British*, 212, 213, 219.

elite. To make matters worse, the English administration also had to deal with the Country Traders who maintained good relations with the traders both in East Seram and in Halmahera and the Raja Ampat. These Country Traders also received political back-up from certain high officials within EIC itself. The colonial administration strove to have Nuku regularly provide the amount of cloves at the agreed fixed price, but Nuku would eagerly break the agreement if he was able to deal with the Country Traders who were ready to purchase the cloves at a higher price.

The policy of the Resident Farquhar of Maluku to reduce Ternate and to conclude a treaty with Sultan Nuku was the greatest victory which Sultan Nuku was ever able to achieve during the presence of the English. Once Ternate was conquered, Tidore was referred to as an ally, no longer as a vassal. From that time politically Tidore enjoyed independence and a superior position to Ternate. Moreover, the treaties, which the Tidoran Sultanate had previously concluded with the Dutch were abrogated. In return, the British Government acquired the monopoly rights. Unfortunately this treaty was dissolved by the superior British Government in India in 1802. It marked the anti-climax in the long struggle of Nuku to achieve an Independent Maluku. In the end, the story of the relationship between Prince Nuku and the British Government tragically showed the powerlessness of small states in Southeast Asia in their relationships with European powers.

Increased trade with China and the need for exploration had enticed the English to the Maluku. A growing stream of country traders visited the area. The English occupation of Ambon and Banda in 1796 was actually one episode in a long story of rivalry between the English and the Dutch. The English had no formal policy concerning the affairs of Tidore. The absence of such a policy was exacerbated by the lack of knowledge on the nature of Malukan internal politics. It gave the 'men on the spot' in Maluku the room to develop internal policies on the basis of their own judgements and common sense. However, when the English had to deal with wider political matters, their policies were determined by their larger interests in European diplomacy, chiefly in terms of their rivalry with the French. If the European theatre made it possible to win over the Dutch from the French camp, the English were prepared to make concessions to them elsewhere in the world, for example, in Southeast Asia.



Wanneer men toch kennis gemaakt heeft met de gegevens omtrent de geschiedenis van dezen prins in het oud archief voorhanden, dan kan men in Noekoe onmogelijk een gewonen avonturier zien, zooals de Molukken er zo veele hebben opgeleverd; men komt integendeel tot de overtuiging, dat hij een staatkundig man was, die met ernst naar de grootheid en onafhankelijkheid van zijn Vaderland—de Molukken—streefde.¹

The high profits which the trade in spices promised to those who could gain control of their production and distribution in the Maluku Archipelago were an irresistible lure to traders from the West. The success of the Iberians in gaining mastery of the islands during the sixteenth century and that of the Dutch in the centuries which followed owed much to their formidable ships, armaments, and organization, in other words their naval supremacy. The Malukan rulers, whose military power was inferior to that of the European invaders, were presented with little choice in how to protect their own benefits and those of their people. The spices could not really to said have belonged to them because they could not muster enough power to protect these precious resources from systematic ‘seizure’ by powerful others. The negotiations which followed such depredations and the treaties concluded between the local rulers and the Europeans never conceded a fair share to the Malukans. No single society in this world can secure its property permanently if it has no power to defend it, and the Malukans formed no exception to this rule.

In the era of their ‘Golden Age’ the Dutch Republic was one of the most powerful trading nations in the world, not least because of the crucial contribution to the national economy made by the VOC. The Company servants exploited the power of their naval and military supremacy in Maluku to control the local production of and the subsequent international

¹ “Nevertheless, when one has become acquainted with the facts pertaining to the history of this prince in the old archives available, one cannot possibly see in Nuku the usual kind of adventurer of whom Maluku has produced so many; on the contrary, one reaches the conviction that he was a statesman, who strove seriously/zealously for the greatness and independence of his Fatherland—Maluku.” (Haga, 1884)

trade in spices. The conquest of Banda and the harsh, protracted fighting in the Ambon Wars during the first half of the seventeenth century marked the foundations of this military domination. Thereafter, the contracts made with local rulers – both voluntarily and forcibly – and the threats of a visitation by the *bongi* expedition maintained their ‘armed peace’ and control of the Malukans. The different approaches adopted to tackling the sensitive subject of local government employed by the VOC in Banda, Ambon, and Ternate show that, although the decision making of the VOC authorities on the spot was decisive, they were vitally aware that they still had to adapt their policies to the logic of the local situation. Whether one likes it or not, the success of maintaining a permanent spice monopoly for about 150 years was a significant achievement. It was the result of a combination of a well-armed police force, a well-organized trading administration, a flexible attitude to local politics, a superior information network, tempered by a good dose of considerable patience and perseverance.

The local culture of dualism which had evolved between Ternate and Tidore and similar kinds of particularism which dominated the life of local states or smaller traditional groups propelled these polities into protracted mutual enmity, easily erupting into local warfare, which made it nigh on impossible for them to join forces whenever they were confronted with outside threats. The sultans, the raja, the *orangkaya* and other local rulers or leaders were entrapped in the web of their own manipulative politics and constrained by their own narrow interests in their own realms. This situation opened the door wide to outside intervention and finally to foreign domination. Consequently, the local rulers and their peoples were deprived economically and politically. Any uprising against Dutch domination could be suppressed by exploiting the lack of unity and co-operation among the local leaders. Pertinently, the Dutch were almost always successful in breaking down any resistance precisely with the help of other local leaders. It appears that independence and power in globalized politics resemble two sides of a coin. Neither can be attained by those who are not able to overcome their particularism and hence are condemned to remain prisoners of their own culture and ideological reasoning. Unfortunately, they are never granted freedom from ‘above’.

**

One and a half centuries ago, the Dutch historian Haga already acknowledged that Prince Nuku was neither the traditional prince, nor the ordinary adventurer of the types usually found among the Malukans. In Chapters Four to Nine, I have shown the strategies and leadership evinced by and the success achieved by Nuku in unifying the Malukan forces even

transcending the 'traditional' Tidore realms and utilizing the presence of the English. Maintaining the command and the loyalty of Tidoran subjects and also succeeding in involving Ternate subjects in his struggle even though exposed to the unrelenting pressure of the Dutch *hongji* expeditions seemed an almost impossible task. His adherents were multi-ethnic groups speaking different languages. Communications with all these allies must have been an extremely difficult challenge. The role of local interpreters and the importance of Malay as the lingua franca may have been very decisive. Moreover, as this thesis has related, Nuku did not communicate only with people of the area, he also reached out to the wider world by seeking to make contact with the English.

Battling the unhealthy climate and the long distances between Tidore, East Seram, the Gamrange areas, and the Raja Ampat, Nuku and his adherents succeeded in maintaining co-operation and communication among the leaders of the rebellion. During the more than twenty years the rebellion lasted, there is scarcely any report about internal conflicts within his forces, although allies occasionally walked out on him when they felt forced to do so under Dutch pressure. This is testimony to the fact that his strategies surpassed the common particularism as this existed in Maluku at the time. Nuku was able to overcome rampant divisions among his subjects and left little room for the Company to infiltrate its policy of divide and rule which had been so successful in the earlier period. As Haga concludes, 'He was a statesman who fought with earnest for the greatness and independence of his Fatherland—Maluku.'

The last decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century formed an axial age in global history. The American, French, and Industrial Revolutions sent shock waves all around the world, changing the balance of power among the nations. One of the first to feel the impact of change was the once proud trading power of the Dutch Republic, which sank back to the status of a second-rank nation in Europe and saw its mighty VOC decline in the face of the mounting power of the English East India Company in Asia. The Anglo-Dutch war of 1780-1784 crippled the VOC activities in Asia and this eventually revealed itself most devastatingly in the Indonesian Archipelago when Holland was occupied by the French Napoleonic army in 1795 and relations between the Dutch Republic and its overseas territories were virtually severed.²

During the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Dutch had to contend with a number of princely rebellions in the Indonesian Archipelago. Nuku's rebellion was not an isolated instance,

² Leonard Blussé, 'Changes of Regime and Colonial State Formation in the Malay Archipelago, 1780-1830: an Invitation to an International Research Project', Working Papers Series No. 41 (2005), Singapore, ARI-NUS.

although as I have shown it was an exceptional one. In South-West Sulawesi, in Wajo' to be precise, Arung Singkang (1737-1741) revolted against the dominance of Bone supported by the VOC, eventually gaining independence from its powerful neighbour for his realm.³ In the Kingdom of Mataram in Java, Mangkubumi (1746-1755) challenged the Dutch-supported Pakubuwana II. His actions resulted in the partition of Mataram into the principalities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, ultimately strengthening the Dutch grip on Java.⁴ More than fifty years later, in the same region Prince Dipanegara launched an uprising against the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the Dutch culminating in the Java war (1825-1830), which lasted five years.⁵ In terms of the logic of the political situation, there are similarities between these two instances. Arung Singkang was fighting against the oppressive intervention by the adjacent kingdom of Bone, which was shielded by the patronage of the Dutch. Mangkubumi was in revolt against his own ruler, Pakubuwana II, who was also ruling under the paying 'umbrella' of the Dutch. The same applies to Dipanegara who was goaded into resisting the chancellor Danurejo and the nobles of Yogyakarta who were proxies of the Dutch power.

Despite the fact that Nuku never ceased to reiterate that the Dutch were his sole enemy, he also fought his own Sultan — the Dutch-protected Sultan Tidore - and the latter's principal rivals, the Sultan of Ternate and the Sultan of Bacan. What set Nuku apart from all these other greater and lesser

³ Arung (Prince) Singkang had been elected Chief King of Wajo' in South-West Sulawesi in 1737. Under his leadership Wajo' occupied an unprecedented position of power in South-West Sulawesi. He liberated Wajo' from the oppressive interventions of such adjacent kingdoms as Bone which had become the most powerful kingdom in South-West Sulawesi under Dutch patronage, after the conquest of Makassar in 1669. In 1739 he even dared to attack the Dutch fort in Makassar. The Dutch retaliated two years later but failed to subjugate the kingdom, after which Wajo' remained outside the sphere of Dutch influence for nearly a century and a half. See J. Noorduyn, "Arung Singkang (1770-1765): How the victory of Wadjo' began," *Indonesia* 13 (April 1972), 62-68. See also the same writer, "Een Boeginees geschriftje over Arung Singkang," *BKI* 109 (1953), 144-152.

⁴ Prince Mangkubumi's rebellion (1746-1755) was motivated not only by his personal ambition, he saw his cause as an ethical issue concerning the nature of royal authority which had been violated by Sultan Pakubuwana II when he agreed to cede the *pasisir* areas to the Dutch without consultation with the princes. When Pakubuwana II surrendered the kingdom of Mataram to the Dutch, he declared a new kingdom in Yogyakarta on 11 December 1749. The new kingdom was finally recognized by the Dutch in 1755 and he became Sultan Hamengkubuwana I. But after that Java was divided into two kingdoms. He allied with the Dutch to fight his ex-ally Mas Said. Mangkubumi's main enemy was not the Dutch, but always his Javanese opponents. See M.C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749-1792: a history of the division of Java* (PhD thesis: Cornell University, 1973), 67, 76, 87-89.

⁵ M. Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 8-11.

pahlawan 'heroes', was that he looked beyond the confines of his own social and political world, and in doing so sought an ally to confront the dominant Dutch in the English East India Company. In contrast to the other 'rebels', Prince Nuku understood he was living in a changing world. Instead of implicating himself in self-defeating strategies and mystical scenarios, he reached out for the assistance which could be rendered him in a globalizing world. I hasten to add the reason that Arung Singkang, Mangkubumi, and Dipanegara did not have an eye for global opportunities was in part the result of the fact that in the period of the first two protagonists the balance of power as well as international agreements among the European nations made any such option quite futile.

Dipanegara has to be placed in a different category. The millenarian character of the man and of his rebellion was absolutely unmistakable. Although the son of a Sultan, Dipanegara had been raised outside the palace. Surrounded by religious teachers, he grew up a deeply religious prince imbued with highly mystical ideas. Among his supporters Dipanegara, who was genuinely deeply convinced of his role, was revered as the Ratu Adil, the long-awaited saviour-king, the central figure in a syncretic complex of millennial beliefs which had been invoked by Javanese rulers and rebels for centuries.⁶ In Nuku's case, these millenarian traits are very subdued, even if Andaya does argue that Nuku possessed a kind of *mana*⁷ as he was called Jou Barakati among the Malukans.

In his lifetime Nuku was known as Jou Barakati, or 'Lord of Fortune.' He was one of those rare individuals who spring up in Southeast Asian history imbued with a certain spirituality, an aura which people recognize and hence follow. It is these figures possessed of *mana*...who transformed the old and provide the basis for a reconstruction of a new order. Nuku's activities would have been readily comprehensible in Maluku because they followed a well-trodden path.⁸

Andaya argues that the belief Nuku possessed supernatural power stimulated the Malukans to provide him with almost 'total' support. People were convinced that Nuku would be able to transform their old, dismal life into a new age of prosperity and tranquil orderliness.⁹ In Nuku's rebellion,

⁶ Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion*, 94, 97-8.

⁷ *Mana* is deeply embedded Austronesian concept often associated with Pacific Island societies referring to those individuals favoured by the Almighty. It is similar to the concept of *guna* which is a Malay word meaning 'fortune', used of individuals to indicate their possession of a special quality found only in those destined for greatness; a common term associated with those of 'prowess', those who become culture heroes. L. Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 282-3.

⁸ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 239.

⁹ *Ibid.* 234.

the millenarian motif, I argue, only appeared later. This kind of brilliant, eulogistic title was most likely not used until Nuku's return from his self-imposed flight, his victory over Bacan and Tidore in 1797, and his growing power during the English occupation. This is suggested in Governor Cranssen's characterization of Nuku in 1800.

... dat Prins Noekoe bij de meeste Molucische volken, word genaamd Tuhan Barkat of gezegenden Heeren! Dit, en alles wat in vorige brieven geschreven is, moet voldoende zijn om de HR en Heeren XVII er van te overtuigen, dat zo men in de Molukkos van een bestendige en geduurzame rust wil jouïsseren, eerste Noekoe tot vreedzame oogmerken moet worden gebracht, om daar door die natien die hem zo veele jaren gevolgd en aangekleefd hebben, eindelijk eens wederom te brengen onder geboorzaamheid van de Compagnie.¹⁰

Nuku's extraordinary achievement in unifying so many of the disparate groups of Malukans during his long struggle was seen as confirmation of the idea that the royal house was blessed with a special gift. After having proved himself by almost twenty years of fighting the Dutch, the North Malukans believed that Nuku was genuinely endowed with supernatural powers. The status was associated with and fitted into the idea and worldview of Maluku that royal individuals were of foreign origin and possessed supernatural power. This belief can be traced in the myths of origin of the Malukans.¹¹ According to folk etymology, the word for king, kolano, is derived from, or is related to *ngongano* which means the 'entrusted one'. If this interpretation is correct, Lopian argues, then it can be speculated that the power exercised by the king was a mandate from above (Heaven, the Almighty).¹² However, the idea that Nuku was *jou barakati* was a status achieved by his victories rather than an ascribed status derived from his descent and consequently assumed to be the reason for his success.

Whether Prince Nuku was endowed with supernatural powers or not is a matter of interpretation. The fact is that he was one of the rebels who did not finally surrender, nor was he defeated or arrested as Dipanegara was. He

¹⁰ 'Prince Nuku is called *Tuhan Barkat* or the Blessed Lord by most of the Malukan people. This, and everything that has been written in the previous letters, should convince the High Government and the Gentlemen XVII that, if a permanent and durable peace is to be achieved, Nuku should first be appeased so that all those nations who have followed him and have been loyal to him for so many years, can be finally brought back to the allegiance of the Company." ANRI Ternate 89.1, J.W. Cranssen to Mr. P.G. van Overstraaten, 30 September 1800.

¹¹ Lopian, A.B., 1984, 'The diversified unity of Maluku-kie-raha; it's historical development' in: K. Tsuchiya ed., *"States" in Southeast Asia: From "Tradition" to "Modernity"* (Kyoto University: Center for Southeast Asian Studies), p. 176-7. See also *Legende... 1917. Legende en geschiedenis van Ternate*. In *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, Batavia, vol. 51, 310.

¹² *Ibid.* 176-9.

was also one of the rebels who succeeded in returning to his home island by becoming a sultan with no significant resistance. The ideas which motivated his long rebellion are clearly revealed in the clauses of his draft of the treaties he proposed to the English and the Dutch. He fought for the political independence of Tidore from the Dutch and the English and for the superiority of Tidore above the other sultanates in Maluku.

Prince Nuku was highly appreciated by the English who met him in person in his refuge in Waru, East Seram. Captain Lennon who commanded one of the British ships under Admiral Rainier in Ambon in 1796 testified, 'Nookoo is, by every account I could hear, a much more enlightened character than most of the Malays'. He was described as a man who had 'the greatest good humour and uprightness'. Dalrymple depicts him as a man of very active disposition, and not averse to waging war against his enemies, the Dutch, and their local allies. He was known to be very brave and was endowed with special martial prowess, personally leading his own people on war expeditions.

As a husband Nuku did not behave as the other Sultans of Tidore and Ternate who had many wives; as he had only one wife. As Dalrymple put it, 'he was true and just to his wife'. And he kept no concubines. In his dealings with his own people, he was known to be just and wise. The English sailor Thomas Crotty who was saved by Nuku in 1783, noted, 'Their Majesties keep their public meeting in the King's Palace (in Waru) both night and day, if anything of importance is to be done: They administer justice to everyone; let them be rich or poor: Every one must appear to his own cause, there is no need of attorneys and the suit is soon dispatched.'¹³

As often found in history, behind a great man, there is a great woman. Nuku's only wife always accompanied him to wherever his refuge was: in Waru, Salawati, and Patani. His wife's real name was not known, but Nuku used to call her Geboca. She was an important advisor to her husband in many affairs, or as Crotty depicts it probably with a bit in exaggeration, 'He is ruled by Her in the greatest of his affairs. She is his Counsel in the greatest affairs of his territories, even between life and death. She is King, Queen, and Lord over all.' Without doubt this grateful Englishman described her as a very sensible woman because he could not forget the nursing he had received from Nuku's wife. He recalls that during his illness, when he was on the brink of death,

The Sultan's wife, Geboca, sat by me, both night and day, supplying me with Malay medicines of her own making, and she crying the same as a mother would do for her own son; but by the great attention she gave towards me, I very soon

¹³ Dalrymple, "Memoir Concerning Keecheel Nookoo Sultan of Teedore," IOR/L/PS/19/14 date 11 February 1801, 25-6.

recovered my health again. The Sultan (Nuku) attending me, and praying to God that I might get my health again, that I might go to my own country, for the benefit of myself, and for the good of him (Nuku), and his people.¹⁴

If these biographical notes on Nuku are to be complete, we should not ignore the other, less flattering sides of his character. Apart from his signal greatness and ‘humanity’ as a leader of the whole Maluku, he was, fortunately I am tempted to say, also a man beset by his own weaknesses and fears. A Makassarese, who had fled from Tidore to Ternate, told the Dutch the following about his everyday behaviour:

Dat Prins Noekoe sterk arak drinkt, en is dagelijks dronken, dat Prins Noekoe in ‘t fort te Tidor woonde, en heeft dagelijks twaalff schildwagten met schild en swaard bij hem, vermits hij alle Tidoreesen weinig vertrouwen. Dat Prins Noekoe sekere Ngofamanjira van Macquian, van de negorij Ngofakiaha Dalam genaamt voor de tromp van een kanon, welke met scherp en een stuk lalary hout geleden was, heeft vast laten binden, en vervolgens los gebrand, waar om ‘t lighaam van dien man in gruis van elkanderen gescheurd was, en overal verspreid is geworden.¹⁵

His long experience of rebellion during which he had constantly had to deal with threats and treachery transformed Nuku perhaps into an overcautious man and certainly into a sometimes very ruthless one. The application of violence was also part of his armoury and strategy, his way of life. He was prepared to punish severely any of those subjects he considered treacherous and disloyal as an example to others and did this simultaneously instill fear and loyalty into his adherents.

Finally by carefully comparing VOC and English EIC sources with the existing oral and written tradition of Maluku, in its broader sense, this monograph in which the phenomenal career of Prince Nuku has been reconstructed deserves some remarks. It would seem that Nuku’s *faits et gestes* transcended the more or less traditional frame of mind of the *pahlawan* of

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ ‘...Prince Nuku drinks strong *arak* and gets drunk every day. During the time he spent in the Fort (Tahula) on Tidore, he was surrounded by twelve bodyguards armed with swords and shield, because he had little trust in all Tidorans. Prince Nuku ordered a certain Ngofamanjira of Makian to be tied to the mouth of a cannon, which was loaded with ammunition and a piece of *lalary* wood, and had it fired. The body of the Ngofamanjira was torn to pieces and scattered to the four winds.’ See ANRI Ternate 89.1, Testimony of a Makassarese, Soen, 13 July 1797.

whom present Indonesian historiography seems to be so fond.¹⁶ Part of Nuku's genius can be explained by his capacity to put events and developments into a wider conceptual perspective. When he realized that trading routes in the eastern region of Indonesia were shifting in response to the new developments in global trade and that new-comers were visiting the region, he gladly availed himself of the new opportunities on offer. By engaging in salvaging opportunities and sending letters and envoys to Bengal, he was able to win the British over to his side.

He is still relevant. In the area of the national history of modern Indonesia, the Indonesian Government has had trouble legitimizing its territorial claims to the waters around Maluku and Papuan West New Guinea (Irian Barat or nowadays Papua).¹⁷ If Indonesian historians in Soekarno's time had studied the rich sources of the Dutch VOC and the English EIC more carefully, they would have been able to show convincingly the close historical ties between the Maluku and the coastal areas of Papua. Thereby they might have been able to present more credentials to counter much of the Dutch quasi-anthropological political reasoning claiming that, owing to its different cultural roots, 'Netherlands New Guinea' should have been allowed a politically independent future of its own.¹⁸ For centuries local ritual and economic ties bound Maluku to Papua. The irony of Nuku's career is that so far nobody has successfully pointed out that, thanks to this Papuan connection, he was able to beat the Dutch at their own game. He did so by skillfully making use of the English just as the Soekarno Government made use of the United States in 1962 and the United Nations in 1963.¹⁹

¹⁶ Bambang Purwanto, *Gagalnya Historiografi Indonesiasentris?!* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2006), 23-7.

¹⁷ See *Questioning the Unquestionable: An Overview of the Restoration of Papua into the Republic of Indonesia* (New York: Permanent Mission of the Republic Indonesia to the United Nations, 2004), *passim*.

¹⁸ P. J. Drooglever, *Een daad van vrije keuze* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2005), 124-5.

¹⁹ This refers to the New York Agreement 1962 between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The agreement was the result of the U.S. pressure on the Dutch Government to cede the West New Guinea into the hands of the Republic of Indonesia. See C. L. M. Penders, *The West New Guinea Debaacle* (Leiden: KITLV, 2002), 351-75.

Appendix 1

List of Sultans of Tidore

1. 1495-1512 Ciliati (Jamaludin)
2. 1512-1526 Mansur (died 1526)
3. 1529-1547 Amirudin Iskandar Dalkarnin
4. 1547-1569 Kie Mansur
5. 1569-1586 Iskandar Sani
6. 1586-1599 Gapi Baguna
7. 1599-1626 Mole Majimu
8. 1626-1633 Ngora Malamo
9. 1633-1653 Gorontalo
10. 1653-1657 Magiau (Saidi)
11. 1657-1689 Saifudin (Golafino)
12. 1689-1700 Hamzah Fahrudin
13. 1700-1708 Abu Falalal Mansur
14. 1708-1728 Hasanudin
15. 1728-1756 Malikilmanan (Gape)
16. 1756-1780 Jamaluddin
17. 1780-1783 Badarudin (Patra Alam)
18. 1784-1797 Kamaludin
19. 1797-1805 Amirudin (Nuku)
20. 1805-1810 Zainal Abidin
21. 1810- ... Mohammad Thaher

Appendix 2

List of Sultans of Ternate

1. 1486-1500 Jainal Abidin
2. 1500-1523 Abu Lais (Liliatu)
3. 1523-1535 Boheyat
4. 1535-1570 Hairun (Hayur)
5. 1570-1584 Babullah
6. 1584-1610 Saidudin (1606 banished and died in Manila 1610)
7. 1606-1610 Hidayat (Viceroy)
8. 1610-1627 Modafar (Muzaffar)
9. 1627-1648 Hamzah
10. 1648-1675 Mandarsyah
11. 1675-1690 Sibori
12. 1692-1714 Toloko
13. 1714-1751 Raja Laut
14. 1751-1754 Oudhoorn Insah
15. 1754-1763 Sahmardan
16. 1763-1777 Zwaardekroon
17. 1777-1780 Arunsah
18. 1780-1796 Aharal
19. 1796-1801 Sarkan
20. 1801-1807 Mohammad Jasin
21. 1807- ... Mohammad Ali

Appendix 3

List of Dutch Governors in Ternate

1. 1610-1612 Paulus van Caerden
2. 1612-1616 Pieter Both
3. 1616-1621 Laurens Reaal
4. 1621-1623 Frederik Houtman
5. 1623-1627 Jacques le Fèvre
6. 1627-1629 Gilles Zeijst
7. 1629-1633 Gijsbert van Lodestein
8. 1633-1635 Johan Ottens
9. 1635-1640 Jan van Broekom
10. 1640-1642 Anthonij Caen
11. 1642-1648 Wouter Seroujen
12. 1648-1653 Gaspar van de Bogaerde
13. 1653-1656 Jacob Hustaerdt
14. 1656-1662 Simon Cos
15. 1662-1667 Anthonij van Voorst
16. 1667-1669 Maximilian de Jong
17. 1669-1672 Abrahan Verspreet
18. 1672-1675 Cornelis Franks
19. 1675-1676 Willem Korput
20. 1676-1677 David Harthouwer
21. 1677-1682 Robbert Padtbrugge
22. 1682-1686 Jacob Lobs
23. 1686-1689 Johan Henrik Thim
24. 1689-1692 Johannes Cops
25. 1692-1696 Cornelis van der Duin
26. 1696-1701 Salomon Le Sage
27. 1701-1706 Pieter Rooselaar
28. 1706-1710 Jacob Claaszoon
29. 1710-1715 David van Petersom
30. 1715-1720 Jacob Bottendorp
31. 1720-1723 Anthonij Heinsius
32. 1723-1724 Jacob Cloeck
33. 1724-1728 Johan Happon
34. 1728-1731 Jacob Christiaen Pielat
35. 1731-1735 Elias de Haeze
36. 1735-1737 Paulus Rouwenhoff
37. 1737-1739 Martinus Storm
38. 1739-1744 Marten Lelievelt

- | | |
|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 39. 1744-1750 | Gerrard van Brandwijk van Blokland |
| 40. 1750-1754 | J.E. van Mijlendonk |
| 41. 1754-1758 | Abraham Abeleven |
| 42. 1758-1766 | Jacob van Schoonderwoert |
| 43. 1766-1767 | Hendrik Breton |
| 44. 1767-1771 | Hermanus Munnik |
| 45. 1771-1778 | Paulus Jacob Valckenaer |
| 46. 1778-1780 | Jacob Roeland Thomaszen |
| 47. 1780-1793 | Alexander Cornabé |
| 48. 1793-1795 | Johannes Ekenholm |
| 49. 1795-1799 | Johan Godfried Budach |
| 50. 1799-1803 | Willem Jacob Cranssen |
| 51. 1803-1804 | Peter Adrianus Goldbach |
| 52. 1804-1809 | Carel Lodewijk Wieling |
| 53. 1809-... | R. Coop à Groen |

Appendix 4

List of Portuguese Governors in Ternate

1. 1522-1525 Antonio de Brito
2. 1525-1527 Garcia Henriquez
3. 1527-1530 Jorge de Meneses
4. 1530-1532 Gonçalo Pereira
5. 1532-1534 Vicente de Ponceca
6. 1534-1536 Tristao de Ataide
7. 1536-1540 Antonio Galvao
8. 1540-1544 Jorge de Castro
9. 1544-1547 Jordao de Freitas
10. 1547-1549 Bernaldim de Souza
11. 1549-1550 Christovao de Sa
12. 1550-1552 Bernaldim de Souza
13. 1552-1555 Francisco Lopez de Souza
14. 1555-1559 D. Duarte D'Eca
15. 1559-1561 Manoel de Vasconcellos
16. 1561-1564 Henrique de Sa
17. 1564-1566 Alvaro de Mendonça
18. 1566-1571 Diogo Lopes de Mesquita
19. 1571-1574 Alfaro de Ataide
20. 1574-1575 Nuno Pereira de Lacerda

(Source: De Clercq, 1890, *Ternate*, 150-187)

Appendix 5

List of Governors of Ambon

1605-1611	Frederik de Houtman
1611-1615	Jasper Janz.
1615-1618	Adriaan Block Martensz.
1618-1625	Herman van Speult
1625-1628	Jan van Gorcum
1628-1631	Philip Lucasz.
1631-1634	Artus Gijsels
1634-1635	Anthonio van den Heuvel
1635-1637	Jochum Roelofsz. van Deutecom
1637-1641	Johan Ottens
1641-1642	Ad interim Simon Jacobsz. Dompkens
1642	Ad interim Anthonio Caan
1642-1647	Gerard Demmer
1647-1650	Arnold de Valming van Oudshoorn
1650-1651	Ad interim Simon Cos
1651-1654	Willem Verbeeck
1654-1656	Ad interim Simon Cos
1656-1662	Jacob Hustaerdt
1662-1664	Simon Cos
1664	Ad interim Maximiliaan de Jong
1664-1665	Johan van Dam
1665-1666	Ad interim Maximiliaan de Jong
1666-1667	Pieter de Marville
1667-1669	Ad interim Anthonio Hurdt
1669-1672	Jacob Cops
1672-1678	Anthonio Hurdt
1678-1682	Robert de Vicq
1682-1683	Ad interim Jeremias van Vliet
1683-1687	Robert Padtbrugge
1687-1691	Dirk de Haas
1691-1696	Nicolaas Schaghen
1696-1697	Ad interim Cornelis Stull
1697-1701	Willem van Wijngaarden
1701-1706	Balthasar Coyett
1706-1720	Adriaan van der Stel
1720-1721	Ad interim Rochus Hollaar
1721-1725	Pieter Gabrij

1725-1727	Stephanus Versluys
1727-1733	Johannes Bernard
1733-1738	David Johan Bake
1738-1743	Jacob de Jong
1743-1748	Nathaniël Steinmetz
1748-1750	Cornelis Rosenboom
1750-1752	Nicolaas Jongsma
1752	Ad interim Goderd Ludolf van Beusechem
1752-1757	Gerard Cluysenaar
1757-1763	Meyert Johan van Idsinga
1763	Ad interim Goderd Ludolf van Beusechem
1763-1764	Ad interim Josias Alexander de Villeneuve
1764-1767	Willem Fockens
1767-1770	Hendrik Breton
1770-1775	Johan Abraham van der Voort
1775-1785	Bernardus van Pleuren
1785-1788	Adriaan de Bock
1788-1794	Johan Adam Schilling
1794	Ad interim Balthasar Smissaerd
1794-1796	Alexander Cornabé

Source:

G.J. Knaap (ed.), *Memories van Overgave Ambon*, RGP 62, 's-gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986 pp. xiv-xv

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Unpublished primary sources*

Nationaal Archief (NA), The Hague

Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC)

Ingekomen Briven en Papieren: Ternate, Ambon, Banda

VOC 3577 (n.d.), 3586 (1779), 3595 (1780), 3602 (1780), 3603 (1781), 3620 (1782), 3622 (n.d.), 3627 (1781), 3646 (1783), 3676 (1784), 3698 (1785), 3704 (1785), 3705 (1785), 3729, 3737 (1786), 3738 (1785), 3756 (1783), 3763 (1783), 3764 (1783), 8074 (1705), 8075 (1706)

Oost-Indische Committée (OIC)

OIC 64 (1796), 65 (n.d.), 65A (1794), 79 (1793), 80 (1794), 81 (1794-1795), 86 (1793), 90 (1792-1793), 91 (1794)

Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI)

Arsip Daerah Ternate (Ternate)

Ternate 34 (1798), 18 (1769), 22, (1781), 24 (1786), 32 (1796), 8 (1794), 84 (1761, 1762, 1763, 1765), 87 (1794, 1797), 89.1 (1795), 85 (1787, 1788), 89.1 (1795, 1800), 89.2 (1806, 1807, 1808), 91 (1782), 92 (1785), 92 (1785), 96 (1771), 102 (1809), 103 (1807), 105 (1808), 107 (1808), 108 (1809, 1810), 127 (1806), 138 (n.d.)

British Library, London

India Office Record (IOR)

Bengal Foreign Consultations (BFC), 1801

Bengal Political Consultations (B Pol C), 1797, 1809-1818

Bengal Public Consultations (B Pub C), 1805

Bengal Secret Consultations (BSC), 1796-1797, 1805

Bengal Secret Political Consultations

Madras Military Consultations (MMC), 1796-1804

Madras Military Political Consultations (MM Pol C), 1799

Madras Public Consultations (M Pub C), 1797-1805

Madras Political Consultations (M Pol C), 1802-1803, 1810-1811

Madras Political Military Consultations (M Pol MC), 1796

Madras Secret Consultations (MSC), 1803

IOR F/4/305/7011 (1809), F/4/56/1302H (1797-1799), F/4/74/1617 (1798, 1801), F/4/9 Political No 112 (n.d.), G/21/10 (n.d.), F/4/9/715 (1785 –1796), H/97 (1758, 1761, 1764), P/119/19 B Pol C (1810), P/165/76 BFC (1801), P/241/72 MMC (1797), P/241/74 M Pub C (1797), P/242/1 M Pub C (1797), P/242/5 M Pub C (1798), P/242/10 M Pub C (1799), P/242/11 MM Pol C (1799), P/242/13 M Pub C (1799), P/242/14 M Pub C (1799), P/242/15 M Pub C (1799), P/242/22 M Pub C (1800), P/242/23 M Pub C (1800), P/242/31 M Pub C (1801), P/242/35 M Pub C (1801), P/242/39 M Pub C (1802), P/242/4 M Pub C (1798), P/242/41 M Pub C (1802), P/242/42, M Pub C (1802), P/242/45 M Pub C (1802), P/242/55 M Pub C (1803), P/242/8 M Pub C (1798), P/242/9 M Pub C (1798), P/253/57 M Pol MC (1796), P/254/01 MMC (1797), P/254/18 MMC (1798), P/254/74 MMC (1801), P/254/75 MMC (1801), P/254/79 MMC (1801), P/255/08 MMC (1802), P/255/11 MMC (1802), P/255/12 MMC (1802), P/255/14 MMC (1802), P/255/18 MMC (1803), P/316/121 M

Pol C (1803), P/316/124 M Pol C (1803), P/A/63 BSC (1782), P/Sec/Mad/14 MSC (1803), P/Sec/Mad/15 MSC (1803), IOR/L/PS/19/14 (1801), Add. Mss. 13869 (1802)

2. Published sources

- Aa, Robide van der, 'Een tweetal bijdragen tot de kennis van Halmahera', *BKI* 19 (1872), 233-239.
- Anonym, 'Aanteekeningen, gehouden op eene reis aan de noord- en westkust van Halmahera', *TNI* 18 (1856), 209-228.
- ANRI, "Ternate: MvO Bosscher and Tobias," (Jakarta, 1980).
- Bik, A.J., *Daagverhaal: eener reis, gedaan in het jaar 1824 tot nadere verkenning der eilanden Keffing, Goram. Groot en Klein Kei en de Aroe eilanden.* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1928).
- Cambier, J. P. C, 'Rapport over Tidoreesch- Halmahera', in Robide van der Aa, een tweetal... etc.
- Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico Indicum: verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten, van privilegebrieven aan heen verleend, enz.*, 6 vols, ed. J.E. Heeres and F.W. Stapel ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1907-1955).
- Crab, P. van der, *De Moluksche Eilanden: Reis van Z.E. den Gouverneur-Generaal Charles Ferdinand Pahud door den Molukschen archipel*, (Batavia: Lange, 1862).
- Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands India*, 31 vols. (Batavia en 's-Gravenhage 1888-1931)
- Dalrymple, Alexander, *Memoir Concerning the Passages to and from China* (London: East India Company, 1782).
- ____ *Memoir Concerning the Passages, at a Late Season, from India to China* (London: East India Company, 1788).
- Dampier, William, *Dampier's voyages*, 2 vols, ed. John Masefield (London: E. Grant Richards, 1906).
- Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie.* 11 vols., ed. W. Ph. Coolhaas, J. van Goor, J.E. Schooneveld-Oosterling (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960-2004).
- Hart, C. van der, *Reize rondom het eiland Celebes en naar eenige der Moluksche eilanden gedaan in den jare 1850, door Z.M. schepen van oorlog Argo en Bromo, onder bevel van C. van der Hart.* ('s-Gravenhage: Fuhni, 1853).
- Hockin, John Pearce Rev., *A supplement to the account of the Pelew Islands; compiled from the journals of the Panther and the Endeavour, two vessels sent by the Honourable East India Company to those islands in the year 1790; and from the oral communications of Captain H. Wilson* (London, 'Printed for Captain Henry Wilson by W Bulmer', 1803).
- India Office, *A catalogue of manuscript and printed reports, field books, memoirs, maps etc. of the Indian surveys deposited in the map room of the India Office* (London: W. H. Allen, 1878).
- Jacobs, Hubert S. J., *Documenta Malucensia*, Vol. II, 1577-1606 (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1980)
- Jacobs, Hubert Th. M., (ed.), *A treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544)* (Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971).
- Keate, George, *An account of the Pelew Islands situated in the Western part of the Pacific Ocean, composed from the journals and communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his officers, who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked in the Antelope, a packet belonging to the Honourable East India Company...* (London, 'Printed for Captain Wilson and sold by G. Nicol', 1978).

- *An account of the Pelew Islands*, eds. Karen L. Nero and Nicholas Thomas (London-New York: Leicester University Press, 2002).
- Knaap, G.J., (ed.) *Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon in de Zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (The Hague: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën (RGP) 62, 1987).
- Lennon, Walter Caulfield. 1908. 'Journal of an expedition to the Moluccas Islands under the command of Admiral Rainier with some account of those islands at the time of their falling into our hands, and likewise suggestion suggestions relative to their future better management in case of being retained in our permanent possession...' in Heeres, J.E. 'Eene Engelsche lezing omtrent de verovering van Banda en Ambon in 1796 en omtrent den toestand dier eilanden groepen op het eind der achttiende eeuw, uitgegeven en toegelicht door J.E.H. BKI. 60 (iii-iv); pp. 249-368.
- Nederlandsch-Indisch plakaatboek, 1602-1811*, ed. J. A. van der Chijs, 17 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1885-1900).
- Vlamingh van de Oudtshoorn, A. de. 1650-51. Verhael of daghregister, gehouden bij...op zijn vojage...van Batavia naar de Moluccos...H 742, KITLV Library, Leiden.

3. Secondary sources

- Adas, Michael, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).
- Andaya, Leonard Y, 'Local Trade Networks in Maluku in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries', *Cakalele: Maluku Research Journal*, Volume 2 No. 2 (1991).
- *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).
- Arfan, Hud, 'Peranan Pemerintahan Tradisional di Kepulauan Raja Ampat Waktu Dulu', *Seminar Halmahera dan Raja Ampat* (Jakarta: Leknas-LIPI, 1981).
- Aveling, H, 'Seventeenth Century Bandanese Society in Fact and Fiction: Tamberra assessed', *BKI* 123 (1967), 347-65.
- Ballard, Chris, 'The Centre cannot hold: Trade Networks and Sacred Geography in the Papua New Guinea Highlands', *Archeological Oceania* 29 (1994).
- Bassett, D. K., *British Trade and Policy in Indonesia and Malaysia in the Late Eighteenth Century*. (Zug: Interdocumentation Company, 1971).
- Blussé, Leonard, 'Changes of Regime and Colonial State Formation in the Malay Archipelago, 1780-1830: an Invitation to an International Research Project', Working Papers Series 41 (2005), Singapore, Asia Research Institute (ARI) National University of Singapore (NUS).
- Bor, L., *Amboinse oorlogen, door Arnold de Vlaming van Oudsboorn als superintendent, over d'Oosterse gewesten oorlogstijg ten eind gebracht* (Delft, 1663).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *Réponses: Pour une anthropologie reflexive* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1992).
- Bousquet, J., 'Verovering van Ternate door Engelschen in 1810', in *TBG*. XVI (2) (1867); 87-90.
- Boxer, C. R. and P.Y. Manguin, 'Miguel Roxo de Brito's narrative of his voyage to the Raja Ampat, May 1581-November 1582', *Archipel* 18 (1979).
- Braudel, Fernand, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century Volume 3: The Perspective of the World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

- Buijze, *De generale lant-beschrijvinge van het Ambonse gouvernement...door G.E. Rumphius*, (Den Haag, 2001)
- Coolhaas, W. Ph., 'Kroniek van het rijk Batjan', *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 63 (1923), 474-512.
- Curtin, Philip D., *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Dasuki, A., *Naku Pahlawan Tidore yang Mengalahkan Belanda* (Bandung: Sanggabuwana, 1976).
- De Clercq, F. S. A., 'Het Gebied der kalana fat of vier radja's in westelijk Nieuw-Guinea', *De Indische Gids* 11 (1889), 1297-351.
 ——— *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Leiden: Brill, 1890).
- Dijk, Toos van, *Gouden eiland in de Banda-ze: Socio-kosmische ideeën op Marsela, Maluku Tenggara, Indonesië* (Leiden: CNWS Universiteit Leiden, 2000).
- Drooglever, P. J., *Een daad van vrije keuze* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2005).
- Duyvendak, John Philip, *Het Kakean-Genootschap van Seran*. (Almelo: Hilarius, 1926).
- Ellen, Roy F., 'Conundrums about Panjandrums: on the use of titles in the relations of political subordination in the Moluccas and along the Papuan coast', *Indonesia* 41 (1986).
 ——— 'Ritual, identity, and the management of interethnic relations on Seram', *Time Past, Time Present, and Time Future: Essays in Honour of P.E. de Josselin de Jong*, ed. D. S. Moyer and H. J. M. Claessen, Verhandelingen van het KITLV 131 (Dordrecht-Holland, Providence-USA: Foris, 1988)
 ——— 'On the contemporary uses of Colonial history and the legitimation of political status in archipelagic Southeast Seram', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 28 (1997), 78-102.
 ——— *On the edge of the Banda zone. Past and Present in the Social Organization of a Moluccan Trading Network*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).
- Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vol IV, ed. D. G. Stibbe ('s-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1921).
- Farquhar, Robert Townsend, *Suggestions arising from the abolition of the African slave trade for supplying the demands of the West India colonies with agricultural labourers* (London: Stockdale, 1807)
- Forrest, Thomas, *A Voyage to the New Guinea and the Moluccas, 1774-1776* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1780 [1779]).
- Fraassen, Ch. F. van, en H. Straver, *G.E. Rumphius: De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC; Zoals opgetekend in De Ambonse Landbeschrijving* (Utrecht, 2002)
 ——— 'Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische Archipel; van soa-organisatie en vierdeling; een studie van traditionele samenleving en cultuur in Indonesië, 2 vols. (Diss., Leiden University, 1987).
 ——— 'De Molukken: Koloniale beeldvorming en historische werkelijkheid', *Semaian* 1 (1989) 74-106.
 ——— 'Ternate and its dependencies', in L. E. Visser (ed.), *Halmahera and Beyond: Social Science Research in the Moluccas* (Leiden: KITLV, 1994).
 ——— 'Maluku: Ternate en de wereld van de vier bergen', (Utrecht, unpublished paper, 1999).
- Gaastra, Femme S., *De Geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002).
 ——— 'VOC Organization', www.tanap.net. (2005).
- Gelpke, J. H. F. Sollewijn, 'The report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of his voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf, and Seram', *BKI* 150 (1994), 123-145.
- Goodman, Tom, 'The *Sosolot* Exchange Network of Eastern Indonesia during the XVII and XVIII Centuries', *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia* (Leiden: IIAS, ISIR, LIPI, Leiden, 1997).

- Haga, A., *Nederlandsch-Nieuw Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden: Historische Bijdrage, 1500-1883*, 2 vols (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co., 1884)
- Hall, D. G. E., *Historians of Southeast Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Hanna, W. A. and Des Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore: Masa Lalu Penuh Gejolak* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996).
- ____ *Indonesian Banda: Colonialism and Its Aftermath in the Nutmeg Islands* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978).
- ____ and Des Alwi, *Turbulent times past in Ternate and Tidore* (Banda Naira, 1990)
- ____ *Banda: A Journey through Indonesia's Fabled Isles of Fire and Spice* (Banda: Yayasan Warisan dan Budaya Banda, 1997).
- Hasselt, F. J. F. Van, 'De legende van Mansren Mangoendi', *BKI* 69 (1914), 90-100.
- Heeres, J. E., 'Ambon in 1947', *BKI* 47 (1897), 510-95.
- Heine-Geldern, Robert, *Conceptions of state and kingship in Southeast Asia*. (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1958)
- Held, G. J., *The Papuas of Waropen* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957).
- Henley, David, *Jealousy and Justice: the Indigenous Routes of Colonial Rule in Northern Sulawesi* (Amsterdam: Vrij Universiteit UP, 2002).
- Jacobs, Elisabeth Maria, *Koopman in Azie: de handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000).
- James, William. 1837. *The naval history of Great Britain, from the declaration of war by France in 1793, to the occasion of George IV.* London, Bentley, 2 vols.
- Jansen, H. J., 'Gegevens over Geser, Boela, Gorong-of Gorom-eilanden', *Adatrechtbundels* 36 (1928), 490-4.
- Jansen, M. J., 'Indigenous classification systems in the Ambonese Moluccas', in Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands*, KITLV Translation Series, vol. 17 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), 100-15.
- Jones, R., 'Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia', in *Conversion to Islam* (New York en London, 1979), 129-158
- Jonge, Nico de, and Toos van Dijk, *Forgotten Islands of Indonesia: The Art and Culture of the Southeast Moluccas* (Singapore: Periplus Editions, 1995).
- Jusuf, Jumsari et.al., *Katalog Koleksi Naskah Maluku* (Jakarta: Museum Nasional, 1980).
- Kamma, Freerk Ch., 'de verhouding tussen Tidore and de Papoesche eilanden in legende en historie, II', *Indonesie* 1 (1948).
- ____ *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972).
- ____ *Dit wonderlijke werk*, Vol. 1, (Oegstgeest: Raad voor de Zending der Ned. Hervormde Kerk, 1977).
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono, *The Peasants Revolt of Banten in 1888* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966).
- Katoppo, Elvianus, *Nuku: Perjuangan Kemerdekaan di Maluku Utara* (Jakarta, Sinar Harapan, 1984).
- Kemp, P.H. van der, 'Het herstel van het Nederlandsch gezag in de Molukken in 1817 naar oorspronkelijke stukken', *BKI*. 65 (1911), 337-557, 559-736; 66 (1911), 1-167.
- ____ *De teruggave der Oost-Indische kolonien 1814-1816 naar oorspronkelijke stukken* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910).
- ____ *Het Nederlandsch-Indisch bestuur in 1817, tot het vertrek der Engelschen; naar oorspronkelijke stukken* ('s-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1913).
- Kiers, Lucas, *Coen op Banda: de conqueste getoetst aan het recht van den tijd* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoeks, 1943).

- Knaap, G. J., 'Crisis and failure: war and revolt in the Ambon Islands, 1636-1637', *Cakalele*, 3 (1992), 1-26.
- ____ 'The Saniri Tiga Air (Seram) : an account of its 'Discovery' and interpretation circa 1675- 1950', *BKI* 149 (1993), 250-273.
- ____ and G Teitler (eds.), *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie: tussen oorlog en diplomatie* (Leiden: KITLV, 2002).
- ____ *Kruisnagelen en christenen: de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004).
- Lapian, A.B., 'Beberapa pokok penelitian sejarah daerah Maluku Utara', in E.K.M. Masinambow, *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat: Konsep dan strategi penelitian* (Jakarta: Leknas-LIPI, 1980), 277-83.
- ____ 'The Diversified Unity of Maluku-kie-raha; It's Historical Development', in K. Tsuchiya (ed.), *'States' in Southeast Asia: From 'Tradition' to 'Modernity'* (Kyoto, 1984), 171-208.
- ____ 'Orang Laut-Bajak Laut-Raja Laut, Sejarah Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Abad XIX', (Diss. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gajah Mada, 1987).
- ____ 'Bacan and the early history of North Maluku', in L.E. Visser (ed.), *Halmahera and Beyond: Social Science Research in the Moluccas* (Leiden: KITLV, 1994).
- Lasker, B, *Human Bondage in Southeast Asia* (Chapel Hill: University of California Press, 1965).
- Lee, Ida, 'A forgotten navigator, Captain (afterwards) Sir John Hayes, and his voyage of 1793', *The Geographical journal*, 38 (6) (1911), 580-590.
- ____ *Commodore Sir John Hayes, his voyage and his life, 1767-1831, with some account of Admiral D'Entrecasteaux's voyage of 1792-3* (London: Longmans, 1912).
- Leeden, A.C. van der, 'The Raja Ampat Islands: a brief general description', in Masinambow (ed.), *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat: Konsep dan Strategi Penelitian* (Jakarta: Leknas-LIPI, 1980).
- Leirissa R.Z., 'Notes on Central Maluku in the Nineteenth Century', *Prisma: The Indonesian Indicator* (22 September 1981.), 53-66.
- ____ 'Factors Conducive to the Raja Jailolo Movement in North Maluku (1790-1832)', *The Fourth Indonesian-Dutch History Conference* (Yogyakarta: University of Gajah Mada, 1983).
- ____ 'The Idea of a Fourth Kingdom in Nineteenth Century Tidorese Maluku', (Unpublished paper, 1993).
- ____ 'Changing maritime trade patterns in the Seram Sea', in G.J. Schutte (ed.), *State and statecraft in the Indonesian archipelago* (KITLV Working Papers 13) (Leiden: KITLV, 1994), 99-114.
- ____ 'The Bugis-Makassarese in the Port-towns Ambon and Ternate through the Nineteenth Century', *BKI* 156 (2000): 619-654.
- ____ *Halmahera Timur dan Raja Jailolo: Pergolakan Sekitar Laut Seram Awal Abad 19*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1996..
- Leupe, P.A., 'Beschrijvinge van de eijlanden Banda, van de Molucse eijlanden en van de westcust van Sumatra', *BKI* 3 (1855), 73-141.
- ____ 'Tets over eenige gedenkpenningen en andere vereeringen, door of van wege de Oost-Indische Compe. Gedaan', *BKI* 11 (1864), 197-214.
- ____ 'De verdediging van Ternate onder den Gouverneur Johan Godfried Budach 1796-1799, eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis onzer Oost-Indische bezittingen', *BKI* 12 (1865), 262-363.
- ____ 'Stukken betreffende de verdediging van Ternate door den Gouverneur Willem Jacob Cranssen 1800-1801, en de overgave van het gouvernement aan de

- Engelschen op den 21 Junij 1801, door den raad van Politie aldaar', *BKI* 17 (1870), 215-338.
- ____ 'De Reizen der Nederlanders naar Nieuw-Guinea en de Papoesche Eilanden in de 17^{de} en 18^{de} eeuw', *BKI* 21 (1875.), 3-162.
- ____ 'Captain John McCluer en zijn verrichtingen om de oost, 1790-1795', *BKI* 25 (1877), 250-278.
- ____ 'Overname van Ternate van de Engelschen in 1803', *BKI* 27 (1879.), 202-223.
- Lombard, D., 'Regard nouveau sur les 'Pirates Malais': 1^{ère} moitié du XIX^e siècle', *Archipel* 18 (1979), 231-50.
- Ludeking, E.A.W., 'Lijst de Gouverneurs van Amboina, zoo ten tijde der Portugezen als onder de Nederlansche heerschappij, met aantekeningen, loopende van 1605-1864', *TBG*. XIV (1864), 524-553.
- Ly-Tio-Fane, Madelaine (ed.), *Mauritius and the Spice Trade, the Odyssey of Pierre Poivre* (Mauritius: Esclapon Ltd., 1958).
- Mackenzie, I., *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, Vol. III (London: Admiralty Lords Commissioners, 1921).
- MacKnight, C.C., *The Voyage to Marege: Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976).
- Manusama, Z. J., 'Sekelumit Sejarah Tanah Hitu dan Nusa Laut serta Struktur Pemerintahannya sampai Pertengahan Abad Ketujuhbelas', in Paramita R. Abdurrahman et.al., *Bunga Rampai Sejarah Maluku* (1) (Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Sejarah Maluku, 1973).
- ____ *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (Diss., Leiden University, 1977).
- Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962).
- Mijer, Pieter, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsch Oost-Indische bezittingen onder de Fransche heerschappij* (Batavia: n.p., 1939).
- Miller, W.G., *The Mollucas under the British* (M.A. Thesis, University of Hull, 1974).
- Morsea, Hosea Balou.. *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford U.P, 1928-1929).
- Naidah, 'Geschiedenis van Ternate, in Ternataanschen en Maleischen tekst', with translation and remarks by P. van der Crab, *BKI* 4? (1878), 381-493.
- Needham, R., 'Sumba and the Slave Trade', Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper No. 31 (Melbourne: Monash University, 1983).
- Niemeijer, Hendrik E., 'Research Notes on the Gouvernement of Ternate (A.N.R.I. Koleksi Arsip Ternate)', (Jakarta: Unpublished, 1997).
- ____ 'Dividing the Islands: the Dutch Spice Monopoly and Religious Change in 17th Century Maluku', in Alijah Gordon (ed.), *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2001).
- Noorduyn, J., 'Arung Singkang (1770-1765): How the victory of Wadjo' began', *Indonesia* 13 (April 1972), 62-68.
- ____ 'Een Boeginees geschriftje over Arung Singkang', *BKI* 109 (1953), 144-152.
- Ohorela, G.A., *Perlawanan Nuku di Tidore (1780-1805)* (Semarang: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Indonesia, 1990).
- Ricklefs, M.C., 'Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749-1792: a History of the Division of Java (Diss. Cornell University, 1973)
- Parkinson, C. Northcote, *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813* (Cambridge: U.P., 1937)
- ____ *War in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1954).
- Penders, C. L. M., *The West New Guinea Debacle* (Leiden: KITLV, 2002).
- Pires, Tomé, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1944).

- Platenkamp, J.D.M. 1988. 'Myths of life and image in northern Halmahera', in: H.J.M. Claessen and D.S. Moyer ed., *Time past, time present, time future; perspectives on Indonesian culture. Essays in honor of Professor P.E. de Josselin de Jong* (Leiden) pp. 148-167.
- Platenkamp, J.D.M., *Tobelo: Ideas and values of a North Moluccan society* (Diss. Leiden University, 1988)
- ____ *De waarde der dingen: Ceremoniële geschenken van de Tobelo* (Den Haag: MUSEON, 1990)
- Polman, Katrien, *The North Maluku: an Annotated Bibliography* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981).
- ____ *The Central Maluku: an Annotated Bibliography* (Leiden: KITLV, 1983).
- Purwanto, Bambang, *Gagalnya Historiografi Indonesiasentris?!* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2006).
- Rainbow, S.G., 'English expeditions to the Dutch East Indies during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', (M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1933).
- Reid, Anthony, 'Introduction: Slavery and Bondage in South-east Asian History', in id., *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).
- Resink, G. J., *Indonesia's History between the Myths; Essays in Legal History and Historical Theory* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1968).
- Roo, L.W.G. de, 'J.W. Cranssen te Ternate, 13 September 1799-18 Junij 1801', *TBG*. XVI (1867), 503-535.
- Rumphius, G.E. "De Ambonse historie behelsende...", *BKI* 64 (1910).
- ____ *De Generale Lantbeschrijvinge van het Ambonse Gouvernement ofwel De Ambonsche Lantbeschrijvinge*. Transcriptie, noten, woordenlijst en een nieuwe bibliografie door W. Buijze (Den Haag, 2001.)
- Rumphius, G.E. *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC: zoals opgetekend in de Ambonse landsbeschrijving*. Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers. 2002.
- Rutherford, Danilyn. *Raiding the land of foreigners* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003)
- Sen, S.P. Indian textiles in south-east Asian trade in the seventeenth century. *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 3 (2) (1962), 92-110.
- Sollewijn Gelpke, J. H. F., 'The Majapahit dependency Udama Katraya. *BKI* 148 (1992), 240-246.
- ____ 'On the origin of the name Papua', *BKI* 149 (1993.), 318-322.
- ____ 'The report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of his voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf and Seram', *BKI* 150 (1994): 123-145.
- Southall, Aidan W., *Alur society; a study in processes and types of domination* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1953).
- Sutherland H. and D. S. Brée, *Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to the study of Indonesian trade: The case of Makassar*. (Rotterdam: Rotterdam School of Management, 1987).
- Sutherland, H., 'Eastern emporium and company town: trade and society in eighteenth century Makassar', in Frank Broeze (ed.), *Brides of the sea: Port cities of Asia from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries*, 97-128 (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1989).
- Sutherland, H., 'Tripang and wangkang: The China trade of eighteenth century Makassar, c.1720s-1840s', *BKI* 156 (2000), 451-472.
- Spyer, Patricia, 'The Memory of Trade: Circulation, Autochthony, and the Past in the Aru Islands (Eastern Indonesia)', (Diss. University of Chicago, Illinois, 1992).
- Stapel, F.W., 'Cornelis Janszoon Speelman', *BKI* 94 (1936.), 1-221.
- Tambiah, S.J., 'The galactic polity: The structure of traditional kingdoms in Southeast Asia', in *Annals New York Academy of Sciences*, 1976, 69-97.

- Tarling, Nicholas, 'The relationship between British politics and the extent of Dutch power in the Malay archipelago, 1784-1871', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 4 (1958), 179-192.
- Tarling, Nicholas, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in the Malay World, 1780-1824* (Cambridge: U.P., 1962).
- Valentijn, F., *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*. 5 vols. (Dordrecht en Amsterdam 1724-1726; reprinted J.C. van Kesteren & Zoon 1862, Franeker 2002-2004)
- Veen, E. van, *Decay of defeat? An inquiry into the Portuguese decline in Asia 1580-1645* (Leiden: CNWS, 2000).
- Villiers, J., 'The cash-crop economy and state formation in the Spice Islands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', in J. Kathirithamby-Wells and J. Villiers eds., *The Southeast Asian port and polity, rise and demise* (Singapore 1990), 83-106.
- Wallace, A.R., *Menjelajah Nusantara, Ekspedisi Alfred Russel Wallace Abad ke-19* (Bandung: Rosda, 2000).
- Warren, James Francis, *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898: the Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1985).
- Wessels, C. S. J., *De Katholieke missie in de Molukken, Noord-Celebes en de Sangihe-eilanden gedurende de Spaansche bestuursperiode 1606-1677* (Tilburg, 1935).
- Wouden, F. A. E. van, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia* (trans. by R Needham), (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968).
- Wright, H.R.C., 'The Moluccan Spice Monopoly, 1770-1824', *JMBRAS* II (4) (1958).
- Hoëvell, W. R. Van, 'Aanteekeningen, gehouden op eene reis aan de noord- en westkust van Halmahera', *TNI* 18 vol. II (1856), 209-228.

SAMENVATTING

Inleiding

Fijne en zeldzame specerijen waren de voornaamste reden voor de Europeanen om handelsposten in Azië op te richten. Na de oprichting van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw namen de Nederlanders de macht over in de Molukken, het huidige Maluku Utara (Noord-Molukken). Het gebruik van geweld en diplomatie om de rivalen in de handel te verdrijven—de Portugezen, Spanjaarden en hun bondgenoten—was van het begin af aan voorzien.

De vestiging van het gezag van de VOC in de Specerij eilanden van Oost-Indonesië verschilde van plaats tot plaats. Op de Banda eilanden werd de gehele politieke en economische structuur uitgewist met de uitroeiing en gedwongen evacuatie van de Bandanese bevolking. In de Ambonse eilanden vestigde de VOC een direct bestuur over de inheemse bevolking, maar duurde het wel zestig jaar voordat de controle van de VOC zekergesteld was. In Ternate, toentertijd de belangrijkste staat in de Molukken, paste de VOC indirect bestuur toe, waarbij men leunde op het gezag van de sultans, die kort werden gehouden door streng toezicht op de opvolging en het naar voren schuiven van eigen favorieten voor de troon.

Tussen de Compagnie en Tidore, de op een na belangrijkste staat in de Molukken, deden zich van tijd tot tijd conflicten voor vanwege de rooftochten van Papua's en het in 1667 afgedwongen beleid van de uitroeiing van de specerijen. De sultan en zijn groten waren geneigd het beleid van de Compagnie te saboteren omdat zij belang hadden bij het toelaten en het voortduren van de rooftochten. Het beleid tot uitroeiing van de specerijen bedierf de relaties tussen alle partijen, maar was vooral een zware last voor de lokale bevolking die de menskracht voor de expedities had te leveren.

Vanaf het begin van de achttiende eeuw ondernam de VOC regelmatig expedities om een einde te maken aan de rooftochten, de gehoorzaamheid van de onderdanen van Tidore af te dwingen, de specerijbomen uit te roeien en de mogelijkheid tot een eventueel binnendringen van buitenlandse handelsrivalen te verhinderen. In weerwil van de aanhoudende pogingen van de opeenvolgende Nederlandse gouverneurs zetten de sultan van Tidore en zijn onderdanen hun subversieve acties voort, zij het niet openlijk. Twee belangrijke gebeurtenissen, het door Tidore afstaan van Oost-Seram aan de Nederlanders in 1768 en de verbanning van sultan Jamaludin in 1779, betekenden het begin van een nieuwe ontwikkeling: in 1780 begon een Tidorese prins, genaamd Nuku, een van de langdurigste en meest effectieve opstanden tegen de Nederlandse hegemonie in de Molukken.

Het eerste deel van deze studie handelt over de vraag wie Nuku was, waarom hij de opstand begon en hoe hij daar meer dan vijftien jaar leiding aan gaf. Daarbij zal blijken dat het geheim van Nuku's voortdurende machtspositie te danken was aan zijn meesterlijk gebruik van bondgenootschappelijke relaties.

Vervolgens wordt in het tweede deel van de studie de blik gericht op de bondgenoten van de prins: de Papuase en Halmaherese rovers, de Oost-Seramse handelaren met hun uitgebreid handelsnetwerk en, tenslotte, de Engelse East India Company (EIC) en de Engelse country traders, die op het einde van de achttiende eeuw in Molukse wateren waren verschenen.

De opstand van prins Nuku van Tidore

Het dispuut over de afstand van Oost-Seram was het begin van de vastberaden oppositie van prins Nuku. Zijn oppositie verhardde toen zijn vader en broers naar Batavia werden verbannen. Na de Nederlandse aanval op Toloa in 1780, stelde Nuku zich aan het hoofd van de belangrijke Tidorese leiders in de opstand. Hoewel zijn strategie aanvankelijk nog aftastend was, slaagde hij er toch in adequaat een groeiend getal aanhangers te mobiliseren en te recrutereren, terwijl hij tegelijkertijd in contact bleef met de Tidorese leiders thuis.

In 1780, het jaar waarin de Nederlanders een nieuw verdrag aan Tidore opdrongen, dat de sultan feitelijk reduceerde tot de status van een vazal, vormde Nuku een alternatieve gezagsstructuur als 'de sultan in ballingschap' van Seram en Papua. Hij had niet veel tijd nodig om strijdkrachten te mobiliseren in de periferie van Tidore. De Papua's van de Raja Ampat eilanden, de Gamrange van Zuidoost-Halmahera en de Oost-Serammers waren snel verenigd. Thuis in Tidore behield Nuku steun onder de groten. Het 'verraad van de *Tempel*' en de plotselinge aanval op Gane en Saketa in 1783 waren duidelijke voorbeelden van zijn succesvolle strategie. Bovendien toonde de 'Tidoreesche Revolutie', hoewel prematuur, zijn succes in het verenigen van diverse opstandige Tidorese groepen, zowel op het thuisfront als in de ballingschap.

Prins Nuku had niet alleen te maken met de Compagnie, maar ook met diens trouwste bondgenoot op Tidore, de sultan, wiens positie door de opstand op het spel stond. In tegenstelling tot de zwakke Patra Alam (1780-1783) was sultan Kamaludin (1784-1797) een formidabele tegenstander, die zijn positie goed wist te consolideren door de opstandelingen op afstand te houden. Rond 1790 wankelde het gezag van Nuku, maar kort daarna slaagde hij er weer in zijn positie te herstellen. De steun van Noord-Halmahera en de terugkeer van de aanhangers van Raja Ampat en Gamrange was in dit opzicht doorslaggevend. Gedurende de regering van Kamaludin werd Nuku ook gesteund door de *jogugu*, de 'eerste minister', in het sultanaat die hem

heimelijk informeerde over de plannen van Kamaludin en de Nederlanders. De terugkeer van de verbannen prins Zainal Abidin van Ceylon in 1796 versterkte de positie van Nuku verder. Nuku slaagde er ook in hulp van buiten te betrekken. In 1796 bereikte zijn positie, dankzij de samenwerking met Engelse country traders, een hoogtepunt. 1796 was ook het jaar dat de Nederlandse positie ernstig verzwakt werd vanwege het verlies van Ambon en Banda aan de EIC. Toen Nuku's vloot in 1797 de wateren van Tidore binnenvoer, werd van de kant van sultan Kamaludin geen belangrijk verzet meer vernomen.

Prins Nuku besloot nu dat de tijd gekomen was zijn plan uit te voeren om de gehele Molukken te verenigen. Ternate met het haast onneembare Nederlandse fort Oranje was nu zijn belangrijkste doelwit. Sinds 1796 werkte hij samen met prins Ibrahim van Ternate; hij wist zelfs sultan Aharal van Ternate over te halen zich bij hem te voegen. Nuku's doel de Nederlanders op Ternate te verslaan werd uiteindelijk in 1801 gerealiseerd met de medewerking van de Engelsen. Bacan was ook belangrijk voor Nuku, omdat het deel uitmaakte van zijn ideaal de vier oorspronkelijke koninkrijken van de Molukken te herstellen. Als onderdeel van dit ideaal richtte hij het sultanaat Jailolo opnieuw op. Het was duidelijk dat Nuku een groots visionair droombeeld had. Als (Noord-)Moluks leider strekte zijn macht zich uit ver voorbij de grenzen van Tidore. Hij droomde van een Tidore dat het machtigst was onder de vier Molukse koninkrijken en dat de ruggengraat zou vormen van een Molukken vrij van buitenlandse machten.

Hoewel Nuku, samen met de Engelsen, er in slaagde het sultanaat Ternate en fort Oranje te veroveren, werd zijn doel om Ternate te controleren nooit gerealiseerd. Zijn droom de Molukken te verenigen bleef een luchtspiegeling. De Vrede van Amiens van 1802 betekende de terugkeer van het Nederlandse gezag in de Molukken en deed het verdrag tussen Nuku en de Engelse resident ter plekke teniet. Desondanks bleef Nuku tot zijn overlijden op het einde van 1805 vol zelftrouwen. Hij behield de onafhankelijke houding ten opzichte van de Nederlanders tot hij zijn laatste adem uitblies.

Nuku's opvolger, Zainal Abidin (1806-1810), was zwak. Als sultan was hij niet in staat op te treden als een krachtige en visionaire figuur, die het respect van andere leiders kon afdwingen. Zijn grootste zwakte was zijn egoïsme, waardoor hij de loyaliteit van zijn volgelingen niet behield. Zijn politieke houding werd gekenmerkt door vaagheid en besluiteloosheid. Ten opzichte van de Nederlanders was zijn positie weinig doortastend en ontbrak het hem aan een duidelijk beleid. De Engelse steun voor Tidore, die tot zijn dood in 1810 voortduurde, werd zodoende niet benut. De meest pijnlijke tekortkoming was zijn onkunde van de veranderende politieke

verhoudingen tussen de Engelsen en de Nederlanders. Hij faalde geheel in de controle over zijn rijk.

Nuku's Papuase bondgenoten en hun rooftochten-systeem

De roversgroepen van de Papuase eilanden en van Halmahera waren al actief voor de komst van de Europeanen in de Molukken in de zestiende eeuw. Hun roverij hing samen met de lokale gewoonten en was daarnaast ook een element in een alternatief handelssysteem. In de zestiende eeuw was het doel van de rooftochten mensen gevangen te nemen en die weer los te laten voor een losprijs. Indien de gevangenen niet werden losgekocht, wachtte hun de dood. Dit patroon veranderde vanaf het begin van de zeventiende eeuw. Degenen die niet werden losgekocht werden, in het geval het mannen waren, gebruikt als slaven en, in het geval van vrouwen als mogelijke huwelijkspartners naar de woonplaatsen van de rovers gebracht. Het nootmuskaatbedrijf op Banda had altijd slaven nodig. Onin en Kobiai, gebieden op de westkust van Nieuw-Guinea, alsmede Raja Ampat en omgeving waren belangrijke leveranciers van slaven. De omstandigheid van de slavernij stimuleerde de roof-activiteiten.

Niettegenstaande het beperkte economische nut en het voortdurende risico inherent aan roof-activiteiten, bleven veel rovers vasthouden aan hun gewelddadig beroep. Deze overzeese ondernemingen waren voor Papua's en bewoners van Halmahera ook van belang voor de accumulatie van buitenlandse goederen, die niet slechts economische waarde hadden maar ook van politiek-culturele betekenis waren. Buitenlandse goederen waren belangrijk bij de ceremoniële uitwisseling van geschenken, bij de betaling van boetes, bruidsschatten etcetera. De rooftochten werden daarom ook beschouwd als manieren om buitenlandse macht te verkrijgen. De rovers en de goederen die zij verwierven werden respectievelijk gezien als personen en zaken die over magische buitenlandse krachten beschikten. Tidore was in hun ogen de bron van buitenlandse macht. Met andere woorden: diegenen die goederen vandaar hadden verkregen door deelname aan rooftochten genoten prestige, autoriteit en macht. Dat stelde hen op hun beurt in staat de eigen gemeenschap te domineren.

Gedurende de opstand van prins Nuku vertoonde het bedrijf van de rooftochten nieuwe dimensies. De aan te vallen doelen werden nu meer selectief bepaald. De rovers vielen in eerste instantie mensen aan die werden gezien als Nederlandse onderdanen en bondgenoten en verder diegenen die afwijzend stonden tegenover deelname of steun aan de opstand. Door hun rooftochten droegen de Papuase en Halmaherese rovers belangrijk bij aan de versterking van de opstand. Gedurende de opstand fuctioneerden de handels- en roversvloeden van de Papua's in feite als Nuku's indrukwekkende navale en militaire macht.

Nuku's Oost-Seramse bondgenoten en hun handelsnetwerk

Sinds de zestiende eeuw stonden de Oost-Serammers bekend als koopvaarders. Zij produceerden sagobrood en verhandelden dat voor nootmuskaat en foelie op Banda. De Oost-Serammers verbonden hun westelijk netwerk, dat gebieden als Timor (sandelhout), Bali (slaven, kleden), Bima (goud), Java (rijst) en Sulawesi omvatte, met hun oostelijk netwerk rond de MacCluer Golf (massooi, slaven) en Raja Ampat. Zij genoten in die tijd een zekere mate van welvaart. Met de vestiging van het Nederlandse specerij-monopolie werden de Serammers beroofd van hun meest winstgevende handelsgoederen. De door de Nederlanders geëiste beperkingen van de scheepvaart ondermijnde verder een groot deel van hun westelijk en oostelijke handelsnetwerk. Om een en ander af te dwingen sloot de Compagnie contracten met de Oost-Serammers, vaak voorafgegaan door gewelddadige confrontaties, maar op de langere termijn werden deze contracten niet nageleefd.

De *hong*i-expeditie, de meest gewelddadige institutie van de Nederlanders, was een instrument van surveillance en repressie, gericht op de Serammers in het algemeen. De Oost-Serammers waren geregeld het doelwit van de *hong*i-tochten. Velen van hen werden verjaagd en/of gedood. Huizen en vaartuigen werden verbrand, boomgaarden vernietigd en het grootste gedeelte van de bezittingen geplunderd door de krijgers van de *hong*i. Er restte hen bijna niets meer nadat een strafexpeditie was voorbij gekomen, behalve dingen die vooraf ergens verborgen waren in het bos of die nog op de vlucht waren meegenomen. De overlevenden moesten hierna geheel opnieuw beginnen. Gedurende twee achtereenvolgende eeuwen hadden de Oost-Serammers zodoende met een proces van verarming te maken.

De Oost-Serammers slaagden er niettemin in hun handelscontacten te behouden door met anderen samen te werken, vooral met handelaren van Makassar. Vaak werden vaartuigen en goederen geleend van Makassaren. De Oost-Serammers fungeerden als tussenpersonen en onderhielden de traditionele handelsnetwerken, in het bijzonder die in oostwaartse richting op de kusten van Nieuw-Guinea en de Raja Ampat. Naar het schijnt hadden de Nederlanders niet genoeg middelen om de Seramse handelsnetwerken uit te roeien. Dat zou ook zeer duur zijn geweest. Dat gold in het bijzonder in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw, toen de macht van de VOC toch al tanende was. De Nederlandse controle op de situatie werd nog geringer toen Nuku en zijn aanhangers het strijdperk betraden en de Oost-Serammers aanmoedigden zich bij de opstand aan te sluiten.

Oost-Seram was in veel opzichten onafhankelijk van Tidore. Met of zonder Tidore, de Oost-Serammers gingen voort hun handelsnetwerken te onderhouden. Uit de schaarse gegevens die voorhanden zijn, kan worden

geconcludeerd dat de verhouding tussen Oost-Seram en Tidore beduidend opbloede gedurende de opstand van prins Nuku. De meest prominente *kapiten laut* van Nuku waren Oost-Seramse handelaren. Er waren slechts twee Oost-Seramse hoofden, *kapiten* Baukan en *orangkaya* Kana-Kana, die hun steun aan de Compagnie voortzetten. Prins Nuku's aanwezigheid op Oost-Seram stimuleerde en beschermde de inheemse handelsnetwerken, die zo lang onder vuur hadden gelegen. Het netwerk van de Oost-Seramers, die lang in vijandschap met de VOC hadden geleefd, was er een daarvan. Vanuit Waru als hoofdkwartier konden Nuku en zijn strijdkrachten enerzijds Oost-Seramers naar zich toetrekken en anderzijds diegenen bedreigen die weigerden met hen samen te werken.

De Engelse East India Company en de Engelse country traders als bondgenoten

Sinds het einde van de zeventiende eeuw probeerden de Engelsen weer specerijen van de Molukken en Nieuw-Guinea te verkrijgen. Pas in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw intensiverden zij hun inspanningen. De pogingen werden gestimuleerd door de groeiende behoefte aan producten van Zuidoost-Azië als alternatief voor zilver bij de betaling van de zich uitbreidende inkoop van zijde en thee in Canton. In 1774 slaagde een Engelse koopman, Thomas Forrest, er in Raja Ampat en Noordwest-Nieuw-Guinea te verkennen. Hij verzamelde specerijen en had enig contact met de sultans van Bacan en Tidore.

Met uitzondering van de sultan van Ternate waren de Molukse vorsten geneigd de Engelsen als bondgenoot te zien. Sultan Jamaludin van Tidore schreef zelf een brief aan Thomas Forrest en bood hem een bondgenootschap aan. Evenals zijn vader was prins Nuku vastbesloten om een bondgenootschap met de Engelsen te sluiten. Het redden van de levens van de bemanning van een Engels country traders' schip in 1783 was een belangrijke stap voorwaarts in de opbouw van vriendschappelijke relaties met de Engelsen. Nuku's gezanten naar Benkoelen in 1784 en naar Bengalen in 1785 werden hartelijk en met alle honneurs ontvangen. In 1796 besloot de Britse gouverneur-generaal Nuku wapens en ammunitie te leveren.

Prins Nuku slaagde er in een sterk imago te creëren wat betreft zijn bereidheid met de Engelsen samen te werken. Het contact met de Engelsen, hoofdzakelijk met de country traders, was een van de doorslaggevende factoren bij de meer dan twintigjarige strijd van Nuku. Nuku wist zelfs zijn voordeel met de interventie van de Engelse strijdkrachten te doen, toen hun aanwezigheid nog niet meer was dan een gerucht. Hij manipuleerde de angst van de Nederlanders en zond valse berichten door middel van lokale spionnen naar de Nederlandse besturen in Ternate, Ambon of Banda. Door de geruchten van de komst van de Engelsen aan te wakkeren, kon hij ook het moreel onder zijn aanhangers hoog houden.

De wederzijdse contacten tussen de strijdkrachten van prins Nuku en de Engelse country traders intensiveerden vanaf 1795. Vervolgens werden grote hoeveelheden specerijen verhandeld in ruil voor wapens en ammunitie. De Engelse country traders brachten ook Nuku's gezanten naar Bengalen in 1796. De toename van de bewapening verbeterde de slagkracht van Nuku's strijdkrachten aanmerkelijk. Als gevolg daarvan nam zijn aanhang onder de lokale leiders en bevolkingen nog verder toe. De verovering van Bacan en de overname van Tidore in 1797 was het resultaat van de samenwerking tussen Nuku en de country traders.

Met betrekking tot de situatie in Tidore hadden de Engelsen geen duidelijk plan. Hun gebrek aan kennis omtrent de aard van de interne Molukse politieke verhoudingen gaf ruimte aan de lokale residenten in de Molukken om naar eigen inzicht te handelen. Echter, wanneer de Engelsen te maken hadden met zaken van groter politiek gewicht, werd hun beleid toch bepaald door de verhoudingen in Europa, in de eerste plaats door hun rivaliteit met de Fransen. Als het in Europees verband mogelijk was de Nederlanders uit het Franse kamp los te maken, waren de Engelsen bereid concessies aan de Nederlanders te doen elders in de wereld, bijvoorbeeld in Zuidoost-Azië.

Tijdens de Engelse bezetting ondervonden de Tidorezen en Nuku dat de EIC zich ook als een 'koloniaal overheerser' gedroeg. De Engelsen continueerden de Nederlandse aanspraak op het monopolie op de specerijen. Dit leidde tot conflicterende belangen tussen de Engelse resident enerzijds en sultan Nuku en de Oost-Seramers anderzijds. De strijdkrachten die de Engelsen tot hun beschikking hadden waren echter niet voldoende om de 'smokkelhandel' van de mensen in de productiegebieden met de handelaars van Oost-Seram en de Tidorese elite te verhinderen. Dat de EIC-dienaren ook nog te maken hadden met Engelse country traders, die goede relaties hadden met handelaren in Oost-Seram alsmede in Halmahera en Raja Ampat maakte de zaken er niet gemakkelijker op. De country traders hadden ook de steun van bepaalde hoge bestuurders in de EIC zelf. De Engelse Compagnie streefde er naar om Nuku kruidnagelen voor een vastgestelde prijs te laten leveren, maar laatstgenoemde was maar al te graag bereid de overeenkomst niet na te komen als hij een deal kon maken met country traders, die de kruidnagelen voor een hogere prijs wilden inkopen.

Het beleid van resident Farquhar om de positie van Ternate te minder belangrijk te maken en een verdrag te sluiten met sultan Nuku was de grootste overwinning die Nuku behaalde gedurende de aanwezigheid van de Engelsen. Tidore werd nu als een bondgenoot aangeduid, niet langer als een vazal. Politiek gezien was Tidore onafhankelijk en had het een superieure positie ten opzichte van Ternate. Tijdens het Nederlandse bestuur was dit lang anders geweest. De verdragen die het sultanaat Tidore in het verleden

met de Nederlanders had gesloten waren teniet gedaan. In ruil daarvoor had het Britse bestuur de monopolierechten. Ongelukkig genoeg werd dit verdrag niet goedgekeurd door de Engelse hogere regering in India in 1802. Het eind van het verhaal van de relatie tussen Nuku en de Engelsen toonde de tragiek van het gebrek aan kracht van kleine staten in Zuidoost-Azië *vis à vis* Europese indringers.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Muridan Widjojo was born in Surabaya, Indonesia, on 4 April 1967. He obtained his Bachelor degree from the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia in 1992. His master degree was pursued at the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia in 2001. Since 1993 he works for Research Center for Political Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences. From 2002 to 2007 he conducted his doctoral research at the Leiden University within the framework of TANAP (Towards A New Age of Partnership) programme. His special interests are social movement, leadership, violence and culture in Eastern Indonesia.