

MALAYSIAN  
HISTORY  
*from* DUTCH SOURCES

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF MALAYSIA  
KUALA LUMPUR  
2004

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## PREFACE

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**Datuk Hajah Rahani Jamil**  
Director-General  
National Archives of Malaysia



THIS publication represents yet another spin-off from the momentum generated by the world wide commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the founding of the first global commercial enterprise – the Dutch East India Company or what was more commonly known as the VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie). Although the actual anniversary was to be observed in 2002, the National Archives of Malaysia managed to provide the initial impetus about a year earlier by organizing a major exhibition which was entitled *Malaysian History From Dutch Sources* (February 2001), was followed in the same year by an international seminar of the same title.

This publication is based on the aforementioned seminar. The keynote address was delivered by Prof. Dato' Dr. Syed Hussein Alatas, and the main paper was read by Prof. Dr. Leonard Y. Andaya. The papers presented at the Seminar covered four themes, namely the pre-Dutch period, trade during the Dutch era, historical sources of the Dutch period, culture and language, and lastly Dutch maritime history. The papers presented in this book are in three languages, namely English, Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia. The paper writers include both academicians, as well as museum and archives administrators. It is hoped that

their combined strength will further facilitate the twin task of both revealing as well as interpreting rich sources of local history for the benefit of institutions such as the National Archives, as well as researchers.

It is hoped that this book will bring the seminar to the doorstep of students, researchers, administrators of archives, museums and libraries, as well as all others interested in the history of what is commonly referred to as the "age of commerce", a reference to the commercial encounter between Europe and Asia from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The fame of Malacca as the single most important historical player in this encounter, coupled with its contemporary status as a historical city, has indeed rendered our efforts in documenting its glorious history a worthwhile endeavour. This book also highlights the growing interest among many historians in what had for long been regarded as the dark period in Malaysian history. In this sense this book, like the others that have appeared before it in recent years, represents a welcome change that argues for researching the rather long and relatively obscure period in Malaysian history prior to British colonialism.

The seminar and exhibition constitute examples of outreach activities that complement and strengthen the core business of the Archives in regard to indentifying, acquiring and making available for research hitherto unexplored sources of Malaysian history. They also contribute to the realization of the vision of the Archives – that of engendering a sense of historical and national consciousness, as well as patriotic fervour amongst the citizenry.

As an archivist, I wish to emphasize that the subject of the exhibition, seminar and the present publication is not *history* as such, but *sources of history*. The concern with *sources* is shared by archivists, librarians and curators alike, with the difference that the Archives is concerned primarily with primary sources of history. In this respect, I am happy that the paper writers have drawn our attention to such historical sources as the National Archives has always been interested in keeping track of, and in stimulating interest for acquiring and making available to researchers such copies of materials as are housed in the various learned institutions in different parts of the world.

I wish to hereby thank the former Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism as well as the Royal Netherlands Embassy, particularly Her Majesty's Ambassador, H.E. Mr. Jonkheer John von Muhlen and Mr.

Peter Noordermeer, the First Secretary, for their unwavering commitment to the exhibition, seminar and publication, all three of which bear the common title *Malaysian History from Dutch Sources*. My appreciation is also due in no small measure to Mr. Prabhakaran S. Nair from the National Archives of Malaysia for the central role that he has played as editor of this book. In his editorial work, he was assisted by C. A. Martijn Maarleveld, a scholar from the Netherlands. I also wish to thank the officers and staff of the Archives for contributing, in one way or other, to the success of this publication.

Datuk Hajah Rahani Jamil  
Director-General  
National Archives of Malaysia.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS  
**LESSONS FROM DUTCH  
COLONIAL HISTORY**

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Prof. Dato' Dr. Syed Hussein Alatas



**L**ET me begin the discussions on lessons from Dutch colonial history with a preliminary observation on the philosophy of research. According to the well known British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, philosophy or values are beyond the domain of scientific inquiry. The sciences, which include the social sciences, can only study observable social phenomena; they cannot decide on the values or philosophy of science. According to Russell, matters relating to the spirit of a particular society, including its values and ideals fall within the scope of disciplines such as history and literature. That being the case, it is very important for us to have a larger vision of history and society. Only then will we be able to decide on how we shall bring our vision to bear on these studies.

What should be our concept of history? Is history nothing more than an account of the dead by the living? What is it about the dead that we are going to study? Is it about the political history of certain groups in power, about the wars between states and between groups in power, or about economic problems and social exploitation? The truth is that history can be written about almost anything and everything - including the history of the wasp. Any subject can become the object of history. If that is the case, what would be the best approach to human history? What is it about the human being that we need to study through history?

To my mind, the most important factor in history is the study of

the human being. We should look at history from the point of view of the development of humanity and morality. If this essence is removed, nothing else is left for the study of history. What is the meaning of knowing about the wars in history if you do not want to know why people went to war?

I shall apply this approach – the humanistic approach, to the study of Dutch colonial history. I suggested '*Lessons from Dutch Colonial History*' to be the title of my keynote address today. What is there to be learnt from Dutch colonial history apart from what we already know?

As a matter of interest, no foreign power has colonized our country for as long as the Dutch. We have been occupied by four powers, including the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and the Japanese. From the period that Melaka was conquered to the independence of the Borneo states of Sabah and Sarawak, we have been occupied successively by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and the Japanese for some 450 years. Indonesia, in comparison, was occupied by the Dutch for 350 years. Our colonial experience, though we were then a very small state, was much longer than that of Indonesia.

If we wish to study the history of our colonial past of some 450 years, we need to ask ourselves this question – *how should we approach this history in a most meaningful manner?* Is it enough just to know that the Portuguese conquered Melaka in 1511, that the Dutch took over from the Portuguese in 1641, and that subsequently the British and the Japanese had ruled over us until we finally obtained our independence?

Such skimpy treatment of history does not do justice to the 450 years of colonial rule. To compound the problem, text books on history have been written by colonial scholars, by whom I refer not only to scholars who specialized in colonial history, but also the disciples of such scholars. Their account of Malaysian history begins with some information on the Malay Sultanate of Melaka. Not much space is devoted to it, implying a scarcity of historical sources. There is usually a brief mention of the Portuguese invasion of Melaka, followed by an account of the Dutch conquest of Melaka. This is followed by a historical leap of some 150 years, from the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century to the

18<sup>th</sup> century. Then there is a flood of information on the British period in Malaysian history which begins with the arrival, in Penang, of Francis Light, the famous '*saudagar candu*' (opium merchant).

When I was reading all these books from the time I was a student at the University of Amsterdam, I started asking myself about what could have possibly happened in those 150 years? Why was there a break in the history of Malaysia? I wondered if the population of Malaysia during that period had disappeared from the face of the earth. Only later did I come to realize that the blank in the history of Malaya during that period was actually the blank in the minds of the historians. Why was there a blank in the minds of the historians? The answer is that these historians had no access to Dutch sources; and because of this, they could not write about the many events that occurred in that period.

Dutch sources are very important not only for the study of Malaysia, but also the general study of history. There are a lot of lessons to be learnt from the history of the Dutch colonial period in this part of the world, especially Indonesia. Dutch sources on Indonesia are comprehensive and voluminous. These sources astonish the researcher with the innumerable and unimaginable range of subject areas covered. I get the impression and I believe I am right here, that no other colonial power in the world has studied their colony with such great commitment as the Dutch. The study of the British on Malaysia is less prolific compared to the study of Indonesia by the Dutch. It is also obvious from the records, that the Spanish had not carried out extensive studies on the Philippines, as the Dutch had done for Indonesia.

Practically every subject imaginable has been studied by the Dutch in Indonesia, including language, literature, botany, medicine, agriculture, volcanology, entomology, archaeology, culture, or even superstitions! I once encountered a very interesting study on the superstitions of thieves in Java in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Superstitions, the different customs of the archipelago, archaeology, name any discipline, you have Dutch contributions in that discipline. This enormous amount of information has a lot of meaning to us in Malaysia, although there is no direct reference to Malaysia. Why this information is relevant to

us is because there are certain problems that we confront together with the other countries.

Take one example. This is a problem which I discussed in my earlier book published in 1977 entitled *Intellectuals in Developing Societies*. In this book, I discussed the problem of what is called overlapping historical periods. Before I proceed any further, I would like to tell you how happy I was to receive from the organizers of this Conference a set of photographs on early transportation. One of them is a *pedati* and another is a rickshaw. The transportation system is the clearest expression of overlapping historical periods. What do we mean by overlapping historical periods? Until today in Indonesia, you still find overlapping historical periods. For instance, if you go to Jakarta, by and large, the entire transportation system is modern. But if you drive one hour away from Jakarta, to the town of Bogor, you will find the old horse carriage is still there. If you go further deep inland, you will find more horse carriages. These carriages were from the earlier Dutch period, the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. These days, the transportation system does not use horses, but motorized vehicles. When the old and the new exist side by side, we say there is an overlapping of historical periods.

The same thing is true of certain ways of life. You can still find in Indonesia, in a certain area in the town of Bogor, an overlapping of historical periods. In certain parts of Bogor there are no taps. People are still using rain water, and drawing water from the wells. Many of the houses there have no bathroom. They still bathe in the river. This is a remnant from the old period. The same thing applies to the activities of the petty traders. You can still find hawkers going around, carrying on their shoulders two baskets filled with different items for sale. I think that it is still possible to find people selling gold fish from these two baskets on their shoulders. Here again, we have another instance of overlapping historical periods.

Once we observe the phenomenon of overlapping historical periods, we enter a bigger problem area, that is the overlapping of historical periods not only in the outward physical form but also in the mind. The overlapping of historical periods in the mind is as prevalent



in Malaysia, as in Indonesia. The archaic systems of thought continue to exist side by side with the modern outlook. It is very difficult in Malaysia and Indonesia, to find people without this overlapping historical periods in the mind. If you become the President, some of the decisions you make may not always be based on rational calculation. You would possibly consult your soothsayer. You may have to perform magical rites, and be surrounded by magical beliefs. Superstitions enter many aspects of life, including personal relationships. Amongst the police in Malaysia, it is considered bad behaviour to sit at the table of your colleague. If you do so, she or he will not be very happy, because it is believed that such action would result in your colleague being inundated with a lot of work. Amongst the thieves, amongst pirates, there are certain days they would not go out to sea. And this is not based on any rational calculation, and the police have to know this so that they do not try to capture pirates during those days.

What about student who went through their bomohs, their soothsayers inquiring and hoping to get good results. At the same time, they might be studying mathematics or science. Here you have another overlapping of the historical periods. It is a very real and contemporary problem and a study of Dutch sources connected with it can be very interesting. There is also a lot of Dutch sources dealing with such beliefs in Indonesia.

Coming back to our vision of history, it has been suggested that when reading history, we need to consider the motives of the historians concerned. According to this view, if the motive is suspect, then one should regard the source concerned as being unreliable. I think this is not right. We should study all available sources independent of the motive. The motive of the writer should not prejudice our evaluation of their works. Therefore, it is wrong to ignore works produced by certain groups on account of the motive. Scholars tend to neglect the studies and the researches carried out by missionaries in Indonesia. In fact, there is a general tendency to neglect sources developed by missionaries. All sources should be welcome; it is only the findings that need to be evaluated in their own right.

It is generally true that works are produced for the purpose of promotion and career expansion. If you write a scholarly book you can be promoted. So your research is based on considerations of career expansion. Now, if I compare this motive of personal career expansion to the motive of a missionary who faces trials and tribulations, I would say to myself that the motive of the missionary is much nobler. But then there are many who would say that the missionary cannot be objective because he sees things from his own perspective. That is not always right. There are missionaries who study their subject in an objective manner, while by contrast there are many careerists within the academic circles who study their subject in a subjective manner. One can make his own assessment as to how far the motive has intruded into the objectivity of the analysis and diminished its validity. It is useful to know the motive, but one must be also able to assess the work by its own merit. There are several examples of Dutch works by leading missionaries, whose analysis and scholarship were highly commendable. We must keep an open mind on the value of such works.

Another thing which I wish to discuss here is the issue of rewriting history. In every age, there is a need to redefine and reappraise the past. Our colonial past also makes this necessary. How do we assess the value of the colonial past in terms of its heritage? By heritage, I refer to the contributions made to the storehouse of knowledge, information and analysis by scholars, writers, civil servants or members of the public during the colonial period.

Some years ago in Singapore, I came across a very interesting work in Dutch on the insects of the archipelago. There were about three volumes. I became interested in insects, because of my experience with insects back at home. I had insect problems in my garden, and it was natural for me to want to know more about the pest that was causing me problems. So I started reading the Dutch works on tropical insects. I must say that these are very interesting works.

Much later, as I was studying the lives of the various Dutch Governor-Generals in Indonesia, I asked myself this question: what is the relation between both these studies – between the Dutch Governor

Generals of Indonesia and the insects of Indonesia? I then said to myself that insects are insects, and Governor-Generals are Governor-Generals. They are not the same thing. I shall come to this later.

Whenever I study the lives of the Governor-Generals, my political sensitivity is challenged. Some of them were extremely corrupt. Some would have even broken the world record for nepotism! One of them even appointed his son, who was at that time I think about 12 years old, as the ruler and Chief Administrator of the island of Onrust. Nobody in world history had appointed a 12 year-old boy to such a high level of administrative office. The reason, he could be corrupt in running that island, in compliance with his father's interest and inclination.

Then you see, I came across a Governor-General, Speelman (Cornelis Janz Speelman), who was responsible for the conquest of Indonesia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He happened to be high on the world record as a womanizer. He womanized so much that his wife abandoned him and asked for a separation. No Roman tyrant could have equalled Speelman in his indulgence. There were evidences of his sexual misdemeanour all over the palace. People even talked about his children on the streets. They saw many boys on the streets looking like him. When he died, they even discovered that he had 100 prisoners confined in his private prison in the palace.

Now again, I asked myself this question. What is the connection between the Governor-General and the insect in the forest? My point is that when we are assessing the colonial heritage, we should not be prejudiced by our political sensitivities. Neither should our assessment of history as a whole be based on an assessment of a group of political men in power. My political reaction, and my moral sensitivity to the excesses of the Governor-General should have nothing to do with the value I attach to the study of the insect, or an other studies done by the Dutch – be it agriculture, volcanoes, or language. The motive of the group of scholars who emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was positive. They dedicated their lives to research, and were genuinely committed to the service of their country. The knowledge on the islands of the East Indies to which they had made such great contributions does

constitute a timeless colonial heritage.

The same consideration applies to Dutch policies in Indonesia. We may not agree with some of the colonial policies, but there were also genuine, well-intentioned policies. And there is another thing which I would like to mention here, and that is the intellectual output, which refers to reflection on problems. This has nothing to do with the accumulation of information and knowledge on different subjects that I referred to earlier. There were a number of interesting cases of analysis of various problems in Indonesia. For instance, one of the Dutch Governor-Generals, Idenburg, if I am not mistaken during 1909-1916, analysed the population problem and its relation to the problem of poverty in Indonesia. His analysis was marvelous and highly professional. Through him the people of his times were actually hearing the voice of a social scientist. If we had not known that he was a Governor, we would, when reading his work, have got the impression that Idenburg must be a social scientist analyzing social problems in a sound and accurate manner. And this is an example, from Dutch sources, of valuable reflections and analyses originating from a Dutch governor. One should not reject such an analysis just because it was authored by a Governor. Similarly the scholar, Boeke had given a very interesting analysis on the difference, in terms of mentality, between the traditional Indonesian village and the modern capitalist economy. Boeke it was who came out with this theory of dualism. Subsequently, the same theory of dualism was developed in Latin-America by Andre Gunde-Frank. But it was Boeke who had started this analysis of dualism.

There are a number of extremely useful and interesting analyses which we cannot afford to overlook and just pay attention to collecting bare facts of history. Apart from the two missionaries, that is Idenburg and Boeke, I wish to also mention one other missionary, Adriani. He had studied the Toraja tribes in Sulawesi, and produced a marvellous anthropological account of the tribal culture within the larger social context, explaining how this culture was dysfunctional, and caused problems to the people themselves. I should not brush this aside by saying, "*well you know, after all Adriani was a missionary. He wanted*

*to prove that the traditional culture was not suitable for the modern times. He wanted to say that the natives had to become Christians".* Although that might have been true as far as Adriani's desire was concerned, it did not make his analysis any less valid for reason that he was genuinely committed to a truthful analysis and the facts he came up with were all true. He explained that the Torajas suffered depopulation, poverty and diseases, all because of the insecurity engendered by the traditional custom of head-hunting. When you are practicing head-hunting, you are all the time in tension with other groups or tribes, and you cannot expand your territory even as more and more children are born. Resources become less and less, followed by illnesses. It becomes very difficult to develop trade with other groups, or to establish a flourishing agrarian society. Adriani was right in claiming that it was the culture itself that had caused this problem among the Torajas. Such scholarly findings abound in the Dutch sources.

The value of Dutch scholarship is very great and we cannot afford to ignore it. Dutch scholarship is also linked to the beginnings of modernization in Indonesia. Genuine large-scale modernization was started by the Dutch in Indonesia not long before the period of the First World War. In a short span of about ten years, the Dutch brought about tremendous changes that is said to be more than the cumulative changes that took place in three hundred years prior to that period. During this brief period of about ten years, many changes took place, such as the introduction of steamship, air travel, the road system and railway transport. The radio, incidentally, was introduced in 1929. These changes led to further changes, thereby laying the foundation for modernization. If we are interested in the modernization of Malaysia, let us also take a look at the process of modernization during the Dutch period in Indonesian history.



## CROSSING THE BORDERS OF MALAYSIAN HISTORY

Prof Dr Leonard Y Andaya



**I**N 1972 I joined the department of history at the University of Malaya not long after receiving my PhD from Cornell University. I had written my dissertation on the kingdom of Johor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries based on both Malay manuscripts and the archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the Netherlands. At the time there was just a handful of us who had gone systematically through the documents in the VOC archives to reconstruct the pre-nineteenth history of the Malay world.<sup>1</sup> Some thirty years have since passed, but the number of historians using Dutch sources for early Malaysian history anywhere in the world remains lamentably low. This is a regrettable statistic because there is still so much that can be discovered about Malaysia's past in Dutch archives.

Incentives and challenges may have to be made to entice Malaysian students to commit to learning the Dutch language and to gain access to the major source for the seventeenth and eighteenth century history of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. This could take the form of scholarships, such as that offered by the Dutch government known as TANAP.<sup>2</sup> Another way is to suggest new questions to ask of the past, and how old sources can be restudied for new concerns using more refined methodologies. While I am in no position to offer financial incentives, I believe I can contribute by suggesting possible areas of challenging research. The following remarks, therefore, are based on my own experience as a historian using the VOC archival

material over the last thirty years to reconstruct the history of different areas in the archipelago in the early modern period (c. 1500-c.1800).<sup>3</sup>

### **Obstacles to Border-Crossing**

This paper is entitled "*Crossing the Borders of Malaysian History*" because I wish to emphasize the necessity of scholars working on Malaysian history to free themselves from two recurrent obstacles. The first is the practice in many scholarly works to stop any investigation at legal, political boundaries. In historical studies the general tendency has been to limit one's research to a nation-state or a part of that nation-state. The study of Malaysian history is no exception. Because of the nature of British intervention in the Malay Peninsula in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the colonial scholar-officials conceptualized knowledge about the area in terms of the existing political structures, which were kingdoms ruled by Malay dynasties. In the process of gathering information to facilitate colonial control, studies were conducted along state lines and published in the *Journal of the Straits* (superseded in 1922 by the *Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*). Between 1932 and 1938 histories of Johor, Perak, Pahang, Kedah, Kelantan, Selangor, and Negeri Sembilan were compiled by members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.<sup>4</sup>

But there was also a concern among some to create the concept of a "British Malaya". While Hugh Clifford had conceptualized a "Malaya" in his 1903 publication entitled, *Further India, being the Story of Exploration from the Earliest Times in Burma, Malaya, Siam, and Indo-China*, the first major study which became the authoritative work for many years was Frank Swettenham's 1907 *History of British Malaya*. This was followed in 1918 by R.O. Winstedt's *Kitab Tawarikh Melayu* (History of the Malays), which became the basis for an extended version of his *History of Malaya*, published in 1935. Another early pioneering work emphasizing the newly-formed colonial entity was L.A. Mills' *British Malaya, 1824-1867*, which appeared in 1925. Despite these examples of Malaya-wide studies encouraged by certain English administrators, the greater tendency was to focus on state or



kingdom-wide perspectives. So dominant and pervasive was this approach that up to 1922 the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* carried rather curious subjects such as in Pahang or a 'bird-dropping spider' in Johor. As Barbara Watson Andaya pointedly observed, "to a casual reader it might almost seem as if the flora and fauna of the peninsula changed species or habits as they reached state borders!"<sup>5</sup>

Henk Maier suggests that there was an entire British colonial enterprise in the production of knowledge about Malaya, which he termed "Malayistics". These "Malayists" (a term very likely selected deliberately by Maier to recall Edward Said's critique of "Orientalists")<sup>6</sup> were those acknowledged to be at the forefront of the study of Malay language and society, and included such prominent names as Frank Swettenham, Hugh Clifford, James Low, and R.O. Winstedt. In using the term "Malayistics" Maier argues that the study of Malaysian history and society has been dominated by a single subtle but widely-held perspective, the colonial one, and that sources on the Malays were collected, structured, and narrated for a particular colonial enterprise. If one accepts Maier's interpretation, then it challenges scholars to re-examine the entire corpus and attempt to restructure and reinterpret materials which hitherto have been accepted with little or no question.<sup>7</sup>

The success of "Malayistics" perhaps can be measured by the general tendency of scholars today to continue to conceptualize scholarly projects along political boundaries. While some are genuinely interested in issues of the nation-state,<sup>8</sup> many may never have considered the possibility of expanding their inquiries beyond national or state borders. One practical reason for limiting one's study to Malay(si)a is the fact that the colonial sources are in English, a language that most Malaysians learn in school. To extend a study of Malaysia into areas formerly under the Netherlands East Indies and now under Indonesia requires knowledge of Dutch, a language that many consider to be obscure and difficult. The investment of time in learning a new language and the trepidation in entering into an archival world little explored by former researchers in Malaysian history and society have been major barriers to crossing borders.

In addition to the artificial political division between the Dutch

and English spheres of influence in 1824, which then became the basis for the present boundaries of Indonesia and Malaysia, there were other "border" areas created through colonial collusion. The most troublesome today are the borderlands between Thailand and Malaysia, and between Sabah, the southern Philippines, and northern Indonesia. These "borderlands" formed common zones of interaction in the past but were divided by colonial regimes. Recent ASEAN initiatives have finally acknowledged the reality of these unities and instituted special economic growth zones in these border areas. Historians, however, have been slow to follow the lead of their economic colleagues. Although they are well aware that the current international borders are a late artificial colonial creation with little regard to indigenous cultural and political realities, yet they continue to address issues within a nation-state framework. Using such a framework may be appropriate for the study of modern Malaysian history; however, it is not only inappropriate but even misleading for the study of pre-nineteenth century history. Many of the present borders continue to be porous, and the task of the historian is to identify where zones of human interaction occurred in the past, and then to acquire the linguistic and methodological skills to undertake the necessary research.

A second major obstacle to "border-crossing" is the persistence of nineteenth century ideas of academic disciplines in institutions of higher learning. Until the middle of the twentieth century, history was dominated by an approach often associated with Leopold von Ranke, in which archival documents were the primary source material, and important men and events the proper subjects of historical research. Studies of societies without written record were relegated to anthropology, another discipline created in the nineteenth century in the search for more and more specialized inquiries about the nature of human society. The many new disciplines, each with a defined area of research, may have developed though a genuine search for knowledge, but in time they became separate empires of information and methodologies jealously guarding their terrain from incursions by other disciplines. Among the most ardent supporters of disciplinary boundaries are university teachers whose jobs are dependent on their

disciplinary training. In the resultant academic turf wars, scholarship has been the major casualty. The persistence of studies of great men and events in today's history departments is partially a reflection of the resistance of some to the proliferation of works they see as masquerading as history, and partially a sign of pure and simple inertia.

### **Making the Border-Crossing**

Over the years traditional ideas of disciplinary boundaries have been blurred, resulting in an ever-expanding and exciting field of inquiry.<sup>9</sup> Many of these ideas began in Europe where the study of the common people became the focus of Marxist and Annaliste scholars. Beginning in the 1950s and early 1960s, Marxist historians examined the lives of the working class and promoted "history from below".<sup>10</sup> This move away from the regnant Rankean perspective was further strengthened by the Annalists, who acquired the appellation as a result of their association with the French scholarly journal known since 1946 as *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*.<sup>11</sup> The Annales School achieved international prominence by the 1970s and demonstrated how every aspect of human and environmental activity was a legitimate source of historical study.<sup>12</sup> History of mentalities, total history, social history, environmental history, history from below, and many other subsets of history liberated the historian from the straitjacket of nineteenth century positivist history.

While many of these new forms of historical approaches and inquiries influenced by the social sciences appeared to invigorate the discipline, a crisis of identity arose with claims made by scholars of literary criticism that there was little that distinguished a work of history from a work of fiction. They argued that the creative process was identical, but the historians were less ready to admit to applying the same method as those of literary artists in data selection, imaginative reconstruction, and arrangement of materials.<sup>13</sup> As a result of these criticisms the discipline of history is being gradually transformed, and there is greater acknowledgement of the need for more transparency in the historian's use of sources and assumptions. Increasingly in historical works, there is an avoidance of the authori-

tative voice in the narrative or the compulsion to create a coherent narrative. Instead, more attention is given to "discrepant" histories and to the multiple and contradictory voices which are present in historical sources.<sup>14</sup> Historians are much more willing today to broaden the scope of historical inquiry to incorporate ideas and methodologies from other disciplines.

With the developments in the historical discipline since the mid-twentieth century, scholars of Southeast Asia have now been presented with a number of new methodologies with which to examine foreign and indigenous materials hitherto regarded as "non-historical". By ignoring disciplinary boundaries and using whatever methodology best able to deal with the source, scholars have begun to write new types of history. In the last few years there have been some innovative cross-disciplinary studies. William Cummings has demonstrated the interesting interplay of oral and written traditions in the creation and shifting meanings of Makassar historical writings in South Sulawesi.<sup>15</sup> Helen Creese has shown how Balinese court literature from the seventeenth century was used by Balinese leaders to disseminate to the ordinary people ideas of a separate identity from Muslim Java.<sup>16</sup> In a highly-acclaimed work, Thongchai Winichakul has documented the manner in which European colonial mapping conventions became an important tool in the process of colonial expansion, a lesson well-learned by Siamese expansionists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>17</sup>

The discipline of history is now far more flexible and innovative than ever before, and the choices of historical topics have vastly expanded. In addition, examples of innovative historical methodologies can be found in many historical journals. It is now the task of the historians of Malaysian history to formulate new and interesting topics, identify the appropriate methodologies, and then to focus on the most useful sources. For those working on seventeenth and eighteenth century Malaysian history, no better source material can be found than the voluminous records of the VOC archives.

### **Relevant VOC Records for the Writing of Premodern Malaysian History**

The best book to begin an exploration of the VOC archives is *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602-1795)*.<sup>18</sup> It provides a discussion of the organization of the VOC, suggestions of how to use the various sections of the archives, references to other VOC archives and to private records of prominent VOC officials, discussion of maps and drawings, and finally a detailed inventory of the archival documents. In the archives themselves are archivists with specialized skills who can assist researchers in finding appropriate documents and even helping to read particularly difficult passages. The modern National Archives of the Netherlands is located in The Hague next to the central railway station and is linked directly to the Royal Library, which contains the largest library holdings in the Netherlands. The National Archives also contains colonial documents from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for those wishing to pursue subjects in the modern period. In short, the physical archives are very accessible, and the conditions for research are some of the finest in the world.

Since my own work has depended principally on the seventeenth and eighteenth century archives of the VOC, I will focus particularly on this collection and its value to Malaysian history. In my own studies, I relied on the documents collected under the heading, "The General Series: Letters and Papers received from Asia by the Heren XVII and the Amsterdam Chamber, 1607-1794". Within this General Series, the most valuable collection for me was "Batavia's Letterbook of Incoming Documents" (*Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek*). This collection contains copies of the monthly missives on activities at a particular VOC post (*kantoor*), reports of special missions to local courts, letters in Dutch translation from local dignitaries, 19 journals maintained by officials sent on these missions, treaties with local kingdoms, and interviews with individuals visiting the post. But this is not a comprehensive list; documents were sometimes included to provide rough statistical information on the military capabilities of a particular ruler, the political intrigues in a court, or the amount and types of economic wealth an area possessed. These were duplicates

sent from the various VOC outposts, such as Malacca, to the central VOC headquarters in Asia at Batavia (present day Jakarta), and then to the VOC Chambers in the Dutch Republic, of which the largest was Amsterdam. The records of the Amsterdam Chamber were the most extensive and formed the core of the VOC archives which eventually came to be housed in the National Archives.

For a study of the Malay areas, reports arriving from the post at Malacca, which the VOC seized from the Portuguese in 1641, were of considerable interest. Malacca's importance to the VOC is known by the fact that it was one of the few establishments provided with a governor. Although the Dutch maintained a small outpost in Perak, it was of lesser importance and only had a merchant (*koopman*) at its head. Johor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries never had a Dutch post. Information about that kingdom came from reports of special Dutch missions sent from Malacca or Batavia, interviews with traders and others arriving in Malacca, letters from Johor rulers and officials, and the occasional letters sent from other Dutch posts such as Palembang, Jambi, and West Coast Sumatra. VOC reports on Johor and communities on the west coast of the Peninsula were fairly regular because of their position on the important Straits of Malacca and their participation in the tin and pepper trade. In contrast, there was only the occasional report on the east coast peninsular states in this period.

The east coast Sumatran areas from Siak northward to Aceh also came under the purview of the Malacca post. The Dutch maintained a watchful eye on activities on this coast, particularly after the establishment of the Siak dynasty by Raja Kecil in the early eighteenth century and its pretensions over the Malay lands to its immediate north. Aceh was a major power in the archipelago from the early sixteenth century until the early eighteenth century, but detailed reports of that kingdom only become available after the VOC seized Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. The reports on Aceh, therefore, are the most detailed for the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda's daughter, Sultan Taj al-Alam Safiyyat al-Din (1641-75). The removal of the Dutch post in Aceh in the last quarter of the seventeenth century brought to an end any detailed and systematic Dutch accounts of

activities in that kingdom.

The Dutch established a presence in Jambi from 1615 to 1768, while the Palembang post began later in 1662 but continued into the nineteenth century. With the establishment of Dutch posts in these two kingdoms, documents were either collected under their respective posts or combined into a Jambi-Palembang section in the archives. Because the fortunes of Jambi and Palembang were closely linked to the Malay kingdoms on the Peninsula, especially to Johor, these documents are worth examining. With the establishment of a Dutch post in Padang in west coast Sumatra, the papers produced in the West Coast Sumatra office became useful to reconstruct the activities of the Acehnese, the Batak, and the Minangkabau in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By using these various reports from different Dutch posts, it is possible to get a far more detailed picture of the events in and around the Straits of Malacca than would be possible by relying solely on the reports from the Malacca establishment.

Having mentioned the variety of documents contained in the VOC archives, I should also add that they are of uneven quality. There are some reports by Dutch officials that are impressive in their scope and depth, especially since they were often the first systematic compilation of the societies being described.<sup>20</sup> But there are also reports which are cursory, uninformed, and of little use to scholars. In general, the documents provide principally economic information with also some emphasis on the political situation as part of an economic assessment. Threat of conflict encouraged reporting of strength of armies and navies, numbers of populations, and political relationships among various states. Reports on the occasional disaster, particularly major fires, offer clues to population densities, building materials, lifestyles, and even ethnic composition of urban areas. The challenge is to be able to construct a picture from scattered evidence, inconsistent chronology, and at times contradictory information. As daunting as this task may appear, there is the exhilaration of working with documents from the period under study and the excitement of discovery of new information. Moreover, advances made in historical approaches and methodologies have created opportunities for more innovative ways of assessing the archival material.

### **Some Possible Fruitful Areas of Research**

One interesting subject not yet fully explored is the process of ethnic formation in Southeast Asian history. In more modern times the rise of ethnic conflict in the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and, closer to home, Indonesia, has made people more aware of the political implications of ethnic identity. Those ethnic groups seeking to establish their own independent sovereign nations or even simply autonomy within existing nationstates have begun the process of writing or rewriting their history to legitimize their claims. In response to the perceived threat to national unity, there is the tendency to stress the need to maintain a dominant national narrative which, unfortunately, often involves nationalistic archaeology.<sup>21</sup> Although current scholarship supports the view that ethnic identity is fluid, politically-inspired, and socially-constructed,<sup>22</sup> some of us working on Southeast Asian history continue to assume that the ethnic groups occupying their various "homelands" today have been there since "time immemorial".

It is important for scholars attempting to reconstruct the past to be aware of the pitfalls of assuming fixed ethnic identities. In mainland Southeast Asia Richard O'Connor has warned against the idea that the movement of Tai-speakers overwhelmed and even eliminated certain ethnic groups in the process. Instead, he argues that ecological adaptation and the movements of language and agricultural techniques between groups could explain the "rise" and "fall" of ethnic groups.<sup>23</sup> By questioning the conventional wisdom regarding the spread of dominant ethnic groups in Southeast Asia, O'Connor has highlighted the need to examine what ethnicity means in the early history of the region. He is well aware that present-day identities have influenced the way we think of past communities. In asserting that at a particular historical period the Wa were becoming Tai, the Palaung were becoming Shan, and the Khamu were becoming Lao,<sup>24</sup> O'Connor is alerting us to the ongoing process of identity and ethnic formation in Southeast Asian history. A historian examining the history of Southeast Asia in general and Malaysian history in particular would be well-advised to rethink traditional ideas of the rise and fall of particular ethnic communities in light of O'Connor's comments.



For too long scholars have viewed group identity in the past through the lenses of the nation-state or ethnic nationalism, and have thus conceptualized ethnicities as unified, monolithic wholes, with a linear and continuous history. The tendency has been to see fixed ethnic groups and to reject notions that a group may have been absorbed into another group, or even more likely, that a group employs multiple identities for economic, social, and/or political advantage.<sup>25</sup> The reluctance of some scholars to determine the strategies employed in such decisions may stem from the unpopularity of such views.<sup>26</sup> At other times only a one-sided analysis occurs in which present-day perceptions of status assumes that the group perceived as lower in status would seek to enter another ethnicity with a higher status. While this may be so in the process of seeking greater advantage, there is usually no rejection of a former ethnicity because of the latter's importance for other reasons, such as the performance of ritual or the reaffirmation of ownership of land.<sup>27</sup>

What I am suggesting, therefore, is that scholars consult the records and try to determine how people perceived themselves in the past, how and why they assumed their particular ethnicities at a particular point in their history. In the past there was much less intercourse between groups than is the case today, and so the identification with a smaller group was the norm. With the expansion of trade ties and the movement of groups out of their villages or regions, greater contact with others occurred. Only through such contacts, according to the classic explanation of ethnic choice, does ethnicity become an issue.<sup>28</sup> This statement then is important because it begs the question, when did a larger ethnicity, such as Malayu or Minangkabau or Acehese become significant? In modern Malaysia, examples abound of new ethnicities being created within the last fifty years in response to governmental decree and political concerns.<sup>29</sup> It may be useful for Malaysian historians to revisit the records to see the shifts and transformations of ethnicities and to explain what this meant in the formation of kingdoms and the nation-state. Malaysia is particularly valuable for such an investigation because of the many groups that came to occupy the country over the centuries.

A second profitable avenue of historical research is gender

relations. As in ethnicity, most of the work in gender studies are by social scientists. Because historians have been slow to enter the field, they can profit from the sophisticated theoretical issues that are now available. Some historical studies on gender relations have been done on Southeast Asia and can serve as models for in-depth studies in Malaysian history.<sup>30</sup> By searching systematically through the VOC archives, a scholar can begin to construct a picture of the lives of families, of women in the workplace, and the role of women as intermediaries between cultures. Aside from the pioneering works of C.R. Boxer and Jean Taylor,<sup>31</sup> a recent excellent example of this approach is a study by Henk Niemeijer using the VOC documents housed in the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta. He used papers from the notarial office, the Bench of Alderman, the Reformed Church and the Board of Land Trustees in order to write an interesting study of the social and economic role of women in Batavia.<sup>32</sup> This type of study may be possible using the Malacca records of the VOC. There may not be enough to undertake a study of women in the Malay kingdoms because of the lack of information, but an innovative examination of Malay texts may prove valuable, as demonstrated by Ruzy Hashim in her study of Tun Kudu in the *Sejarah Melayu*.<sup>33</sup>

A third area worthy of greater attention is the historical geography of the Malay world. It was Paul Wheatley who first alerted scholars to the intricate water geography of the Malay Peninsula so crucial to early trade in the region. He identified a number of different routes taken by traders to cross the Peninsula, which included major rivers, tributaries and land portages.<sup>34</sup> It has been suggested that some of the northern routes were important for the transport of forest products to the coast, and hence an important link between the interior Orang Asli communities and the Malay coastal inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> Because of the importance of these routes in the past, it may be possible to conceptualize the routes, the surrounding lands and their resources, and the people who inhabit the area as a natural unit in the same way that studies have been conceptualized for the Mekong River.<sup>36</sup> The Dutch materials, used in conjunction with archaeological, anthropological and linguistic research, could provide the necessary documentation to

chart the history of these waterways. Much of the analysis of Malay history has been sea or coastal-orientated. Perhaps more should be made of the interior waterways and the interior contribution to the development of the history of the area.

A relatively new and still growing field that could help border-crossing in Malaysian studies is environmental history. One of the most impressive examples is William Cronon's brilliant study chronicling the dynamic interplay of the human settlement and the natural environment which led to a major transformation of the New England landscape.<sup>37</sup> A similar study of the Malaysian environment could be undertaken using both historical and ecological evidence. As a result of the introduction of the tin, rubber, palm oil, and lumber industries, there has been massive deforestation in Malaysia. In addition, the establishment of new urban areas for a growing population has wrought enormous changes to the Malaysian physical and psychological environment. To undertake a long-term study of the changes in the Malaysian landscape would require research in the VOC archives. Reports of the establishment of tin mines, the creation of the infrastructure to support such ventures, as well as the continuing trade in forest products and jungle animals such as the elephant, should provide a basis for assessing the types of changes occurring in the landscape over time. Such an historical environmental study would provide a useful context and complement to the story of human habitation and activities in Malaysia. Natural disasters could provide further material for an examination of human adaptation to the environment. A forthcoming book by Greg Bankoff, a historian of the Philippines, has shown how natural disasters have become incorporated into the national psyche and the Filipino understanding of the world.<sup>38</sup>

A historical study of the diasporic communities of the Bugis and the Minangkabau is also a feasible topic. In 1745 Raja Lumu was already groomed to be leader of the Bugis in Selangor, and in 1766 he became its first Sultan. At about the same time a Bugis ascended the throne of Aceh and established the so-called "Bugis" dynasty. What is striking is the enormous influence exercised by these Bugis communities in and around the Straits of Malacca. Selangor and Aceh in this period could provide the focus for a detailed study of the

interactions of the Bugis communities in the western half of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago in the eighteenth century. A similar treatment of the Minangkabau could be undertaken since they became a major force in the region beginning in the seventeenth century. Their involvement in the affairs of the Malay Peninsula and the east coast Sumatran states, their establishment of a Minangkabau dynasty in Siak, and their strong ties to the royal family in Pagaruyung in the Minangkabau heartland of central Sumatra, are features worthy of further study.

In pursuing this topic, a scholar could investigate the mechanisms by which new immigrants, such as the Bugis and the Minangkabau, became acculturated to local culture. This can be done by perusing such texts as the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* and the *Hikayat Siak* not only for evidence of intermarriages among the different ethnic communities, but also for the strategies of adaptation adopted by the various groups. To do this properly will require a fairly detailed knowledge of Bugis, Minangkabau and Malay culture, as well as an understanding of the diaspora phenomenon and the unique *rantau* societies and worldviews. In addition to the indigenous texts, a major source for this reconstruction is the VOC archives. As with other suggested topics using the VOC archives, the evidence is not collected and collated under readily recognizable categories. Instead, the researcher has to search actively and creatively, learning how to recognize the value of what may appear to be an innocuous or insignificant statement. It will be a long, oftentimes tedious, but ultimately a most rewarding effort.

Another suggestion is the examination of piracy in the Malay world from a new perspective. Such a study would attempt to view this phenomenon as another political response to the vast social and economic changes wrought by international trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To undertake this investigation will require a willingness to reject previous notions of piracy and to begin afresh. It may be interesting to know whether piracy provided an alternative form of a economic and political organization to that of landed and centralized communities.<sup>39</sup> Those who actively strive to resist incorporation into the state have been characterized as being in a "tribal" category.<sup>40</sup> In the formation of "piratical" groups, are we seeing such

a “tribal” category in operation? By providing a wider historical context, a study of piracy could be both an investigation into alternative forms of early Malay polities, as well as a study of the establishment of “community” among shifting and disparate groups of individuals.

Finally, it may be worthwhile to re-examine an old subject, characterized in the past as “indigenous response” to European activity. Instead of structuring the question in this way – giving agency to the European but not to the local inhabitants – it may be more interesting and acceptable to examine how the interaction of the Europeans and Malays at all levels created a hybrid society. It would be instructive to examine where, why, and how such hybridity occurred, and to compare such accommodations with the more racist divisions that occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

### **Conducting the Research**

This may be the appropriate moment to reiterate yet again that the task ahead is far from easy. The reason is that the VOC sources were not intended to be read in the many ways that historians now examine the past. These VOC archives were records of a commercial company eager to maximize profits through the manipulation of knowledge of market and political factors that had a direct or indirect impact on trade. This is the reason that the first generation of scholars using the archives tended to focus on European trade and Company activities in the East. Among the second generation of scholars, among whom I count myself and my wife, Barbara Watson Andaya, the angle of vision shifted to focus on the economic and political developments among Southeast Asian states or communities. In this endeavour there was a greater use of indigenous writings in conjunction with European sources to provide a fuller picture from a local viewpoint. Using the VOC archives for this latter purpose can prove to be more difficult than working on European activity because relevant information about indigenous affairs was not systematically collected. There are large gaps in information, and it is not unusual for a story or theme simply to end without any indication of the outcome. Piecing

together this type of evidence scattered in time and space challenges the historian and demands a certain amount of informed use of historical imagination.

Specific collections in the VOC archives may present opportunities for innovative research. Ian Baxter describes the Dutch Malacca archives that were brought back to England and housed permanently in London. Though they date between 1685 and 1835, the bulk of the information is from the period between 1785 and 1825 and contain the records from the Orphan Chamber, the Judicial Council, the Political Council, and miscellaneous papers. It may be worthwhile to examine the orphan papers to determine the types of people who inhabited Malacca at the time, their occupations, wealth, and relationships. Similarly, the court records could reveal something of the life in Malacca society, some of the social and personal problems faced by the inhabitants, and perhaps the way in which laws were administered. In short, these records could prove to be an important source for a social history of Malacca. The Malacca records in the National Archives in The Hague could provide further documents to supplement this special collection in London.

Many of the topics suggested earlier are broad in conception, enabling the individual to select one or more aspects to investigate. But it would also be possible to undertake the larger projects through collaborative research. Although individual work has been the hallmark of Western-style tertiary institutions, there is a growing recognition that some subjects are so vast and complex that they require expertise beyond the capabilities of most individual scholars. The proliferation of edited works of articles by different contributors discussing a single major theme is perhaps a sign that the intellectual demands of the post-modernist era are exhilarating but daunting. We should now consider another "border-crossing" by encouraging collaboration among scholars to undertake research on a single important project. For example, to investigate the interior waterways of the Peninsula may require the skills of a historian to examine documents in the Dutch archives; a geographer or environmentalist to assess the significance of the physical landscape and to identify the ecological

zones; an anthropologist to study the societies in the area and their relationship with their environment; and a linguist to do a comparative study of the languages of the communities.

While much still can be done to reconstruct the early history of Malaysia using the approaches pioneered by earlier historians, the topics that I have suggested will require even greater ingenuity among the new generation of scholars. Since the publication of *negeri*-centred studies, there has been no attempt to revisit the sources in order to write another kind of *negeri* history focusing on the world outside the court.<sup>41</sup> The task would be far more difficult because the VOC officials tended to write about the courts rather than the common people. A patient and painstaking scholar applying some of the newer historical approaches may be able to reconstruct some aspect of ordinary life in the past. To do this successfully will require researchers to acquire far greater skills than were necessary before. In addition to learning the appropriate languages, a historian will have to be trained to think in innovative ways to detect relevance in a source that others may have ignored or regarded as unimportant. They will also have to learn to think of history in an unconventional fashion, to consider any and all data as having possible historical relevance, and to employ methodologies that were once seen as the preserve of other disciplines. These are formidable challenges, but ones that I am confident the new generation of historians will meet and thus extend and deepen our knowledge of Malaysia's past.

## **Conclusion**

In this essay I have argued that two recurring obstacles have prevented scholars from making important border-crossings in the study of Malaysian history. In order to overcome such barriers, it will be necessary to ignore both political and disciplinary boundaries in determining the scope of one's study and the appropriate methodologies to employ. I have tried to call attention to the innovative ways in which the historical discipline has moved over the last few decades, and the manner in which scholars could perhaps profit from studies

made by colleagues working in other areas of the world. Based on these developments, I have suggested the types of topics that would extend the borders of Malaysian history.

For the study of seventeenth and eighteenth century history of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, the most extensive and valuable collection is without a doubt the archives of the VOC. Because of the commercial nature of the VOC enterprise, there are limitations to the types of information available. Nevertheless, the VOC records contain far more than simply economic information. With the proper training in new methodologies and the honing of skills required of all good historians, a scholar will be able to exploit more fully the rich data of the VOC archives and write Malaysian history in new and exciting ways.



## MALACCA IN ASIAN MARITIME TRADE IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Prof Dr Om Prakash



**E**VER since its establishment in the course of the fifteenth century, the port of Malacca has played a key role in the successful functioning of many of the Asian maritime trading networks. I argue in this paper that this key role was partly a function of the strategic location of the port in the straits bearing the same name. But much more important in my view was the capacity of the port to play a major role as a facilitator and indeed promotor of trade between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal on the one hand and the South China Sea on the other. There was, for example, an extraordinarily efficient network of infrastructural facilities available at the port which contributed in no small measure to its optimal functioning. The complete autonomy enjoyed by the port administration further contributed to this result.

The history of long-distance maritime trade in Asia goes back a long time. By far the longest distance was covered by the route that connected Aden to Canton traversing a very large part of the total area covered by the great arc of Asian trade. There is evidence to suggest that this route was in regular use at least from the seventh century. The principal group which had initiated trade on the route was the Persian merchants who had, however, been supplanted by and large by Arab merchants since about the ninth century. The principal stops on the way were either Cambay or Calicut on the Indian west coast and a port such as Palembang in Sumatra. Some

time during the twelfth century Chinese junks also began operating on this route. There is evidence that the Chinese merchants established commercial contacts with places such as Sri Lanka, Kollam on the Malabar coast and Hormuz on the Persian Gulf. The Chinese participation in trade on this route would appear to have reached important levels by the early years of the fifteenth century. Between 1404 and 1433, a series of seven commercial-cum-naval expeditions was dispatched from China under the command of Admiral Cheng Ho. The first of these expeditions is believed to have consisted of as many as 62 ships and 28,000 men. The fourth voyage is reported to have reached Hormuz and Aden, while those that followed claimed to have touched even the East African ports of Mogadishu and Malindi. But in 1433 the Chinese authorities abruptly withdrew from these ventures and, indeed, there is no record of these long-distance voyages having ever been resumed. The precise circumstances behind this development are not quite clear but it would seem that the depredation of pirates infesting the South China Sea and the criticism that the profit earned from these voyages was not sufficiently attractive contributed to the decision of the Chinese authorities. In the meantime, the Arabs had also gradually pulled out of this long-distance route.

Whatever the reasons behind the Chinese and the Arab withdrawal from long-distance trade, it signalled a basic alteration in the organizational structure of Asian trade. The new structure was based on the segmentation of the great arc of Asian trade into the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea. The ports of Cambay or Calicut and Malacca, which had until then served essentially as viavallings and stopping points on the long route between west Asia and China, now became terminal ports. The role of these ports in providing a reasonably assured market in the goods brought in, as well as in making available those sought after by the visiting ships, besides offering facilities such as anchorage, warehousing and banking, cannot be overemphasized. Malacca became a truly major centre of international exchange and a meeting point of traders from the East and the West.

One might note at this point that over the centuries something like

a code of conduct regulating trade by visiting Asian merchants had been evolved by Asian port authorities. This code required the port authorities to treat the visiting merchants well and leave them alone to manage their affairs themselves. This included the arrangements they might make with their local counterparts, their business dealings in the market and so on, without the port administration making any undue interference in their decision-making processes. This generally positive attitude towards these merchants was in a large part conditioned by the revenue generated by these merchants for the authorities in the form of, for example, customs duties. An important factor contributing to the enormously important position that Malacca came to occupy as a link port between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal on the one hand and the South China Sea on the other was a total and scrupulous adherence to this code of conduct. The port administration at Malacca enjoyed a degree of autonomy which was perhaps unparalleled anywhere else in Asia. Asian merchants resident in or visiting and operating from this port could be broadly divided into four groups: (a) the Gujaratis; (b) other Indian merchant groups and merchants from Burma; (c) the merchants from southeast Asia upto and including the Philippines; and finally (d) the merchants from East Asia including the Chinese, the Japanese and the Okinawans. Each of these four groups was allowed to have a *shahbandar* of its own who managed the affairs of that particular merchant group autonomously of the local authorities.

Soon after their arrival in the Indian Ocean at the close of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese realized the strategic significance of Asian ports such as Hormuz, Aden and Malacca. While they were unable to take over Aden, they did manage to conquer the other two - Malacca in 1511 and Hormuz in 1515. While the control over Hormuz was used mainly to work out the strategy to be adopted in relation to Asian merchants' trade in spices in the western Indian Ocean, the control of Malacca was used on a much wider front namely to find a niche for the Portuguese Crown and later also for the private Portuguese merchants in intra-Asian trade.

The extensive Portuguese network of intra-Asian trade grew basically along the lines defined by the pre-existing commercial system.

In the wake of the Gujarati merchants' increasing withdrawal from Malacca following its conquest in 1511, the Tamil *keling* merchants had emerged as the single most important group of Indian merchants operating from this port city. The lead in the matter of getting into intra-Asian trade in a big way was taken by the Crown, though the period over which the Crown's involvement in this trade lasted was not very long. The Crown participated in several branches of Asian trade - mostly those linking Malacca to the Bay of Bengal but marginally also to those in the western Indian Ocean - basically as a 'merchant among merchants'. This was done in close cooperation with the *keling* merchant community of Malacca, whose doyen at the time was one Nina Chatu. The cooperation often took the form of ventures undertaken jointly by the Crown and Nina Chatu.

The period over which the involvement of the Portuguese Crown as an entrepreneur in intra-Asian trade with Malacca as the centre-point lasted was, however, comparatively brief. Indeed, already in the 1530s and the 1540s, changes in both the nature and the scale of Crown involvement in this trade were discernible for reasons that we cannot go into here. The process of Crown withdrawal from intra-Asian trade was completed by about 1570. But the Crown kept for itself the right to give benefices as rewards for services rendered. Thus was born the so-called system of concession voyages, which came to constitute the backbone of the Portuguese private merchants' trade in Asia.

The concession system began in the 1550s, and by the 1580s had become a major component of the Portuguese trading network in Asia. Around 1580 there were some thirty routes on which concession voyages operated. Roughly a half of these involved Malacca either as the port of origin or of destination. Often these concessions acquired a resale value and the Captains of Malacca usually sold theirs to the highest bidder, rather than take the trouble to make the voyage themselves. An important implication of the extensive trading activities of the private Portuguese merchants with Malacca as the centre-point was the revival of long-distance maritime trade in Asia defined as a voyage covering all the three segments of the great arc of Asian trade, namely the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the

South China Sea, in one trip organized by a single entrepreneurial agency. Ever since the cessation of the Chinese expeditions under Cheng Ho, there are no known such voyages in the fifteenth century. At least one important voyage undertaken on an annual basis from the 1550s onward under the concession system revived the lost tradition of long-distance Asian maritime trade. This was the Goa-Malacca-Macao-Hirado/Nagasaki concession voyage. Until 1618, the voyage consisted of a single large carrack of between 1200 and 1600 tons, making it one of the largest ships engaged in intra-Asian trade. The voyage consisted of three segments: Goa-Malacca, Malacca-Macao and Macao-Hirado/Nagasaki. Different rates of return marked the three segments, often a characteristic feature of long-distance trade. On the Goa-Malacca segment, the outward voyage was not particularly profitable probably because of the competition faced. The Malacca-Macao segment presented other problems because the Captains of Malacca had the exclusive right to trade in pepper and other spices on this route. This often necessitated cooperative arrangements between the Captain of Malacca and the concession holder of the voyage. The real profit was made on the Macao-Nagasaki sector, and on the return trip from Nagasaki to Goa.

This situation underwent a fundamental change following the arrival of the northern European trading companies in the Asian Seas at the beginning of the seventeenth century. By far the most important of these companies in terms of its resource base was the Dutch East India Company established in 1602. The most important single distinguishing feature of this company was a large-scale participation in intra-Asian trade as an integral part of its overall trading strategy. It was a highly profitable enterprise so much so that in their letter of 22 September 1648 to the Governor-General and Council at Batavia, the Board of Directors of the Company made the following observation, "The country trade and the profit from it are the soul of the company which must be looked after carefully, because if the soul decays, the entire body would be destroyed quickly."<sup>1</sup>

In the course of conducting its intra-Asian trade, the Company of necessity found itself competing with Indian and other Asian merchants similarly engaged in this trade. There was not very much

the Company could do about this competition except in areas where it enjoyed territorial privileges or monopolistic/monopsonistic rights in particular items of trade. The Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago were the principal areas where such rights were available to the Company. A specific policy instrument the Company used in dealing with Indian merchants engaged in trade with these areas was a legacy it had inherited from the Portuguese namely the so-called pass system. This system obliged Asian vessels desirous of operating on specified routes to seek permission from the Company to do so in the form of a document called the pass. In principle, failure to do so subjected the vessel to the risk of seizure on the high seas. After its conquest by the Dutch in 1641, Malacca figured importantly in the overall policy framework that the Company followed in regulating Asian merchants' trade. It should, of course, be noted explicitly that the Company did not have a smooth sailing while enforcing its pass policy.

Whenever the Company chose to enforce the restrictions it might prescribe for Indian shipping rigorously, it came into conflict with both the Indian merchants as well as the ruling authorities with consequences which were not altogether pleasant for either side. A case in point is the troubles the Company faced at Surat in 1648-9. Following the conquest of Malacca in 1641 and the subsequent conclusion of monopsony agreements with the principal tin-producing regions in the Malay peninsula, the Company had sought to restrict direct access for Indian vessels to the 'tin ports' north of Malacca, and to get them to carry out all their trade at Malacca itself. This strategy, however, proved largely ineffective as long as these vessels had continuing free access to the Bay of Bengal port of Aceh on the northern tip of Sumatra. The extensive trade carried on by the Aceh merchants with Sumatran and Malayan ports made Aceh a large market for Indian textiles, as well as a major procurement point for items such as pepper and tin. Indeed, on the basis of the passes issued by the queen of Aceh it was even possible for the Indian merchants to sail to the east Sumatran and west Malayan ports and carry on trade there. Particularly useful in this regard was the link to Perak which was then a vassal state of Aceh and was abundantly

provided with tin. The implications of this for the VOC were quite severe. In 1646, no tin could be brought in the Malay peninsula and no pepper could be sold at Malacca. A full-scale response was evidently called for and on 3 July 1647, Batavia resolved that 'the Moors of Surat, Coromandel, Bengal, Pegu etc. be prohibited from the trade both in Achin [Acheh] and in the tin quarters [of peninsular Malaya] on pain of seizure [of their vessels] as legitimate prize if they come there in the future'. It was decided to intensify the cruising of the approaches to Acheh as well as to ports such as Kedah, Perak and Johor. The factors in India were instructed not to issue passes for Acheh or any of the other ports declared out of bounds.<sup>2</sup>

The reaction to this severely restrictionist policy was sharp at least at Surat. When passes for Acheh were refused, the Mughal authorities banned the loading of the Dutch ships at the port. That was not all: in April 1648, the local Dutch factory was stormed by a force of 150 men. One Dutchman was killed, two others wounded and goods worth f.27,000 plundered. The attackers were never identified, but it was a clear message signalling the gross displeasure of both the Mughal authorities as well as the local merchants. Johan Tack, the Company's man at Agra, made representation to the Court asking for the restitution of the plundered goods. With the help of one of the *amirs* at the Court, Haqiqat Khan, who was generally favourably inclined towards the Company, an audience with Emperor Shahjahan was obtained. The emperor promised to grant a *farman* directing the *mutasaddi* at Surat to compensate the Company for the plundered goods. But before the *farman* could be issued, a delegation of the Surat merchants arrived at the Court. They could not prevent the grant of the *farman* but ensured that it was a very different kind of document. All that the *farman* did was to say that the local authorities at Surat would do their best to trace the plundered goods. The factors saw no point in even bringing the document to the attention of the *mutasaddi*. The Company then decided to retaliate on the sea. A fleet sent from Batavia for the purpose arrived too late in 1648 to attack the Indian shipping returning from Mocha. But the following year, two Gujarati ships on their way back from Mocha and carrying a cargo worth more than one and a half million guilders were seized

just outside Surat. Following negotiations between the Company, the local authorities and some of the leading merchants of the city, the Company's twofold demand for compensation for the plundered goods and a promise to stop the Surat ships' attempted voyages to Aceh, Perak, Kedah and Phuket, etc. was accepted. In return, the Company released the seized ships and the cargo to the lawful owners.<sup>3</sup>

The implications of the Company's pass policy during these years were somewhat less severe on the Coromandel coast. The problems there revolved mainly around the issue of the refusal of passes for the ships of the all-powerful noble, Mir Jumla. Following the seizure in 1647 of tin worth 2,000 rials off Perak from a ship of the Mir because it did not carry a Dutch pass, the governor of Masulipatnam, a subordinate of Mir Jumla, asked for restitution. Peace was bought temporarily by a promise to do the needful and by agreeing to sell the entire stock of cloves in the Company's warehouses in Coromandel together with a certain amount of copper to the Mir. But the tin had not been returned by 1651 leading to obstructions being placed on the Company's textile trade in the region. It was only after Commissioner Dirck Steur went to see Mir Jumla that an agreement emerged. The Company reiterated its promise to return the tin besides undertaking to buy its requirements of textiles at specified places only from the representatives of the Mir. But problems surfaced again following the seizure of one of Mir Jumla's ships, the *Nazareth*, off Malacca for flying the Portuguese flag after the Dutch-Portuguese truce had ended. Matters came to a head in 1653 when Mir Jumla threatened to attack Fort Geldria unless the *Nazareth* and its cargo were released immediately and passes granted for the Portuguese-controlled ports in Sri Lanka. It was then decided to meet a part of the Mir's claims in respect of the goods carried by the *Nazareth*. Besides, passes were to be issued to all subjects of Golconda for ports under the jurisdiction of the king of Kandi and for Aceh. The only stipulation made regarding the latter was that in the event of the blockade of the port by the Dutch, the ships sailing for Aceh would agree to proceed to another destination approved by the Company. It was, however, only at the end of 1655 that the compensation in respect of the *Nazareth* was paid. The Company also conceded the Mir's right to trade with





With the conquest of the Portuguese in Malacca in 1641, the VOC gained control over the Straits of Malacca, the important trade route between West and East Asia. Anonymous drawing, end of 18th century

Makassar, Bantam and Kedah as well as to send goods to Malacca aboard the Company's ships. In return, Mir Jumla agreed not to send ships to Jaffanapatnam in view of the ongoing Dutch-Portuguese struggle there.<sup>4</sup>

The afore-mentioned account pertaining to the Dutch East India Company and the Indian merchants as well as the Indian ruling authorities is based on the Company's documentation preserved at the *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, The Hague, the Netherlands. This is an extremely rich and large body of documentation relating to the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. While a large part of this documentation is understandably related to the trading and other concerns of the Dutch East India Company, there nevertheless is a substantive body of material available in this documentation which is extremely useful in the writing of Asian history, particularly of the countries and regions where the Company had its trading establishments called factories. This is not the place for me to expand on this theme but in order to

give you a broad idea of the kind of detailed information, both statistical and otherwise, on one specific aspect of Malay economic history namely Asian trade flows via Malacca through the agency of Asian merchants of various nationalities available in this documentation. I would like to draw your attention to a specific document available in the Dutch archives in a volume under the number VOC 4877. This document is entitled "List of ships and smaller vessels together with their cargo, weaponry and manpower aboard which arrived at and departed from Malacca in the year 1763". The list not only contains datewise details of all ship arrivals at and departures from Malacca but also highly useful information regarding the vessels' name and tonnage, the port of origin/destination, the name and place of domicile of the captain (*nakhuda*), and often the name of the merchant on whose account the vessel was being operated. The list also contains details regarding the cargo carried as well as the number of guns and sailors aboard. The very first entry in the list pertaining to a ship arriving on 1 January 1763 is a typical one. It reads as follows: Fazal Beg [Fazel Beek], a Muslim *nakhoda* domiciled in Surat arrived with a ship named Faiz Ahmadi [Fees Emmody] belonging to the Dutch East India Company's broker at Surat, Mansherji Khurshedji [Mansdhergie Gorseedje]. The tonnage of the ship is 100 *candils* and it is carrying 12 canons and is manned by 100 persons. It has come from Siam and has taken sixteen days for the trip. It is headed for Surat and is carrying a cargo of sugar, ivory, agilwood and sappanwood". According to this list, a total of twenty six vessels arrived at Malacca during the month of January 1763 while the number of ships departing from Malacca during the month was twenty. Of the twenty six arrivals, sixteen were from the nearby ports such as Pidie in northern Sumatra and Perak in Malaya and were due by and large to return to the same ports. Another two were from Siam on their way back to Surat. Of the remaining eight, four were on the account of the Portuguese on their way from Macao to Malabar. The other four were on the account of English merchants all on their way from Manila. Three of these ships were proceeding to Bombay while the fourth was headed for Madras.

To conclude, what this brief paper has sought to establish is the

very special position of Malacca in the Indian Ocean – South China Sea trading network in the early modern period. It was in recognition of this special position that the Portuguese conquered it in 1511 and made it the base for their participation in intra-Asian trade, both at the level of the Crown as well as that of the private Portuguese traders. After its capture by the Dutch in 1641, the port town again played a key role in the development of the Dutch pass policy as well as its trading strategy in the Asian Seas.

## THE DUTCH THREATS FROM PORTUGUESE SOURCES (1600 – 1641)

Encik Yahya Abu Bakar



**T**HE period between 1580's-1641 merit our close attention, having witnessed significant changes that led to the decline of the Portuguese supremacy, and the emergence of the Dutch influence in this part of the world.

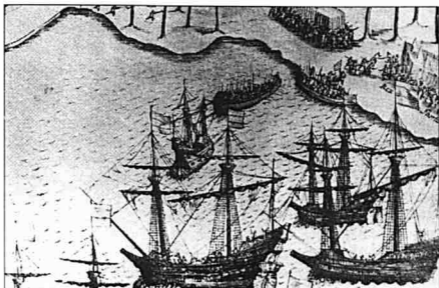
The Portuguese had occupied Melaka in 1511, and jealously guarded their possession there until 1641 when the city fell to the Dutch. The downfall of the Portuguese power in Melaka was the product of various factors, both internal and external. The entry of the Dutch accelerated the process. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch also arrived in South East Asia in search of lucrative trade, mainly in spices. The Dutch consolidated their position in the Malaya Archipelago by subjugating their enemies including the Portuguese in Melaka. As early as 1602 if not earlier, the King of Spain/Portugal warned administrators in Estado da India of the Dutch threats. Despite all possible efforts within their means, the more determined and better organized Dutch took possession of Melaka. Portuguese documents are exceptionally rich in relating the danger posed by the Dutch to Melaka. This issue will be addressed in the next few pages.

The period from 1580's and thereafter were no ordinary years to the Portuguese/Spanish monarchy and administrators in the Estado da India, including Melaka. In Melaka and *terras vizinhas* (neighbouring land), the Portuguese registered both achievements and setbacks. Thousands of miles away from Torre de Belem Melaka *fui o chave em*

*que tudo comecou* (a keypoint where everything began), a European city dotted with scores of igrejas catolicas, featuring Iberian *arquitectura na Asia*. *O tempo colonial dos Portugueses em Malaca representou um dos capitulos na historia da Malasia* (the Portuguese period represented one of the chapters in the Malaysian history). Until 1641, they guarded Melaka with utmost jealousy, *apesar de todos os problemas dentro e fora da cidade* (besides problems within and outside the city). Melaka was part of string *fortalezas* for the Portuguese in trying to dominate South East Asian trade. To them Melaka was a city of much profit made for merchandise, and situated at the end of the monsoon.

Melaka was developed into an urban, mercantile emporia with a religious and cultural character of its own. It was raised into the status of city in 1552 by royal edict and subsequently a bishopric in 1580's. Religious orders notably *Os Jesuitas*, served there, *com escola, covento, misericordia* (with school, convent, house of mercy etc.). Documents such as *Livro das cidades & fortalezas* (1580's) detailing trade and conditions of Portuguese possessions overseas including Melaka. In marked contrast, *O Saldado Practico* by Couto, *A Historia de Cercos*, by Duarte de Lemos, to name only a few, portrayed the burdens and problems faced by various *cidades* (cities), *viz a viz* assaults from local rulers. In the case of Melaka, Johor, Aceh, Japara were among the well known enemies of the Portuguese. Melaka was guarded by a strong fortress, *A Famosa* with its imposing towers, thick walls, and cannons pointing to specific targets. It became the seat of *O Capitao*.

In terms of commerce, the Portuguese could not forcibly control and monopolize the Asian trade that was centered in Melaka. Their influence was actually quite limited in term of area, depth and volume of trade. On the contrary, they disrupted the organization of the Asian trade. Commerce was diverted to several other ports, and bitter disputes and rivalries became the order of the day. Their trade was conducted by private trading activities, or in partnership with their Asian counterparts; or simply represented the business of the royal crown, (at least up to 1580). The customs duties in Melaka rose to 26,500 pardaos in 1544, to more than double in 1584 and 80,000



The Dutch (Matelieff's) attack on Malacca 1641

several years later. By 1613, every year more than 200 boats of varying sizes traded with Melaka.

Owing to abuses and mismanagement, as disclosed by *Os Cronistas*, *Os Jesuitas* and administrators, again the custom duties increased from 21.6 mil reis in 1586 to 27 mil by 1606. In 1581 for instance, Melaka recorded some 6.5 mil reis income surplus and some 7.4 mil reis in 1588. By the 1620's however, the situation was deteriorating steadily. By 1635 the income was steadily deflated to roughly 11-13 mil reis, while the expenditure incurred in defence of Melaka escalated. Fr. Alexander Rhodes who had visited Melaka in 1622 noticed the strong fortress well guarded and armed, amidst dangers posed by adversaries. This scenario was quite vividly portrayed in the reports on *fortalezas que o coroa tem na parte da Asia* written around 1636. The gloomy affair of Melaka was equally echoed by Peter Mundy, during his short visit to the city.

The rapid decline of the Portuguese power resulted from webs of reasons, accelerated by the entry of the Dutch into the Malayan waters. A close study of the data presented by A Matos or Sanjay Subramaniam on *Asia Portuguesa* reveals a gloomy situation for the Portuguese.

The *Historico Tragico Maritimo* with its surprising if not frightening accounts of fatalities and loss of ships or armadas together with manpower into the depth of the mysterious seas. The danger posed by the Dutch at times forced Melaka to depend on financial aid from Goa or elsewhere.

Like the Portuguese, *Os Hollandenses tambem tinham chegados na Asia, com o principal motivo de conseguir especarias e o rico da terra que figuram prominentemente no mercado da Europa*. The Straits of Melaka had long been the main artery of the Asiatic trade prior to the advent of the European. Commerce was conducted mainly by way of peaceful oceanic navigations based upon the principal of the accepted non written conventions. This in turn was facilitated by the responsive local rulers whose power rested on the doctrines of daulat, derhaka and legitimacy of hereditary power. The rivalries between the Dutch and the Portuguese seriously affected the flow of trading activities in Selat Melaka.

In the Iberian Peninsula, Philip II, the King of Spain and Portugal initiated a series of moves designed to alienate the Dutch and later the English from trading in Lisbon and Spanish waters. Merchants of the two countries responded in a manner detrimental to the security and welfare of the Portuguese possessions in *ultramarino*. From *Sao Tome* to the entrance of *A Famosa*, the Portuguese had to withstand attacks and sieges by the Dutch, notwithstanding the endless feuds with the native rulers. The international rivalries originating in Europe soon assumed new dimensions and consequences in the Malayan waters. The Dutch benefited enormously from the accounts and data published in *Itinerario by Linschotten*, and were quick to realize the limitedness of the Portuguese grip on Southeast Asian trade. They were equally equipped with heavy armaments and disciplined soldiers, added with effective strategies and moves.

Following the success of *Cornelius Van. D. Houtman's* voyage which netted 80,000 florin in profit, between 1595-1601, 65 ships left Holland to the East. Pattani, Grisek, Amboina, Banda, Aceh, Ternate, Bantam and Johor became ports of call. The lure of profit, fetching some 400% was quite irresistible. The Portuguese documents acknowledged and viewed the situation with anger and great

concern. In the early years of 1600's, the king transmitted *regimentos* (orders) urging stringent measures for security reasons. Upgrading defence, repairing stockades, increase budget of defence were some of the necessary steps taken in order to protect their interest viz a viz the Dutch.

The monopolistic tendencies of the Portuguese and their over zealousness for religious crusades made them unpopular; and these partly explained the cordial acceptance of the Dutch in Asiatic trade. As early as 1597, the Dutch tried to wrest Melaka unsuccessfully, to be followed later in 1600-1602. The end of the 16th century also witnessed the arrival of the British. In 1602 James Lancaster managed to capture a Portuguese vessel. Earlier, Francis Drake had captured *Madre de Deus*, a laden ship of significant value. In defense of their commercial and strategic interests in the spice trade, the Portuguese despatched some 30 ships to Bantam, but were repulsed by the Dutch in 1602/3. The Portuguese in Melaka repeatedly noticed the arrival of Dutch ships in Selat Melaka eagerly seeking trade opportunities. This was reported to the authorities in Goa or Spain.

The Dutch were quick to exploit the struggles between the Portuguese and the local rulers, for instance Johor and Aceh, to their advantage. In the case of Johor, the Dutch befriended the ruler in 1602, through the efforts of Hammeskerck. In 1603 Jacob P.V. Enkhuiizen arrived at Johor. Sultan Alaudin of Johor even sent an envoy to Holland in 1603. The Johorean were impressed by the strength of the Dutch against the Portuguese menace in Johor. This was further cemented by the treaty of alliance between the two in 1605. Johor was assured of Dutch support to oust the Portuguese from Malacca. For several years Johor shifted its friendship between the Portuguese and the Dutch whenever it served their interest. By having an exclusive right to trade in Johor, VOC hoped to increase their participation in commercial activity in Selat Melaka besides diminishing the Portuguese interest in the region. Sensing the danger of the alliance between VOC and Johor to their trade and security, as early as 1602 the Capitania in Melaka communicated with the Johor ruler, urging him not to align with the newcomer.

In the wake of repeated Dutch threats to Melaka and the defeat



suffered by the Portuguese in the Spice Islands in 1605, the defense of the city was augmented. This periodic measure had its antecedent. In 1588 for example, Joao Batista, an architect was sent to Forterlezas overseas to tighten the defence system. As we move to 1640's, Melaka was known to have spent up to 50% of its income on defence purposes. On one occasion, Melaka desperately requested a sum of 80,000 cruzados to upgrade its security. The King of Spain/Portugal repeatedly commanded administrators in Goa to seriously look into the affairs of Melaka. An effort was made to fortify Pulau Jawa. Specialists were sent to repair cannons, weapons, manufacture gun powders, etc, to address the dire need of Melaka. Soldiers were on the constant alert though it was quite known that lack of trained personnel occurred almost everywhere within Estado da India.

In 1606 a Dutch fleet of 11 large ships and 6 smaller vessels comprising of 1357 men at war attacked Melaka. Some 700 men landed at Tanjong Kling and Ujong Pasir. After a violent fighting, Matelief decided to withdraw following news of the approaching Socorro (relief) of 17 large ships of galleons, caravel, 4 galleys and 21 pinnaces with 3000 Portuguese and 300 Indian soldiers under the command of de Castro. To what extent Johor participated in this effort was an open question. However, it was quite apparent the failure of the Dutch to evict the Portuguese from Melaka at this juncture was partly due to Johor's attitude to the campaign. The timely arrival of relief from Goa contributed to no small extent to the success of the Portuguese in Melaka.

Fighting at sea erupted in the vicinity of Cape Rochado, both sides lost 2 ships, one of them was *Nassau*. The Dutch troops withdrew to Johor. In 1610 the Dutch befriended Aceh, while the Portuguese arrived at similar arrangement with Johor, which by now had to face the hostility of Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam (1607- 1636). Diplomacy, security and calculated moves designed to enhance each other's stake in trade must have been of particular interest at that time. Between 1618-1623, the Dutch tightened their share on Asiatic trade. Batavia became Dutch headquarters in 1619 and the British were ousted from Amboina in 1623, to be followed by a systematic subjugation of Moluccas and the Spice Islands. In 1628/29, Mataram

which traded its surplus rice to Melaka came under the pressure of VOC. By now VOC under the Governorship of J.P. Coen advocated an aggressive policy of 'no trade without war'. This placed Melaka in extreme danger.

Melaka also had to withstand the Achenese attack of 1629 involving hundreds of vessel and 19,000 *soldados*. This campaign which lasted several months took heavy toll on the invaders. Melaka on the other hand experienced shortage foodstuff, a situation that forced the prices of necessities to rise exorbitantly high. Famine, sickness and injuries were left unattended, while stockades and *tranqueiras* needed urgent repairs. Owing to the challenging situation, the Portuguese decided to come to terms with the English. In 1535 an understanding was cemented and treaty signed allowing the British to trade in Goa and areas under Portuguese influence in the East. It seems that both had uneasy relations with the Dutch.

Under the Governership of Antonio Van Diemen (1636-1645), the end of Portuguese power in Melaka was fast approaching. In 1637 the VOC signed another treaty of friendship and understanding with Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah I of Johore. By this treaty Johor would assist the Dutch against Melaka. However this did not materialize until 1639. By then Van Diemen was convinced that VOC's trading in Asia would not prosper without territorial expansion. Portuguese interest in Negombo and Gale in Ceylon became targets of Dutch attacks. Melaka was the next victim. In 1639 at Batavia, a force of well equipped soldiers were assembled. In June 1640 the Dutch mounted an attack aided by 12 large ships and 1500 men. The Dutch were assisted by Johor. Some 40 ships and 1500 men were sent to help the Dutch. The combined Dutch and Johor men at war numbered around 3000 men. The invading forces took account of Melaka's strength, especially the imposing towers of A Famosa, which walls rose to 323 feet high, with some 130 cannons of varying calibrations, pointing at strategic targets. The commanding hill, fortified areas, trenches, swamps and lack of food supplies made the campaign no easy task. Malay and Dutch forces were under the command of Captain Williamsz. Heavy fighting ensued and the Malay forces attacked the suburbs of Melaka. By 14<sup>th</sup> January 1641, Melaka witnessed the

arrival of the new colonial power, amidst heavy toll to both sides.

Despite the tight fortification of Melaka, the Portuguese had to give way to the better organized and more determined Dutch (VOC) in 1641. The rivalry between the Dutch and the Portuguese originated from developments in the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere. The entry of the Dutch in the Malayan waters deepened international rivalries for supremacy. The Portuguese sensed the danger of the Dutch presence with deep concern. Various means and efforts were devised to protect and save Melaka from the Dutch against the inevitable.

# PERDAGANGAN DAN PERKAPALAN MELAYU DENGAN MELAKA SEKITAR SEPARUH KEDUA ABAD KE-18

Dr Ahmad Jelani Halimi



## PENDAHULUAN

### Kajian dan Sumber

**K**ERTAS kerja ini menumpukan perhatian kepada sejarah perkapalan dan perdagangan orang Melayu pada sekitar separuh kedua abad ke-18 M di Selat Melaka, khususnya yang berkaitan dengan pelabuhan Melaka. Di dalam kertas kerja ini akan dibentangkan aktiviti-aktiviti perkapalan dan perdagangan orang-orang Melayu pada skop masa yang dinyatakan itu. Ini termasuklah tentang jenis-jenis kapal Melayu dan barang-barang dagangan mereka yang didagangkan dengan pelabuhan yang di bawah pemerintahan kolonial Belanda itu. Di mana-mana yang boleh akan dinyatakan juga nama-nama nakhoda dan pedagang Melayu yang menjalankan aktiviti itu pada masa tersebut.

Dalam mengkaji kegiatan perkapalan dan perdagangan orang-orang Melayu dengan Melaka ini, saya banyak menggunakan sumber Belanda yang merupakan **Daftar Perkapalan Belanda di Melaka** (*Shipping Lists of Dutch Malaka*) pada abad ke-18. Daftar ini boleh diperolehi dari Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya dalam bentuk mikrofilem (Microfilm 2057). Di samping itu terdapat satu lagi salinan mikrofilem dalam jagaan Dr. R.Fernando dari Pusat Pengajian Ilmu Kemanusiaan, Universiti Sains Malaysia.

Walaupun daftar ini dikatakan bermula pada tahun 1641 hingga 1814, akan tetapi bukan semua rekod itu dapat dibaca. Sebahagian besarnya telah rosak dan sukar untuk dibaca. Malah yang masih boleh

dibaca pun, agak sukar untuk membacanya kerana mikrofilem yang digunakan tidak berada dalam keadaan baik. Di samping itu terdapat juga masalah untuk mencari rekod perkapalan itu di dalam rekod-rekod yang dibuat sehingga 1761. Hanya selepas tahun itu (1761) barulah rekod perkapalan ini tersusun agak rapi. Justeru kerana itu hanya laporan tahun-tahun tertentu sahaja yang dapat saya gunakan, iaitu; 1761, 1770, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1790, 1791.

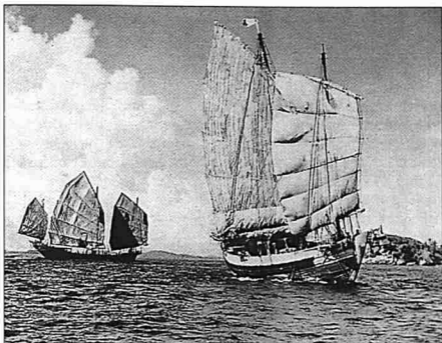
## **PENGENALAN**

### **Pelabuhan Melaka**

Ke arah penghujung pemerintahan Belanda di Melaka, pelabuhan itu dikatakan kelihatan kembali seperti mana ianya di akhir pemerintahan Kesultanan Melayu dan Portugis sebelumnya, iaitu sebuah pelabuhan entrepot utama di Asia Tenggara. Ratusan kapal dan perahu dari Eropah dan Asia mengunjunginya setiap tahun. Sekurang-kurangnya 18 bangsa dari pelosok dunia datang mengunjunginya dari timur dan barat.<sup>1</sup> Namun demikian sebahagian besar perahu yang mengunjungi pelabuhan itu adalah perahu-perahu Nusantara sama ada yang dikendalikan oleh nakhoda-nakhoda Cina, Melayu, Bugis atau Aceh.

Kapal-kapal Barat terutamanya kapal-kapal *country traders* Inggeris merupakan pengunjung utama pelabuhan ini pada abad itu. Melaka sememangnya memperolehi keuntungan yang banyak daripada perdagangan orang-orang Inggeris ini. Dengan iklimnya yang menyegarkan dan keadaan sosial yang pelbagai berserta dengan kemudahan-kemudahan memperolehi bekalan dan baik pulih, Melaka merupakan pelabuhan persinggahan yang sangat digemari oleh kapal-kapal Inggeris.<sup>2</sup> Pada tahun 1775 M sahaja terdapat 56 buah kapal Inggeris yang singgah di Melaka dan diikuti sebanyak 54 buah pada tahun 1780M dan 53 buah di antara Disember 1790 hingga November 1791.<sup>3</sup> Sungguhpun kapal-kapal Barat ini sering singgah hanya untuk mendapatkan bekalan akan tetapi terdapat juga kapal-kapal Inggeris, Belanda, Denmark dan Perancis yang berdagang di sana.

Walaupun kapal-kapal Barat ini merupakan kapal-kapal besar yang hitung panjang beratnya antara 150–800 tan, akan tetapi ia hanya



Chinese junk sailing near Sambu, one of the Riau islands off the East coast of Sumatra. For ages, the Chinese have played an important role in South East Asia sea traffic

memainkan peranan yang sedikit dalam perdagangan yang dijalankan di pelabuhan itu. Gabungan kapal-kapal yang belayar di bawah bendera Inggeris, Perancis, Denmark dan Belanda hanya mewakili 11% daripada jumlah perdagangan yang dijalankan di Melaka pada tahun 1761 M; 7% pada 1765 M; 10% pada 1770 M; 14% pada 1775 M; 13% pada 1780 M; 8% pada 1785 M.<sup>4</sup> Kapal-kapal yang memainkan peranan utama menghidupkan pelabuhan itu sebagai pelabuhan entrepot adalah perahu-perahu Nusantara sama ada yang dikendalikan oleh nakhoda-nakhoda Melayu, Bugis, Aceh atau Cina.<sup>5</sup> Merekalah yang membawa hasil-hasil dagangan dari sekitar Selat Melaka untuk dijualkan di Melaka dan membawa barangan yang diimpot oleh Melaka untuk diagih-agihkan ke kawasan sekitarnya. Namun demikian barangan monopoli seperti lada hitam dan timah tidak dibenarkan dibawa oleh perahu-perahu itu. Ia hanya dibawa oleh kapal-kapal yang ditauliahkan oleh pemerintah tempatan.<sup>6</sup>

## Perkapalan Melayu di Melaka

Tidak seperti pada abad-abad yang terdahulu, kapal-kapal Melayu pada abad ini kecil-kecil belaka, jarang yang melebihi 20 tan. Biasanya kapal-kapal ini hanya membawa di antara 5–10 orang anak kapal (awak kapal), manakala yang terbesar seperti **pencalang** dan **padowakang**<sup>7</sup> mempunyai awak di antara 20–30 orang. **Penjabab** biasanya mempunyai antara 10–15 orang anak kapal, akan tetapi sebuah penjabab dalam daftar tahun 1782 M membawa 30 anak kapal.<sup>8</sup> **Cialup** juga biasanya merupakan perahu kecil yang membawa hitung panjang 10 awak perahu, akan tetapi cialup yang dikendalikan oleh nakhoda Cina sering membawa awak perahu yang melebihi 20 orang. Dalam daftar tahun 1761 M, terdapat sebuah cialup yang mempunyai 75 orang awak perahu.<sup>9</sup> Di antara perahu Melayu yang mengunjungi Melaka pada abad itu termasuklah: **balok**, **banting**, **penjabab**, **pencalang**, **kakap**, **cialup**, **siampang**, **sampán balang**, **padowakang** dan **pemayang**. Di samping perahu-perahu Melayu asli ini terdapat juga nakhoda-nakhoda Melayu yang mengendalikan perahu-perahu model barat seperti *slup*, *brigantin* dan *bark*.<sup>10</sup>

Di antara perahu yang paling popular digunakan oleh orang-orang Melayu untuk berdagang di Melaka ialah **baluk**, **kakap** dan **pencalang**. Daripada sejumlah 282 buah kapal dari pelbagai bangsa yang singgah di Melaka sekitar 1783 M, sebanyak 149 atau 52.84% adalah perahu-perahu yang dinakhodai oleh orang Melayu. Daripadanya 39 buah (13.83%) merupakan **baluk**, 31 buah **kakap** dan 30 **pencalang**. Ketiga-tiga perahu jenis ini mewakili 67.11% daripada perahu Melayu yang singgah di Melaka pada tahun itu.<sup>11</sup> Daripada 78 buah perahu Melayu yang singgah di Melaka dari Siak di antara Disember 1790 hingga November 1791, 53 buah atau 67.9% daripadanya merupakan **baluk**.<sup>12</sup>

Jadual berikut menunjukkan jenis perahu yang digunakan oleh orang-orang Melayu dirujuk daripada **Daftar Perkapalan Belanda di Melaka** tahun 1783 M.

**Jadual 1 : Jenis Perahu**

Balok	39
Kakap	31
Pencalang	30
Cialup	4
Pemayang	9
Banting	9
Siampang	15
Penjabab	7
Perahu	2
Bark	1
Kapal ( <i>scheepje</i> )	1
Brigantijn	1
<b>Jumlah</b>	<b>149</b>

*(Tiga yang terakhir itu merupakan kapal model Barat yang dinakhodai oleh nakhoda Melayu)<sup>1</sup>*

**Jadual 2 : Jenis dan Jumlah Perahu Melayu Yang Singgah di Melaka**

JENIS PERAHU	TAHUN				
	1761	1770	1783	1785	1790-91 (Dis-Nov)
Baluk	7	41	39	50	74
Kakap	-	1	31	31	26
Pencalang	2	17	30	23	19
Cialup	2	5	4	2	-
Banting	19	34	9	6	15
Pemayang	-	-	9	2	-
Penjabab	1	1	7	17	12



Siampang	-	3	-	10	1
Gonting	14	1	-	7	4
Perahu Mayang	-	3	2	-	2
Padowakang	-	-	-	-	-
Brigantin	-	1	1	4	-
Bark	-	-	1	-	2
Slup	-	-	-	-	3
Lain-lain	-	1	1	3	2
<b>JUMLAH</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>160</b>

Sebahagian besar daripada nakhoda kapal yang masuk ke Melaka itu merupakan tuan-tuan kapal itu sendiri dan juga pedagang yang empunya barang dagangan yang mereka bawa itu khususnya kapal-kapal kecil.

Di samping itu terdapat juga nakhoda-nakhoda Melayu yang melayari kapal-kapal kepunyaan orang lain terutama kapal-kapal besar. Ini termasuklah kapal-kapal kepunyaan orang Barat seperti dua buah kapal Residen Joana, d'heer Rulgere Reinier Keijner. Dicatatkan di dalam **Daftar Perkapalan Belanda di Melaka** pada tahun 1783M, dua buah kapal kepunyaan Residen itu berlabuh di Melaka dari Semarang, dilayari oleh nakhoda-nakhoda Melayu. Seorang bernama Nakhoda Almaldin dan seorang lagi Nakhoda Saijt. Nakhoda Almaldin dicatatkan menakhodai kapal *De Snelrijt* singgah di Melaka pada 10 Oktober 1783. Bersamanya sebuah lagi kapal Residen itu jenis *brigantijn* bernama *De Theodora Cornelia* yang dinakhodai oleh Nakhoda Saijt.<sup>14</sup>

Di antara nakhoda-nakhoda Melayu yang dicatatkan oleh Daftar itu termasuklah;

1781 – Mahamat Bakkie, Kander, Boeijong, Haji Arippin, Gedde, Abdulla, Bakkie, Toenakan, Aman Oudin, Hatjie, Lebe Abdulla, Matjie, Kontjang, Raja Langsai, Dato Macota Indra, Loedin, Thee, Nja, Akkier, Jauwa, Haji Osman, Brahim, Mamot, Mallo, Gallie, Ponttie, Mattoe, Boeijing, Galippe.

- 1782 – Agmat, Amat, Roebo, Ganjang, Hoeding, Soelong, Sabojj, Moeda, Kattip, Meelot, Gadeer, Saijheep, Radja Moeda, Roesoel, Hadji Mohamat, Dagan, Bandhar, Boeijahang, Miesse Kien, Baso, Deeno, Hadje Abdulla, Hoelsing, Hoemat, Sarap, Baroes, Inban, Naseer, Malim, Rambat, Casic, Blith, Fackier Abdul Ragman, Jie Wag, Cadeer, Magtong, Kattiep, Hadjie, Moeamong, Poetting, Mamat, Pahoon, Kandawas, Bahoeding.
- 1783 – Soebo, Hadje Abdul Hoeap, Samsoe, Sie Hadje, Sariep, Slam, Amat, Tiene, Johoor, Draman, Sola, Abduk Moehit, Sabel, Hadji Aboe Bakar, Gnaie, The Keling, Sade, Na Rodien, Naijjean, Mahat, Braijhim, Dul Lahat, Bingon, Mamat, Baso, Kalipa, Itam, Ihdam, Moeda, Toea, Sale, Zeeman, Sarap, Bakie, Abdul Ganie, Sale, Boejang Hoeding, Cader, Saman, Moega, Talib, Horang Kaija Kijeel, Bata, Dul Raijhim, Sa Haq, Sade, Jomahat, Brahim, Fackier Abdul Ragman, Hoeawat, Pelang, Kaija, Abdulla, Abdul Hoealit, Gafro, Abdulla, Baija, Hentie, Dulla, Patho, Hadji Aboe Bakar, Mamoet, Meeden, Amat, Abdulla, Hoeaheer, Hadji Hagmat, Azzaman, Mamat Alie, Hadje Abdul Soeko, Brienda Kaija, Kasat, Abdul Raijhm, Samat, Naijhm, Malim, Soetan, Chiriouw, Taijheer, Moelop, Joermoding, Hadje Osman, Hadje Aboe Bakar, Moeda, Bazar, Laijheet, Sman, Roeboe, Amat, Moeda, Laijar, Talip, Ismaeel, Amat, Bigon, Sale, Padoka Kaija, Amat, Choneet, Awan, Maradja Kaija, Hoe Aijheed, Hadje Osman, Intan, Ameen, Chidie, Intje Draho, Intje Koejoe, Sabe, Mahkota Indra, Awan, Jabaar, Brahim, Seman, Abdul Gannie, Itam, Athe, Joerobatoe, Moeda, Boeijhoen, Moelot, Nakhoda Almaldin, Nakhoda Saijt, Moeda, Intang, Toeko, Talib, Hadji Japar, Prang, Salip, Siebo, Baroe, Padoeka, Poete, Ismajheel, Amat, Chidie, Moeda, Haroes, Malim Moeda, Abdul Raijhi, Halim, Betam, Padong, Aloegat Radja, Sleama Radja.

Terdapat nama-nama yang diberikan di dalam daftar itu yang bukan nama sebenar para nakhoda itu seperti Joerobatoe (Jurubatu), Joermoding (Jurumudi), Hoerang Kaija Kijeel (Orang Kaya Kecil), Padoeka Kaijo (Paduka Kaya) dan Dato Macotta Indra (Dato' Mahkota Indra). Nama-nama itu merupakan gelaran atau pangkat. Nakhoda-nakhoda ini juga adakalanya merupakan wakil kepada pemerintah-pemerintah tempatan seperti Aloegat Radja dan Sleama Radja yang singgah di Melaka pada 23 November 1783, merupakan wakil Sultan Perak. Mereka memimpin sebuah angkatan yang terdiri daripada 5 buah perahu kakap.<sup>15</sup>

Perahu-perahu Melayu ini bukan semuanya berasal atau berpangkalan di pelabuhan-pelabuhan kerajaan Melayu di sekitar Selat Melaka. Ada di antara mereka yang menjadikan Melaka sebagai pengkalan utama khususnya dalam tahun 1780-an. Hingga ke tahun 1785 M, terdapat seramai 86 orang nakhoda Melayu yang menjadikan Melaka sebagai pengkalan, meningkat lebih daripada 100% dari tahun 1780 M yang menyaksikan hanya 40 orang sahaja. Jadual di bawah menunjukkan jumlah nakhoda dari rumpun Melayu yang menjadikan Melaka sebagai pengkalan mereka.<sup>16</sup>

**Jadual 3: Nakhoda dari rumpun Melayu di Melaka**

Tahun	1761	1765	1770	1775	1780	1785
Melayu	20	33	20	20	40	86
Aceh	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bugis	-	-	2	-	-	-
Jumlah	20	33	22	20	40	87

**Jadual 4: Nakhoda Melayu yang berpangkalan di pelabuhan-pelabuhan di sekitar Selat Melaka<sup>17</sup>**

Pelabuhan	1761	1765	1770	1775	1780	1785	1791
Melaka	20	33	20	20	40	86	25
Riau	-	7	4	4	6	16	1
Siak	1	14	24	45	37	96	35
Batubara	3	5	7	6	2	2	6
Kedah	-	1	-	-	2	-	2

**Jadual 5 : Kapal-kapal Melayu yang singgah di Melaka dari pelbagai pelabuhan di sekitar Selat Melaka<sup>18</sup>**

Tiba dari	1761	1770	1783	1785	Dis. 1790– Nov. 1791
Kedah	-	-	2	-	3
Perak	1	5	2	2	3
Selangor	-	3	6	4	11
Rembau	-	-	-	-	1
Pahang	-	-	-	-	1
Terengganu	-	-	1	1	-
Johor	-	-	-	1	-
Riau	1	2	7	15	1
Aceh	6	12	-	-	4
Pasai	-	3	-	-	-
Pidir	7	4	-	-	-
Asahan	4	10	3	6	3
Batubara	3	6	6	2	8
Bukit Batu	-	-	-	-	-
Palembang	-	-	-	-	1
Jambi	-	-	-	-	3
Panai (Pane)	-	9	8	1	10
Rokan	-	16	4	11	1

Siak	-	17	70	74	76
Bila	-	1	3	-	-
Kampar	-	3	3	1	8
Indragiri	1	1	-	1	1
Siantan	-	-	-	-	2
Gelam	-	-	-	-	1
Padang	-	-	-	1	-
Semarang	1	-	-	-	-
Surabaya	-	-	-	2	3
Grisik	-	-	-	-	2
Joana	-	-	2	-	1
Apon	-	3	1	-	-
Protonovo	-	1	-	-	-
Pelabuhan lain	-	2	2	8	4
<b>Melaka<sup>19</sup></b>	13	9	24	35	13
<b>Jumlah</b>	37	117	147	165	161

*("Pelabuhan lain" bermaksud pelabuhan-pelabuhan yang tidak dicatatkan di dalam daftar itu atau tulisan dalam daftar itu sukar dibaca)*

**Jadual 6 : Perahu-perahu Melayu yang pulang dari pelabuhan-pelabuhan lain tetapi berpangkalan di Melaka.**

Tiba dari	1761	1770	1783	1785	Dis. 1790- Nov. 1791
Siak	-	2	9	15	6
Rokan	1	2	-	-	-
Asahan	4	-	1	5	-
Palembang	2	-	5	3	-
Jambi	-	-	-	-	-1
Bukit Batu	2	-	-	-	1
Selangor	1	-	-	2	1
Riau	3	1	6	8	-

Johor	-	-	-	1	-
Pahang	-	1	-	-	-
Perak	-	1	1	-	2
Surabaya	-	1	-	1	-
Semarang	-	1	2	-	-
Grisik	-	-	-	-	1
Lain-lain	-	-	-	-	-
Jumlah	13	9	24	35	13

Jika dilihat daripada jadual di atas nampaknya perkapalan Melayu dengan Melaka meningkat setiap tahun. Sebanyak 33 perahu Melayu daripada pelbagai jenis singgah di Melaka pada tahun 1761 M. Tiga puluh tahun kemudian jumlah perahu Melayu yang singgah di Melaka meningkat kepada 168 buah, pertambahan melebihi 80%. Peningkatan yang mendadak jelas kelihatan di antara Siak dengan Melaka.<sup>20</sup> Pada tahun 1761 M, tidak ada langsung perahu dari Siak datang ke Melaka, akan tetapi di antara bulan Disember 1790 hingga November 1791, sebanyak 78 buah perahu mengunjungi Melaka. Peningkatan ini jelas kelihatan dalam tahun-tahun 1870-an. Daripada sejumlah 147 buah perahu Melayu yang masuk ke Melaka pada tahun 1783M, 71 atau 48.3% daripadanya datang dari Siak, meningkat kira-kira 76% daripada tahun 1770 M. Pada tahun 1785 M, lebih banyak perahu Melayu datang ke Melaka. Daripada 166 buah perahu Melayu yang singgah pada tahun itu, sebanyak 72 buah adalah perahu dari Siak. Walaupun pertambahannya hanya sebuah akan tetapi perkara ini tidak menggambarkan keadaan sebenar. Daftar tahun-tahun 1780-an yang lain harus juga dirujuk.

Perkapalan dengan Selangor juga meningkat, daripada hanya sebuah perahu Melayu yang singgah pada tahun 1761 M, meningkat kepada 12 pada tahun 1791 M. Di samping itu perkapalan dengan beberapa pelabuhan di pesisir timur Sumatera juga turut meningkat, kecuali dengan pelabuhan-pelabuhan wilayah Aceh. Kemungkinan besar ketika ini pedagang-pedagang Aceh telah menumpukan perhatian

kepada pelabuhan kolonial yang baru di Pulau Pinang.<sup>21</sup> Sejak ia mula dibuka pada tahun 1786 M, pedagang-pedagang Aceh dan Kedah telah mendatangi pulau itu dan mula meninggalkan Melaka, walaupun bebe-rapa perahu Kedah masih ke Melaka. Dasar perdagangan Inggeris yang lebih terbuka daripada Belanda telah menyebabkan perahu-perahu Aceh bertumpu ke sana. Di samping itu jarak Aceh dari Melaka yang lebih jauh dibandingkan dengan jaraknya dengan Pulau Pinang menyukarkan Belanda untuk mengawal kegiatan pedagang dan perahu-perahu Aceh itu.

Perahu-perahu dari Palembang juga tidak kelihatan ke Melaka selepas tahun 1770-an kecuali sebuah kerana mengikut perjanjian di antara Belanda dengan Palembang 1775 M, perahu-perahu Palembang tidak dibenarkan belayar ke Melaka tanpa kebenaran khas daripada pihak Belanda. Perahu-perahu Palembang hanya dibenarkan belayar ke Betawi untuk berdagang. Justeru kerana itu banyak "penyeludupan" timah dilakukan oleh pedagang-pedagang tempatan dan asing seperti yang dibantah oleh Gabenor Jeneral W.A. Alting kepada Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin Palembang. Antara lain Gabnor Jeneral itu menyatakan;

*"...itu yang telah sampai pada tangan kami itu menghilangkan sekalian haus atasnya itu kerana buakan sahaja tiga ribu empat ratus pikul timah putih sudah terbawa masuk ke negeri Kantan [Bentan?] oleh seorang kapitan Inggeris bernama Gorden seperti bunti khabar yang telah sampai kepada kami dari negeri Kantan [Bentan?] Maka kapitan itu setelah kampeni sudah tolong ia dapat bayar harga timah yang seorang..... sudah membelikan daripada seorang rakyat Tuan Sultan pada tahun dahulu dengan peri singu2an di negeri Palembang sudah dapat muat jumlah timah putih yang tersebut di atas ini seolah-olah kapitan itu hendak membalaskan pertolongan Kampeni ..... pada tahun Seribu Tujuh Ratus Delapan Puluh yang baru ..... beberapa orang Syied telah bawa masuk di negeri Riau lima ribu pikul timah putih yang dari negeri Bangka demikian lagi kami ini tiada melanjutkan kalam..."<sup>22</sup>*

## **Perdagangan Melayu – Import**

Perahu-perahu Melayu yang masuk ke Melaka ini merupakan perahu-perahu dagang walaupun sebahagian besar daripadanya bersenjata lengkap. Daripada perahu-perahu besar seperti cialup dan pencalang kepada perahu-perahu kecil seperti baluk dan banting, semuanya datang ke Melaka membawa dagangan atau datang untuk membeli dagangan. Namun demikian hasil dagangan monopoli Belanda seperti timah, lada dan candu tidak dibenarkan dibawa oleh perahu-perahu dagang ini. Semua dagangan itu dibawa oleh perahu-perahu diraja atau kapal-kapal kompeni.

Sistem *commenda* yang lumrah dalam zaman Kesultanan Melaka dahulu masih wujud. Dalam sistem ini pedagang-pedagang kaya mengamanahkan barangan dagangan mereka kepada seseorang nakhoda untuk memperdagangkannya. Sistem ini bukan sahaja lumrah di kalangan pedagang-pedagang Cina yang kaya tetapi juga pada masa itu terdapat interpruner Melayu yang juga mengamalkannya. Sebagai contoh dalam daftar 1761M, terdapat seorang pedagang Melayu Melaka, Intje Dulla Poete (Incik Abdullah Putih) yang mengirinkan barangan dagangannya melalui seorang nakhoda yang bernama Incik Melaka.<sup>23</sup> Barangan itu akan didagangkan oleh nakhoda itu mengikut kecekapannya berniaga. Peraturan tentang berdagang cara ini memang terdapat dalam undang-undang perdagangan Melayu.<sup>24</sup> Setiap pedagang dalam sistem ini terpaksa mengongsi risiko modalnya dengan nakhoda.

Di antara barang dagangan yang dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu itu ke Melaka termasuklah, padi, beras, sagu, minyak kelapa, ikan kering, telur ikan masin, batu giling kemenyan, gambir, arak, gading, rotan, lilin, minyak lampu, alat-alat besi (pisau, parang, kapak dsb.) dan kain. Namun demikian terdapat pengkhususan dalam perdagangan ini. Dari pelabuhan-pelabuhan tertentu dibawa hasil-hasil tertentu. Dari **Daftar Perkapalan Belanda** di Melaka itu kelihatan bahawa sebahagian besar daripada hasil yang diangkut oleh pedagang-pedagang Melayu adalah hasil-hasil pertanian atau hutan dan laut. Beberapa contoh dari Daftar 1783 dan 1791 M di bawah akan menggambarkan dengan jelas barangan yang diangkut oleh perahu-perahu Melayu itu ke Melaka.



**Jadual 7 : Perahu dan kargo yang dibawa ke Melaka oleh Nakhoda Melayu dalam bulan Januari 1783<sup>25</sup>**

<b>Nakhoda/ Kargo</b>	<b>Tarikh tiba</b>	<b>Pangkalan</b>	<b>Senjata</b>	<b>Perahu &amp; awak</b>
<b>Soebo</b> 1000 butir telur ikan 5000 ekor ikan kering	3/1	Siak	-	baluk (4) <sup>26</sup>
<b>Hj. Abdul Hoeap</b> 4½ koyan sagu	4/1	Siak	2 rentaka	penchalang (7)
<b>Samsoe</b> 8000 butir telur ikan 5000 ekor ikan kering	4/1	Siak	2 rentaka 3 senapang kakap (7)	
<b>Sie Hadje</b> 4000 butir telur ikan 200 ekor ikan kering	4/1	Siak	-	baluk (4)
<b>Sariep</b> 2¼ koyan sagu	5/1	Siak	2 meriam	kakap (5)
<b>Slam</b> 2 koyan sagu 5 pikul lilin ( <i>Tuan kapal/pedagang – Said Oemar, Pemangku Raja Rokan</i> )	5/1	Siak	-	bark (40)
<b>Amat</b> 2 koyan sagu	15/1	Siak	-	baluk (4)
<b>Tieme</b> 600 gantang sagu	15/1	Siak	-	baluk (4)
<b>Johor</b>	18/1	Siak	3 meriam	penchalang

29 koyan garam 4 senapang (16)  
 3 pikul gula pasir  
 17 pikul asam jawa  
 10½ *corgies* kain bugis

**Draman** 20/1 Siak 2 rentaka pemayang  
 3 koyan sagu 8 senapang (10)  
 900 butir telur ikan

**Sola** 20/1 Siak - siampang (6)  
 1200 butir telur ikan  
 3000 ekor ikan kering

**Abdul Moehit** 23/1 Siak - baluk (7)  
 200 gantang sagu  
 4000 butir telur ikan

**Sabeel** 30/1 Siak - baluk (10)  
 700 gantang sagu  
 1000 butir telur ikan

**Jadual 8: Perahu dan kargo yang dibawa oleh nakhoda Melayu ke Melaka dalam bulan Februari 1791<sup>27</sup>**

Nakhoda	Tarikh tiba	Pangkalan	Senjata	Perahu & awak
1. <b>Dauð</b> Kargo: 372 koyan sagu	1/2	Siak	-	pencalang (9)
2. <b>Sangka</b> Kargo: 10,000 butir gambir, barang runcit	4/2	Siak	-	baluk (8)
3. <b>Amat</b> Kargo: tiada	9/2	Selangor	4 rentaka 9 senapang	kakap (13)

- |   |      |          |                         |              |
|---|------|----------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 4. <b>Lebeij Ha</b>                     | 9/2  | Kedah    | 6 rentaka<br>6 senapang | kakap (16)   |
| Kargo: barang runcit                    |      |          |                         |              |
| 5. <b>Bongsoe</b>                       | 18/2 | Surabaya | 2 meriam<br>3 rentaka   | gonting (13) |
| Kargo: 8 koyan padi, 900 berkas rotan   |      |          |                         |              |
| 6. <b>Braim</b>                         | 19/2 | Grisik   | 11 donder<br>7 senapang | slup (20)    |
| Kargo: 2000 berkas rotan, barang runcit |      |          |                         |              |
| 7. <b>Megat</b>                         | 21/2 | Siak     | -                       | banting (13) |
| Kargo: 16 pikul (?), barang runcit      |      |          |                         |              |
| 8. <b>Abdulla</b>                       | 23/2 | Melaka   | 8 rentaka<br>4 donder   | baluk (10)   |
| Kargo: tiada                            |      |          |                         |              |
| 9. <b>Lebeij</b>                        | 26/2 | Siak     | -                       | baluk (6)    |
| Kargo: 172 koyan sagu                   |      |          |                         |              |

Daripada daftar yang di atas kelihatan bahawa saudagar-saudagar Siak merupakan pembekal telur ikan dan ikan kering yang utama ke Melaka di samping sagu. Daripada daftar 1783 M, kelihatan lebih kurang 41% daripada perdagangan Siak dengan Melaka adalah hasil ikan, khususnya ikan kering dan telur ikan. Dagangan lain termasuklah sagu, gambir, lilin, rotan, beras dan barang-barang runcit lain. Pada tahun 1783 M sahaja, Siak telah mengeksport lebih kurang 37,270 ekor ikan kering dan 45,050 butir telur ikan ke Melaka. Di samping itu Siak juga membekalkan 17.75 koyan 2,800 gantang sagu kepada Melaka. Nampaknya dalam tahun ini perahu Siak juga membekalkan Melaka barangan yang diimport dari Jawa seperti, garam, gula dan minyak kelapa.<sup>28</sup> Jelas di sini bahawa Siak merupakan rakan dagang

utama Melaka khususnya pada suku akhir abad ke-18 M.

Beras dan padi juga merupakan dagangan yang utama dibawa oleh pedagang-pedagang Melayu ke Melaka. Sejak zaman Kesultanan Melaka, negeri itu tidak pernah menghasilkan beras yang cukup untuk bekalan penduduknya. Beras terpaksa diimport selain dari Jawa dan Siam, dari negeri-negeri sekitarnya seperti Kedah, Siak, Rokan, Aceh dan Palembang. Di sinilah perahu-perahu kecil Melayu memainkan peranan penting mengangkut beras itu menyusur pantai atau menyeberangi Selat Melaka. Namun demikian terdapat juga beras yang diangkut sendiri oleh kapal-kapal Belanda.<sup>29</sup>

Sungguhpun begitu sebahagian besar daripada perdagangan beras ini adalah di tangan pedagang-pedagang Cina. 72.44% daripada perdagangan beras di pelabuhan Melaka pada bulan Disember 1790 hingga November 1791 dikendalikan oleh pedagang-pedagang Cina, meningkat daripada 36% dalam 1761 M. Daripada sejumlah 863.5 koyan<sup>30</sup> 800 gantang beras yang dibawa masuk ke Melaka pada tahun itu (Dis. 1790–Nov. 1791), 625.5 koyan dibawa masuk oleh pedagang-pedagang Cina.<sup>31</sup> Hanya 108.5 koyan dan 800 gantang atau 12.56% sahaja yang dikendalikan oleh pedagang Melayu. Yang selebihnya dikendalikan oleh pedagang-pedagang Barat khususnya *Burgher* (Peranakan Belanda), Aceh dan Bugis.<sup>32</sup>

Pada tahun 1761 M, pedagang dan pelaut Cina membawa masuk sejumlah 291 koyan beras daripada sejumlah 807½ koyan yang masuk ke Melaka dalam tahun itu. Perahu-perahu Melayu pula membawa 128½ koyan, iaitu kira-kira 15.9% sahaja daripada jumlah beras yang dibawa masuk. Yang selebihnya dibawa oleh pedagang-pedagang *Burgher*, Serani, Arab, Bugis dan *Moor*.<sup>33</sup> Pada tahun 1783 M, pedagang Melayu hanya membawa 53¼ koyan 300 gantang beras, sedangkan pedagang Cina membawa 455 koyan 200 pikul 150 gantang. Sungguhpun begitu terdapat dua orang nakhoda Melayu yang membawa masuk ke Melaka beras sejumlah 310 koyan, tetapi bukan kepunyaan mereka. Kemungkinan beras itu kepunyaan tuan punya kapal, iaitu Residen Joana.<sup>34</sup>

Sebahagian besar padi yang dibawa masuk ke Melaka dibawa oleh pedagang-pedagang Melayu, khususnya dari Siak. Dari sejumlah

45.5 koyan 400 gantang padi yang dibawa masuk di antara bulan Disember 1790 hingga November 1791, 11 koyan 200 gantang dibawa dari Siak oleh pedagang-pedagang Melayu, 8 koyan dari Surabaya (Jawa), 4 koyan dari Kedah,<sup>35</sup> 5 koyan dari Aceh, 6.5 koyan dari Asahan, 1 koyan dari Panai dan 200 gantang dari Selangor.<sup>36</sup> Pada tahun 1761 M hanya  $14\frac{1}{4}$  koyan, manakala pada tahun 1782 M, 17 koyan padi sahaja yang diimport oleh Melaka.<sup>37</sup>

Sagu juga merupakan bahan makanan yang banyak dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu ke Melaka. Sebahagian besar sagu ini datangnya dari pelabuhan-pelabuhan pesisir timur Sumatera seperti Siak, Asahan, Batubara dan Panai. Namun demikian Siak merupakan pengeluar hasil ini yang terbanyak. Pada tahun 1761 M, sebanyak  $3\frac{7}{8}$  koyan 150 gantang sagu diimport ke Melaka.  $2\frac{5}{8}$  koyan daripadanya dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu. Pada tahun 1770 M, sejumlah 12,180 *hoeden* sagu (sagu mentah),  $33\frac{1}{2}$  koyan dan 650 gantang sagu biji dibawa ke Melaka yang sebahagian besarnya dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Cina (11,280 *hoeden*,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  koyan dan 200 gantang). Pedagang-pedagang Melayu hanya menyumbangkan 950 *hoeden*,  $21\frac{1}{2}$  koyan 300 gantang. Pada tahun 1783 M pula sejumlah  $17\frac{3}{4}$  koyan 2,200 gantang sagu dari sejumlah  $20\frac{3}{4}$  koyan 2,800 gantang dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu ke Melaka. Sebahagian besar sagu ini dibawa dari Siak. Pada tahun 1785 M sahaja, dari sejumlah 97 koyan 200 pikul dan 5,530 gantang sagu,  $90\frac{1}{2}$  koyan 5,530 gantang datangnya dari Siak. Dari jumlah itu 19 koyan, 2,700 gantang didagangkan oleh pedagang Melayu. Di samping itu kesemua tepung sagu yang dibawa masuk ke Melaka pada tahun itu yang berjumlah 6,700 guni dibawa dari Siak. Daripadanya 2,560 guni dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu.<sup>38</sup>

Rotan dari pelbagai jenis juga merupakan eksport utama dari negeri-negeri Melayu sekitar Selat Melaka. Rotan ini dieksport dalam dua sukatan, iaitu berkas atau gelung dan batang. Kemungkinan rotan-rotan besar seperti rotan manau dijual dalam sukatan batang manakala rotan-rotan lain seperti rotan pengikat dijual dalam bentuk berkas atau gelung. Pada tahun 1770 M sahaja, pelabuhan-pelabuhan Melayu sekitar Selat Melaka telah membawa 16,673 gelung dan 14,881 batang rotan ke Melaka.

Garam merupakan satu lagi komoditi penting dalam perdagangan pedagang-pedagang Melayu pada masa itu. Sungguhpun tidak ada kawasan di sekitar Selat Melaka ini yang menghasilkan garam, akan tetapi pedagang-pedagang Melayu masih memainkan peranan penting dalam perdagangan ini. Mereka memperoleh garam itu sama ada dari Jawa atau Siam atau garam itu dibawa ke pelabuhan mereka sebelum dibawa ke Melaka. Namun demikian komoditi ini lebih dikuasai oleh pedagang Cina. Akan tetapi di Palembang ia hampir-hampir dimonopoli oleh pedagang-pedagang Arab.<sup>39</sup> Terdapat perahu-perahu yang dinakhodai oleh orang Melayu membawa garam kepunyaan tauke-tauke Cina.<sup>40</sup> Sebahagian besar garam itu dihasilkan di Jawa dan diangkut ke Melaka secara terus oleh perahu-perahu besar seperti cialup, *brigantijn* atau padowakang atau dibawa secara berperingkat-peringkat oleh perahu-perahu Melayu yang kecil. Jadual di bawah dapat menggambarkan betapa pentingnya perdagangan garam di Melaka pada separuh akhir abad ke-18 M itu.

**Jadual 9: Import garam ke Melaka<sup>41</sup>**

Pelabuhan	1761	1770	1783	1785	Dis.-Nov. 1790-91
Kedah	-	-	60	-	-
Selangor	-	11	-	-	2
Perak	-	-	-	-	1400 gtg.
Siak	-	1.5	125	168	6
		500 gtg.			
Riau	6	10	60	2	-
		300 gtg.	300 gtg.	200 gtg.	
Indragiri	11	-	-	-	20
Asahan	-	15	-	-	-
Kampar	-	18	12	17	5
Batubara	5	8	-	5	-
Rokan	-	-	-	4 pikul	-
Palembang	11	-	22.5	80	84

Jambi	-	-	-	-	135
Ceribon	25	40 lastten	-	-	-
Semarang	90	40	316	269.5	264
Betawi	6	42	10	-	7
Surabaya	3.5	35	10	90	100
Grisik	-	10	-	-	110
Jawa	10	30	-	-	-
Joana	-	-	-	40	10
Sengora	5	-	-	-	-
Siam	40	22	15	-	17
Kemboja	-	30	-	-	-
Cancan (?)	6	102	-	-	-
Haren	-	-	-	-	20
Kagapalnan	-	50	-	-	-
Nagapatnan	-	20	-	-	-
Nagaar	-	-	-	15	-
Tranquebaar	-	-	10	68	-
Lain-lain	-	-	-	8	50
<b>JUMLAH</b>	218.5	444.5	528	762.5	830
		800 gtg. 40 lastten	300 gtg.	4 pikul 200 gtg.	1400 gtg.

(Semua kiraan dalam koyan kecuali dinyatakan yang lain)

**Jadual 10: Garam yang diangkut oleh perahu-perahu Melayu ke Melaka**

Pelabuhan	1761	1770	1783	1785	Dis. – Nov. 1790 – 91
Selangor	-	-	-	-	2
Perak	-	-	-	-	1400 gtg.
Riau	-	-	43	1 200 gtg.	-
Siak	-	-	10	152	6

Kampar	-	18	12	17	5
Indragiri	11	-	-	-	-
Rokan	-	-	-	4 pikul	-
Asahan	-	15	-	-	-
Batubara	-	8	-	-	-
Jambi	-	-	-	-	135
Surabaya	-	10	-	65	30
Semarang	-	-	-	-	50
Joana	-	-	-	-	10
Perahu	10	-	49.5	26	90
Melaka <sup>42</sup>					
<b>JUMLAH</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>114.5</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>328</b>

*(Semua kiraan dalam koyan kecuali dinyatakan yang lain)*

Seperti yang telah dicatatkan terlebih dahulu, tembakau merupakan sejenis tanaman baru di Asia Tenggara. Akan tetapi sehingga abad ke-18 M, ia telah menjadi begitu popular di kalangan penduduk di kawasan ini sehingga ia menjadi hasil dagangan yang penting. Sebahagian besar tembakau ini di tanam di Jawa, akan tetapi terdapat juga yang dihasilkan di Kedah. Tembakau yang dihasilkan di Jawa dikenali sebagai tembakau jawa manakala yang ditanam di Kedah biasanya dipanggil tembakau cina.

Pada tahun 1761 M, sejumlah 28<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> pikul 90 keranjang tembakau cina dan satu pikul 185 keranjang dan 35 *corgie*<sup>43</sup> tembakau jawa didagangkan di Melaka. Dari jumlah itu tidak ada perahu Melayu yang mendagangkan tembakau cina, manakala hanya 65 keranjang 15 *corgie* sahaja tembakau jawa yang didagangkan oleh pedagang Melayu.<sup>44</sup>

Perdagangan tembakau ini agak mendatar sahaja. Permintaan terhadapnya tidaklah begitu meningkat pada tahun yang diselidiki. Pada tahun 1770 M, sebanyak 10 keranjang dan 10 pikul tembakau cina dibawa ke Melaka. Kesemua didagangkan oleh pedagang-pedagang Cina. Sementara itu 154 keranjang 16 *corgies* tembakau jawa dibawa ke Melaka. Akan tetapi hanya 9 keranjang 4 *corgies*



sahaja yang dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu.<sup>45</sup> Pada tahun 1783M, perdagangan tembakau ini agak meningkat sedikit, khususnya tembakau jawa. Daripada 402 keranjang tembakau jawa yang dibawa ke Melaka, 56 keranjang dibawa oleh perahu Melayu, 165 keranjang oleh perahu Bugis, 58 keranjang oleh perahu cina, manakala 3 keranjang dibawa oleh pedagang Arab.<sup>46</sup> Pada tahun 1785 M sebanyak 9 keranjang 124 pikul tembakau cina dan 236 keranjang 147 *corgie* tembakau jawa didagangkan di Melaka. Daripadanya 210 keranjang 1 *corgie* tembakau jawa dibawa oleh pedagang Melayu. Tidak ada pedagang Melayu yang mendagangkan tembakau cina.<sup>47</sup> Di antara bulan Disember 1790 hingga November 1791 pula sebanyak 6 keranjang 12 pikul tembakau cina dibawa ke Melaka, daripadanya 6 pikul dibawa oleh perahu Melayu dari Gelam. Dalam masa yang sama sejumlah 3 keranjang, 10 pikul 187 *corgies* tembakau jawa didagangkan, akan tetapi hanya 3 keranjang 10 pikul yang didagangkan oleh orang Melayu.<sup>48</sup>

Selain daripada bahan mentah, pedagang-pedagang Melayu juga sering mendagangkan barang yang telah diproses seperti gula, kain, minyak kelapa dan minyak kacang. Namun demikian yang terpenting di antaranya ialah gula dan kain. Nampaknya terdapat dua jenis gula yang diimport ke Melaka, gula pasir atau gula tepung (*poeder suiker*) dan gula yager (*jager suiker*).<sup>49</sup> Seperti garam, gula juga sebahagian besarnya diimport dari Jawa, China dan India dan dikuasai oleh pedagang-pedagang Cina di samping pedagang Eropah. Pedagang-pedagang Melayu tidak memainkan peranan penting dalam mengimport gula ke Melaka tetapi merupakan pengagih utama ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan lain di sekitar Selat Melaka.

Dalam tahun 1761M sahaja sejumlah 59 pikul, 3,400 koyan, 52 *pees*, 10 *lanas*, 100 *canaster* dan 500 takar gula diimport ke Melaka. Hanya sebuah sahaja perahu Melayu yang membawa gula itu. Perahu yang berpangkalan di Melaka itu membawa pulang sejumlah 300 koyan gula dari Palembang.<sup>50</sup> Pada tahun 1783 M, sejumlah 965 pikul gula diangkut oleh nakhoda-nakhoda Melayu ke Melaka, akan tetapi 950 pikul daripadanya adalah kepunyaan Residen Joana dan dibawa dengan kapalnya *de Senelrijt* yang dinakhodai oleh Nakhoda Almaldin.<sup>51</sup>

Hingga ke dekad terakhir abad itu juga pedagang-pedagang Melayu tidak memainkan peranan penting dalam mengimport gula ke Melaka. Di antara bulan Disember 1790 hingga November 1791 sebanyak 744 pikul gula pasir dan 336,100 takar gula *jager* telah diimport ke Melaka. Daripadanya tidak sepikul pun gula pasir yang dibawa oleh pedagang Melayu. Namun demikian pedagang-pedagang Melayu dan Bugis menguasai perdagangan gula *jager*. Sungguhpun 303,000 daripada 336,100 takar gula itu dibawa oleh pedagang Bugis, akan tetapi gula yang sebanyak itu diangkut dalam dua perahu dan datangnya dari satu tempat, iaitu Semarang. 2,900 takar yang dibawa oleh pedagang-pedagang Melayu itu pula dibawa dalam beberapa buah perahu dan dari pelbagai tempat seperti Surabaya, Jambi dan Joana.<sup>52</sup>

Kain merupakan satu lagi barangan yang telah diproses yang menjadi dagangan penting pedagang-pedagang Melayu di Melaka walaupun sebahagian besarnya dikendalikan oleh pedagang-pedagang bukan Melayu. Dua jenis kain yang diproses di Nusantara ini ialah kain jawa dan kain bugis. Kain-kain inilah yang menjadi dagangan utama pedagang-pedagang Melayu selain daripada kain yang diimport dari Cina dan India, sama ada yang dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Cina, India, Arab atau Barat.

**Daftar Perkapalan Belanda di Melaka** menunjukkan dengan jelas tentang pengimportan kain ke pelabuhan itu pada abad ke-18 M, khususnya pada separuh akhir abad itu. Pada tahun 1761 M, sejumlah 131 *corgie* kain jawa dan 62 *corgie* kain bugis dibawa masuk ke Melaka oleh pelbagai pedagang. Daripadanya hanya 6 *corgie* kain jawa dan 2 *corgie* kain bugis yang dibawa oleh pedagang Melayu.<sup>53</sup> Antara bulan Februari hingga bulan April 1781 sahaja sejumlah 236 *corgies* kain bugis dibawa masuk ke Melaka. Semuanya dibawa oleh pedagang Bugis. Dalam tempoh itu tidak ada kain jenis lain yang diimport.<sup>54</sup>

Jadual berikut dapat menggambarkan tentang pengimportan kain ke Melaka oleh pedagang-pedagang yang berpangkalan di sekitar Nusantara. Semua sukatan dalam *corgie*<sup>55</sup> kecuali bagi tahun 1791M, iaitu dalam kodi.

**Jadual 11: Import kain ke Melaka**

Tahun	1761	1770	1783	1791
Kain jawa	131	380	1407	888
Kain bugis	62	118	75	1417
Kain-kain lain	-	256 $\frac{1}{4}$	37	80
<b>JUMLAH</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>754<math>\frac{1}{4}</math></b>	<b>1519</b>	<b>2385</b>

Di samping hasil-hasil dagangan utama yang dinyatakan di atas, pedagang-pedagang Melayu juga membawa masuk pelbagai jenis dagangan lain ke Melaka, seperti asam jawa, minyak kelapa, ketumba, kemenyan, minyak lampu, kacang dan sebagainya. Pada tahun 1761M sahaja pedagang-pedagang Melayu membawa masuk sejumlah 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  koyan 4,100 gantang minyak kelapa ke Melaka dan 6 pikul asam jawa. Walaupun emas sering dilaporkan sebagai eksport penting Sumatera akan tetapi tidak ada catatan di dalam Daftar Perkapalan Belanda di Melaka pada abad ke-18 M itu yang menyatakan ada perahu Melayu yang membawa emas ke Melaka.

### **Perdagangan Melayu – Eksport**

Seperti yang telah dinyatakan terdahulu, pedagang-pedagang Melayu bukan hanya mengimport barangan ke Melaka, tetapi juga mengeksportnya kembali ke kawasan sekitar Selat Melaka. Justeru kerana itu ramai pengkaji yang menganggap pedagang-pedagang Melayu itu hanya sebagai pedagang runcit atau *paddler* sahaja. Akan tetapi agak sukar juga untuk menerima pandangan ini kerana terdapatnya perdagangan *commenda* yang dijalankan oleh pedagang-pedagang Melayu itu. Pedagang seperti Incik Dollah Putih itu tidak mungkin merupakan pedagang kecil. Di samping itu para nakhoda perahu-perahu besar yang datang ke Melaka itu juga tidak dapat digolongkan ke dalam pedagang-pedagang runcit. Mereka membeli

dalam jumlah yang banyak sesuatu komoditi itu secara borong dan memperdagangkannya ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan lain di sekitar Selat Melaka. Sebagai contohnya, seorang nakhoda bernama Nakhoda Sasewa Lela dari Perak yang balik ke Perak dari Melaka pada 5 Julai 1761 membawa bersamanya 2 koyan garam, 14 *corge* parang besi, 15 keranjang tembakau jawa, 13 pikul korma dan 2 *corge tjoesoepan*.<sup>56</sup> Barangan yang sebanyak ini sudah tentu tidak menunjukkan bahawa pedagang Melayu ini seorang pedagang kecil.

Di antara barangan yang banyak dibawa oleh perahu/pedagang Melayu keluar dari Melaka adalah barangan siap yang tidak dikeluarkan oleh pelabuhan-pelabuhan di sekitar Selat itu dan barangan yang akan digunakan untuk memproses barangan lain seperti garam dan gula. Justeru kerana itu kelihatan pedagang-pedagang Melayu di sekitar Selat ini akan mengeksport keluar barangan seperti garam, gula, tembakau, pekakas besi, tembikar dan kain. Di samping itu beras juga merupakan bahan eksport kembali Melaka yang dibawa oleh pedagang-pedagang Melayu kerana bukan semua kawasan di sekitar Selat Melaka itu mengeluarkan beras yang cukup untuk keperluan mereka.

Terdapat satu kecenderungan yang tertentu dalam eksport barangan Melaka ini. Komoditi-komoditi tertentu akan lebih banyak dieksport ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan tertentu, seperti garam banyak dieksport ke Siak dan Asahan kerana kedua-dua pelabuhan itu terkenal dengan industri ikan masinnya. Pada tahun 1791 M, daripada 49 buah perahu yang membawa keluar garam dari Melaka, 15 daripadanya menuju ke Siak dengan membawa sejumlah  $30\frac{3}{4}$  koyan 1,100 gantang garam.<sup>57</sup>

Daripada Daftar Perkapalan Belanda di Melaka kelihatan bahawa Melaka merupakan pusat pembekal garam bagi negeri-negeri sekitar Selat Melaka pada abad ke-18M itu. Pada tahun 1791 M<sup>58</sup> sahaja sejumlah  $275\frac{3}{4}$  koyan 4,800 gantang garam dieksport dari Melaka ke negeri-negeri sekitarnya. Daripadanya  $223\frac{3}{4}$  koyan 3,500 gantang dibawa dalam perahu-perahu Melayu.<sup>59</sup> Eksport garam ke negeri-negeri Melayu di sekitar Selat Melaka tidak banyak berbeza sejak 30 tahun sebelumnya. Malah pada tahun 1761 M, eksportnya lebih banyak iaitu  $335\frac{7}{8}$  koyan 50 gantang. 60 Daripada 830 koyan 1,400 gantang import garam Melaka di antara Disember 1790 hingga November 1791, lebih daripada 33% daripadanya dieksport kembali dalam tahun itu.

Seperti yang telah dinyatakan sebelum ini, pedagang-pedagang Melayu juga merupakan pengagih utama barangan import Melaka ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan pesisir Selat Melaka selain daripada garam. Namun demikian sebahagian daripada eksport barangan ini masih dikuasai oleh pedagang-pedagang bukan Melayu. Walaupun perahu-perahu lebih banyak mengangkut barangan itu, akan tetapi jumlah barangan yang diangkut itu lebih kecil jika dibandingkan dengan pedagang-pedagang Cina dan Arab. Contohnya kain dan gula. Pada tahun 1791, walaupun hanya 890 corgie kain atau 27.2% daripada eksport kain Melaka dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu, namun jumlah perahu yang membawa kain itu lebih banyak jika dibandingkan jumlah perahu Cina dan Arab. Daripada 45 buah perahu yang keluar membawa kain dari Melaka, 23 buah atau 51% daripadanya perahu Melayu.<sup>61</sup>

Daftar berikut dapat menjelaskan tentang eksport kain dan gula dari Melaka ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan itu.

**Jadual 12 : Eksport pelbagai jenis kain dari Melaka ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan di pesisir Selat Melaka**

Pelabuhan	1761	1770	1783	1791 (Jan–Nov)
Perak	-	28	45	20
Selangor	-	361.5	7	1043
Kedah	131	-	1	463
Pontian	-	-	-	210
Terengganu	-	-	-	40
Johor	-	-	-	46
Riau	60	506	40.5	25
Siak	43.25	857.5	416.5	568
		1 helai		
Asahan	22	13	-	10
Rokan	23	15	2	-
Kampar	-	-	6	-
Batubara	-	-	3	13
Bukit Batu	3	-	-	-
Siantan	-	-	-	90

Kubu	20	-	-	-
Panai	-	-	-	4
Pasai	-	570	-	-
Acch	-	2	19.5	3
Indragiri	-	17	-	-
Sungai Kuala	-	0.5	-	-
Jambi	-	-	-	100
Palembang	7.5	-	70.5	641
Pelabuhan lain	-	30	-	-
<b>JUMLAH</b>	<b>309.75</b>	<b>2400.5</b>	<b>611</b>	<b>3276</b>
			<b>1 helai</b>	

(Semua sukatan adalah dalam *corgie* kecuali dinyatakan yang lain.)

Daripada 309.75 *corgie* kain yang dieksport dari Melaka ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan I di sekitar Selat Melaka pada tahun 1761, hanya 119 *corgie* yang dibawa oleh pedagang Melayu. Tiga puluh tahun kemudian (1791 M), keadaannya hampir sama, daripada 3,276 *corgie* yang keluar dari Melaka, hanya 890 *corgie* yang dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu.<sup>62</sup> Keadaan yang lebih kurang sama juga berlaku dalam perdagangan gula. Daripada 55,400 takar 300 koyan 60 pikul dan 2 *laxas* gula yang dieksport, pedagang Melayu hanya membawa 2,700 takar 300 koyan. Akan tetapi keadaan agak berbeza sedikit pada tahun 1791 M kerana nampaknya pedagang-pedagang Melayu mengeksport jumlah gula yang lebih banyak. Mereka juga memonopoli pengeksportan gula *jager* (*jager zuiker*). Dari sejumlah 722.5 pikul gula pasir dan 1300 butir gula *jager* dieksport keluar dari Melaka, pedagang Melayu membawa keluar 397 pikul gula pasir dan kesemua gula *jager*.

**Jadual 13: Eksport gula Melaka ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan sekitar Selat Melaka**

<b>Pelabuhan</b>	<b>1761</b>	<b>1770</b>	<b>1783</b>	<b>1791</b>
Kedah	60 pikul 2 <i>laxas</i>	61 pikul	40 pikul	515 pikul 3 koyan
Selangor	1000 takar	-	30 pikul	2 pikul
Perak	-	3 pikul	-	-
Siak	13400 takar	2 pikul	18353 butir(j) 195 pikul	5 pikul 400 takar(j)*
Bukit Batu	9900 takar	-	-	700 takar(j)
Batubara	-	-	6 pikul	-
Asahan	300 koyan 500 takar	1/2 pikul	17 pikul	200 takar(j)
Rokan	300 takar	-	-	-
Kampar	-	-	160 butir(j)	-
Kubu	200 takar	-	-	-
Palembang	5000 takar	-	-	-
Panai	-	-	-	200 pikul
Aceh	-	-	8 pikul	1/2 pikul
<b>JUMLAH</b>	<b>55400 takar 300 koyan 60 pikul 2 laxas</b>	<b>66.5 pikul</b>	<b>296 pikul 18513 butir(j)</b>	<b>722.5 pikul 3 koyan 1300 butir(j)</b>

\* (j) bermaksud jager ziiker.

Melihat jadual yang di atas kelihatan bahawa tidak banyak gula yang dieksport keluar dari Melaka pada tahun 1770 M. Keadaan ini dapat difahami kerana ketika ini Melaka menghadapi ancaman daripada pihak Bugis. Komoditi lain yang juga dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Melayu keluar dari Melaka termasuklah alat pekakas besi terutama parang, pinggan mangkuk, tembakau, ketumba, kemenyan, korma dan beras.

# PERKEMBANGAN POLITIK SELAT MELAKA SELEPAS VOC

## RUJUKAN TERHADAP PERSELISIHAN ANTARA ACEH DENGAN PENTADBIRAN BRITISH DI PULAU PINANG PADA AWAL ABAD KE-19

Salina Haji Zainol



**K**EMEROSOTAN VOC pada akhir abad ke-18 telah memberi peluang kepada British melebarkan kuasanya di Selat Melaka. Malah pembukaan Pulau Pinang oleh Francis Light pada tahun 1786 sebagai pelabuhan British telah merangsangkan perdagangan dari pelabuhan-pelabuhan tempatan di sekitarnya terutamanya Aceh dan Sumatera Timur. Pulau Pinang turut menjadi pasaran baru bagi bijih timah dari Perak. Oleh itu pembukaannya turut memberi ancaman kepada penguasaan bijih timah oleh VOC di Perak. Pembesar-pembesar Perak bersubahat dengan pedagang-pedagang Cina dan India yang mula mengunjungi Pulau Pinang bagi memasarkan komoditi tersebut di pasaran bebas yang lebih menguntungkan. Menurut Tregonning kedudukannya menggalakkan pedagang-pedagang Aceh berkunjung ke Pulau Pinang dan membawa komoditi dagang yang penting iaitu lada hitam.<sup>1</sup>

Kewujudan Pulau Pinang sebagai sebuah pelabuhan bebas membolehkan pulau ini menyaingi pelabuhan Belanda di Melaka. Pedagang-pedagang tempatan Aceh dan Sumatera Timur sebenarnya tidak menyukai dasar monopoli VOC yang dijalankan di Melaka. Sejak pembukaannya, Francis Light telah dinasihatkan agar tidak mengenakan sebarang cukai di Pulau Pinang.<sup>2</sup>

Keistimewaan Pulau Pinang ini amat merangsangkan perdagangan. Banyak kapal dan perahu dagang tempatan yang berlabuh di Pulau Pinang.<sup>3</sup> Perahu-perahu Bugis juga mengunjungi pelabuhan ini seperti



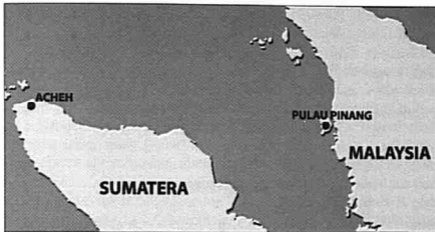
di laporkan bahawa pada tahun 1795 membawa antara 2 hingga 300,000 sp Drs untuk membeli candu dan kain. Pertambahan ini dianggarkan akan bertambah sehingga setengah juta sp. Drs.<sup>4</sup>

Sejak bulan Disember 1786 hingga bulan Mei 1787, sebanyak 42 buah kapal dagang tempatan telah berlabuh di pulau tersebut. Antaranya tujuh belas buah datang dari Pegu, Mergui, Aceh dan Melaka, enam buah dari Selatan India, 11 buah dari Bengal, tujuh buah dari Canton dan Macau serta sebuah dari Amerika.<sup>5</sup> Pada bulan Disember 1790, bilangan kapal yang telah berlabuh di Pulau Pinang bertambah kepada 104 buah kapal. Antaranya seramai 16 orang pedagang dari Pegu, Aceh, Selangor, Melaka, Boni, Selatan India, Bengal, Canton dan Cochin China telah berlabuh di situ. Pada bulan Oktober tahun yang sama, sebanyak tujuh belas buah kapal dari Pegu, Rangoon, Aceh, Kedah, Borneo, Terengganu, Bengal dan China telah berdagang di Pulau Pinang.<sup>6</sup>

Penemuan Pulau Pinang amat bermakna bagi perdagangan di antara pihak EIC dengan negeri China. Gabenor General Lord Cornwallis yang telah menggantikan Lord Hastings pada tahun 1785 menyatakan bahawa penemuan Pulau Pinang amat penting kerana ia akan menjadikan perdagangan di sebelah timur semakin pesat terutamanya dalam komoditi-komoditi seperti candu, bijih timah, lada hitam bagi membeli teh dari China.<sup>7</sup>

Bagi Aceh, di utara Pulau Sumatera dan juga pelabuhan-pelabuhan tempatan di Sumatera Timur, penemuan Pulau Pinang amat memberangsangkan perdagangan mereka. Pada bulan Ogos, 1786, sebanyak lima buah perahu besar Aceh telah berlabuh di pulau itu dengan muatan lada hitam dan buah pinang.<sup>8</sup> Dua bulan kemudian, bilangan perahu Aceh yang berlabuh di Pulau Pinang semakin bertambah. Kapal-kapal dagang British turut mengunjungi pelabuhan-pelabuhan di Sumatera termasuk Aceh. Kebanyakan perdagangan awal ini dijalankan oleh pegawai-pegawai British seperti Francis Light sendiri, James Scott dan pedagang-pedagang British yang lain. Dalam suratnya yang bertarikh 25 November 1786, Light melaporkan bahawa ramai pedagang Aceh dari Tako amat berminat untuk menjalankan perdagangan dengan Pulau Pinang.<sup>9</sup>

Walaupun menggunakan kapal-kapal besar yang mempunyai



kelengkapan lebih baik, pedagang-pedagang British yang berdagang di Aceh dan Sumatera Timur seringkali mengalami masalah rampasan kapal. Pedagang-pedagang tempatan pula menggunakan perahu-perahu yang lebih kecil. Statistik perdagangan yang tepat, sukar didapati daripada perahu-perahu kecil ini. Namun demikian pada tahun 1802, dianggarkan sebanyak 29,468 pikul lada hitam telah diekspor dari Aceh dan Sumatera Timur ke Pulau Pinang.<sup>10</sup> Lada hitam ini ditukarkan dengan candu, kain, besi dan komoditi-komoditi perdagangan lain dari India dan Eropah.

Pada tahun 1805, apabila Pulau Pinang dinaikkan tarafnya menjadi Residensi British keadaan perdagangan yang pesat antara Pulau Pinang dan Aceh telah dilaporkan.<sup>11</sup>

Sejak itu, Pulau Pinang diberi peranan untuk menentukan corak hubungan pihak British dengan negeri-negeri tempatan di sekitarnya termasuklah Aceh. Pada masa yang sama, di Aceh berlaku perebutan takhta antara Sultan Jauhar al-Alam dengan bonda dan bapa saudaranya serta pembesar-pembesar tempatan. Keadaan ini menyebabkan Sultan Jauhar al-Alam terpaksa meminta bantuan dari pihak British dari Pulau Pinang. Pada tahun 1805, baginda telah menghantar surat kepada Colonel Farquhar di Pulau Pinang. Di samping meminta bantuan bagi mendapatkan semula takhtanya yang telah dirampas, baginda juga menawarkan kebenaran kepada pihak British untuk membina petem-

patan di Aceh. Pihak British di India kurang menyokong tawaran ini seperti nasihat Daundas kepada British London.<sup>12</sup>

Biarpun pihak British di India dan London telah membincangkan perkara tersebut tetapi tiada sebarang jawapan yang diterima selama enam tahun, sejak Sultan Jauhar mengutuskan surat ke Pulau Pinang.<sup>13</sup> Walau bagaimanapun, sehingga tahun 1808, hubungan Aceh dengan British di Pulau Pinang berjalan dengan baik kerana Kolonel MacAlister, Gabenor British di Pulau Pinang pada masa tersebut menggalakkan hubungan baik dengan kesultanan Aceh. Hubungan baik ini kemudiannya terjejas apabila Kolonel MacAlister merampas Brig Hydroos yang dipunyai oleh Sultan Jauhar al-Alam pada bulan Julai 1808. Semasa ditahan di Pulau Pinang, kapal tersebut berada di bawah pimpinan Thomas Williamson iaitu wakil perdagangan Sultan Aceh, Sultan Jauhar al-Alam. Alasannya ialah kerana kapal tersebut adalah kepunyaan Raja Denmark iaitu musuh kerajaan British. MacAlister berkeras dengan tindakan beliau walaupun Sultan Aceh menegaskan bahawa, baginda tidak mengetahui perkara tersebut. Baginda memberitahu bahawa, kapal itu dibeli oleh baginda di Telok Samoy dari seorang pedagang yang bernama G. String secara sah. Pihak British di Pulau Pinang tidak mahu menerima penjelasan tersebut tetapi berkeras menegaskan bahawa pembelian harta milik musuh British adalah tidak sah.<sup>14</sup>

Sejak insiden ini, hubungan antara Aceh dengan pihak British menjadi semakin dingin. Pada tahun 1809, pihak British mendapat laporan dari Sayid Hussein al-Aidid yang mengatakan bahawa Sultan Aceh tidak membayar hutang kepada beliau. Sultan Jauhar menjelaskan bahawa, kapal baginda tidak dapat meneruskan perjalanannya ke Annalaboo pada masa yang dijanjikan untuk pembayaran tersebut kerana cuaca buruk. Baginda kemudiannya bersetuju untuk menjelaskan hutang baginda di Teluk Samoy bagi kali kedua seperti yang ditetapkan tetapi Sayid Hussein tidak menghadirkan diri. Sebaliknya Sayid Hussein menuduh Sultan Jauhar merampas kapal beliau. Sultan Jauhar menafikan hal tersebut sebaliknya menegaskan bahawa baginda 'did not take his property, but levied my duties, having heard of his (the Syed's) intention to complain to my friend'.<sup>15</sup>

Pada tahun 1810, Sultan Jauhar memberitahu Gabenor Bruce yang

menggantikan Kolonel Macalister mengenai suasana tidak aman di Aceh. Bagi memastikan keselamatan, baginda memonopoli perdagangan candu. Melalui kerajaan British di Pulau Pinang dan agen perdagangannya, Sultan Aceh memberitahu pedagang-pedagang British bahawa mereka tidak dibenarkan mengimport candu di pelabuhan-pelabuhan lain kecuali Teluk Samoy. Sebagai hukuman kepada pedagang-pedagang yang melanggar arahan tersebut, ialah kargo kapalnya akan dirampas. Mengikut utusan British iaitu Major David Campbell, beberapa orang penasihat asing terutama Monsieur L'Etoile dan Cutchbert Fenwick bertanggungjawab ke atas tindakan-tindakan baru baginda itu.<sup>16</sup> Begitu juga dengan peralatan perang seperti senjata api dan lain-lain yang hanya dibenarkan diimport di Teluk Samoy.<sup>17</sup>

Pada masa yang sama, Sultan Jauhar melaporkan bahawa kapal-kapal British telah melanggar peraturan pelabuhan yang telah diberitahunya kepada pemerintah British di Pulau Pinang. Baginda tidak puas hati kerana kapal-kapal dagang British kebanyakannya membawa peralatan peperangan tetapi tidak diimport ke Teluk Samoy. Kebimbangan Sultan ini dijawab oleh kerajaan British di India dengan mengatakan bahawa peralatan perang tersebut sebenarnya, untuk persediaan menawan Betawi dari pegawai Belanda yang pro Perancis.

Pada masa pentadbiran Gabenor William Petrie (1812-1816),<sup>18</sup> Sultan Aceh, Sultan Jauhar al-Alam memberitahunya mengenai kesukaran untuk mengutip cukai kerana pedagang-pedagang British tidak mengikut peraturan-peraturan pelabuhan yang telah diumumkan oleh baginda serta ramai antara mereka yang gemar melakukan penyeludupan.<sup>19</sup> Di pihak yang lain pula, Gabenor menerima laporan bahawa Sultan Jauhar seringkali memerintahkan pegawai-pegawainya menahan kapal-kapal dagang British di pantai barat Aceh. Lagipun pihak British di Pulau Pinang dan India tidak senang dengan penasihat Sultan Jauhar yang berbangsa Eropah iaitu Fenwick seperti kenyataan Petrie dalam suratnya kepada Sultan Aceh.<sup>20</sup>

Pada tahun 1813, Sultan Jauhar telah menahan kapal dagang kepunyaan seorang pedagang India warga British iaitu Annapoorney. Walaupun selepas itu baginda telah menghantar laporan penyiasatan kes tersebut serta sebab-sebab penahanan tersebut, tetapi Gabenor Petrie

tidak mahu menerima penjelasan tersebut. Sebaliknya beliau telah menghantar Kapten Rodney dengan kapal Africaine untuk menunda kapal Annapoorney balik ke Pulau Pinang. Sultan Jauhar yang melampirkan sekali lagi peraturan-peraturan perdagangan di pelabuhan Aceh ber-serta dengan penjelasan kes Annapoorney, telah menahan di Pulau Dua, sebuah lagi kapal kepunyaan pedagang India dari Nagore kerana berdagang di Tapoos dan Singkel.<sup>21</sup> Tindakan ini diambil kerana me-nurut peraturan pelabuhan Aceh, kapal-kapal Kling atau Culia tidak dibenarkan berdagang di pantai barat Aceh.<sup>22</sup>

Polisi Sultan Aceh dan tuntutan perdagangannya, telah mewujudkan perselisihan pendapat antara badan rasmi kerajaan British di Pulau Pinang. Gabenor Robert Fullerton (1824-1826)<sup>23</sup> yang telah menggantikan Petrie menempelak tindakan Petrie itu. Fullerton mengatakan bahawa:<sup>24</sup>

*"The king employed Europeans in his service; tharush their assistance he arranged his custom regulations on European principles. He limited the import of certain articles to certain ports; he monopolized certain articles for the government, such as we do; he published his port regulations; he sent them to Pinang, the nearest English port; he declared the breach of those revenue laws to subject to seizure and confiscation as we do." An English vessel willfully broke those laws, was seized and sold. The Penang government called it piracy; a king's ship forcibly carried away the offending ship; the whole affording the complete demonstration of our own arrogance. We make laws for the protection of our revenue we enforce them unrelentingly, understood or not understood by those that suffer – (see the case of the Hydroos) – but when the same laws are enforced against ourselves, who so loud in complaint."*

Pada tahun 1814, Kapten John Canning telah dihantar oleh pentadbiran British di Bengal untuk menyiasat mengenai insiden kapal Annapoorney. Canning telah pergi ke Teluk Samoy, pusat perdagangan utama di Aceh pada masa itu dan tempat Sultan bermastautin. Tetapi oleh sebab sebelum datang ke situ, Canning telah bertemu dengan Tungku Pakeh dan beberapa orang pengikutnya yang menentang Sultan Jauhar al-Alam enggan meraikan utusan British itu. Sekembalinya ke Pulau Pinang Canning membuat laporan yang menyebelahi penentang-penentang Sultan Jauhar

serta berpendapat Sultan Jauhar bersalah merampas kapal Annaporney. Canning mengarahkan kapal tersebut dikembalikan kepada tuannya yang sedang berada di Pulau Pinang. Namun demikian, Canning tidak menafikan bahawa 2/3 daripada pembesar-pembesar jajahan Aceh masih menyokong Sultan Jauhar, hanya 3 orang<sup>25</sup> Panglima Sagi yang menentang Sultan Aceh itu.

Pada bulan Disember 1814, pedagang-pedagang British menghantar surat bantahan kepada pentadbiran British di Pulau Pinang terhadap kapal Hero yang didaftarkan di Pulau Pinang tetapi digunakan oleh Sultan Jauhar dalam aktivitinya pelanunannya.<sup>26</sup> Pada tahun yang sama, Sultan Jauhar telah menahan kapal Hyder Ally yang dipimpin oleh Kapten Stirling atas alasan, bahawa beberapa rumah agensi di Pulau Pinang berhutang sebanyak 36,000 Spanish Dollar dalam kontrak penjualan buah pinang pada tahun sebelumnya.

Pada bulan Julai 1815, Gabenor Petrie memprotes tindakan Sultan Jauhar itu serta menjelaskan kedudukan Fenwick yang tidak diingini oleh pihak British. Di Aceh pula, tindakan Sultan Jauhar monopoli perdagangan telah memuncakkan tentangan dari pembesar-pembesar Aceh yang dipimpin oleh tiga orang Panglima Sagi iaitu Tukoo (Teuku) Panglima Polim, Paduka Sri Setia Olema dan Tukoo (Teuku) Imam Mooda. Ketiga-tiganya memilih Sayid Hussein<sup>27</sup> iaitu seorang pedagang British berketurunan Arab serta mempunyai pertalian dengan kesultanan Aceh sebagai pengganti baginda.

Pada akhir tahun 1815, Sayid Hussein telah meletakkan anak keduanya iaitu Saif al-Alam<sup>28</sup> untuk menggantikan beliau sebagai Sultan Aceh dan Sultan Jauhar telah pun digulingkan. Beliau dinobatkan sebagai Paduka Sri Sultan Saif al-Alam dengan persetujuan panglima-panglima Sagi di Aceh.<sup>29</sup> Huru-hara di Aceh yang menjejaskan perdagangan antara Pulau Pinang dengan Aceh telah dilaporkan kepada pentadbiran British di London.<sup>30</sup>

Selepas Saif al-Alam berjaya menaiki takhta Aceh, Sultan Jauhar telah lari ke Teluk Samoy dan mendapat sokongan dari penduduk di situ. Sayid Hussein mendakwa Jauhar al-Alam telah menawan kapal beliau yang bernama Jan de Dareas, yang dimuatkan kargo berisi emas, wang berniali 8,000 dolar yang dipunyai oleh anak baginda Saif al-Alam dan 5,000 dolar kepunyaan pemerintah-pemerintah Pedir.

Saif al-Alam yang ditabalkan menjadi Sultan Aceh kemudiannya, juga terlibat dengan aktiviti perlanunan. Aktiviti saif al-Alam dan suasana yang tidak stabil di Aceh telah mengganggu perjalanan perdagangan antara negeri tersebut dengan Pulau Pinang dan sebaliknya. Pada 21 November 1816, Sultan Jauhar yang baru pulang dari Pulau Pinang telah mengutus surat kepada Gabenor British di Pulau Pinang memberitahu mengenai suasana politik di Aceh dan kedudukan baginda. Pihak British tidak membalas surat tersebut. Perdagangan antara kedua-dua pelabuhan ini merosot buat beberapa waktu disebabkan itu adanya keselamatan kepada pedagang. Menyedari hal tersebut, pihak British di Pulau Pinang sendiri enggan mengeluarkan pas perdagangan (*port clearance*) kepada pelabuhan-pelabuhan Aceh.<sup>31</sup>

Utusan Coombs yang dihantar dari Pulau Pinang ialah dengan tujuan mendapatkan gambaran sebenar tentang suasana politik di Aceh dan menandatangani perjanjian dengan sultan yang sah. Dengan arahan dari kerajaan British di India pada 13 Januari 1818 dan tiba di sana pada 17 Januari. Orang pertama yang ditemui oleh rombongan Coombs ini ialah Syahbandar Aceh. Syahbandar Aceh, juga merupakan salah seorang penentang Sultan Jauhar telah mencadangkan agar rombongan tersebut pergi ke Pedir menemui Tuanku Pakeh. Di Pedir rombongan tersebut disambut oleh Tuanku Pakeh dan golongan penentang Sultan Jauhar yang terdiri daripada panglima-panglima sagi dan uleebalang-uleebalang Aceh. Suatu rundingan kemudiannya diadakan antara Kapten Coombs dengan panglima-panglima dan uleebalang-uleebalang yang menentang Sultan Jauhar. Pertemuannya dengan penentang-penentang Sultan Jauhar ini telah mempengaruhi pandangan Coombs. Tambahan pula golongan ini disokong oleh Panglima Polim dari Sagi XXII. Beliau merupakan orang kaya yang paling berpengaruh daripada panglima-panglima sagi dari Sagi XXV dan XXVI mukim. Pengaruhnya yang kuat sehingga dikatakan bahawa beliau adalah seorang pembesar Aceh yang paling kaya dan mempunyai ramai pengikut serta daerah kekuasaan yang luas. Cadangan dan kata-kata beliau lazimnya akan menjadi peraturan dan beliau boleh memberi arahan terhadap kes-kes awam berbanding dengan dua orang pembesar lagi yang ternyata jauh lebih lemah daripada beliau.<sup>32</sup>

Rombongan Coombs tidak berusaha untuk menemui Sultan Jauhar sebaliknya kembali ke Pulau Pinang dan berlepas ke Bengal dalam bulan Februari 1818. Dalam laporan yang dikemukakan kepada pentadbir British di India,<sup>33</sup> Coombs ternyata menyebelahi Saif al-Alam. Beliau memberi alasan bahawa pertabalan Saif al-Alam telah mendapat persetujuan dari kebanyakan pembesar-pembesar Aceh. Alasan lain ialah menurut dakwaan Coombs, Saif al-Alam merupakan waris yang sah ke atas takhta Aceh kerana beliau berketurunan diraja Aceh sementara Sultan Jauhar dikatakan berdarah keturunan Syahbandar.<sup>34</sup>

Tindakan Coombs yang tidak menemui Sultan Jauhar serta laporannya mengeruhkan lagi hubungan antara pihak British di Pulau Pinang dengan Aceh. Pada masa inilah Stamford Raffles, campur tangan dalam politik Aceh sehingga beliau dianggap cuba menggugat kewibawaan dasar pentadbiran pihak British di Pulau Pinang.

Minat Raffles ke atas Aceh ini, bukanlah suatu perkara baru, malah minat tersebut telah bermula sejak tahun 1811, semasa beliau menjadi Setiausaha kepada pentadbiran British di Pulau Pinang. Pada masa tersebut, beliau pernah mencadangkan kepada Gabenor Jeneral British, Lord Minto agar pihak British melantik seorang Residen British di istana Aceh. Cadangan ini dikemukakan untuk menghalang campur tangan kuasa-kuasa Eropah di Aceh.<sup>35</sup> Cadangan yang dikemukakan semula pada tahun 1814 ternyata tidak mendapat sokongan pihak British.<sup>36</sup>

Tetapi pada tahun 1817, rancangan yang pernah dikemukakan oleh Raffles ini kepada Lord Hastings untuk menjamin kepentingan perdagangan British di Selat Melaka agar tidak akan digugat oleh kuasa-kuasa Barat yang lain<sup>37</sup> telah menimbulkan semula isu Aceh. Pada masa yang sama, Raffles masih mengikuti segala perkembangan politik yang berlaku di Aceh. Beliau juga mengikut laporan yang dikemukakan oleh Kapten Coombs mengenai suasana politik di Aceh. Beliau berasa tidak puas hati dengan laporan Coombs yang memihak kepada Saif al-Alam. Ancaman dari Belanda menjadi insentif utama bagi Raffles. Beliau mendapat berita bahawa Sultan Jauhar al-Alam sedang berusaha mendapatkan bantuan dari pihak Belanda setelah gagal mendapatkan bantuan dari pihak British untuk menyelesaikan



masalah dalam negeri Aceh. Raffles merasa beliau perlu campur tangan dalam isu Aceh bagi menjaga kepentingan perdagangan British. Beliau tidak mahu kuasa Belanda bertapak di Aceh seperti di kebanyakan kawasan lain di Sumatera.

Dalam suratnya yang bertarikh 16 Oktober 1818, Raffles menyatakan rasa gembiranya atas sokongan Lord Hasting yang membenarkannya mendirikan petempatan British di Aceh ataupun di Riau.<sup>38</sup> Berikutan daripada itu, akhirnya pihak British di India telah mengizinkan Raffles turut bersama-sama rombongan Kapten Coombs buat kali keduanya ke Aceh. Langkah pembentukan suruhanjaya bersama ini adalah disebabkan oleh laporan pedagang-pedagang British mengenai usaha-usaha perluasan kuasa Belanda di Sumatera.

Laporan-laporan mengenai kegiatan merampas kapal-kapal dagang oleh Sultan Aceh pada masa itu, Sultan Saif al-Alam juga menjadi desakan kepada pihak British untuk melakukan sesuatu bagi menjaga kebajikan pedagang-pedagang British yang berdagang dengan Aceh. Antara kes-kes rampasan kapal yang dilakukan oleh Saifal-Alam ini termasuklah pada bulan Julai 1818 yang mana beliau telah merampas sebuah jong kepunyaan Nakhoda Ali yang membawa muatan bernilai 5,000 dolar. Peristiwa ini dilaporkan oleh beberapa pembesar daerah Magong termasuk Datuk Kulak, Tuanku Loh dan lain-lain lagi di dalam surat mereka bertarikh 1 Julai kepada pentadbiran British di Pulau Pinang.<sup>39</sup>

Peristiwa ini turut disahkan oleh pembesar-pembesar Teluk Pawa iaitu Tuanku Him, Tuanku Labo, pembesar-pembesar Muki iaitu Datu Muda, Tuanku Kachikak Puchat dan Tuanku Bendar Jawa. Pembesar-pembesar dari Labuan Haji iaitu Tuanku Lam Ara, Tuanku Sayid Sala, Datu Nakhoda Bendang dan lain-lain turut memberi laporan yang sama ke atas tindakan Saif al-Alam itu, pemilik jong tersebut ialah pedagang Cina dari Pulau Pinang iaitu Che Soah (Toah) dan Che Seong. Mereka mengatakan bahawa nilai kargo jong tersebut ialah 2,000 dolar, harganya bernilai 5,700 dolar dan ditambah dengan perkakas-perkakas yang bernilai 500 dolar lagi.<sup>40</sup>

Suruhanjaya Bersama Raffles Coombs mempunyai misi yang besar iaitu untuk menjalinkan hubungan perdagangan serta memohon pelantikan seorang residen British di istana Aceh. Di samping tujuan-

tujuan tersebut, Suruhanjaya ini juga telah diarahkan agar meminta Saif al-Alam membayar pampasan kargo kapal dagang 'Rahana' dan kapal dagang British 'Elphinstone' yang dirampasnya.

Suruhanjaya ini bertolak ke Aceh pada 16 Februari 1819 iaitu setelah Raffles tiba dari Singapura. Campur tangan Raffles dalam isu Aceh tidak disenangi oleh pihak British di Pulau Pinang terutamanya Gabenor Jeneral Bannerman. Rasa tidak senang Bannerman ini mungkin disebabkan oleh rasa cemburunya di atas usaha-usaha Raffles untuk menangani dua masalah utama pada masa itu iaitu perang saudara di Aceh dan cadangan untuk mendirikan sebuah pelabuhan di selatan Selat Melaka.<sup>41</sup> Bannerman turut mempersoalkan kebijaksanaan pihak British di India yang sebelum ini telah meletakkan isu Aceh di bawah budi bicara pihak British di Pulau Pinang.<sup>42</sup>

Bannerman telah melambat-lambatkan penghantaran rombongan suruhanjaya tersebut dengan alasan bahawa rombongan tersebut mesti menunggu arahan dari pihak British di India. Beliau juga mencadangkan agar rombongan tersebut membawa bersama-sama mereka dua batalion tentera dari Rejimen 20 Bengal. Walau bagaimanapun, cadangan beliau tidak diterima oleh Raffles. Akhirnya Suruhanjaya tersebut berlepas ke Aceh. Hanya arahan umum diberikan kepada rombongan ini tentang bagaimanakah pengiktirafan ke atas Sultan Aceh harus dibuat, pihak British tidak menentukan siapakah yang layak diiktiraf sebagai Sultan Aceh sama ada Saifal-Alam ataupun Sultan Jauhar al-Alam. Walau bagaimanapun, Raffles yang bimbang campur tangan Belanda mempunyai hasrat untuk mengiktiraf Sultan Jauhar sebagai Sultan Aceh. Pilihan Raffles ini ternyata menimbulkan rasa kurang senang pihak British di Pulau Pinang.

Atas kebijaksanaannya Raffles dapat mempengaruhi Kapten Coombs untuk bersetuju dengan pilihan beliau terutamanya setelah Raffles menunjukkan bukti kepada Coombs bahawa 196 buah mukim daripada 228 buah mukim di Aceh Besar dan Pedir menyokong Sultan Jauhar. Sebaliknya, hanya 32 mukim sahaja menyokong Saif al-Alam. Pada masa yang sama, dua orang panglima Sagi iaitu Paduka Sri Setia Ulama dari Sagi XXV mukim dan Teuku Imcum Mooda dari Sagi XXVI mukim telah berpaling menyokong Sultan Jauhar. Kini, hanya Panglima Polim dan beberapa pembesar Aceh di pantai barat

Aceh sahaja yang tidak menyokong Sultan Jauhar. Dalam suratnya yang bertarikh 11 Jun 1819, Raffles telah memberitahu kejayaannya kepada William Marsden.<sup>43</sup>

Raffles enggan menemui panglima-panglima Sagi. Beliau tidak berasa perlu menemui Panglima Polim. Pada 6 April 1819, kapal India yang membawa rombongan tersebut telah tiba di Sriduli iaitu sebuah kampung di Pedir. Ia menjadi tempat tinggal sementara Sultan Jauhar al-Alam selama lebih kurang setahun selepas baginda digulingkan. Beberapa perundingan telah dilakukan antara rombongan tersebut dengan Sultan Jauhar. Tuanku Pakeh dari Pedir dan Bendahara Coomanghan [Keumangan] dari Shuillach telah menghadiri salah satu dari perbincangan tersebut. Kehadiran mereka ini menunjukkan sokongan pembesar-pembesar Aceh kepada Sultan Jauhar semakin bertambah. Keadaan ini menyokong pendapat Raffles bahawa Sultan Jauhar sebenarnya mempunyai sokongan yang lebih kuat berbanding dengan Saif al-Alam. Beberapa pucuk surat dari pembesar-pembesar Aceh yang berada di tangan Sultan Jauhar menguatkan lagi keadaan tersebut. Walau bagaimanapun, ketiga-tiga panglima sagi, Tuanku Groot dari Teluk Samoy dan Lebby Dappah dari Singkel tidak memberikan sokongan mereka.

Setelah hampir tujuh minggu di Aceh, akhirnya Suruhanjaya tersebut telah menandatangani satu perjanjian dengan Sultan Jauhar al-Alam pada 22 April 1819.<sup>44</sup> Melalui perjanjian ini Sultan Jauhar al-Alam telah diakui sebagai pemerintah Aceh yang sah. Antara syarat-syarat yang memberi faedah ekonomi kepada British ialah jaminan 'perdagangan bebas' kepada pedagang-pedagang British dalam perkara III. Dalam artikel yang sama juga, Sultan Jauhar berjanji tidak akan membenarkan berlakunya monopoli perdagangan di Aceh oleh mana-mana pihak. Sultan Aceh turut menyatakan persetujuan baginda menerima seorang agen kerajaan British yang dibenarkan tinggal di istana untuk menguruskan hal-ehwal EIC di Aceh. Antara syarat-syarat lain ialah Sultan Jauhar berjanji tidak akan membuat perjanjian dengan sebarang kuasa luar tanpa pengetahuan pihak British. Sementara pihak British pula memberi jaminan akan memberi bantuan ketenteraan kepada Sultan Jauhar serta memastikan Saif al-Alam meninggalkan Aceh. Perkara IX pula menjadi asas kepada hubungan

antara Aceh dengan pihak British walaupun perjanjian ini kemudiannya tidak diiktiraf oleh Perjanjian London 1824. Namun demikian dalam rangka hubungannya dengan Aceh pihak British secara berterusan merujuk kepada Perjanjian ini.<sup>45</sup>

Ekoran dari perjanjian ini, Saif al-Alam telah diarah meninggalkan Aceh pada tahun 1820. Beliau telah diberi pencen bulanan sebanyak 500 Drs.<sup>46</sup> Saif al-Alam kemudiannya telah membuat keputusan untuk pergi ke India. Sementara itu, Sultan Jauhar telah meninggal dunia pada tahun 1823, sebelum sempat menaiki semula takhta kerajaan Aceh. Puteranya telah ditabalkan menjadi Sultan Aceh. Sartorios, seorang pegawai British di Pulau Pinang, telah dilantik menjadi ejen perdagangan British di Aceh. Beliau tidak menetap di Aceh, sebaliknya beliau dibenarkan melawat Aceh pada bila-bila masa yang dikehendakinya.<sup>47</sup> Tindakan Raffles ini telah mengharmonikan semula hubungan pihak British di Pulau Pinang dengan pemerintah kerajaan Aceh.



## DISCLOSURES FROM THE RECORDS OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN MALACCA AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF MALAYSIA

Dato' Habibah Zon



**T**HIS publication is based on a paper that was read at the Seminar on Dutch Sources of Malaysian History organized by the National Archives of Malaysia in the historic city of Malacca<sup>1</sup> in October 2001. It attempts to unravel the rich contents of the original Dutch church records that are housed in the National Archives of Malaysia. It is hoped that through this effort, the existence of these priceless treasures will be brought to the knowledge of a larger public both locally and internationally.

To digress a little, allow me to dwell a little on similar registers that are available at the Archives and elsewhere. Besides records of the Dutch Reformed Church ('*Gereformeerde Kerk*' of the Protestant denomination) dating back to 1642, the National Archives of Malaysia also holds a number of Registers belonging to the Catholic Church. These Registers which span the years between 1767 and 1904 relate to baptism, marriage and burial. The National Archives managed to acquire them in the 1970's from the St. Peter's Church in Malacca<sup>2</sup>. It must be mentioned that there are still a number of very old Registers that continue to be kept in the various Churches throughout the country. Unfortunately, some of the Registers have been removed from the Churches and taken abroad. It is hoped that some day we can have these Registers back.

Incidentally it must be mentioned that besides the Christian Church records, there are also a number of very old records belonging to the

Cheng Hoon Teng Temple in Malacca. The Registers date back to 1801, and include details of births, deaths, membership and donation registers, as well as notes of meetings held<sup>3</sup>.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES OF MALACCA**

As a background to the history of the Dutch Church records it must be mentioned that a community of Europeans and Eurasians emerged in Malacca with the arrival of the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch. Since that advent of the Portuguese in 1511 the community grew considerably, although representing just a small proportion of the total population. Speaking of religion, it was clear the unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch did not have proselytising aims. Nevertheless, the influence of religion was very strong among the Dutch.

Soon after the capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1641, a religious service was organized at the Portuguese Church which was the St. Paul's Church. The Protestant Service was administered by Reverend Joan Schoutanus<sup>4</sup>. Today, many Malaysians and foreign tourists are familiar with this Church which is perched on St. Paul's Hill, formerly the site of a fortress.

The Portuguese were Catholics, while the Dutch were Protestants. Needless to say, there was traditional animosity between the Protestants and the Catholics, carried over from Europe. The Resolute Book of 1718 - 1740 testifies to this. For example, a woman by the name of Leonora Laban was not allowed to attend the "Avondmaal" (the Lord's supper) as she was said to have led an "ergerlijk" (provocative) life. One of her crimes was that she had brought her child to the "Paapsche" (Catholic priest) to be baptized.

A number of Portuguese became converted on the Protestant faith in order to be able to lead a better life. However, it must be mentioned that despite Dutch efforts to erase Portuguese influence, the Catholic religion of the Portuguese continued to be the dominant faith among the Eurasian community in Malacca, even to this very day. In this connection it is of interest to note that despite protestations to the contrary, the Dutch did try to attract the Malays to their religion. The

Bible and other religious books were published in Bahasa Melayu, and Malay speaking clergymen were trained - but without much success.

## **THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH**

For more than a century, the community of the Dutch Reformed Church (*Gereformeerde Kerk*) used the former Catholic Church on St. Paul Hill to conduct its religious services. Only in 1753 did it build its own Protestant Church (now Christ Church) next to the famous '*Stadthuys*' in the heart of old Malacca. Many Malaysians are familiar with the Christ Church which stands to this very days as one of the many red buildings that we associate with Dutch presence in Malacca. After the new Church was built, St. Paul's Hill came to be used as burial site. When space became scarce on the hill, a new site, St. Anthony's, was opened behind the new Church.

In the Dutch period, the Church in Malacca was known as the "Dutch Reformed Church", referring to the Church of the Protestant or Calvinist denomination. This was the state religion of the Netherlands in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Other denomination - such as Catholicism and the lutheran faith - were not accorded official recognition, although in practice their presence was tolerated.

## **THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CHURCH**

The Church in Malacca performed a variety of functions on behalf of the community of believers. It organized church services for the members of the church, usually once or twice a week. It also took care of the needy - including the poor, the widowed and the orphaned. This was the responsibility of the '*diakonie*', a separate organisation under the diakenen or deacons, who were members of the Church Council. It also performed ceremonial services such as burials, baptisms and marriages. These services were extended to non-Christians as well. If one intends to study about Dutch churches in Asia in the period 1650-1824, one should know its organizational



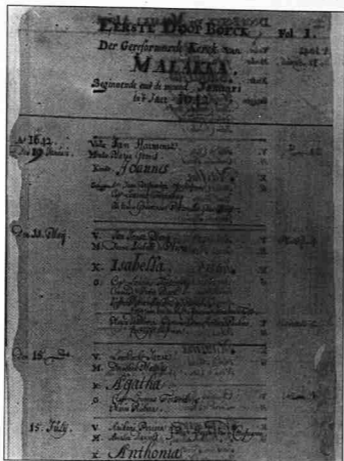
structure. The Protestant or Reformed Church was placed under the church consistory of Batavia. Batavia, now known as Jakarta, used to occupy a central place in the organisation of the VOC or 'Verrenigle Oost-Indische Compagnie' (United Dutch East India Company), a trading organisation established in 1602. When the VOC became bankrupt in 1795, its possessions were taken over by the Dutch government.

The Batavia consistory was responsible for many of the church organisation in Asia. In Batavia alone there were five Churches, of which one used the Dutch language, two used the Portuguese language and another two employed Malay. The Batavia consistory also organized care for orphans and the poor. The Batavia church itself was placed under the authority of the '*Hoge regering*' (High Government), i.e. the VOC-led administration in Batavia. Apart from Malacca, the churches in Sri Lanka, the Cape of Good Hope, the Moluccas, India, Sulawesi, Timor and Java were also administered by Batavia. This Asian network of churches was generally referred to as the '*Indische kerk*'. The word 'Indische' was a reference to East Asia in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

### VOCEMPLOYEES: A MULTIETHNIC MIX

The records show that people of various races were employed by the VOC. We need to keep this in mind, especially when studying the baptism and membership books. Incidentally, the VOC was a large organisation which offered opportunities for approximately 20,000 employees from all over Europe. In the words of Dr. Verhoeven,

*"...Malacca history clearly shows it has been a melting pot of races and cultures from the early days of its history. This melting pot was at full boil during the Dutch period. As such Malacca is not only one of the main roots of the history of Malaya but also an example for present day Malaysian society".*<sup>5</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Netherlands had become very wealthy and Dutch citizens had lost the urge to travel and serve the Company (a word commonly used to indicate the VOC). The wages paid by the VOC were very low and there was



This is a page from the baptismal book for 1642. The first recorded baptism is that of a child, Joannes born to Jan Harmens (Dutch) and Maria Gomes (Portuguese). On 11 May 1642, a senior official, Jan Jansz, Manij (sometimes written as Maniel), who played an important role in securing peace between Johore and Aceh, and wife, Donna Esabelle De Moora, registered their baby daughter, Isabella. Manie's wife was obviously of Portuguese descent, an observation that leads us on to two draw important conclusions. First, the Dutch were inclined to marry Portuguese women because of the paucity of Dutch women. Second, the Dutch were tolerant of the Portuguese civilians who joined the Dutch Reformed Church. As a senior official of the company, Manie enlisted very influential people as godparent for his daughter. Two senior officials, Captain Lourens Forsenberg and Commander Peter Baek were godfather. Petronella van Den Bosch, the wife of the Governor of Malacca, (Johan Van Twist), and Maria De Moora, the wife of a Portuguese trader (Anthoni Pinhero) were godmothers. The Governor's wife stood as godmother for Joannes, the son of Jan Hermensz and Maria Gomes, on 19 January 1642. Source: *Doop Boek (Baptism Register 1642-1688)*

a major risk that one may not survive the journey or the inclement Asian climate. In Germany and other Northern European countries however, economic prospects were not fortuitous. A substantial number of Germans, Danes and Swedes occupied the lower ranks in the Company, connected mainly with the military. In Asia, a number of locals were recruited into the army. A large number of Asians were also employed on trading vessels.<sup>6</sup>

As for the Church establishment in Malacca, the *Predikant* (also spelt as *Predicant*) or preacher was the only fully paid servant of the Church. He performed what was considered to be the most meritorious work-preaching. The Church Council and the minister constituted the Consistory, the body which governed the Church and its congregation. The Church Council was a body of eight (non- paid) notable Church members, comprising four 'ouderlingen' (elders) and four 'diakenen' (deacons). At once stage in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century the minister was assisted by a 'koster' (sexton), who would have performed his duties on a part-time basis like the 'krankenbezoeker' who was in charge of visiting the sick. The employees also included the 'schoolmester' (teacher) and the 'organist' (organ player). In a small community like that of Malacca, these duties were performed by just one or two European soldiers in the service of the Company.<sup>7</sup>

## RECORDS OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

Besides that of Malacca, we can say that the archives of the Dutch Protestant Church in many other countries such as Sri Lanka<sup>8</sup>, Indonesia, south Africa and the Netherlands constitute a major source of information on the history of the respective communities.

In the case of Malacca, the Church records provide some interesting information on the life of the community in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. These records of the Dutch Reformed Church of the Protestant denomination enjoy pride of place as the oldest original archives that are extant in the whole of Malaysia, and the National Archives of Malaysia in particular. The Dutch were used to keeping records of every possible bit of information. However, the Asian environment, with its high humidity and temperature, posed a con-

stant threat to paper. It was therefore of great importance for the Dutch Church Council to protect their records. For the church records were equally as important, for they were needed in the daily administration of the city.

The Church records relate to four categories: baptismal registers, records of church congregation, records of the church administration and the miscellaneous group. The baptismal records are by far the most important category of church records, as they uncover a fascinating picture of the Christian community in Malacca.<sup>9</sup>

The Registers are bound in fourteen volumes roughly covering the years relating to Dutch presence in Malacca, i.e. from 1642 to the Napoleonic Wars in 1795, followed by the second phase of Dutch rule in Malacca between 1818 to the signing of the London Treaty of 1824. As can be seen from the years covered by the Registers, it is clear that the Church continued to use the same Registers despite the British interregnum during the Napoleonic wars. This could be due to the role of the British government as mere caretakers in charge of providing continuity to the Dutch administration of Malacca. Even when Malacca came to be permanently transferred to the British in accordance with the terms of the London Treaty of 1824, the same "*Doopboeken*" (Baptism Books) and *Resolution* books (minutes of the Church Council) continued to be in use.

*Doopboeken* (baptism books)

1642 - 1688, 1 volume

1689 - 1709, 1 volume

1709 - 1742, 1 volume

1742 - 1790, 1 volume

1800 - 1825, 1 volume

*Resolutien* (minutes of the Church Council)

1694 - 1717, 1 volume

1718 - 1740, 1 volume

1740 - 1772, 1 volume

1773 - 1825, 1 volume

*Kerkboeken* (financial records)

1782 - 1799, 1 volume

1799 - 1808, 1 volume

1809 - 1819, 1 volume

1810 - 1822, 1 volume

*Miscellaneous*

Besides one volume which is from the eighteenth century, there are also others from the English period, beginning 1824. Their contents include the 'Lidmatenboeken' or Church membership list.

### **GAPS IN THE CHURCH RECORDS**

Based on the average volume of records generated by a typical Dutch church of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, we may far from complete. Almost all the 17<sup>th</sup> century 'Resolutien' (minutes of the church Council) are missing, and only a few volumes still remain of the membership and financial records. On the positive side, our collection of the Baptism Registers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is almost complete.

However, the gaps in the holding of the National Archives of Malaysia should not be an issue of great regret, as there may be ways and means of reconstructing the whole.

As Verhoeven writes, "*even though the local Dutch Malacca archives, which would have been the primary source have disappeared, there is more than enough unpublished secondary materials to more or less fill the gap*"<sup>10</sup> Such records do exist, and could be used to complete the gaps in our documentation.

For example, in 1919 a Dutch doctor from Singapore is said to have copied parts of the Church Records in his own handwriting. These copies, comprising more than 800 years are housed in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Archives) at the Hague (under the collection 'Aanwinsten', no 1.11.01.01)

## DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH RECORDS

I shall now go on to describe and analyse the contents of some of the volumes of Dutch Registers that are available at the National Archives of Malaysia.

### Records on Education

In the first instance I wish to draw attention to Dr. Verhoeven's own observation with regard to the light that the Church records are able to shed on the early history of schools in Malacca. In his letter of 16 November 1966 Dr. Verhoeven notes the following:

In 1649, in order to "*induce more parents to send their children to school it was decided by the Governor-in-Council that every child attending school would get a pound of rice daily from the Honourable Company.*" Again, on 12 February 1653 "*by order of the Governor in Council a new school was erected in Bandar Malacca. At the time there were two ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, each with his own district, one comprising Bandar Malacca, and other the fortress and Bandar Hilir combined. By implication, this second district also had a school.*"<sup>11</sup>

### Baptism Records

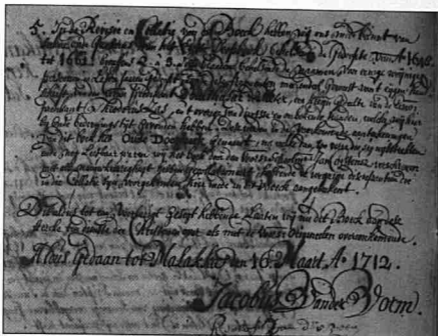
Before attempting to describe the contents of the baptism records, the social significance of baptism has to be first understood<sup>12</sup>. Every baptized child had Godparents who were responsible for his or her welfare. The social standing of the Godparents was a very good indication of the social standing of the child's own family. From the information found in the baptismal records, we can reconstruct a picture of the close-knit community of Europeans in Malacca in the good old days. Families usually asked relatives or close friends to act as Godparents, and sometimes church officials also acted as guardians. The Dutch church ensured a social security system, which provided for an orphanage and a place to accommodate the sick who

had no one to care for them in times of hardship and illness.

In a small Christian community where everyone knew everyone else, it was common for one person to act as Godfather or Godmother for more than one child. Most families were interrelated as shown by the surnames of parents and Godparents recorded in the baptismal register.

The information from the baptismal records enables us to study the historical demography of the Eurasian community in Malacca from the 1640s to the early years of the nineteenth century.

Allow me to now take you through a few of the Church Registers. Before that, I wish to gratefully acknowledge the assistance rendered by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Malaysia for having made available to us the professional services of Drs. Max de Bruijin, an independent historical museological consultant who was here with us at the National Archives of Malaysia in July 1999. During his brief stay in Malaysia, de Bruijin explained contents of some of the Church records that I will be able to share with the readers on account of his assistance.



Second page of an introductory note on the Baptism Registers  
by Minister Jacobus Van Der Vorm, 16 March 1712  
*Source: Baptism Register 1642-1688*

**Dooboek 1642-88**

This volume provides interesting disclosures on the every days of the Dutch in Malacca. The book opens with a commentary by Minister Jacobus van der Vorm dated 16 March 1712. He claims that the Register is a copy of a baptism book which had been badly damaged. The letter was itself only a copy (dated 1690) of the original source. The first registered baptism is dated 19 January 1642, by which time, the Dutch had already had taken possession of Malacca (January 14, 1641). In February 1641, the first Dutch Minister was already performing a thanks giving service at the St. Paul’s church for the victory over the Portuguese). In his statement, Jacobus van der Vorm pleads ignorance as to whether any baptisms were registered in 1641,



the first year of the occupation of the fortress and walled city by the Dutch.

A list of Dutch Ministers in the period 1641 – 1690 appears on page 3 of the volume. There was at least one Minister permanently assigned to the Church in Malacca. Most of them stayed on for a few years, leaving subsequently to take up various other positions in Asia (Ceylon, Batavia, Coromandel), while yet others returned to Holland.

The baptism book or '*Doopboek*' starts on page four. It is paginated in ink, on top of the page. The first recorded baptism is that of a child, Joannes, son of a Dutchman by the name of Jan Harmens and a lady of Portuguese descent, Maria Gomes. One has to remember that the Dutch seldom brought their wives along with them Europe. Very often the Dutch or European officials, craftsmen and soldiers had illegitimate relations with women. Although the Church was opposed to concubinage, it was regarded worse that the children were not baptised. So generally the child was baptised, and the parents were verbally chastised and forbidden to attend the '*Avondmaal*' (the Lord's Supper, the most important service of the Protestant Church which was held four times in a year) for a certain period of time. This method of censuring church members for their irregular inclinations was termed '*Censura Morum*' in Latin.

In this period, the three witness to the ceremony (*two were required by law*) were Joan Verpoorten, a high ranking VOC official ('*opperkoopman*' or chief trader), Captain Laurens Forsenberg (from the military) and Petronella van Twist (the Governor's wife). The baptism ceremonies were generally held on Sunday's.

The following entries of baptism reveal a number of Portuguese names, indicating the extent of Portuguese influence on the city population. It shows that a number of people of Portuguese descent had still not left Malacca despite Dutch rule.

The baptism of October 2 is interesting. The parents, Hendrik Gonsalvis and Rebeca were two Company slaves owned not by private persons but by the VOC. The name of the male-Gonsalvis-could refer to a former Portuguese slave who was re-baptised. Indeed the Dutch re-baptised anyone converted to the Catholic faith by their

Portuguese enemies. In this way, they intended to counter the influence of the Portuguese. This, however, presented a moral problem for the Dutch because now these slaves became fellow members of their own faith. Subsequently the Company enacted rules to prevent the enslavement of Christians. It must be understood that slavery was common in Asia during this era. Slavery also provided a means of making money. In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Dutch became the biggest slave traders in South-East-Asia. They could not do without slaves. As the VOC had only a few thousand Europeans on a few hundred settlements all over Asia, they were completely dependent on slaves to do all the work.

Other names in the register clearly refer to the place where the slaves had originated.

The name Francisco de Bengala, for instance, which appears on page 11 (May 7) indicates that this former slave was originally from Bengal in India.

The entry on page 30, of the third baptism of December 11, 1650 represents a recurring phenomenon. The slave girl Moinea, owned by a Dutch high official ('*opperkoopman*') by the name of Verpoorten, had given birth to a child whose father is not mentioned in the '*Doopboek*'.

The first entry for July 14, 1680 (page 239) is that of the '*bejaarde*' (old) Louis, slave of the widow van Bazlij. This shows that it was not just children who were baptized.

The following case of baptism for July 27, 1680 (page 239) shows the existence of many different races in Malacca:

*Father*: Willem van Abessini (referring to Ethiopia); *Mother*: Haboe van Soloor, *child*: Iephta; *Witnesses*: Abraham de Kaffer (Kaffer was a term the Dutch used for people in Southern Africa, later it became a swearing word) and Magdalena de Costa (clearly a name of Portuguese origin).

In yet another case of baptism for July 31, 1681 (page 245), the presence of slaves is again indicated:

*Father*: Constant van Timor; *Mother*: Fransisca van Bengalen;  
*Child*: Jacob; *Witnesses*: Jacob van Bengalen, Andresa van

**Macasser.**

There was a sharp rise in the number of baptism around the year 1680, indicating an influx of slaves, and therefore more activity in Malacca in this period.

**Resolutie book 1740-72**

A report by the Church Council on the improper conduct of a soldier, Cramer is contained on page 97 (verso) and 98 of the above volume. The Council had assembled several reports on Cramer. One was from the VOC doctor in Malacca who reported that he had treated Cramer for venereal disease. Another was from a fellow member of the military staff who reported on the foul smell emitted by Cramer during military exercises, apparently a result of his disease. Yet another statement claims when arriving in Malacca, Cramer had a woman with him aboard the ship. Such conduct was absolutely forbidden by the VOC, and punishable by his commanding officer. This church record shows he was also reprimanded by the Church.

**Kerkboek 1782-99**

The following list shown the use by the Dutch of words, materials and methods of working in the Malay world.

Gedane onkosten Voor de kerk			(expenses incurred by the Church)
koeliegeld	Rds	25	(coolie-money)
Een Metzelaar4 dagen	"	2	(a mason for 4 days)
voor 450 Ganteng kalk	"	4-36	(450 Ganteng chalk)
voor 8 bamboesetot leeren	"	1-12	(8 bamboo poles for teching purpose)

'*Koelie*' (coolie) is a word of Tamil origin. Coolies in Malacca sometimes carried goods on a '*pikolan*', comprising a bamboo pole with two baskets. Normally a coolie was only paid a small amount of money: a few ( 3 to 5 ) dimes per day. So there was a lot of work for them to do in order to earn 25 Rixdollars. the word '*ganteng*' (gan-tang) is a Malay weight-measure which came to be adopted by the Dutch.

The chalk was used to whiten the walls. The bamboo was of course locally found. The Dutch learned the use of bamboo for building and other purposes from the Malays. Needless to say, bamboo was a very useful material, as it was strong, light and easy to handle.

Page 58 provides us with a list of people who had been buried in Malacca between January and June 1795. Burial grounds provided income for the church. European settlers normally bought a place in the graveyard and afforded themselves expensive gravestones, often made from stones imported from India. Non-Christian slaves were just buried where they died: '*op diverse plaatsen*' (in different sites). The Chinese were buried on Bukit China Hill, whilst the other non-Christian were interred at '*Bongaraija*' (Bunga Raya) and outside '*Tranquera*' (Tengkera). The document in which this information is contained was signed on June 30, 1795. Figures relating to the number of deaths, and the cost of burial are listed. Those who had no family or relatives were buried '*pro deo*', literally "for God" (free of charge).

The above text may be roughly rendered as follows:

**"List of bodies which are buried here since the first of January this year"**

29 Bodies were buried in the month January; of which:

2	were buried on St Anthony's graveyard
5	on Bongaraija (2 were buried Prodeo)
7	outside Tranquera (of which I was buried Prodeo)
6	on bonquitchina (Bukit Cina)
9	slaven (in different place)

Pages 132-134 include a list of goods and materials needed for the restoration of the house of the Minister in the immediate neighbourhood of Malacca. The house is equipped with a 'zoomerhuis' (summer house) and slave quarters. The list contains the following line: 'De wooning diend met Fijne en de Slaave vertrekken met gemeene Verff geschildert te werden', which mean that the painter should take care to use 'fine' (or expensive) paint for the house and common' (cheap) paint for the slave quarters.

Pages 216 contains a list of marriages and administration fees paid for the registration of non-Christain weddings in 1789. It is evident from this concern with non-believers that the Church carried out. A total of 161 bodies, of which 29 person who died in January alone were buried in the following sites : administrative work on behalf of the government. The fee was 2 Rixdollars per marriage.

The first group of marriages relate to 'Mooren en sentieven' (Moors and Indian Muslims). The list contains the names of 18 couples. Some of these entries are as follow:

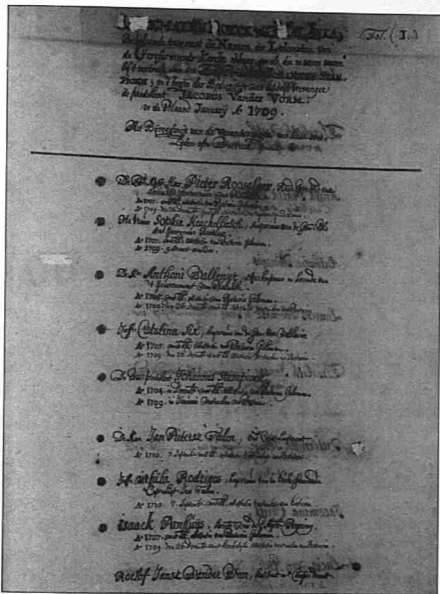
March 12, 1789	Mahomet Fayer (marries) 'met' (with) Mira Natjare
May 16, 1789	Abdul Raman with Patama
November 19, 1789	Chitti Appa with Minaatje

The next group is that of 10 Chinese couples.

**The final group (on the following page) is the 'Maleyers' (Malays):**

February 10, 1789	Mohamat with Intje Abida
February 18	Boean with Injte Alija
March 31	Intje Soeboe with Injte Itam
April 8	Mohamat Sale with Alia
August 24	Intje Dul Raman with Intje Amine
October 16	Sapor with Itam
November 30	Sela with Deira

The 'staatrekening' (annual account) for 1781 appears on pages 227 of the Kerkboek. The statement is dated January 8, 1782. The



Members of Dutch Reformed Church, 1709. Pieter Rooselaar, Governor of Malacca, and his wife Meryouwe Sophia Heuchelbosch head the list for 1709. The tombstone of both husband and wife may be viewed at the Chirst Church, Malacca (Dutch Reformed Church). Source: Doop Boek 1689-1709 (pg. 62)

Church had to present an annual statement of account to the Governor, Gerardus de Bruijn. This again throws light on the role of the Church in society.

In 1781 alone, the Church derived income from the following sources:

- a fine of 25 Rixdollars paid by the Dutch Arnold Lemker for causing a fire.
- 423 Rixdollars for expenses involving burial of the deceased.
- The sale of graves
- 62 Rixdollars for the administration of the people in Malacca who were non-Christian; and finally
- a donation of 247 Rixdollars from Church-goers.

The income was used to maintain the Church, pay the organist and provide for the poor.

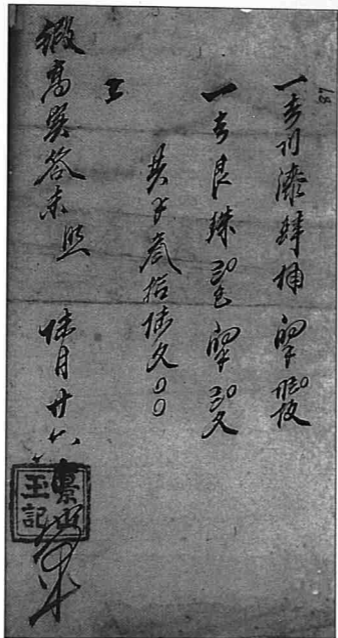
#### **Kerkboek 1799-1808**

A burial list for the year 1800 is given on page 8.

It is to be noted that the graves were located in the Upper Church (St Paul Hill) as well as in or near the Lower Church (next to the Stadthuys). A difference is made between burials using '*kuyl*' (hole) and '*kelder*' (cellar or tomb). The former refers to a normal grave, whereas the latter refers to a grave reserved for an entire family. These expensive graves were made of elaborate stones imported from India. They can still be seen in Malacca. The list shows there were only nine deaths registered in 1800, indicating that the Christian community of that period was rather small. Incidentally, there is record of Mr. Farquhar's purchase of a burial site on St Anthony's for 15 Rixdollars.

After a certain time if the family of the deceased stopped paying towards the upkeep of the grave, the graves would be emptied, so that the ground was available for new burials.

A bill originating from a certain L. Klaasen to the '*kerkmeester*' (Churchmaster) Marinus de Groot is shown on pages 47. The '*kerkmeester*' (who is normally a member of the Church Council)



Document shows that the Chinese were hired as contractors by the Church  
Source: Kerk Book 1782-1799



held the responsibility for church finances.

The bill indicates that repair work was done on the roof of the Church, as well as on the '*knekelhuys*' (literally 'house of bones', referring to the place where the bones of old graves were kept) on '*St Anthonij kerk Hoff*' (St. Anthony's graveyard).

Repairs to the clock tower on St Paul's Church is indicated on pages 63. Because of its strategic position, the clock tower served a military purpose, besides also functioning as a beacon for ships arriving in Malacca.

A list of repair works on the Church appears on page 90. It may be of interest to take a look at some of the words that were used in connection with these works.

- ganteng kalk
- 20 water tampatjies
- berottingen van raamen
- koelieloon

Apart from the local words that were encountered earlier such as '*ganteng*' (gantang), and '*koelie*' (coolie) there were also other words used such as '*tampatjies*' (tampat) and '*berotting*' (affixing rattan frames number of male friends while still being married to one Mr Hare.

### Kerkboek 1809-1819

The '*Staatrekening*' or records of church finances are dated 31 December, 1810. Details of staff salary are given as follows:

- The '*krankenbezoeker*' (literally visitor of the sick, a low-ranking church official) was paid Rds 60 (60 Rixdollars) for the work of conducting '*cathequeeeren der armen kinderen*' (catechism for children of the poor) for one full year.
- The '*Inlandse leermeester*' (indigenous teacher) was paid Rds 60 for the same work as that of the '*krankenbezoeker*'. He probably catechised the Malay speaking Christians. He also carried out extra work, worth Rds 25.

## Miscellaneous Book

This book includes the so called '*Lidmatednboeken*' (membership books), containing names of the registered members of the Dutch Reformed Church in Malacca. On the basis of these registers, it appears that there were no Malays either from the Sultanate of Malacca or any other Malay Sultanates who had become Christians. However, there were many Indonesians, originating mostly from the island of Sulawesi (especially the area around the city of Makasar, now known as Ujong Pandang) or Batavia who became Christians.

They had been brought by the Dutch as slaves or manumitted slaves. They were known to have had intimate relationship with the Dutch VOC – officials and '*freeburghers*' (free citizens not employed by the VOC) The Eurasian community of Malacca was enriched by the infusion of new blood resulting from the mixed marriages.

The list of members kept changing. Dutch and other Europeans were often transferred, and people died. It must be mentioned that not every minister kept his records so well as Jacobus van der Vorm. A list of members compiled by Van der Vorm, (who started his service in Malacca in January 1709 and departed on July 5, 1712), is given on pages 61. The Governor, Willem Six heads the list, being the most important member of the Church, Six's wife is not mentioned. The former Governor Pieter Rooselaar (on page 62) who had left for Batavia in 1709, did have his wife with him. She was Sophia Heuchelbosch who died in Malacca on March 9, 1709. Their tombstones are still in Malacca.

A count of member in 1709 (pages 61 – 75) shows a figure of 200 Valentijn mentions this figure as the highest number that the church of Malacca has ever had. In 1788 there were only 107 '*lidmaten*', possibly indicating a severe decline of activity in Malacca.

## CONCLUSION

In closing, I wish to express my hope that this paper will provide Malaysian historians with an interest to study church records in the future. It is obvious that the Dutch church records are a rich source

for the study of local history. For example, the numerous names on the various Registers can be of great value in research. We find for instance, that most of the bills of payment involved Chinese contractors who were assigned the work of maintaining the churches in Malacca. The names could yield significant findings if one were to look at various other records on the social and economic activities of the people of that period.

The contents of the church records must therefore be analysed within the larger context of related materials that are available in various other countries. It must be noted that all reports on Christian church activities were sent to Batavia, and thence to the Netherlands. Therefore one cannot avoid having to travel to these places in pursuit of information on matters related to family history, religious activities and activities of the Church in Malacca. It must be mentioned that even the so-called "ephemera" such as bills of payment may be able to tell a larger story if read together with records from the Netherlands (*especially the Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* – Letters and Paper Received from Asia-Correspondence between Governor-General and Malacca), India, Indonesia, Sri Langka and also England (namely the India Office Library in London).

Let us hope that a study of this period involving Dutch Church records will be undertaken by scholars of history so that we shall be able, thereby, to better appreciate the collection in the holdings of our respective countries.

## DUTCH SOURCES ON MALAYSIAN HISTORY IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY

Mr Hedley Sutton



**T**HE British Library has one of the best collections of Dutch imprints outside the Netherlands, from the British Museum (founded 1753) and the library of the English East India Company (founded 1801). Both these collections have more or less been completely catalogued, and while no material can be sent outside the U.K., the database can be searched on the World Wide Web via <http://blpc.bl.uk>.

Within the huge India Office Records (which take up 14 kilometres of shelf space!), encompassing the surviving archives of the English East India Company, are a number of record series of interest to historians of Malaysia:-

### 1. "Factory" Records

This series contain documents about the Company's dealings, of which the following are examples:

- Borneo (1 vol., 1648 - 1814), our ref. G/4
- Celebes (1 vol., 1613 - 74), G/10
- Java (72 vols., 1613-1817), G21
- Straits Settlements (196 vols., 1786 - 1830), G/34.
- Sumatra (162 vols., 1705 - 1818), G/35

## **2. Records Concerning Other European Powers In Asia**

These records generally relate to clashes and disputes between the Company and the French, Portuguese, Danes as well as the Dutch are two series of records as follows:

- Records on relations with the Dutch (32 vols., 1596 – 1824), L/2
- Transcripts and translations into English of documents held in The Hague (106 vols., 1600 –1700), L/3.

## **3. Ecclesiastical Returns**

Registers of births/baptism, marriages and burials. They relate mostly to European Christians, although some Asian converts are also included.

- Fort Marlborough (Benkulen), 1759 – 1825.
- Penang, Malacca & Singapore, 1799 – 1829, continued in a different series (for Bengal) up to 1868.
- The reference for the Fort Marlborough series N/7; for Penang / Malacca / Singapore N/8 and for Bengal N/1

## **4. Government Gazettes**

Early 19<sup>th</sup> century holdings on microfilm of the following archives:

- Java Government Gazette (February 1812 – August 1816), SM 110
- Bataviasche Courant (Aug. 1816 – Dec. 1817), SM 111
- Prince of Wales Island (Penang) Government Gazette (July 1806 –July 1830), SM 95

## **5. Malacca Orphan Chamber Records (Ref. R/9)**

Brought to London in 1927 in 98 boxes retrieved from the basement of the Malacca Court House, and listed in 1981. The list was

published in 1983 in vol. 56 of the "Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." The entire series has been microfilmed. The record group consists of 899 files (almost all in manuscript), of which 170 are in poor/fragile/illegible condition: 90 are in English, several in Portuguese, 1 in Malay, and the rest in Dutch. The earliest file dates from 1670, and the latest from 1841, although the bulk are from the period 1780 – 1830.

The boxes contain the following record groups as follows:

- 1 box of Political Council records
- 36 boxes of Orphan Chamber records
- 54 boxes of Court of Justice records
- 7 boxes of miscellaneous records

The subject matter is covered by the records in broad, and include:

- transcripts of civil cases and criminal trials
- wills and inventories
- sale of land and property
- banking transactions
- poor relief
- prisons
- shipping and local shipwrecks
- civil marriages, 1820 – 1824
- slavery
- private letters of Jan Samuel Timmermann – Thijssen, 1805 – 1819, who served as Governor of Malacca, 1818 – 1823.

There is a great deal of reported biographical information in these records, e.g. on Orphan Chamber pupils, witnesses in court cases, etc.

The collection may also be of interest to historians of the Dutch language, containing dated examples of loan words from Malay and Portuguese.

The British Library has no plans at present to have these records translated, but there is a plan to digitise the descriptive handlists at the India Office Records Librarys, so that in a few years time they can be monitored on the World Wide Web and made available to anyone with internet access.



# HUBUNGAN MULTILATERAL KERAJAAN-KERAJAAN DI RIAU – KAWASAN SEMENANJUNG MELAYU PADA PERIODE KOLONIAL BELANDA DALAM KHAZANAH ARSIP RIAU DI ARSIP NASIONAL REPUBLIK INDONESIA<sup>1</sup>

Dra Darmiati



**A**DALAH merupakan suatu kehormatan bagi saya turut berpartisipasi aktif dalam Seminar Antar Bangsa Sejarah Malaysia yang diselenggarakan oleh Arkib Negara Malaysia dengan mengambil tempat di kota Melaka. Dalam seminar ini saya diminta membentangkan kertas kerja koleksi sumber Belanda mengenai Malaysia yang ada di Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia.

Mencari sumber lewat arsip sesungguhnya memerlukan ketelitian dan kemampuan yang harus dimulai dari penelitian pustaka. Setelah itu baru menuju pada arsip. Pada penelitian pustaka itu akan diperoleh gambaran umum tema yang sedang diteliti. Dengan memiliki gambaran umum barulah melakukan penelitian arsip. Tanpa memiliki gambaran umum maka tidak dapat memahami erti informasi yang terdapat pada arsip, kerana informasi yang terdapat pada arsip sifatnya sporadis, terpotong-potong. Tapi dengan memiliki gambaran umum itu maka dapat merangkai informasi yang sporadis dari arsip menjadi kisah yang utuh.

Arsip yang berkaitan dengan Melayu – Riau pada masa lalu sangat menarik untuk dibahas. Tapi lebih menarik lagi jika dikemukakan hubungan Riau dengan Semenanjung Melayu pada masa kolonial Belanda. Hubungan tersebut dapat ditemui dalam bentuk hubungan rasmi antara kerajaan-kerajaan yang ada di kawasan itu. Karena itu saya akan mencuba menampilkan tulisan ini dengan judul “Hubungan Multilateral Kerajaan-kerajaan Riau Dengan Kawasan Semenanjung



Melayu Pada Masa Kolonial Belanda” sesuai dengan sumber yang ada di Arsip Nasional Indonesia.

Makalah ini tidak bermaksud memberi suatu analisa mendalam terhadap hubungan multilateral antara dua kawasan tersebut melainkan sebagai seorang yang bekerja di arsip, maka lebih menitik beratkan pada misinya yaitu menyampaikan apa saja yang ada dalam arsip khususnya hubungan dengan kawasan itu, seperti adanya perdamaian, pertentangan dan keterlibatan kolonial Belanda terhadap dua kawasan tersebut.

## HUBUNGAN MULTILATERAL DUA KAWASAN

Hubungan bilateral antara Indonesia – Malaysia sekarang ini, sebenarnya telah dilakukan sejak pada masa lalu ketika ke dua kawasan itu masih dalam bentuk kerajaan-kerajaan. Bahkan ketika bangsa asing berkuasa di kedua kawasan itu, hubungan tetap berjalan. Hubungan itu lebih diperkuat dengan adanya cerita rakyat bahwa puteri Bintan yang bernama Tun Sri Binai menikah dengan raja dari Bukit Siguntang dan menjadi raja pertama di Riau – Bintan. Dari perkawinan inilah menurunkan raja-raja Johor, Singapura, Melaka dan lain-lain.

*“pada masa itoe kapala prampoean nama jua toen Seri bineij ja la jang mengambil radja jang datang darie boekit siegoentang nama jua, satria ja la jang mendjadikan radja di Bintan maka toeroen toemoeroen dari pada satria boeana inie la asal radja melajoe sampeij malarat ka singapoera sampeij ke Malaka...”<sup>2</sup>*

Dalam perjalanan sejarah, Melaka dapat mencapai puncak kejayaan, bahkan Riau pun mengakui sebagai vasalnya. Tapi kejayaan ini pada tahun 1511 dipatahkan oleh Portugis dengan menduduki Melaka. Sultan Melaka menyingkir ke Pulau Penyengat (Bintan) – Riau, juga ke Lingga. Dengan sisa kekuatan yang ada lalu memindahkan pusat kekuasaannya ke Johor. Sejak itu Lingga tercatat sebagai tempat pelarian raja-raja kawasan Melayu.<sup>3</sup>

Melihat letak geografis Riau di mana lebih dari 93.4% berupa kepulauan<sup>4</sup> sehingga tidak heran bila kerajaan-kerajaan yang ada di kawasan Riau lebih mendukung kebudayaan kelautan. Hubungan internasional dilakukan melalui laut. Banyaknya Negara-negara lain

datang ke Riau membuat masyarakat Riau menjadi lebih terbuka menerima inovasi baru yang dibawa oleh tamu-tamu yang singgah dan datang ke sana. Tapi di sisi lain kerana letak geografi tersebut membuat kerajaan-kerajaan Riau – Semenanjung Melayu pada kurun waktu tertentu bersatu dan pada kurun waktu yang lain terpecah-pecah dalam kesultanan kecil-kecil. Sejarah perjalanan kerajaan di kedua kawasan itu selalu diwarnai dengan hal tersebut.

Kerjasama dan konflik di antara sesama di satu pihak memperkuat kerajaan tapi di pihak lain memperlemah masing-masing kerajaan. Antara konflik dan damai di kawasan kerajaan-kerajaan Melayu berabad yang lalu itu, dapat diketahui oleh generasi sekarang melalui arsip yang tersimpan di Arsip Nasional Indonesia, khususnya pada khazanah arsip Riau. Adalah suatu hal yang menguntungkan kerana Batavia merupakan pusat kantor dagang VOC di Asia (dan dilanjutkan pusat pemerintahan Hindia Belanda) di mana aturan birokrasi administrasi VOC yang mengharuskan semua laporan, korespondensi dengan negeri induk di Belanda atau dengan kamar dagang di Negara-negara lain harus ewat Batavia, sehingga Arsip Nasional Indonesia beruntung mewarisi arsip VOC yang terbanyak di semua bekas jajahan VOC mahupun yang ada di Holland sendiri. Ini sebabnya di Arsip Nasional Indonesia tersimpan informasi kegiatan VOC dengan kerajaan lokal di mana VOC berada mulai dari Tanjung Harapan (Kaap Goede Hoop di Afrika Selatan) sampai Deshima (di Jepang) termasuk di dalamnya Persia, India, Ceylon, Siam, Chochin China/Vietnam, Melaka, Formosa/Taiwan, Cina, Pilipina.<sup>5</sup> Itulah sebabnya segala informasi yang terjadi di daerah termasuk di Riau dan kawasan Semenanjung Melayu terdapat di Batavia. Khusus arsip Semenanjung Melayu yang tersimpan di Arsip Nasional Jakarta hanya terbatas pada saat Malaka di kuasai VOC 1641 sampai 1824 ketika diadakan tractat London antara Inggris dengan Belanda. Informasi mengenai Semenanjung Melayu pada periode itu tersimpan di Batavia. Sedang berbagai peristiwa yang terjadi di Semenanjung Melayu sebelum VOC berkuasa di Melaka dengan demikian tidak terdapat/ tidak terekam di Batavia, kecuali bila peristiwa itu berhubungan dengan wilayah di Indonesia seperti misalnya dengan Riau atau daerah Indonesia lainnya. Kerana itu jangan pergi ke Arsip Nasional Jakarta bila ingin mencari

informasi Semenanjung Melayu pada masa Portugis berkuasa atau bahkan sebelumnya selama tidak berhubungan dengan wilayah Indonesia.

Sejarah Riau tidak dapat dipisahkan dengan sejarah Melayu dalam imperium Melayu di bawah Malaka – Johor – Riau. Tapi dengan disetujuinya Tractat London 1824 antara Inggris dengan Belanda di mana Inggris menyerahkan Bengkulu kepada Belanda dan Belanda menyerahkan Melaka dan Singapura kepada Inggris, maka sejak itu kerajaan-kerajaan Melayu di sekitar Selat Melaka menjadi terbagi dua. Di bahagian utara selat di bawah pengaruh Inggris, dibagian bawah selat dan sekitar di bawah pengaruh Belanda iaitu Kepulauan Riau<sup>6</sup> Khazanah arsip Riau ini kaya informasi, tetapi perlu diingat pada dasarnya arsip merupakan peninggalan produk administrasi pemerintahan suatu negara dan tidak pernah dengan sengaja dibuat untuk bahan penelitian masa sekarang. Tapi ternyata *informational value* dan *evidential value* menjadi bukti/ *evidences* pada masa sekarang. Terlepas dari semua itu generasi sekarang dapat mengetahui secara utuh melalui arsip, bagaimana hubungan bilateral yang terjadi di antara dua kawasan itu pada saat di bawah kekuasaan bangsa asing.

Khazanah arsip Riau yang ada di Arsip Nasional Jakarta, dibuat atas perintah penguasa atau raja yang sedang berkuasa. Maka informasi yang direkam lebih terpusat pada persoalan di sekitar raja, istana, konflik, perebutan tahta, perang dan penaklukan kerajaan lain. Baru setelah abad 20 ketika Belanda telah berkuasa sepenuhnya di Riau dan kerajaan lokal dihapus, maka ditemukan informasi tentang perkembangan masyarakat, kaum kuli, pekerja, aktivitas lainnya, termasuk migrasi.

Walaupun kerajaan-kerajaan di kedua kawasan itu tidak lagi merdeka sepenuhnya kerana telah berada di bawah kekuasaan VOC dan dilanjutkan kolonial Belanda, di mana segala tindakan harus seijin VOC dan Belanda, tapi hubungan di antara mereka tetap mesra. Bagaimana mesranya hubungan antara raja Penyengat dan Lingga dengan raja Johor dapat dilihat pada arsip surat menyurat di antara mereka:

... *Wabadahoe, maka adalah kita makloemkan kepada Padoeka*

*Srie Sahabat Kita, ijang kita serta Srie Padoeka Toewan Sultan Lingga telah menerima soerat dari Maha radja Djohor, magsoednja menjilakan Srie Padoeka Toewan Sultan serta kita, datang berdjalandjan ke Djohor, adapoen seperti dija ijang hendak zijarah kapada kite dan kapada Srie Padoeka Toewan Sultan pada masa ini adalah terlalu oezoer dari sebab itoe sangatlah ija berhadjat hendak bertemoe kita serta Srie Padoeka Toewan Sultan dengan pertemoean seperti antera satoe saudara...*

Tertulis pada hari bulan Zulhijah (1891 M)

Tapi apakah dikata, kebebasan sepenuhnya tidak dimiliki oleh mereka lagi. Mereka harus tunduk pada saran yang diberikan Belanda:

*... Maka adalah dari hal SPSK soeka mendengar kita ampoenja pikiran fatsal SPSK dan SPT Sultan hendak berangkat ke Djohor karena disilahkan oleh maharadja Djohor, maka tiadalah kita benarkan, sebab di dalam pikiran kita mendjadi kurang elok diatas nama SPSK dan SPT Sultan. Maka boleh SPSK kirim satu mentri jang menoendjoekkan keselamatan dari SPSK dan dari SPT Sultan adanya...*

Residen van Riau 22 Juni 1891<sup>7</sup>

Sementara di sisi lain konflik yang terjadi di antara kerajaan Melayu dimanfaatkan Belanda untuk kepentingannya. Belanda memberi bantuan pada pihak yang lemah. Dengan alasan telah membantu menyelesaikan pertikaian yang terjadi, sudah sewajarnya Belanda mendapat imbalan berupa penguasaan wilayah tertentu. Taktik seperti ini dapat dilihat antara lain pada arsip *Cronicle van Singapore*, mengisahkan konflik yang terjadi antara Johor – Pulau Karimun – Belanda. Tersebutlah Sultan Mahmud raja Johor telah mangkat tanpa meninggalkan keturunan yang sah. Keadaan seperti ini dimanfaatkan oleh para bawahannya saling berebut menguasai daerah kekuasaannya. Tidak ada keputusan yang segera diambil atas pengganti takhta kerajaan, mempercepat proses perebutan bekas daerah kekuasaannya. Salah satu wilayah itu terletak di bahagian timur Semenanjung Melayu dan menyatakan diri lepas dari Johor dan menyebut diri Pahang. Kekacauan di Johor ini secara diam-diam diamati oleh kedua putera

tidak sah mendiang Sultan Johor yang bernama Abdul Rahman yang tinggal di Lingga dan Hussien Muhammad Syah yang tinggal di Singapura. Ke dua bersaudara ini sangat menuntut atas tahta itu, bahkan Pulau Karimun juga mereka *klaim* sebagai bekas milik ayah mereka, berada dibawah kekuasaan Johor. Tapi sayang tidak banyak bukti yang dimiliki bahwa mereka adalah putera mendiang sultan. Karena itu tidak dapat tinggal di istana dan mengembara antara Riau – Pahang – Terengganu sebelum masing-masing menetap di Lingga dan Singapura. Untuk memenuhi keinginan itu satu-satunya jalan yang dapat ditempuh dengan meminta bantuan Belanda yang berada di Riau (1891). Kelanjutannya dapat ditebak dengan politik *de vide et impera* satu per satu wilayah Riau dan Semenanjung Melayu berada dalam kekuasaan Belanda.<sup>8</sup>

Tidak banyak berbeza dengan wilayah Riau lainnya, Raja Johor Sultan Sulaiman pun harus rela menyerahkan Siak kepada Belanda 1745. Ini dapat terjadi karena Raja Kecil dari Riau – Siak berhasil menduduki Johor 1717 dan memproklamkan dirinya dengan gelar Sultan Djalil Rahmatsyah. Mengenai asal usul Raja Kecil ini adalah:

... *De vorst Marhaem kota Tinggi sultan van Djohor werd voor ruim 1 1/2 eeuw geleden op orde van zijn onderdanen de datoe bendahara en tomongong ver..., zijne eenige echtgenoot Inge Ipon genaamd zwanger, zijnde vlugte naar Singapura, alwaar zij een zoon baarde radja ketjil genaamd, welke met haar naar Djambi en van daar naar een vorst van Minangkabau vertrok door wiens hulp, hij op de troon van Djohor kwam. Hij stichte daarna Riau en werd vervolgens door zekere radja Sulaiman verdreven...*<sup>9</sup>

Raja Johor diturunkan dari takhta. Tapi putera Sultan Sulaiman lalu minta bantuan Belanda untuk menertibkan Siak dan berhasil. Atas jerih payah membantu Sultan Sulaiman maka VOC mendapat kompensasi. Wilayah Siak oleh Sultan Sulaiman diserahkan kepada VOC 1745.

... *nota van den Gouverneur Couperus in den jare 1792, aan de Hr. Vailant, verheul en Graevankin ingediend beweerd worden zijn. Dat siak een wetig eigendom van de VOC was, als aan dezelve in het jaar 1745 door den vorst van Djohor geschenken...*<sup>10</sup> Sejak itu Siak

tidak lagi merdeka, berada dibawah pengaruh VOC.

Informasi tentang kerajaan-kerajaan yang ada di Semenanjung Melayu memang cukup lumayan terdapat di Arsip Nasional Jakarta/Indonesia, terutama ketika mereka dalam kekuasaan VOC dan melakukan konteks baik bersifat politik, dagang dan persahabatan. Khazanah arsip di Arsip Nasional Jakarta banyak merakam informasi politik *de vide et impera* di kawasan Semenanjung Melayu itu. Selama masa kekuasaannya di Malaka 1641 – 1824 telah melakukan perjanjian-perjanjian dengan hampir seluruh wilayah Semenanjung itu mulai dari Johor, Pahang, Terengganu, Perak, Linggi, Naning, Rembau, Negeri Sembilan, Perak, Selangor.

### **INFORMASI UMUM KHAZANAH ARSIP DI ARSIP NASIONAL, JAKARTA**

Arsip Nasional Jakarta telah ada sejak 1925 jauh sebelum Republik Indonesia merdeka 1945, saat mana Indonesia dikuasai oleh Belanda dan kantor itu diberi nama 'S Lands archiev. Kantor ini mendapat hak dan wewenang penuh dari pemerintah kolonial untuk mengatur, menyimpan arsip sejak kedatangan Belanda yang pertama dengan nama VOC. Hak dan kewenangan ini telah diperkuat dengan perintah yang dikeluarkan sejak 1891 iaitu dengan diserukannya kepada seluruh daerah wajib menyerahkan arsip lamanya yang berasal dari masa sebelum 1830 ke Batavia.<sup>11</sup> Arsip yang tersimpan di Batavia ini menggambarkan segala aspek kehidupan ditingkat daerah dan itu mencerminkan memori kolektif daerah. Khazanah arsip yang tersimpan di Arsip Nasional Jakarta meliputi hampir empat abad, diciptakan oleh kekuasaan yang pernah ada, yaitu:

#### **a. Kekuasaan VOC 1602–1799**

Hadirnya kongsi dagang VOC sejak 1602–1799 di Hindia Belanda menghasilkan sejumlah arsip pula. Sebagai kantor dagang, VOC mendapat hak penuh dari pemerintah Belanda bukan hanya di bidang monopoli dagang tapi juga berkuasa atas Hindia Belanda melakukan kontrak dengan raja peribumi bahkan melakukan perang terhadap raja

pribumi. Namun sejauh ini dalam melebarkan kekuasaannya VOC tetap lebih mementingkan kepentingan dagangnya. Maksudnya bahwa daerah-daerah yang dapat menghasilkan komoditi eksportlah yang secara langsung dikuasai oleh VOC. Sedang daerah-daerah yang dianggap tidak memproduksi masih banyak mempunyai kebebasan melakukan berbagai aktivitas tanpa campur tangan VOC yang mendalam. Jadi jalur kekuasaan VOC hanya sepanjang kota-kota pantai serta beberapa pedalaman yang memproduksi.

Kemenangan dan kejayaan VOC musnah setelah mengalami kebangkrutan pada 31 Desember 1799. Semua tugas hak dan kewajiban VOC diambil alih pemerintah Belanda.

### **b. Kekuasaan Hindia Belanda**

Berbeda dengan arsip VOC, arsip masa pemerintah Hindia Belanda yang meliputi waktu 1799–1942 dengan masa *interregnum* kekuasaan Republik Bataav 1799–1811 dan kekuasaan Inggris 1811–1816<sup>13</sup>, berisi informasi segala hal yang berkenaan dengan peraturan tanah jajahan dalam hubungannya dengan negara induk. Pengaturan pemerintahan ini telah sampai pada tingkat desa. Kerana itu khazanah arsip masa pemerintahan Hindia Belanda bersisi berbagai catatan yang berkenaan dengan peraturan tanah jajahan dalam hubungannya dengan negara induk. Dalam perjalanan waktu terkumpullah sejumlah arsip yang diciptakan oleh pemerintah baik di tingkat pusat ataupun daerah. Itu sebabnya arsip daerah yang dikirim ke Batavia secara berkala memuat berbagai hal yang terjadi di tingkat lokal. Sementara informasi hingga tingkat lokal itu pada masa kini dapat dengan mudah diketemukan pada khazanah arsip di Arsip Nasional Jakarta.

### **c. Kekuasaan Pendudukan Jepang**

Selama masa kekuasaan pendudukan Jepang, dapat dikatakan tidak ada arsip yang diciptakannya. Untuk mengisi kekosongan informasi tersebut, maka Arsip Nasional Jakarta melakukan pengumpulan sumber dalam bentuk wawancara dengan para tokoh atau pelaku yang hidup pada itu. Wawancara ini dilakukan tidak terbatas hanya di tingkat

pusat tapi juga di tingkat daerah. Dengan demikian Arsip Nasional Jakarta telah memiliki koleksi kaset wawancara yang berisi informasi peristiwa yang terjadi di tingkat pusat dan daerah pada periode Jepang.

Di Arsip Nasional Jakarta telah tersimpan pula arsip yang sangat berharga sebagai tempat berpijak bagi perjalanan bangsa Indonesia menuju Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, yaitu khazanah arsip BPUPKI/PPKI. Memang arsip tersebut tercipta pada periode pendudukan Jepang, tapi bukan berarti diciptakan oleh bala tentara Jepang, tapi oleh sekelompok bangsa Indonesia yang sadar akan arti suatu kemerdekaan.

#### **d. Pemerintah Republik Indonesia**

Kehidupan selama masa perjuangan fisik mempertahankan kemerdekaan adalah masa-masa pahit getir yang dialami bangsa Indonesia. Peperangan banyak menghancurkan milik kita yang amat berharga, di antaranya adalah dokumen. Mungkin dokumen itu hilang, rusak, hancur kerana perang atau juga tercicir di tempat lain tanpa diketahui di mana. Yang jelas, khazanah arsip pada awal kemerdekaan hanya sedikit yang dapat terselamatkan, pada umumnya mengenai politik, kepartaian, perundang-undangan, pertahanan dan keamanan.

### **BAGAIMANA MENDAPATKAN ARSIP SEMENANJUNG MELAYU DI ARSIP NASIONAL, JAKARTA?**

#### **A. Melalui arsip *Algemeene Secretarie***

Dengan berakhirnya peranan kongsi dagang VOC tahun 1799, maka dimulailah bentuk kekuasaan pemerintahan di Indonesia dan diberi nama Hindia Belanda, berlangsung hingga masa pendudukan Jepang 1942. Arsip dari masa Hindia Belanda ini terhimpun dalam suatu jumlah besar yang disebut khazanah arsip *Algemeene Secretarie*. *Algemeene Secretarie* adalah unit administrasi pusat pemerintahan Hindia Belanda, yang sejak 1819 bertugas menangani urusan surat menyurat yang dilakukan oleh Gabenor Jeneral. Kedudukan kantor ini dapat dikatakan sangat penting. Kantor ini mempunyai kewajiban



menyediakan berbagai informasi yang diperlukan guna membantu kelancaran pengambilan keputusan dalam pelaksanaan kebijaksanaan yang digariskan oleh Gabenor Jeneral untuk memerintah dan mengatur tanah jajahan ini. Jadi melalui kantor ini Gabenor Jeneral mendapat informasi yang utuh tentang pengambilan keputusan dan penanganan atas berbagai hal yang telah dilakukan di masa lalu. Di sini dapat dilihat betapa besar nilai arsip bukan hanya sebagai sumber ingatan tapi sumber informasi yuridis administratif.

Dari kantor ini tercipta arsip sebagai hasil kegiatan dalam bentuk korespondensi, nota, laporan, surat keputusan, resolusi, telegram serta berita lain yang menyangkut hubungan antara pemerintah dengan penduduk di seluruh wilayah Hindia Belanda.

Arsip Algemeen Secretarie ditata dan dihimpun menurut sistem surat menyurat yang berlaku pada jamannya, yaitu system agenda, indeks dan register. Agenda mencatat jenis surat-surat yang keluar masuk secara *periodic*, sementara indeks memberikan acuan kepada nama orang, tempat dan perihal/masalah. Kedua cara ini bersama-sama disebut sistem register. Penyimpanannya pun mengikuti tatanan jenis surat yang dihasilkan, yaitu *besluiten* (surat keputusan), *missiven* (surat korespondensi), *komissorial* (semacam surat pengantar), *apostille dispositie* (semacam surat disposisi).

## **B. Melalui arsip Residensi Riau**

Suatu khazanah besar lainnya yang tidak dapat dikesampingkan adalah apa yang dinamakan **Arsip Daerah/ Gewestelijke Archieven**. Khazanah ini menghimpun arsip dari 45 daerah administratif di seluruh Hindia Belanda, meliputi:

- Pulau Jawa terdapat 27 daerah,
- Pulau Madura
- Pulau Sumatra meliputi lapan daerah
- Kalimantan Barat
- Kalimantan Tenggara
- Pulau Sulawesi meliputi tiga daerah
- Kepulauan Maluku meliputi tiga daerah

Pulau Bali  
Pulau Timor.

Arsip daerah ini dihimpun dalam bundel-bundel yang diberi nomor urut. Setiap bundel dapat terdiri dari beberapa berkas arsip atau hanya satu berkas saja. Jumlahnya cukup banyak, seperti misal khazanah arsip yang berjumlah lebih dari seribu bundel:

arsip Ambon berjumlah 1621 bundel  
arsip Semarang berjumlah 1581 bundel  
arsip Surabaya 1342 bundel

Sementara yang berjumlah hanya ratusan adalah Makasar, Menado, Riau, Kalimantan Barat, Kalimantan Tenggara, Banda, Batavia. Sedang daerah lainnya hanya terdiri kurang dari 10 hingga 20 bundel. Periode yang dicakupnya pada umumnya adalah abad 18, 19 dan awal abad 20. Melihat jenis isi informasi yang terdapat di dalamnya, khazanah arsip daerah ini amat berharga untuk diteliti.

Khazanah arsip Residensi Riau yang tersimpan di Arsip Nasional Jakarta meliputi tahun 1621–1913, terdiri dari 236 nomor inventaris, 675 bundel (sebahagian besar tebal tiap bundel 10 sampai 20 cm) serta jika disimpan secara berjajar (linier) mencapai 27 m<sup>3</sup>. Informasi yang terkandung dalam khazanah ini sangat beragam.

Jadi secara ringkas dapat dikatakan bahawa khazanah arsip VOC dan arsip Residensi Riau merupakan langkah awal suatu penelusuran arsip. Langkah selanjutnya melakukan penelitian arsip *Algemeene Secretarie* yang memberikan petunjuk: masalah, peristiwa atau kejadiannya, orang-orang yang terlibat, keputusan yang diambil oleh pemerintah dan sebagainya. Penelitian ini dilakukan melalui indeks dan agenda *Algemeene Secretarie*. Memang melakukan penelitian arsip memerlukan ketelitian, sabar dan kesungguhan. Belum lagi kenyataan yang ditemui selalu ada kemungkinan tidak lengkap, hilang atau tidak diketemukan lagi. Halangan lain yang harus dihadapi peneliti sekarang adalah soal bahasa dan tulisan (tangan) yang terdapat dalam arsip menimbulkan hambatan bagi sejumlah peneliti. Arsip pada masa ko-lonial sudah tentu tertulis dalam bahasa yang digunakan pemerintah

Hindia Belanda iaitu bahasa Belanda. Namun demikian bahasa daerah juga bisa ditemukan seperti pada arsip kontrak, perjanjian dengan penguasa setempat, surat permohonan dari penduduk peribumi, tetapi jumlahnya kecil dibanding dengan arsip yang berbahasa Belanda.

Karena Arsip Nasional Jakarta mewarisi arsip masa kolonial yang berisikan data perjalanan sejarah bangsa Indonesia, maka arsip hingga 1942 hampir seluruhnya ditulis dengan tangan dalam bahasa Belanda. Walaupun pada awal abad 20 sudah ditulis dengan mesin ketik, tapi sebagian besar masih dalam tulisan tangan dan ini bagi peneliti masa sekarang diperlukan keahlian khusus memahami gaya/model tulisan tangan jurutulis (kerani) pada zaman yang berbeza.

## **PENUTUP**

Pada akhir bentangan makalah ini saya menghimbau kepada para peserta dan peminat kajian untuk memanfaatkan khazanah arsip di Arsip Nasional Jakarta, Indonesia agar menjadi sumber primer penelitian dalam bidang hubungan multilateral Melayu Riau dengan Kawasan Semenanjung Melayu khususnya pada masa kolonial Belanda.

Materi hubungan multilateral kedua kawasan itu meliputi seputar kerajaan kedua kawasan, administrasi pemerintahan, hubungan antara kerajaan-kerajaan dengan pemerintah kolonial Belanda. Terdapat beberapa daftar rujukan khazanah arsip yang memuat informasi tentang kerajaan-kerajaan di Semenanjung Melayu dalam hubungan dengan pemerintah kolonial Belanda.

## DUTCH SOURCES IN SRI LANKA RELATING TO MALAYSIAN HISTORY

Dr K D Paranavitana



**T**HE island of Sri Lanka is situated adjacent to the southern point of the Indian sub continent. This strategically important island in the Indian Ocean was formerly named as 'Ceylon'. In this paper it will be referred to as Sri Lanka. It is about one half of the size in extent to that of the Malay peninsula. The territory

administered by the Dutch East India Company (*VOC*) in Sri Lanka in 17th and 18th centuries was the second largest of their possessions in the East. In the instructions issued by the Governor General and Council of the *VOC* in Jakarta (Batavia) to the Governor of Ceylon, the island has been described as "a valuable jewel among the possessions of the Company".<sup>1</sup> Thus it played a vital role in international and intra-asian trade and as an integrated unit of the Company's administrative system in the East. Sri Lanka, therefore, possesses a considerable amount of records relating to the other Dutch settlements in the East Indies. It is quite appropriate to consider the Dutch sources available in Sri Lanka in an investigation of sources relating to the Malaysian history in the other parts of the world.

It would be appropriate to examine the relevant facts under two broad categories, namely,

- (a) a brief account of the relationship between the two countries and
- (b) the available primary sources in particular.

As regards the ancient relationship between the two countries, Prof. S. Paranavitana, the former Archaeological Commissioner of Sri Lanka had made a separate publication under the title

*Ceylon and Malaysia* (Colombo, 1966). The contents of this work subsequently became controversial among the historians. He, however, had delved into the subject in great detail. Sri Lanka and Malaysia have developed close relations from the time immemorial. The reason for this, most probably, is their geographical position in the Indian Ocean. One could imagine of a possible establishment of a straight travel route through the Indian Ocean between a port in the east coast of Sri Lanka and a port in the west coast of the Malay peninsula.

Both countries have undergone considerable periods of domination by the western colonial powers in the past four and a half centuries, which had created a remarkable mutual heritage in the spheres of trade, religion and culture. The well known Dutch writer Phillipus Baldaeus in his work *Description of Ceylon* states that 'the Portuguese captain Laurencio de Almuida discovered Sri Lanka while giving chase to the fugitive moors who fled from Malacca and Sumatra through Maldives to Arabia'.<sup>2</sup> Since then, according to Crowford<sup>3</sup> and Sirisena<sup>4</sup> the troubled waters of the Indian Ocean in the early 16th century paved the way to establishing a considerable Malay community in Sri Lanka. Although this view has been challenged by several scholars including Hussainmiya,<sup>5</sup> we cannot ignore the fact that there was an inflow of Malays to Sri Lanka during the Portuguese regime. There is substantial evidence to establish the fact that the present Malay community in the island carries its origin to the Dutch period (1640-1796) of the history of Sri Lanka.<sup>6</sup>

The Portuguese expanded their power both in the port of Malacca and the ports in Sri Lanka during the same period in history. In similar manner the Dutch too controlled Malacca and Sri Lanka simultaneously. During the time of Governor Rijcklof van Goens, (1660-61, 1663, 1664-75) who masterminded the victories in Sri Lanka and India, held the position of the Superintendent and Admiral of waters, land and coasts of India, Coromandel, Surat, Ceylon, Bengal and Malacca with a fleet of 16 ships and 700 soldiers.<sup>7</sup>

The trade route between Batavia and the ports of call in the region and the commodities available for trade are cleverly enumerated in the following description of Baldaeus.

'The cargo of these vessels [passing Malacca] generally consists of Japans screens copper, silver, bars of copper, alum, gold; Chinese tea; Formozaanze soft sugar and Malacca tin. As these vessels also touch Columbo and the Malabaar coast on their return homewards, they take in there a supply of cinnamon, pepper, and cardamoms. These vessels remain abroad for a considerable time, they leave Batavia, in May for Japan, and Tajouan, and after Japan they reach Malacca in December, thence they bend their course via the Nicebaris islands to Ceylon and proceed by Malabaar to Suratta and Persia and back again in Ceylon with Suratta and Persia cargo in May, when they sail for the Choromandel coast where they take in a further cargo of linen, dyed clothes, and other articles of merchandize and then steer direct for Batavia, where they arrive in June or July following'.<sup>8</sup>

This was not an uncommon movement of vessels engaged in contemporary trading activities in the Indian Ocean.

Attention has to be drawn to the historic City of Malacca with which the history of Malaysia is interwoven for more than six centuries. The Portuguese records acclaimed that 'Malacca was the place where one trade wind ends and another begins'. According to some other legend 'Malacca has its hands on the throat of Venice'. The Portuguese held Malacca from 1511 to 1641, five years less than the time they ruled Sri Lanka. In 1640 the Portuguese were ousted from their stronghold in Galle, Sri Lanka by the Dutch and one year later a similar event repeated in Malacca. The Dutch handed over Malacca to the British in consequence to the treaty of London which concluded in 1824. Similarly the Dutch possessions in Sri Lanka were handed over to the British in 1796.

Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch rule was organised by a trading Company referred to as the Dutch East India Company. The objective of the Company was to gain profits of trade. Its administrative center in the East Indies was established in Batavia, present Jakarta in 1619. During the period between 1619 and 1650 the Company established

a chain of governments, forts and factories from Cape of Good Hope, Persia, India, Sri Lanka and through the Indonesian archipelago to Japan. All such settlements and the ships belonged to the Company and sailing on the eastern seas came under the authority of the High Government or

*Hooge Regering* in Batavia. The instrument issued by the Board of Directors of the Company in The Netherlands in 1650 listed 32 such Governments and establishments<sup>9</sup> funded by the Company. Out of these there were nine governments under the control of the High Government in Batavia. Sri Lanka and Malacca too were among them.<sup>10</sup>

Now attention has to be drawn to investigate the available Sri Lankan Dutch sources that would contribute to the historiography of Malaysia in general and Malacca in particular. The primary Dutch sources available in this connection are scanty and infrequent. Their locations can be traced only after careful examination of relevant series of archives. The Dutch government of Sri Lanka had regular contacts with stations such as Surat, Bengal, Malacca, Persia, Padang, Siam and Canton. These stations were referred to as 'Western Comptoirs' of the Dutch East India Company and have been linked with each other.

As far as the archives are concerned, Sri Lanka has three major series of records dealing with Malaysia, especially Malacca. The first series is the Minutes of the Dutch Political Council in Colombo and their annexes.<sup>11</sup> It is the record group No 1 in the holdings of the National Archives of Sri Lanka. As regards the political council minutes the administrators have been more concerned with the matters of utmost and immediate relevance to the Company such as trade and profits. These minutes contain information regarding early arrivals of groups of people from Malay peninsula and Java. Some annexes of minutes give full lists of names of people who brought from Malaya. It also contains interesting information regarding the arrivals and activities in Sri Lanka of the princely exiles from Malaya and Java. The Dutch used the common appellation to denote Malays on the pretext that geographically they came from the east and therefore

used the term Easterners or *Oosterlingen* in many of their documents. It is a collective identification given by the Dutch to those who were of Malayan or Javan descent. When the Malay community grew considerably their identity too was gradually established under the local Malay culture. All the eastern nationalities throughout the island during the Dutch times such as Malays and Javanese also merged to the Malay community around 1782 and formed one community referred to as 'Ceylon Malays'.

The second series is the inward and outward correspondence.<sup>12</sup> In this series there is no special set of files for correspondence with Malacca. However, the letters are found frequently among the files of correspondence with Surat and Bengal. Some original letters from Malacca are bound up with the secret letters from Batavia. In a way this is more logical from the point of view of geography. Copies of a considerable number of correspondence between the government of Batavia and stations such as Surat and Bengal are to be found among the annexes to the letters from Batavia.<sup>13</sup> The High Government of Batavia was anxious to keep the Dutch Government of Sri Lanka informed of what was going on in the eastern comptoirs or settlements. Some of these annexes also dealt with Malacca and Persia. In my investigation, I found no extraordinary documents among the inward and outward correspondence relevant to Sri Lanka and Malaysia. They deal mainly with the transshipment of cargo and some shipping intelligence. One noteworthy matter recorded is relating to the transport of the Buddhist religious dignitary from Thailand via Malacca to the kingdom of Kandy in Sri Lanka.

It will be unfair not to make any reference to the third category of records, i.e. the Malay books and manuscripts discovered in Sri Lanka in April /May 1975, while in possession of personalities of Malay origin in Sri Lanka. These books and documents, although not written in Dutch, were said to have brought along with Malay and Java exiles during the Dutch period of the history of Sri Lanka. Some of them have been written in Javi script known as *Gundul* among the Sri Lankan Malays. These books and manuscripts brought to the National Archives of Sri Lanka are deposited under private collection



No. 25. 25. The books and manuscripts accessed to the National Archives in Sri Lanka can be divided into five broad categories.

1. The stories of the Prophet of Allah.
2. Pre-Islamic literature of Malayan archipelago.
3. Post-Islamic literature of Malayan archipelago influenced by Persian and Indian tales.
4. The commonly known Islamic religious text on theories of Sufism, etc.
5. The original works of Sri Lankan Malay, Arabic-Tamil literature.

Finally, it is quite interesting to note that the Sri Lankan Malays, who were in possession of books and manuscripts referred to above, could neither read the Javi scripts nor speak Malay in their day to day life. However, the Malay language in vogue among the Malays in Sri Lanka is quite different from the Malay that is spoken at present in Malaysia.

To wind up my brief description on dutch sources available in Sri Lanka, I should stress the need for further research by scholars who are conversant in Malay and Dutch languages. I hope this seminar will be a useful endeavour towards achieving that objective.

## 400 YEARS OF THE VOC

Ruud Spruit



**W**E the happy few, the lucky and privileged ones, do have the time and the opportunity to pore over books, to study the archives, to discuss a broad variety of issues and to become aware of the affairs of the world - like the people in the strange story of the Dutch who sailed East in the heydays of the VOC. Most people in Asia as well as in Holland and Europe in general, do not have any idea about VOC history, let alone the motives of the merchants and sailors, the feelings of the people in the countries visited or that of the people back home in Holland. In spite of the radical changes in the sources of information across the centuries our ignorance remains the same.

The chief means of informing a broad public has always been, and continues to be through visualisation. In the past the possibilities were rather limited, but now there are far too many.

Let us go back to the days of the first voyages of the Dutch to Asia. There were no television sets, nor magazines - only a few books to be read. The entire library of an important university like Leiden could be housed in a single average sized room. It was possible for a scholar to read all the books available in a university. Only the very rich did have paintings in their homes; even prints were too expensive. People were not mobile like these days. They passed the best part of their lives in their small towns or little villages, venturing just a few trips into the surroundings. So their impressions were quite limited. Just imagine when something like an accident happened; it was the talk of the day and lasted long after. Telling stories was very important. People could use their imagination. They had an open mind. Just imagine when a

sailor came home from a voyage to the other end of the world. People did not have any idea about the world outside. For them other people, animals, flowers, landscapes not similar to what surrounded them were above their imagination. They could not understand what the sailors had seen. They could not differentiate reality from imagination. If there could be an animal like an elephant, and in the seventeenth century one was brought to Amsterdam and if the famous painter Rembrandt could leave his studio in a hurry to make sketches of the animal he had never seen before, why should there not be monsters in the depths of the dangerous seas and evil creatures like mermaids seducing the sailors. They were eager to know, but at the same time shuddered at the risk that was involved. Artists produced drawings based on stories told by the sailors.

The illustrations were duplicated in various forms, as woodcuts, etchings or engravings. The rich started collecting prints and artefacts brought by the sailors, and stored them in their cabinets as rarities. The common people sometimes had the luck to see these prints in an inn where the innkeeper made the stay in the tavern extra pleasant by passing the prints around. People gazed at these prints for hours. The impressions were etched in their brains, engraved in their memory. Over and over they discussed the prints and slowly they got a slight notice of an other world outside their familiar surroundings.

These days people are exposed to an overwhelming amount of impressions. Pictures are everywhere, internet and the television present large volumes of images on all kinds of subjects. For modern man, the problem is not about obtaining, but rather of selecting the right images. I would like to draw your attention for a moment to the influence that pictures of both the past and the present bear on our visualisation of Asian countries, at this opportune moment of the forthcoming 400th anniversary of the founding of the VOC in 1602.

### **Company and Government**

The Dutch started visualising about Asian countries ever since they first set foot there in 1596. Some of these works, especially those describing fortresses and trading-posts, were of considerable strategic importance, and infinite care and precision were bestowed on them. Quite often illustrations were added by the administrators of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

They proved particularly useful to governors-general like Pieter Both and Jan Pietersz Coen in justifying the immense cost of defence all over VOC – territory (from the Malay Peninsula in the west to Amboina in the east) to the heads of the Company in Holland known as the “*Heren Zeventien*” (literally Seventeen Gentlemen) who had, as a general goal, the making of as much profit as possible without having to spend too much money.

The economically-minded VOC did not care to add professional artists to their already extensive pay-roll, but merchants, clerks or pastors skilled in the use of pen and pencil could easily be found in the Company’s settlements, just like helmsmen or surgeons able to sketch the people, animals and products of the places where the VOC-ships made their landfalls. The earliest maps thus abound with little drawings of bays, coral-reefs, volcanos and other landmarks, for the benefit of future voyages. The well-known volume *Begin ende Voortgang* (Amsterdam, 1645), an account of the VOC’s early history, contains some interesting examples. Some of these images were published, as engravings, or as illustrations for the printed versions of those travelling-journals which, in 17th and 18th-century Holland, were bestsellers. Still, no one who had not actually been there could really imagine the exotic worlds of the Far-East, so every returning sailor was sure of finding enthusiastic audiences in his home and the taverns, and the engravings and journals were printed again and again. Well-known examples are Joan Nieuwhof’s *Gedenkwaerdige Lant en Zeereise* (1682) and Francois Valentijn’s *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (1724-26).

Oriental images were also favoured as decorations on tiles, furniture, silver and glass-work. That reality was often interpreted rather freely as shown by pictures of terrifying sea-monsters, bizarre tribes of headless men with faces on their chests. A rather painful tragedy struck at the life-work of Georg Everhard Rumphius. Rumphius, born in Hanau, Germany in 1627, was a merchant in the employ of the VOC on the island of Hitu between 1657 and 1670. There he depicted the flora and fauna of the Moluccas with infinite precision. In the next years, which were spent on Amboina, an eye-disease left him almost blind, and to make matters worse his home and all his papers were lost in a fire. Yet, with the assistance of his son he completed six richly illustrated folio-volumes, but after his death in 1702 they were kept under lock and key by the Gentlemen in Amsterdam

until their final release and publication in the years 1741-55 as the seven-volume *Herbarium Amboinense*, a standard work on the flora and fauna of the eastern Archipelago still used today.

### **Authors and artists**

Looking through the archives and collections of prints, all kinds of pictures are to be found. But only a few of the makers are known by name, like Rumphius. In the days of the VOC there was no protection of the rights of an artist like in our time. On the contrary, numerous copies were made, including engravings based on anonymous drawings. Some of the artists had never even been to Asia. The main thing for the VOC were the maps. The skipper of every ship had the order to compare the maps with the actual situation on the ground, and to add corrections thereto. In order to be able to identify the exact locations, coastlines were drawn, emphasising distinctive features such as islands, coral reefs, and unique mountain formations. These maps were classified as top-secret. As soon as the ship entered the harbour the maps had to be brought to the VOC office and hidden behind seal and lock. At home in Amsterdam the maps were printed and decorated in a beautiful way. Rich merchants used maps of less strategic importance as a decoration on the walls of their homes as can be seen on paintings like those of Johannes Vermeer. To give information on the products, drawings were made of plants, trees, flowers etc. so that the merchants could recognize the mostly unknown trees that they wanted to buy fruits of, such as cloves or nutmeg.

These pictures were also shown to the merchants in Asian countries for the same purpose. The illustrations also served to present the VOC board at home with an impression of all the work that was done in Asia: especially fortresses, warehouses, harbours and other buildings. In this way, governors like Jan Pietersz Coen tried to obtain more money in order to continue their work. Very seldom was a real artist sent to Asia for this purpose, for there were people staying in Asia for various reasons such as Reverends, merchants and travellers who produced drawings or collected information and prints for the purpose of publications. One of them was Francois Valentijn (1656-1727). Valentijn stayed on as a Reverend in the Indonesian island of Ambon, one of



the rare places in Indonesia completely occupied by the VOC because of the important cloves that grew there in abundance. During his stay on the island of Ambon, Valentijn collected all kinds of materials about Indonesia and other Asian countries like maps, portraits and drawings of buildings. His work was published as a sort of encyclopaedia in the Netherlands and became a best seller. Now these books are very rare and expensive, but in the year 2002 a complete facsimile of them will be published. Olfert Dapper, born in about 1635 was a scholar who studied geography and medicine. He never left Amsterdam but collected every information and picture he could get about Africa, China, Persia and other countries in the VOC area. His books were published in Amsterdam in 1668 and two years later also in Germany. Cornelis de Bruijn (1652-1708) was a traveller-artist. He travelled overland to Asia in 1701 via Russia and Persia, and arrived after an adventurous tour, in Sumatra. De Bruijn had an interest in the religion and the culture of the people he met during his journey and made notes and drawings. One of the most talented chartmakers was Johannes Vingboons who, despite never having been in Asia had, however, collected the information that the captains and merchants brought home from their voyages and made beautiful maps and birds-eye views of towns like Malacca and Batavia with an amazing and striking accuracy.

## Scientific Documentation

At the end of the 18th century a completely new sort of interest in faraway places and people manifested itself in Europe. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the population of the overseas territories were thought of as 'heathens' who might accomplish wondrous and wonderful feats but were fated to remain somehow inferior to western man. But as Enlightenment won over the intellectual elites, a more scientific approach to the study of these lands was adopted. With the particular aim of documenting the exotic cultures, wildlife and vegetation of their dominions, the European colonial powers started to organize expeditions, one more prestigious than the other. In the VOC territory of what is today known as the Indonesian Archipelago, the Batavian Society for the Arts and Sciences was founded in 1778. In the years to come until the end of the colonial age, the Society was to play a crucial role in re-cording ancient and contemporary cultures in Asia. A new trend emerged amongst artists in the colony, inspired by a belief that documentary art must be true to life. In the Indies, artists were first employed during the archaeological expedition into Central Java of 1805-07. On the initiative of Nicolaus Engelhard, governor of East Java, the three main buildings of the Prambanan complex near Yogyakarta were completely cleaned and delineated under military supervision. The resulting enormous production of 193 sheets of drawings by lieutenant-engineer Her-man Christiaan Cornelius (1774-1833), cornet Johan Willem Bartholomeus Wardenaar (1785-after 1833) and one cadet Van der Geugten, is now in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. Some years later, during the British interregnum in the East Indies (1811-1816), Lieutenant-Governor Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles ordered further archaeological investigations in Java, for which Wardenaar and Cornelius made the original drawings, which were subsequently featured as engravings in Raffles' *The History of Java* (1817).

As soon as Dutch authority was restored in the Archipelago in 1816, King Willem I despatched the German-born professor Reinwardt to the Indies, in his capacity as 'governor to the cause of the Arts and Sciences'. Under his guidance three skilled draughtsmen and painters, i.e. the brothers Adrianus Johannes Bik (1790-1872) and Jannes Theodorus Bik (1796-1875) as well as the Belgian Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1785-1853), demon-

strated impressive perseverance and precision in picturing Central Java's antiquities. After Reinwardt's leave in 1822, all three of them accompanied governor-general Van der Capellen on his inspection-tour of the Moluccas and other parts of the eastern Archipelago. The resulting artistic treasures are now in the Royal Cabinet of Prints, Amsterdam and the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. Many artists, whose aims in choosing various aspects of the Indies as the object of their drawings were as often scientific as not, followed in Bik's and Payen's footsteps. Hubertus Nicolaas Sieburgh (1799-1842), Abraham Salm (1801-1876), Quirijn Maurits Rudolph VerHuell (1787-1860), Auguste van Pers (1815-1871), Ernest Alfred Hardouin (1820-1853) and Frans Carel Wilsen (1813-1889) in particular deserve mention. In 1849-53 the latter was directly employed by the Batavian Society for the Arts and Sciences. His self-appointed task was the visual documentation of the Archipelago's antiquities - the Borobudur and other Central Javanese temples. It is self-evident that exactitude was the yard-stick of this scientific work, but often the paintings and pictures were real pieces of art. Unfortunately this trend in colonial drawing became superfluous when photography was introduced to the Indies just after the 1850s.

### **Orientalism: The Quest for the Ideal East**

In spite of such casual contacts with the Indies and their artists, Dutch painting, as opposed to that of the French or German, was hardly influenced by the East as yet. Neither the Hague School nor the Amsterdam Impressionists (the leading Dutch movements), produced more than a few works featuring the Indies or the East. Whereas the works of Delacroix, for instance, were dominated by Orientalism following his visit to Algeria in 1832, the Dutch were loyal to their grey skies and kept to the dunes, the woods and heathlands of the Veluwe, or the Nieuwkoop lakes. Rather a big difference as compared to the compulsory trips 16th and 17th-century painters would make to the sunny south - after which they would usually prove unable to shake off the airy, Italianate touch.

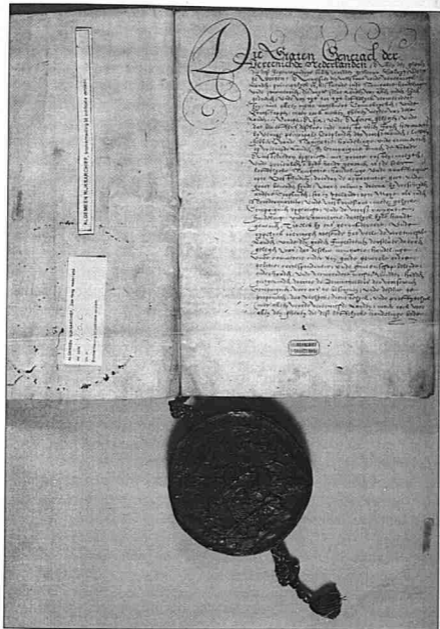
A mere handful of Dutch artists ventured into the Indies before the late 19th century. They were mostly pleasantly surprised by the bustle of colour and incident awaiting them, but afterwards they usually continued using their



birthland's modest, wet colours as if nothing had happened. Evidently these pioneers still felt complete strangers with the cultures and peoples in the Indies. With Multatulian ideas swaying Holland at that time the Dutch might have stopped eyeing the 'Natives' in their approved superior manner, but real involvement and understanding were still a long way off.

An unpublished licentiate for Ghent University by Dr. Victor Ido van der Wall, *De invloed van het tropisch milieu op de Nederlandsche schilderkunst der laatste vijftig jaren* (literally, the influence of the tropical environment on Dutch painting during the last fifty years) is typical in this way, although it dates from as late as about 1938: 'That which holds true for eastern nature also holds true for the eastern people. They too are enfolded in that inscrutability and are past masters at hiding their inner life behind immovable mask – especially with westerners. They conceal their every emotion, even to the point where it becomes second nature, and evil intent or suspicious motives should in no way be assumed. Many optimistic westerners will persevere in their belief that a long stay in the East must deepen their insight into the eastern psyche. We may have gained some superficial understanding of their souls, but penetrating its essence is a different thing altogether.' Contemporary literature manifests the same inability. In Maria Dermout's novel *De tienduizend dingen* (Ten thousand things) a doctor comments on the Alifuru tribe of Ceram thus: 'Their warriors are splendid (...) in their ritual finery completely naked except for a waist-high pubic belt of milkwhite rind, their hair done up high over a coconut-shell or a piece of wood and adorned with the plumes of the bird of paradise and a garland of white shells (...). I won't deny that their warriors are impressive in full fig and I'd like to meet one of them some day, but on the premise that I too shall be wearing my articles of war. And I do think their habit of headhunting deserves correction, magic or no magic.' And in the following scene from Madelon Szekely-Lulof's novel *Rubber* (1931), an estate-worker has been provoked into killing an overseer: 'The coolie stood up without resistance, drew his sarong over his shoulders, and followed the mandoor without a word, walking, in accordance with customary deference two steps behind him. His instinct had had free run. His eye had been darkened and he had killed. That was all.'

This disorientation is also manifest in the painters' approach. As Van der Wall wrote, 'to many western painters the outer aspect of eastern man



Charter of VOC, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag, Netherlands.

remains an unsolvable mystery as well. Racial characteristics, physical form bearing and gesture - all highly determined by these people's attitudes to, and stations in life - are stumbling-blocks. Therefore their typical way of life, of movement and dressing, their art and religion, and all their other cultural attainments should be subjected to very serious study to begin with. That is the only way to reach that ultimate ideal: a vision of the East bespeaking the essence of the eastern people, and one which they themselves will be able to recognize as such.' After mentioning the various racial features, he concludes: 'But although they may be so different in so very many ways, there is still one characteristic shared by all: inscrutable mystery. A western painter who cannot suggest and interpret this, will never be an important Orientalist.' Still, to some Dutch painters the Indies turned out to be the fulfilment of long-cherished dreams and desires or, on the other hand, the confirmation of their long-established prejudices. To Marius Bauer, one of Holland's few true Orientalists, the Indies and, especially India, were the fairytale world of his childhood albums. Rudolf Bonnet rediscovered the lost paradise of genuine friendship in Bali. Isaac Israels, however, was fascinated by, but certainly not truly interested in Java's and Bali's exotic wealth of colour.

### **The Other Way Around**

In the eyes of the Europeans people from the Orient were strange and exotic, and perceived as people belonging to another world. To take something from their lifestyle was trendy, one could claim to be a "man of the world" by having objects or decorations Asia. In the 18th and again the 19th and beginning of the 20th century it was fashionable to use Chinese decorations on tiles, to put Chinese porcelain on small pedestals on the wall or even have complete Chinese rooms in the house. Artists like Vincent van Gogh were influenced by Chinese and Japanese prints in their paintings. It was the other way around for the people from Asia who were surprised about the Dutch. They were, for example, described in Chinese encyclopaedias as the red barbarians from the West. They were bereft of good manners and decorum; and did not wash themselves. They were tall, had large noses and were big footed. The Japanese prints provided a view of these foreigners staying in an inn, with the curious Japanese people trying to catch a glimpse of these "monstrous" people. The Dutch were depicted on porcelain, carved in ivory

netsukes and cut in leather as Indonesian wayang puppets. Governor Coen and his wife are portrayed in a wayang play as the great Jan Kung, a descendent of Emperor Alexander the Great. And when in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Dutch artist Nieuwenkamp, obtained permission to roam around the hitherto unknown island of Bali on his bicycle he was astonished to see the artists of Bali working on their temples, The Balinese artists watched the stranger, and immortalised him and his bicycle in stone relief on a temple which exists to this day.

### **The Abundance of Television and Internet**

In our days there is an overwhelming amount of information about countries and issues all over the world. There is so much information that it is almost impossible for the average person to have any idea about what life was like in the times of the VOC. The year 2002 in the Netherlands will be devoted to the memory of the foundation of the VOC four hundred years ago. There is a great deal of interest in the Netherlands for all kinds of reasons. In this age of big multinationals and corporate mergers, people are naturally inclined to compare the present with the past. The modern day curiosity about the past results from removal of barriers to travelling around the world, including places where sailors of old had once journeyed and dwelled in the days of the VOC. Besides, in our time where things are regulated in every way, there is a countervailing desire for adventures and unexpected turn of events.

The anniversary celebrations will be greeted by expositions, lectures, tours and various other programmes relating to the VOC. As for my own museum, we are planning to organise an exposition. In addition, I will have the pleasure of producing two series of television programmes on the VOC - one about monuments like fortresses, warehouses, company buildings etc. as silent witnesses of the past. The other series is about the people of the VOC: merchants, sailors, the wives of those men, the soldiers in the fortresses and the people they met in Asia. I hope that these films can help show people from another time and another world via television, in the same way as the sailors of the 17<sup>th</sup> century attempted to do in the taverns with their prints and their stories.



## TWO COLONIAL PORT-TOWNS IN THE STRAITS OF MELAKA DUTCH-MELAKA AND ENGLISH-PENANG

Nordin Hussin



**T**HE aim of this paper is to look at the differences and similarities between an English and a Dutch colonial port-town. The scope of the discussion covers the definition of and the differences between a colonial port-town and a pre-industrial town. The paper is arranged into two parts. The first section will highlight the characteristics of a colonial port-town and the differences and similarities between an English and Dutch port-town. The second will deal with the morphology, foundation and the geography of both Dutch-Melaka as well as English-Penang.

Melaka was the first port-town in Southeast Asia to be occupied by an European power when in 1511 the Malay kingdom centred there was defeated by the Portuguese. In the ensuing decades and centuries, many more important port-towns of Southeast Asia were either seized or "opened up" by other European powers, such as Manila by the Spanish; Batavia, Makassar and Melaka by the Dutch; and Penang and Singapore by the English. This European intrusion into Southeast Asia resulted in the emergence of many colonial port-towns<sup>1</sup>. Although this development began in the early sixteenth century, the fundamental and radical changes in Southeast Asian society only took place in the midnineteenth century<sup>2</sup>. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, colonial port-towns were confined to small areas and limited boundaries but by the midnineteenth century, the gap between the port-towns and their hinterland had changed drasti-

cally. This was partly due to the expansion of the town's population which resulted in the town's boundary expanding and merging with its hinterland.

A definition of a colonial town is provided by Anthony D. King who notes the following characteristics:

- (i) dominance by a foreign minority, racially (or ethnically) different, of an indigenous population, and inferior from a material standpoint
- (ii) the linking of radically different civilisations in some form of relationship (this is perhaps the special task of the colonial city)
- (iii) the imposition of an industrialised society onto a non-industrialised one (this, of course, applies only from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries) in
- (iv) an 'antagonistic relationship' where the colonial people were 'subjected as instruments of colonial power'<sup>3</sup>.

A colonial town had its own unique features that distinguished it from preindustrial towns<sup>4</sup>. As we shall see, these unique features can be seen in the administration, the society, and the relationship between all the ethnic groups. Some colonial port-towns were formerly sites of native kingdoms which were later occupied and administered by colonial powers<sup>5</sup>. Others were newly created by the colonial masters who settled and built their administrative centres in strategic locations of Southeast Asia such as Penang, Singapore and Batavia.

Most colonial towns were major ports which served as receiving and export centres for the colonial empires. As such, they became the focus of the colonial power's interest. Colonial port-towns served as a microcosm of colonial society and as 'a political, military, economic, religious, social, and intellectual entrepot between the colonizers and colonized'<sup>6</sup>. Some colonial towns were set apart from the native societies in which they were placed. Nevertheless, over the centuries, the character of colonial towns changed. Most colonial towns had a low percentage of white inhabitants and a high percentage of natives and immigrants. Studies have suggested that colonial towns had a more pluralistic population composition than other towns and could accommodate separate ethnic communities with different life styles.

Most of these port-towns were established on sites which functioned as centres of trade, commerce, transport and administration. Since most of the population in the Southeast Asian region was concentrated in port-towns<sup>7</sup>, the people there were cosmopolitan in nature and represented various ethnic groups. This was also partly due to trade and the seasonal winds that dictated the movement of traders in the archipelago. According to Reid, the population in the urban areas of Southeast Asia was higher in 1600 than in 1850<sup>8</sup>. The commercial peak of the period, 1570-1630, brought a substantial increase in urbanization<sup>9</sup>. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, about 5 percent of the total Southeast Asian population inhabited the large cities<sup>10</sup>. The most densely populated areas were, as Reid notes, in the Straits of Melaka regions<sup>11</sup>.

The majority of the colonial port-towns in Southeast Asia grew and developed because they served as collection and distribution centres for goods from various places. For example, Melaka acted as a collection centre of goods from the archipelago and as a distribution centre to traders from India and China. Batavia, Penang, and Singapore likewise served in the same manner as collection and distribution centres for trade<sup>12</sup>.

While Melaka<sup>13</sup>, and Makassar<sup>14</sup>, were formerly the sites of native kingdoms, port-towns such as Ambon<sup>15</sup>, Batavia<sup>16</sup>, Manila<sup>17</sup>, Penang<sup>18</sup>, Madras<sup>19</sup> and Colombo<sup>20</sup> were created by the European powers. Since trade was the major force in determining the dynamism of these colonial port-towns, most of them were situated on strategic trading routes for example Surat, Bombay, Goa, Colombo, Madras, Calcutta, Penang, Melaka, Batavia, Makassar, and Manila<sup>21</sup>. Many of these ports later grew into important towns administered by the Europeans and inhabited by people from various ethnic backgrounds.

### **Colonial Port-Towns**

There have been many studies on the theoretical aspect of the urban morphology of colonial port-towns<sup>22</sup>, and various models have been used in this connection. For example, in early studies of urban



development, Sjoberg modelled the colonial port-towns on pre-industrial cities. But his work has been heavily criticized because his model of a pre-industrial city did not fit the development of a colonial town<sup>23</sup>. Recent studies on colonial urban morphology have shown that the development of colonial towns differed from that of preindustrial cities<sup>24</sup>. Although most of these studies have focussed on the mid and late nineteenth century, during the peak of European imperialism and colonialism, they also shed light on the development of colonial port-towns in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and provide much information on colonial society. A good description of a colonial society can be found in the work of Heather Sutherland. For instance, she describes seventeenth and eighteenth century Makassar as follows:

The division of Makassar's society into three clusters, each with its own nucleus, would seem to suggest an obvious ranking. At the top the Castle, with its Europe-born male officials, backed by the power of the Company and the Netherlands. Below this, Vlaardingien, with its mestizos and Chinese, local merchants functioning within an Asian framework. At the bottom, the native kampung, the equivalent of the "Black Towns" of British Indian settlements. But such an assumption must be modified by checking in which arenas of activity this relative ranking applied, and secondly, by asking to what extent differing groups would accept such an evaluation<sup>25</sup>.

As Sutherland's description of Makassar shows, various ethnic groups lived together in a colonial town. They included the colonialists (Europeans), immigrants (for example from China and India), and the natives. These ethnic groups were not found in pre-industrial towns in Europe<sup>26</sup>. People in a colonial town were from various ethnic groups and different backgrounds with each ethnic group exhibiting its own ingrained cultural behaviour, traditions, and institutionalized practices. The groups were then intertwined within a social matrix comprising newly constituted relations of domination and dependence between individuals and between collectivities of people.

Bellam describes the society and the economy in a colonial town as 'dominated by the European colonisers who occupy the apex of a "caste-like" hierarchy. According to him, the Europeans, besides having

virtually complete control of the power centres, monopolise the most important shares of administrative and economic activity. However, this was not always the case in many port-towns. Although, political power was concentrated in the hands of foreign minority, the foreign white minority they still had to rely on the Asian population in running the port-towns. In many cases, the economic structure of the city exhibited a broad dualism between a firm-centred European sector and a bazaar sector<sup>27</sup>. Thus, the heterogeneous nature of a colonial town clearly differentiated it from a preindustrial city which had a homogenous society<sup>28</sup>.

Another difference between a colonial port-town and a preindustrial city was the stratification of the society. According to Horvath, the stratification system of a colonial city consisted of three major components: the resident population from the colonial or imperial power; an intervening group; and the indigenous population from the surrounding countryside<sup>29</sup>. The highest strata in the society, the elite, was made up of Europeans or the imperial masters, who possessed power and control and who determined the town's policy and administration. All the policies regarding the administration of the ports, trade, law and order were vested in their hands. Although a minority group in the colonial town, they were powerful and could determine the daily life of the town dwellers<sup>30</sup>.

The issue of race was an important factor in determining social rank, occupation, and relationships in a colonial town. Although there were Asian elites, the Europeans were at the top of the hierarchy, especially those born in the motherland and who held positions as officials in the administration followed by the group active in trading and business<sup>31</sup>. The locally born white population, held a lower status than those born and raised in the motherland. Even the religions, languages and economic activities of the elites and the other ethnic groups differed from one another<sup>32</sup>. The only unifying factor was trade and commerce because it was the survival feature for the colonial towns<sup>33</sup>. In addition, trade and commerce formed the only reason for them to meet and interact with each other.

Horvath also argues that there were two types of intervening groups in colonial towns<sup>34</sup>, those resulting from interracial mixing and those

resulting from the migration of people from a third country. Since most of the earlier migrants were men, this caused an unbalanced sex ratio among the new settlers in the town and led to intermarriage between them and the indigenous people. The offspring from these mixed marriages enjoyed a higher status than the indigenous inhabitants. The intermingling of Europeans and indigenous peoples produced a group called the Eurasians while intermarriage between Asian immigrants and natives created new groups collectively called the mestizos<sup>35</sup>. Besides the mixed groups of mestizos, Eurasians, and Anglo-Indians, were the migrants from a third country. In most of the Southeast Asian colonial towns, these migrants were the Indians and the Chinese some of whom were active in commerce and trade<sup>36</sup> while others worked as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers in the towns<sup>37</sup>.

Besides the groups already mentioned, there were, of course, the indigenous peoples or natives and slaves who came from very diverse places in the archipelago. The majority of the natives migrated from the immediate hinterland to settle in the town. In addition, there were migrants from various parts of the archipelago. Melaka, for example had attracted the Javanese, the Bugis from the Celebes, and the Minangkabaus from Sumatra. In Penang there were also the Bugis, the Siamese, and the Acehinese from Sumatra.

Regarding morphology, the early colonial town also had its own unique characteristics. Firstly, the town was usually dominated by a fort<sup>38</sup>. Forts were normally built by the colonial administration as a place of defence against the enemy, from either land or sea. In some cases, another function of a large fort was to serve as the living quarters for the Europeans administrative officers. In some towns the fort also accommodated the European not employed by the colonial government<sup>39</sup>. The fort was sometimes separated from the town by a ditch or canal and had gates around it. Soldiers also patrolled the fort. If the fort was large, the administrative buildings of the town were situated within it.

The town, which was separated from the fort, was usually lined with streets and roads leading to the interior part of the country. It was in the town that the businesses and markets were located. The

town also had various buildings of worship, for example, churches, mosques, and temples. Moreover, the town provided the meeting point for the residents to congregate. In some colonial towns, the living quarters of the various ethnic groups were segregated<sup>40</sup>. The colonial power controlled the administration and defence of the town and employed security guards to patrol the town at night<sup>41</sup>. Nevertheless, these characteristics differed from one colonial town to another.

In addition to the above characteristics, a colonial town was connected to the hinterland. In most cases, the hinterland areas were not under direct colonial administration. The town's boundary was marked by a river, or a canal, that separated the town from the hinterland. However, some colonial towns were connected to the hinterland areas by roads, rivers or canals. In some colonial towns, the hinterland areas supplied the town with agricultural and food resources produced by the native inhabitants. In some cases, the hinterland was under the direct administration of the town's colonial administration<sup>42</sup>.

### **Dutch Colonial Urban Traditions**

The Dutch imperial power was exercised through the occupation and administration of port-towns that stretched from the Indian Ocean through the Malayan-Indonesian archipelago. These port-towns served as collection centres for trade and as distribution centres for goods to various places in the hinterland and other areas. Hence one of the consequences of Dutch colonial activity in the East was the development of various colonial port-towns. The first important port-town established as early as 1619 by the Dutch was Batavia in the Malayan-Indonesian archipelago. It became the centre of Dutch imperial power in the East<sup>43</sup> and was also the first city built by the Dutch on Asian soil<sup>44</sup>. The majority of port-towns under direct Dutch control were strategically located on the trading route between India and China, such as Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, Melaka, Batavia, Ambon, Makasar, and Zeelandia. Recently, many studies had been done on these Dutch colonial towns and ports<sup>45</sup>.

Some of these port-towns had formerly been built and occupied

by natives as centres of trade for their kingdoms, a few like Melaka had been under Portuguese rule and others were founded. In the case of Batavia, which was founded by the Dutch, it was greatly influenced by Dutch planning and construction. For example, Batavia was modelled on the work of Dutch architects and planners<sup>46</sup>. Nevertheless, the majority of Dutch ports and towns had certain distinguishing characteristics: a location at the mouth of a river or inlet or an island; the administrative, military, and economic centre in the form of a fort or citadel; the town separated by a stretch of open land; a main street or canal built running across the town; a special area for the civilian residents; and the sizes of housing lots often fairly irregular and narrow<sup>47</sup>.

Although most Dutch port-towns had some similarities, there was no strict type or blue print planning for each town<sup>48</sup>. Dutch officers and administrators in the each town played an important role in the planning and the structuring of the town<sup>49</sup>. The town's fort was small and served as the main defence area. It was in the towns that most of the inhabitants resided and met. In the centre of the towns were the markets, bazaars, places of worship, such as churches, mosques, temples, and residential areas. In places where the fort or castle covered a very large area, administrative buildings were located there and the majority of the Dutch administrators also lived there. The town which was built and developed outside the fort became the busiest area. Since most Dutch towns had various ethnic groups, some segregation policies were enforced in them. The layout and the morphology of a Dutch town is well illustrated in the town of Makassar which had a town where all the inhabitants met, a fort, a massive, typical seventeenth century defensive structure enclosing dwellings, store-houses, church and offices, and functioning as the living and working quarters for the Company officials. Makassar also had areas with houses of foreign merchants and native villages, or *kampung*, with local peoples<sup>50</sup>.

Most of the port-towns depended on commerce and trade in order to collect revenue for the local administration. There were also revenue farms or *pachten* which varied from one town to another<sup>51</sup>. For example, in Makassar one of the earliest documented farms was for

alcohol<sup>52</sup>. The customs or Boom farms were very important in all Dutch port-towns. It was from the customs duties that the bulk of the revenue was collected as the Dutch administration was dependent on this revenue.

In most Dutch colonial towns, administrative power was shared by various officials. The most important post was that of the governor who was in charge of the town's political, military, criminal and civil affairs<sup>53</sup>. The syahbandar (harbourmaster) maintained patrols and watchhouses on smuggling, supervised the weights and measures, inspected ships for contraband goods, and kept a register of incoming and outgoing ships<sup>54</sup>. Other important administrative department posts was the fiskaal (prosecutor) who was the head of the police, and the public prosecutor, who was in charge of suspected criminals and presenting cases before the Council of Justice<sup>55</sup>. The administration of the Christian community was undertaken by the predikant or Calvinist preacher<sup>56</sup>. There was also the schutterij or militia, the wijkmeester or town administrators, the brandspuitmeester or chief fireman and lamplighter<sup>57</sup>. In addition, there were charitable bodies, such as the diakonij, which supervised poor relief, and the weeshuis, or orphanages in most of Dutch colonial towns<sup>58</sup>. The orphanage funds served as a defacto bank providing financial resources for the inhabitants of the towns. The churches, mosques, and temples of each ethnic group played an important role in the society. Although the Dutch Reformed Church had full support from the administration, other churches, such as the Roman Catholic church, were given the freedom to have their own services.

### **English Colonial Urban Traditions**

Like the Dutch, the English occupied various port-towns at many strategic locations on the Indian sub-continent and in Southeast Asia. Although in the beginning the English were not as successful as the Dutch who started occupying various port-towns as early as the seventeenth century, they soon caught up with the Dutch by the mid-eighteenth century<sup>59</sup>. In fact, many port-towns earlier occupied by the Dutch and the Portuguese eventually fell into English hands<sup>60</sup>.

Important port-towns situated in the trading route between India and China, such as Bombay<sup>61</sup>, Madras<sup>62</sup>, Calcutta<sup>63</sup>, Penang<sup>64</sup>, Melaka<sup>65</sup>, and Singapore<sup>66</sup> were occupied by the British. Distinctive English characteristics could be discerned in the colonial ports on Asian soil. The first Asian port-town to be built and occupied by the British was Madras in India<sup>67</sup>. Madras was a swampy and neglected part of Coromandel Coast but the British transformed it by 1639 into an important port-town controlling the trading route from the interior part of the Coast to Southeast Asia, China and the Indian sub-continent<sup>68</sup>. Therefore, Madras was largely the creation of the English East India Company's commercial interests on the Indian sub-continent<sup>69</sup>.

It is important to point out that some of the features in English colonial towns were similar to those in Dutch colonial towns, for example, the presence of various ethnic groups and, in some cases, ethnic segregation and race discrimination. However, a major difference was that English colonial towns did not have the careful proper planning that was found in the Dutch towns. English colonial towns were less well planned and lacked infrastructure and their urban planning showed little influence from the metropolitan centre. Similar to other Dutch port-towns in the East, Asian inhabitants were allowed much freedom to manage their intra-caste affairs while the administration of the town was in the hands of the English who were mostly merchants. This is well depicted in the case of Madras where the port-town was divided into three main areas: the inner fort or castle enclosing the factory house; the outer fort enclosing the inner fort housing the European quarter; and the unprotected native settlement of traders, merchants and artisans<sup>70</sup>. The English concentrated more on securing and protecting the fort which was the centre of their administration and less on establishing an urban colonial society subservient to their aims.

One of the main features of a colonial town that the English shared with the Dutch was the practice of ethnic segregation<sup>71</sup>. In many parts of the Indian subcontinent ethnic group segregation by the English was a common phenomenon. Such a policy was tolerated and fostered, for example in Madras, because it was especially useful to British commercial interests and values<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, the local people,

of course, had no say in the matter. Since segregation was already a working principle in Madras, when the English established their port-towns in Southeast Asia it was therefore not unusual that it was also practised by the English administration in many parts of the British colonial towns in Southeast Asia. A clear example of this was in Singapore<sup>73</sup>. Singapore was a city planned by the British and inhabited by non-Europeans whose residential distribution continued to reflect the intentions of the European rulers<sup>74</sup>. The layout of the town of Singapore showed the clearly marked spatial segregation of the ethnic groups into separate areas. The Arabs and Bugis were located close to the Malay Sultan's areas and the mosque. The local Malays resided on the northern fringes of the Rochore River<sup>75</sup>. Other ethnic groups like the Chinese and the Indians immigrants, seen as potential trouble makers, were separated from the quiet and spacious European zones by the Singapore River<sup>76</sup>. The English and the Europeans areas were specially located on the high and well-drained site between the rivers Rachore and Singapore. It was here that the English colonial institutions, such as the cricket grounds, the church, the government buildings and the clubs, were found.

Since commerce was of such vital significance to the Dutch and the English, the posts of 'senior and junior Merchants' were of much importance in both Dutch and English colonial towns. Under VOC rule, the senior merchant also headed the administration while the junior merchant served as the secretary and as the book keeper. Both posts were important in the Dutch colonial towns because they could further one's career, up to the level of a governor. A similar practice was seen in the EIC, although in some cases the administration of an English colonial town was dominated not by EIC merchants but by English country traders. For example, in Penang the post of the Superintendent or Governor was held by a merchant Francis Light, a former English country trader, and he was assisted by a Committee of Assessors who were mostly English country traders and wealthy merchants. Therefore, most of the officers in the administration were formerly merchants (Country traders) or officers who had been given some freedom to venture into trade besides working as administrators. Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that an English colonial town



was administered more by the merchant community than by officers appointed by the Company. These merchants were given some allowances to conduct their own trading activities in order to supplement their low incomes from the EIC<sup>77</sup>.

Both English and Dutch colonial towns showed similarities from a morphological perspective. For example, the main buildings of the town were the fort and in colonial Madras, the town was divided into three major areas, an Inner Fort or Castle enclosing the Factory House and defended by four corner bastions connected by curtained walls; an Outer Fort enclosing the Inner Fort and the European quarter and protected by four corner bastions and by walls on three sides; and an unprotected native settlement of traders, merchants, weavers, and artisans serving English commercial trade and interests. The second area was called the "white town" while the third area was called the "black town"<sup>78</sup>. Beyond the town was the hinterland. The relationship between the hinterland and the town was very important in most English colonial towns. For example, in Madras, the British administration later acquired several areas in the hinterland and incorporated them into the town. The town also came to depend on the hinterland areas for most of its trade and commerce<sup>79</sup>. Calcutta also depended heavily on the internal trade in the Bengal area<sup>80</sup>. Singapore too depended on the hinterland areas (the archipelago and the Malay peninsula) for its trade<sup>81</sup>. Thus, although most of the hinterland areas were not under the direct control of the town, the survival and the dynamic of the town depended heavily on these areas for its trade and commerce.

The fort in Madras, named Fort St. George, was not large and consisted of a tower or house enclosed by a rectangular wall 400 yards long by 100 yards wide with bastions at the four corners<sup>82</sup>. This was the administrative heart of the town and the sanctuary for the Europeans or whites within which they could feel secure. Roche points out that 'all the list of residents at Fort St. George over hundreds of years do not mention a single native living within the confines of the 'White Town'. The presence of numerous Dutch and Portuguese residents provides evidence of a planned process of assimilation - pulling together all who shared colour and race'<sup>83</sup>.

Nevertheless, not all English colonial towns had large forts and castles. Only towns that were vulnerable to invasion by powers from land and sea had them, for example, Madras<sup>84</sup>, and Calcutta<sup>85</sup> and Penang. But it was not just vulnerability that determined the existence of a fort or castle. It may be observed that many early port-towns were built around a fort while those that were founded later did not follow this pattern. Singapore, for example, did not have any fort or castle. This could also be because by the time Singapore was founded the method of war-fare had changed considerably and forts were no longer impenetrable so that they did not provide the protection that they once did. If a port-town had a fort, then the meeting places were situated on the outer side of the fort. Such meeting places allowed intermingling mainly for the purposes of conducting business and trade which were the mainstay of a colonial port. In order to facilitate communications the towns were lined with streets and roads linking the various sections of the town and and the town and its hinterland.

For most colonial English towns, no master plan was used in the building of the fort; there was also no clear indication that European plans for the structure of the forts and castle in Europe had been used. The officer on the spot played an important role in deciding the structure and planning of the forts and castle rather than a military architect brought in from Europe for that purpose<sup>86</sup>. Although no blue prints were found in most of the English colonial towns, there were definitely segregated areas in the town which separated the white population from the coloured inhabitants.

Most colonial English towns had a small white population. As marriages between the white population and the natives were not encouraged<sup>87</sup> the only way to increase the white population in some towns was through marriages within the various European groups in a town. For example, in Madras, the presence of several European groups such as the Potuguese and the Dutch who lived in the same area as the English helped to ensure racial endogamy<sup>88</sup>. The Portuguese and Dutch had arrived in Madras long before the English arrived in Indian waters and a small community of their descendents, the result of mix-marriages, remained in Madras when the English

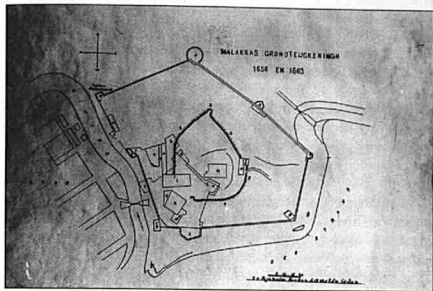
took over the port. Similarly, there was a small Portuguese-European community as well as a Portuguese-Eurasian group in Melaka when the Dutch took over the town. Although some mixing also occurred between the Dutch and the Portuguese-Eurasians in Melaka, this happened only on a small scale. In Penang, cases of mix-marriages between the early English settlers and Portuguese-Eurasians from Siam were not uncommon.

In most English colonial towns, social and religious facilities were not provided by the administration as a matter of course. As a consequence, more often than not places of worship such as the church were built by Christian communities themselves or by Christian organizations such as the missionary society. Very little support came from the administration to raise money to construct churches. Unlike the Dutch who had more government-sponsored plans, no charitable bodies, such as poor relief and orphanages or financial institutions such as the *weeshuis*, were established in most English colonial towns. In addition, most English colonial towns lacked sufficient financial funds and manpower to administer public utilities and social welfare activities in the towns<sup>89</sup>. Although taxes were imposed on the inhabitants, the social amenities provided were still very poor.<sup>90</sup>

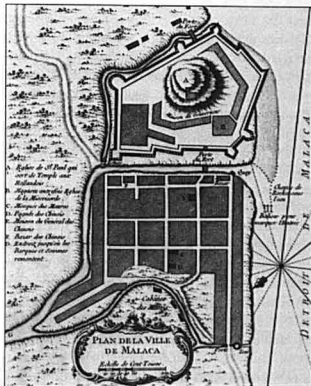
### **Geography, Foundation and Morphology of Melaka**

Melaka is located on the western side of the Malay peninsular, on the Straits of Melaka, the main gateway between the East and the West<sup>91</sup>. Although situated in the hot tropics, Melaka has fair and pleasant weather<sup>92</sup>. Melaka's main asset was its trade and location rather than its hinterland which was left mostly uncultivated<sup>93</sup>. As a seventeenth century traveller pointed out about Melaka "the harbour of Melaka is one of the finest in all the Indies, being navigable at all the seasons of the year, a conveniency belonging scarce to any other in the Indies"<sup>94</sup>.

During the Malay sultanate period Melaka controlled a very wide empire which covered part of eastern Sumatra and the western Malay peninsular<sup>95</sup>. However, during the Portuguese occupation of Melaka they only controlled and occupied a small area, which included the



Ground plan  
of Malacca  
1656 & 1663



Plan De La Ville  
De Malacca 1764

fort of Melaka and the town and its suburb<sup>96</sup>. The exact area and its boundary cannot be clearly determined. It would appear that the Portuguese only had very limited jurisdiction over the areas beyond the fort. The position of Naning, in the interior, was even less clear as there is no evidence of Portuguese occupation and jurisdiction in the hinterland of Melaka<sup>97</sup>. Although some scholars have claimed that the boundary of Melaka during the Dutch occupation was very wide<sup>98</sup>, studies have proven that the Dutch only had jurisdiction over a limited area. For example, in 1660 "a VOC employer confidently claimed that the town's jurisdiction extended 64 leagues, from the island of Sembilan to the Cape of Singapore, but less than two decades later Governor Bort more modestly placed the northern boundary of the company's authority on the Pannagie (Penajis) River and the southern at Muar". According to Pieter van Dam, the famous Company lawyer, the government of Melaka never really controlled more than four miles south, five miles north, and six miles inland from the town centre<sup>99</sup>. During the English occupation of Melaka, they determined more clearly the boundary of Melaka. This boundary extended along the coast from the Lingie River to the north of the town to the Kersang River on its south. The territory was 40 miles long at its greatest extent, while its breadth varied from 10 miles to 28 miles inland<sup>100</sup>.

Although Dutch Melaka had only a very limited jurisdiction area, its hinterland came under the very loose control of large land proprietors who lived in the town<sup>101</sup>. The Dutch administration gave over the management of the hinterland areas to these land proprietors who in turn appointed the penghulu or local headmen to supervise the collection of tax from the people who live on the land. As long as these proprietors collected and paid the tax the Dutch administration left them to their own devices. The proprietors came from the Dutch burgher, Chinese, Malay and Keling communities usually lived in town and were therefore absentee landlords<sup>102</sup>. One of the largest piece of land alienated by the Dutch administration in this manner in the middle of the eighteenth century went to a Burgher named de Wind. This land covered an area of about 280 square miles<sup>103</sup>.

The Dutch approach to the question of land use contrasted sharply

with the situation in Penang where attempts were made to develop the hinterland into an important agricultural area and where land was granted in perpetuity during Francis Light's administration<sup>104</sup>. Even the Company (EIC) owned large pieces of agricultural land in the hinterland of Penang and these were planted with spices, such as pepper and nutmegs<sup>105</sup>. Melaka, under the Dutch had a large area of uncultivated hinterland covered, for the most part, with dense forest. Throughout the period from the Malay sultanate to the Dutch occupation little development appeared to have taken place in this area<sup>106</sup>. For most of these centuries the Melaka's position as an emporium of trade did not encourage agricultural activities. But with the Dutch, an additional factor was the deliberate policy of the higher authorities in Batavia to discourage Melaka's development so as not to undermine the commercial interest of Batavia. Therefore, only a few areas near to the town were cultivated with fruits trees and with paddy fields<sup>107</sup>. In some parts of Naning, paddy was cultivated and some of the agricultural produce from these areas were sent by river to Melaka. As noted by Sheehnan "*it produces but little for the sustenance of life, except what is brought forth in gardens, and what grows among the mountains, where you meet with some rice and pease: the defect of which is supplied by vast numbers of small vessels, which come every day from Bengal and Sumatra, and bring thither rice and other eatables*"<sup>108</sup>.

Studies on the early history and the morphology of the town of Melaka have so far been limited in their scope and have therefore shed little light on what the town was like in the early years of its existence. Although there have been many recent works on the town of Melaka, they tend to focus on the population and trade during the golden age of the Malay sultanate<sup>109</sup>. Many of these studies relied on the old Malay texts which were mainly concerned with court history and genealogy and on the writings of Western travellers and observers who mostly extolled the greatness of Melaka as a trading emporium<sup>110</sup>. This has meant that little is known about the streets, buildings, people, and the morphology of the town. Thus, knowledge about the layout of the town in its early days is very scanty. Nevertheless, from the available material, it could be surmised that Melaka during

the period of the Malay sultanate was not a walled town with a separate administrative area and a town business district. It would also appear that after the introduction of Islam to Melaka, despite its pervasive influence in many aspects of Malay life, it did not bring any fundamental change in the traditional structure and morphology of Melaka<sup>111</sup>.

Although for the Malay sultanate period clear information on the morphology of the town of Melaka is not available, a close study of the Portuguese period can help in giving a picture of the layout and setup of the town. We know that the site on which the Sultan's palace stood was taken over by the Portuguese and used to build a castle and fort. Otherwise, in the early years of the Portuguese administration, the town of Melaka was left much the same as it was during the Sultanate period. Over the years, however, some changes did take place in the morphology and structure of the town<sup>112</sup>.

The former site of the palace became the centre of the Portuguese administration. Dominated by St. Paul's Hill, this centre was enclosed by a stone wall some twenty feet high and five feet thick. Inside the walls were many buildings to house the administrative offices, the residences of the governor and officers, the bishop, the town hall, a church and a hospital. The area outside the wall which was the town was divided into various quarters to house the different ethnic groups. There was Kampong Kling for the Indian community; Kampong China for the Chinese inhabitants and Kampong Java for the Javanese settlers<sup>113</sup>.

More information is available on the morphology of Melaka as it entered into the seventeenth century<sup>114</sup>. Some important information is provided by a traveller, John Nieuhoff, who entered the service of the Dutch West India Company in 1640 after thirteen years in Brazil. He made a voyage to the East Indies and wrote about his visit to Melaka in 1660:

*"This city is very large in compass, being not many years before surrounded with a wall of square stones and bastions, by the Dutch. It is very populous, the houses being built very close, though it has some very broad and handsome streets, which are planted on both sides with trees. In the midst of the city is a hill with a very fair*

*church dedicated to St. Paul, on the top of it, where divine service is performed in Dutch: The steeple church and monasteries founded here by the Portuguese are much decay'd. Most of the houses here are built of strong bamboo-caness, which are very durable in dry weather, tho' there are also some stone houses here; they are generally not very large, and low, provided with small apartments and slenderly furnished*"<sup>115</sup>.

Morphologically, the town of Melaka during the Dutch period could be subdivided into three main sections; the Fort, in which only Company servants and Dutch freeburghers were allowed to reside; the town of Melaka which was lined with streets named by the Dutch as *Herenstraat*, *Jonkerstraat*, *Goudsmidstraat*, *Eerstbrugwalstraat*, *Secondebrugwalstraat*, *Derdebrugwalstraat*, and *Visherstraat*; and its outer suburbs, Tengker, Bandarhilir, Bunga Raya and Bukit China. The busiest part was the town, in the business area, the market place and the houses of worship where many of the inhabitants met<sup>116</sup>. The town was located on the right bank of the Melaka river while the Fort was separated from the town on its left bank<sup>117</sup>. The Fort or the castle areas covered quite a large. Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, a Jawipekan born in 1797 and bred in Melaka and hailed as the father of Modern Malay Literature, said in his writing, "The Hikayat Abdulah"<sup>118</sup>, made the observation that "the fort and the buildings within its walls were put up by the Portuguese after their occupation of Melaka in July 1511, as part of Alphonso d'Albuquerque's plan to have a chain of fortresses between Goa, the headquarters of the Portuguese conquerors in India, and their possessions in the East where their ships could revictual. The original fortress was completed in January 1512. This stronghold was a castle and four-walled keep facing the sea and commanding the entrance to the Melaka River on the south bank on which it stood near the shore. It was the residence of successive Portuguese governors for nearly, a hundred and thirty years.

During this period the fortifications were enlarged and the surrounding walls extended to enclose St. Paul's Hill. The map made in 1613 by Godinho de Eredia, the Portuguese explorer and geographer shows the plan of the walls as an irregular pentagon with its apex



towards the sea, and this is seen also in a map dated 1656 found by Leupe in the archives of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia. The distance round the perimeter was estimated in 1605 by de Eredia at about 1,100 yards and in 1678 after the Dutch had strengthened the defences, by Governor Bort at about 1,400 yards. The fort was built to the same plan as that at Galle. The fortress was in shape a quadrilateral; there was a well in the middle so that in times of disturbance or war the people with their supplies could take refuge inside the circular of the protecting walls. The castle or tower was as high as the hill. It was not built on the top of the hill because it was preferable to place it at the foot, right on the sea, when it could easily be reinforced in times of war<sup>119</sup>.

As far as the VOC was concerned, the main focus of Melaka town was the fort or the castle<sup>120</sup>. Many travellers who arrived in Melaka in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mentioned the fort. According to one description, it *"was about a mile in compass. There are six small towers furnished with sufficient cannon, and a ditch towards the sea and channel. The two gates are one towards the river, and the other towards the south cape. The governor of the city commands in it, and has under him a garrison of one hundred and eighty soldiers"*<sup>121</sup>. Munshi Abdullah observed that there were four gates leading to the fort<sup>122</sup> and there were three bridges connecting the fort to the town and to the other parts of the suburbs. The main bridge, located on the Melaka River, was a draw-bridge and any ships entering the town through this bridge had to pay a levy tax. In fact, this was the tax on ships entering and leaving the bridge. For security reasons, these bridges were raised and closed for crossing at night and no one was allowed to walk near the fort without any lights<sup>123</sup>. Abdullah also described the morphology of the fort<sup>124</sup>. An old map of Melaka published in 1744 provides a very clear plan and layout of the buildings and the land used inside the fort<sup>125</sup>. It shows the buildings, the gardens, churches, and the bastions in the fort.

The fort of Melaka, which had for so long been the symbol of strength and power of the Europeans who had ruled Melaka, was destroyed in 1807 by the English with the aim of abandoning the town and closing the port to merchants and traders. This policy was

implemented for the survival of Penang because the English believed that if the Dutch were to return to Melaka it would rival the British port at Penang leading to stiff competition in trade<sup>126</sup>. The British believed that by destroying the fort, the Melakan population would be forced to evacuate and to settle in Penang and also to prevent Melaka from remaining a defensible place and threat to English interests in the Straits. However, this plan failed when the majority of the population refused to leave Melaka. In fact, the destruction of the fort was an ill-advised plan by Colonel Robert Farquhar, who became Lieutenant-Governor of Penang in 1804-5. Although there were some protests against the plan by William Farquhar, the Resident of Melaka, the Board of Directors did not heed his protests and ordered the destruction. To Abdullah, who decried the fort's destruction by the English, it was "*.... a pity that a building as fine as this should be brought low in an instant of time. For if they wished to repair it there is no knowing how many years it would take before it was finished. For the fort was the pride of Melaka and after its destruction the place lost its glory, like a woman bereaved of her husband, the lustre gone from her face*"<sup>127</sup>.

Outside the fort and beyond the town lay the suburbs. The Tenquera area was located on northern part of the town and lay by the coast while Bandarhilir was located south of the castle also by the coast. Bunga Raya and Bukit China were located further inland, on the outer fringe of the town. These areas were connected by roads and waterways to the town. However, as stated earlier, the area covered under the jurisdiction of the town for most of the VOC period until 1794 was not more than four to five miles in radius. The following is a description of Melaka made by William Dampier in 1931:

*Melaka is a pretty large town, of about 2 or 300 families of Dutch and Portuguese, many of which are a mixt breed between those nations. There are also many of the native Malayans inhabiting in small cottages on the skirts of the town. The Dutch houses are built with stones, and the streets are wide and straight, but not paved. At the north west of the town there is a wall and gate to pass in and out: and a small fort always guarded with soldiers. The town stands on a level low ground, close by the sea. The land on the back-side of the*

*town seems to be morassy, and on the west-side, without the wall, there are gardens of fruits and herbs, and some fair Dutch houses: but that quarters is chiefly the habitation of the Malayans. On the east-side of the town, there is a small river which at a spring-tide will admit barks to enter. About 100 paces from the sea there is a draw-bridge, which leads from the midst of the town to a strong fort, built on the east-side of the river<sup>128</sup>.*

During the Dutch administration the town area was populated by various ethnic communities, the major groups being the Dutch burgers, Malays, Peranakan-Chinese, Kelings, and Portuguese Eurasians. There were also large numbers of slaves in the town. However, towards the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries, the Dutch burger population declined due to several reasons including migration.

During the Portuguese period, each ethnic group lived in its own kampong or quarter which was named after the particular group, as was mentioned earlier<sup>129</sup>. This practice survived the Dutch period and was in fact expanded so that during that period there was a Kampong Belanda (*Herenstraat* and *Jonkerstraat*), a Kampong Java (outside the town) a Kampong China (*Goudsmidstraat* and *Eerstebrugwalstraat*), a Kampong Serani (further north of the town), a Kampong Pali (between the *Seconde* and *Derdebrugwalstraat*), and a Kampong Kling (*Colijstraat*)<sup>130</sup>. Although during the Portuguese period and for a good part of the Dutch occupation there was ethnic segregation, by the end of eighteenth century the divisions had been blurred and in the ensuing years there was evidence to show that the reasons which had in the first place brought about the separation, no longer applied. Areas formerly exclusively populated by the Dutch burgers (*Heren* and *Jonkerstraat*) became the homes of the Chinese reflecting a shift from an ethnic orientation to one in which wealth was the main criterion. Thus the majority of the wealthy population of the town, irrespective of their ethnic origin, resided at two important streets, *Heren* and *Jonkerstraats*. The houses here were built from bricks and roofed with tiles. Due to the hazard of fire which had burnt down many of the houses in the town area, in the mid seventeenth century, the Dutch administration enforced regulations on the building of houses in the

towns<sup>131</sup>. As a result, most of the houses in the towns were of brick and had roofs of tile<sup>132</sup>. All those who did not abide with these regulations were asked to move away from the town.

The map of Melaka in the mid eighteenth century mentioned earlier which shows the layout of the town, the name of the streets, the markets, the orphanage home, the mosques, the bridges, and the Malay kampongs is testimony to the fact that during the Dutch period the town of Melaka had seen important changes although it had not expanded to any significant degree. It also indicates that the Dutch had not only preserved many of the old features of the town but had also enhanced them. Although the fort was lost due to an English official's notion of what was an expediency, some of the legacies of the past still remain<sup>133</sup>.

### **Geography, Foundation and Morphology of Penang**

Penang, ceded to the English East India Company in 1786, is an island fifteen miles long, from north to south, and ten miles wide. The island of Penang is located on the northern part of the Straits of Melaka<sup>134</sup>. It covers an area of 108 square miles and has ranges and hills reaching the height of 2,600 feet<sup>135</sup>. In its north-eastern part, is a plain, shaped like a triangle, on which Francis Light established Georgetown, the first English colonial town in Southeast Asia. This plain runs almost to the foot of the hills in a flat valley that became an important agricultural producing area<sup>136</sup>. It consists of a strip of land three miles wide down the east coast, facing the Malayan peninsular, from Penang to the south<sup>137</sup>.

On the mainland opposite the island of Penang is an area called Prai, which belonged to the kingdom of Kedah. In 1800, the territory of Prai, which stretched from Kuala Muda to Sungai Kerian (about forty five miles long and eight miles deep) was annexed by the English from the Sultan of Kedah and renamed Province Wellesley<sup>138</sup>. The English intended Province Wellesley to be an important agricultural hinterland which would produce paddy to provide rice to feed the people of Penang. It was also annexed from the kingdom because of its importance to Penang's defence. It could act as a buffer, pro-

protecting the island from the invasion of Kedah as well as eliminate the possibility of a port growing there which could compete for Penang's trade. Before the invasion of Kedah there was a small port opposite of the island which belonged to the kingdom. Due to its close proximity to Penang and because it was frequently used by many local and foreign traders the English feared this port would rival Penang. English control of Province Wellesley was also seen as necessary in order to halt smuggling and piracy in the narrow channel between Penang and the mainland<sup>139</sup>. Unlike Melaka, Penang had well marked boundaries and the English administration held control over a wide area. This control covered the whole island and its territories, including Province Wellesley and a few small islands off Penang.

In the early period of the English occupation of Penang, there was much discussion as to whether Penang would make a suitable naval base. There was also discussion of the terms on which Penang was ceded. This led to bitter controversy as to whether the Company was bound to defend the Sultan of Kedah against Siam. A third concern was the rapid growth of population and trade, which led to "extravagant hopes regarding its suitability as a means of gaining the control of a considerable part of the commerce of the East Indian islands". Yet another problem was "the difficulty of maintaining law and order amongst a turbulent native and European population when no legally constituted courts were in existence on the island". This difficulty was only solved when the Recorder's Court was established in 1807. Other questions the administration had to deal with included the problem of piracy and the introduction of pepper, nutmeg and cloves in Penang so as to "render Gt. Britain independent of the Dutch spice islands"<sup>140</sup>.

Although trade was the main focus at Penang, in the early period the English administration hoped that the island would become the main centre of Britain's naval base in the East<sup>141</sup>. Thus, various plans and monetary investments were put forward towards this goal. Unfortunately, the plan failed mainly due to insufficient artisans and building materials and a shortage of timber and trained personnel. The timber available on the island and from Province Wellesley was also not of a high quality, so that it had to be obtained from Pegu via Rangoon.

This made it more expensive to build a ship in Penang. In addition, there were delays in obtaining from Europe essential items for building a ship, such as ironwork, copper, and nails<sup>142</sup>. As a result, Penang failed as a naval base and shipbuilding centre.

One of the motives of the Company (EIC) in promoting Penang was to take advantage of its strategic location to build a naval base there and to defend the east coast of India against rival European forces during the Napoleonic Wars. However, after the Battle of Trafalgar which established Britain as the unchallenged naval power in Europe, there was a feeling among the higher authorities in England that such an idea was unnecessary and the home government soon lost interest in the scheme. Furthermore, when the Admiralty withdrew its financial support, the Directors of the East India Company who were faced with heavy financial commitments in India also followed suit. Since Penang's revenues were not sufficient to pay for the project the scheme for making Penang a naval base and shipbuilding centre was finally abandoned<sup>143</sup>.

Although Penang failed to become an important ship building and naval base, the administration never stopped attempting various economic activities that would help the new colony to develop into an important establishment. It encouraged people from the surrounding regions especially the Chinese, Indians and Malays and the natives from the Indonesian archipelago to migrate to the island and develop the hinterland so as to convert it into an important spice producer. Since occupying the island, the English introduced various crops to the island<sup>144</sup>. Unlike Dutch-Melaka, lands in the hinterland were cleared for producing spices. Chinese, Indian and Malay immigrants from the surrounding areas were encouraged to clear and to own land for this purpose. As a result, numerous agricultural experiments were attempted on the soil of Penang. Under Light, rice was first grown followed by pepper. By 1805 the pepper produced by Penang came to 2,000 tons and for over ten years it was the staple product and economic mainstay of the island. The next valuable export was betelnut, followed by tin<sup>145</sup>.

The site on which the town of Penang was built was called Tanjong Penaigre<sup>146</sup>. Although there was no blue print for the layout of the

town, nor a master plan such as that produced for Batavia by the Dutch, Light, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new colony, who was not devoid of ideas did make an attempt to establish one<sup>147</sup>. According to his plan, the commercial areas of the town would lie between Light Street, Beach Street, Malabar or Chuliar Street, and Pitt Street. These were the earliest streets in Penang and they were named by the founder of the island and town. The increase in population largely due to new arrivals from the surrounding regions led to further expansion of the town in the early nineteenth century. New roads were built such as Farquhar Street, Love Lane, Penang Road, and Battery Lane<sup>148</sup>. In 1800 Penang town was less than 5 miles in radius with its boundary marked by a river on the southern part and a canal on the western part<sup>149</sup>. This boundary separated the town from the hinterland.

**Table 1: Types of shop-houses/ buildings/dwellings in Penang in 1818**

Name of Streets	Attap	Plank with tile roofs	Bricks	Total
In Beach Street	21	39	277	337
In Chuliar Street	104	15	80	199
In China Street	5	18	48	71
In Penang Street	1	12	90	103
King Street	-	19	26	45
In Church Street	1	2	7	10
Bishop Street	-	-	17	17
Market street	-	8	37	45
Love Lane	1	-	-	1
Queen Street	-	-	24	24
Pitt Street	6	-	2	8
Leith Street	-	-	1	1
Praingin Road	38	8	12	58
Penang Road	89	3	10	102

Aceh Street	1	1	4	6
Chuckla[?] Street	26	-	-	26
Total	293	125	635	1053

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The town of Penang had numerous shophouses. Table 1 above shows that more than 32 per cent of the shops were situated on Beach Street which was the busiest street in Penang. There were also godowns, the Custom House, and warehouses on this street. Moreover, many of the government buildings were found in this part of the town, as were the majority of brick shops. It was also the first landmark for a traveller to Penang. Most European merchants and traders had their property, warehouses, godowns, shops or offices on the northern end of the street near the harbour and the Custom House<sup>150</sup>. At the southern end of the street stood shops which belonged to the Chinese, Indian and Malay traders. The street was connected to Light Street in the north and to Bishop Street, Church Street, China Street, Market Street, Chuliar Street, Aceh Street, Malay Street and Prangin road in the south.

At the southern end of the town was a market place privately owned by John Brown, a wealthy business man who owned land and property in the town. Brown was a government servant during the time of Lieutenant-Governor George Leith but later resigned to start his own business as a planter. In 1806 he built a market place on his own land at Beach Street near the Prangin River and rented out the premise to tenants. He was authorised by the governor and the council to sell paddy, rice, poultry and fish in the market and the right to collect rent from the shops and the freedom to set the price of all goods sold in the market<sup>151</sup>.

Chuliar Street was the second busiest street with more than eighteen per cent of all shops in the town. The majority of the people who owned property or shops in the Street were Chuliars or merchants who came from the Coromendal Coast and Bengal. Only a few Malays owned property there, the most notable being Tuanku Syed Hussain, the richest Malay in Penang. However, many of them lived along the street. The area surrounding the street was formerly the site of a



Malay settlement which had been incorporated into the town when Penang's population increased. Due to this it remained a predominantly Malay area with hardly any Chinese or European settlers. Many buildings in Chuliar Street had attap roofs which suggests that they were built as temporary homes. The temporary nature of these homes suggests the possibility that the majority of the people living on this street were seasonal occupants, such as sailors and traders, who stayed in Penang for a few months in a year while waiting for a change in the direction of the wind. The attap houses were probably rented for a short period of stay<sup>152</sup>. Certainly, the Bugis and Malay traders had made this area their base.

Although the length or span of China Street was shorter than Beach Street or Chuliar Street, there were more shops on this street. This street could also be very busy at times as it intersected with Beach Street. Moreover, it was situated in the middle of the town, between Chuliar Street and Market Street on the south, Church Street and Bishop on the north, and intersected by Pitt Street on the west. China Street had been ear-marked by Francis Light as the centre of the commercial area and, reflecting its importance, there were more brick than attap houses here.

Penang Street and King Street were situated also in the commercial area, ran parallel to Beach Street on the east and Pitt Street on the west. They were also criss-crossed by Chuliar Street, Market Street, China Street, Church Street, Bishop Street and Light Street. The shops in this area belonged to Europeans, Chinese, Indians and Malays and most of them were built of bricks. This part of the town suffered from the fires that occurred in 1789, 1812 and 1814 so that by 1818, there was only one shop that was still roofed with attap on Penang Street while there was none on King Street. Similarly on Church, Bishop, and Market Streets which also suffered fires, most buildings were made of brick. Many of the properties situated on Bishop Street and Church Street belonged to European owners while a smaller number were owned by Asians.

Love Lane, Queen Street and Pitt Street, also situated close to the commercial centre, were considered less important. Further away from the heart of the town were Leith Street, which was on the western

part of the town; Prangin Road, which was on the southern end of the town; and Penang Road, which was further south west of the town. The majority of shops found in these areas were built from attap. A possible explanation for this was that this region was not affected by the fire. Most of the shops found on these streets were not concentrated in one particular area which might easily catch fire.

Aceh Street was predominantly a Malay area. This area was also a former Malay town which had grown and expanded and later was incorporated into the main town area. The majority of the Malays had their property along this street. But there were few shops here since the majority of the Malays living here were not merchants or shop owners. Most of the Malays owned houses here in this Malay residential area. Tuanku Syed Hussain, also owned some property on Aceh Street.

Although there is mention of a Chuckla[?] Street, it is quite hard to trace its location. As most of the old maps do not show this street, it has been a difficult task to locate it. There is the possibility that it could well be the Armenian Street. On the other hand this street could have been situated outside the town centre since all of the shops here were built from attap.

Most of the government buildings were located on the northern and eastern part of the town. In the earlier period, the government had to rent most of its offices from James Scott and Tuanku Syed Hussain. This occurred because much of public land in Penang had been sold to private individuals, especially during the administration of George Leith for the purpose of raising money to finance the construction of roads and streets and to carry out the drainage and restructuring of the town. As a result, there was not much public land left for the building of government offices and houses<sup>153</sup>. At one point, the government tried to purchase land from the estate of the late Francis Light but it had, in the meantime, been sold to James Scott<sup>154</sup>. Much of the northern beach area of the town, considered to be prime land, had belonged to Light. When Light died his property was inherited by his widow, Martina, who for some years lived on the northern beach on Leith Street Ghout. This street was later renamed Martina Lane. Later, Martina married a man named John Timmer,

and on April 1802 the Timmers sold the northern beach property to James Scott. Two months later, Scott, as one of Light's executors, sold an adjoining site to Carnegie, who then passed it on to Messrs. Scott and Company. Thus, the greater part of the valuable land once owned by Light was transferred to James Scott during the Leith administration<sup>155</sup>.

As it did not own much property, the government had to rent premises. In time, however, the government faced rental problems. One such problem was related to a property owned by James Scott who raised the rent too high. Without much land at its disposal, the government found it difficult to have a public park in the town. Nevertheless, the government managed to purchase lands from revenue farmers. This it did when there was a fall in the value of the property, and land could be purchased at a very low price. In 1827 the government owned the following property in the town:

**Table 2: The list of government buildings/houses and lands in 1827**

District	Streets	Types of Property
Penang	Beach Street	1. The master attendant's house and office. 2. The government warehouse. 3. The Custom house. Treasury. 4. The land belonging to the Committee of Assessors. 5. Government buildings and Rice godowns. 6. The civil store keeper's office and godowns and a piece of land.
Penang	Light Street	1. Two pieces of land. 2. Post office. 3. Library.
Penang	Bishop Street	1. A ghee godown.
Penang	Penang Street	1. Church. 2. School.

		3. The Court House. 4. The Recorder's Chambers. 5. Prison.
Penang	King Street	1. The engineer's yard.
		2. A piece of land

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Most of the government buildings and the homes of a majority of the European community were found in the north-western part of the town<sup>156</sup>. The residences of the majority of the merchants and businessmen, such as the Chinese and Chuliars, were located in the business areas while most of the Malays and Jawi-Pekan built their homes in the southern part of the town<sup>157</sup>.

Penang had a fort which was built in 1786 and named Fort Cornwallis. It was not as grand as the Portuguese-Dutch-Melakan fort<sup>158</sup>. Situated on the north-eastern part of the town it covered only a very small area. The town, which lies on the northeastern part of the island, was built in close proximity to the fort. Certain parts of the town were close to the wall of the fort but there was no clear boundary which separated them. No ditch had been built for the purpose and neither was there a river to form a natural boundary. The fort itself was small and did not house the government buildings or facilities for the Company's servants and the governor as was the case in Melaka. It was a square masonry with exterior sides measuring five hundred feet, and built by a local Chinese contractor. Not only was it badly built but it was also not completed in some parts. By the 1790s, the fort was in a very deplorable condition and many parts of the walls had fallen off<sup>159</sup>. Although there was a suggestion to rebuild the fort and make it bigger and stronger, the administration was unable to do so partly because the cost of buying the adjacent lands from the rich European merchants was prohibitive. Moreover, a strong fort was not an urgent need for Penang as there was no serious threat from any external power.

## **Conclusion**

A common feature of a colonial town was that despite its small European population, the Europeans were at the top of the social scale. A colonial town may not have been a city heavily populated by Europeans but it was a town administered by a European power. The European residents of the colonial town, clearly demarcated by the colour of their skin, their superior position in the social hierarchy and their responsibility as colonial rulers, lived in isolated communities segregated from the major part of the town's population<sup>160</sup>. The forts, the churches, and stone buildings were common features of the western elements in a colonial environment. A fort existed in Penang, while a castle and fort existed in Melaka. Penang was undoubtedly influenced by developments in British-India where the population was segregated and clustered into separated areas while in Melaka such policy appeared to have been less important to the Dutch in the eighteenth century.

All in all, both Melaka and Penang reflected these features and grew within the same scheme of things. There were of course some differences, but they were not fundamental and did not negate all the other characteristics that help to identify them as colonial port-towns.

## BAHASA BELANDA SEBAGAI BAHASA SUMBER PENGALAMAN INDONESIA

Drs Sugeng Riyanto



**B**AHASA Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber (bahasa untuk kemampuan membaca) memiliki peranan penting di Indonesia. Oleh kerana orang-orang Belanda pada masa lalu banyak melakukan penelitian dalam bidang sejarah, antropologi, islamologi, perundangan, ilmu bahasa dan sastra, etnografi, arkeologi, demografi, geologi, vulkanologi, oseanologi, astronomi, geografi, topografi, biologi, pertanian, botani, zologi, seni bina dan ilmu kedokteran (tropis). Mereka biasanya menggunakan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa ilmiah dalam penyampaian hasil penelitian. Sekitar tahun 1930 di Indonesia terdapat lebih dari 60 organisasi keilmuan, yang menerbitkan 100 majalah, di antaranya 85 berbahasa Belanda (Groeneboer 1998; Salverda, 1989). Bahan-bahan tersebut tentu sangat membantu dalam penelitian masa lalu Indonesia sebagai sumber penelitian sekunder. Di samping itu masih ada undang-undang, peraturan, dan peraturan pemerintah dalam bahasa Belanda yang sekarang masih berlaku ataupun masih harus dapat dirujuk. Untuk hal itu kemampuan membaca bahasa Belanda juga diperlukan (Hardjasoemantri, 1989).

Di Arkib Nasional Republik Indonesia terdapat berkilo-kilo meter bahan arkib dalam bahasa Belanda, belum lagi arkib-arkib berbahasa Belanda yang tersimpan di berbagai lembaga arsip dan perpustakaan yang ada di Belanda dan juga arsip-arsip yang tersimpan di Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia wilayah yang tersebar di berbagai wilayah di Indonesia. Arsip-arsip tersebut dapat dijadikan sebagai sumber

penelitian primer (Magetsari, 1996). Tanpa kemampuan bahasa Belanda arsip-arsip tersebut tidak dapat digunakan selayaknya.

Dalam kurikulum universitas untuk bidang sejarah, hukum, ilmu bahasa dan sastra kerana itu disediakan tempat untuk kuliah Bahasa Belanda Sumber. Pada semua Jurusan Sejarah bahasa Belanda wajib diberikan (sesuai dengan Kurikulum Nasional: seratus menit setiap minggu, empat semester). Pada Fakultas Hukum bahasa Belanda tidak selalu wajib dan karena itu kadang-kadang juga tidak diberikan. Bahasa Belanda pada fakultas ini tidak termasuk dalam Kurikulum Nasional dan kadang-kadang hanya merupakan mata kuliah wajib fakultas atau pilihan, biasanya diberikan selama seratus menit sekali seminggu (satu atau dua semester). Pada Jurusan Ilmu bahasa dan Sastra bahasa Belanda tidak wajib dan biasanya para mahasiswa memperoleh bahasa Belanda sekali seminggu selama seratus menit (satu atau dua semester). Data yang disebutkan di sini berlaku untuk pendidikan tingkat universitas (S-1). Untuk tingkat S-2 bahasa Belanda juga wajib untuk bidang hukum dan sejarah.

Pada tulisan ini saya secara ringkas akan membahas pengajaran bahasa Belanda di Indonesia masa lalu dan masa kini, masalah-masalah terpenting yang dihadapi dalam kaitannya dengan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber di Indonesia yang berkaitan dengan tenaga pengajar (dosen senior dibandingkan dengan dosen muda) dan bahan ajar bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber) serta penyelesaiannya yang bisa kita harapkan. Dibahas pula secara khusus pengajaran bahasa Belanda sumber untuk bidang sejarah. Pengalaman ini dapat dijadikan contoh bagi Malaysia dalam mengembangkan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber, khususnya sumber sejarah.

## **2. Pengajaran bahasa Belanda di Indonesia masa lalu**

Sejak masa VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* 'Persekutuan Dagang Hindia-Belanda') pada awal abad ke-17 bahasa Belanda sudah diajarkan di Indonesia, terutama kepada anak-anak Belanda sendiri, sebagai 'bahasa ibu' dan juga secara terbatas kepada anak-anak asli In-donesia sebagai bahasa asing, terutama untuk menyebarkan ajaran Kristiani. Berbicara mengenai bahasa ibu dalam

konteks ini sebenarnya kurang tepat, kerana pada kenyataannya bahasa ibu anak-anak itu (terutama anak-anak Indo atau berdarah campuran Indonesia-Belanda) bukanlah Belanda, tetapi bahasa Melayu, Jawa, Sunda, bahasa-bahasa daerah lain atau bahasa campuran (Belanda bercampur bahasa daerah: kata-kata Belanda, gramatika bahasa daerah, yang juga disebut dengan bahasa Belanda Pecuk) (Groeneboer, 1996).

Usaha yang lebih serius untuk mengajarkan bahasa Belanda, juga untuk anak-anak asli Indonesia, baru muncul pada awal abad ke-20. Usaha ini tentu saja sudah sangat terlambat. Melalui sekolah bahasa Belanda diajarkan, pertama-tama di sekolah pemerintah, setelah itu juga di sekolah-sekolah 'liar' (swasta, bukan milik pemerintah). Anak-anak yang diperbolehkan masuk ke sekolah pemerintah berasal dari golongan atas. Jadi, tidak semua anak bisa masuk sekolah, bahkan ke sekolah yang bukan pemerintah pun. Dengan demikian, bahasa Belanda bersifat elitis dan terbatas diajarkan.

Dari penjelasan di atas terbukti bahwa Belanda saat itu selain sudah sangat terlambat dalam menyebarkan bahasa Belanda, juga sangat sedikit, terlalu irit. Belanda tampaknya lebih mementingkan kepentingan ekonomi di Indonesia daripada kepentingan sosial dan budaya. Selain itu bahasa Melayu sudah dipakai sebagai bahasa pengantar (*lingua franca*) di wilayah Nusantara dan sekitarnya, bahkan sejak sebelum Portugis datang. Kedudukan bahasa Melayu sudah sangat kuat, terlalu sulit untuk digantikan dengan bahasa pengantar lain. Sebagai akibatnya bahasa Belanda sekarang tidak lagi dipakai di Indonesia sebagai bahasa pengantar, kecuali di beberapa kalangan dan untuk kepentingan pengajaran bahasa Belanda. Bahasa Belanda boleh dikatakan sudah tidak hidup lagi di Indonesia dan hanya menjadi bahasa sumber ilmu pengetahuan (Groeneboer, 1993; Groeneboer, 1996; Salverda, 1989).

### **3. Pengajaran bahasa Belanda di Indonesia masa kini**

Berikut ini akan dipaparkan pengajaran bahasa Belanda pada masa kini, baik bahasa Belanda untuk kemampuan produktif (aktif), studi ilmiah bahasa dan sastra Belanda, mahupun bahasa Belanda sumber (kemampuan reseptif, pasif).



### **3.1 Program Studi Belanda Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia**

Di Program Studi Belanda (mulai beroperasi tahun 1970) ini diberikan bahasa, sastra, dan budaya Belanda untuk tingkat sarjana (Strata-1, satu-satunya di Indonesia). Selain belajar bahasa Belanda moderen untuk kemampuan produktif, para mahasiswa juga belajar bahasa Belanda secara ilmiah (fonologi, morfologi, sintaksis, semantik), sastra Belanda, sosial budaya Belanda, menerjemahkan. Para mahasiswa juga diperkenankan menulis skripsi akhir dalam bidang bahasa atau sastra.

Setiap tahun sekitar 25 mahasiswa masuk di program studi ini. Studi sarjana ditempuh sekitar 4-5 tahun. Saat ini program studi ini memiliki sekitar 100 mahasiswa dan 12 orang pengajar, yang sebahagian besar lulusan tingkat magister dari Universiteit Leiden, Belanda. Lembaga ini di Indonesia yang paling kuat dalam pengajaran bahasa Belanda, baik dari segi pengajar mahupun alat penunjang yang lain.

### **3.2 Program Diploma (*non-degree*)**

Program Diploma diarahkan untuk – selama tiga tahun – mendidik para mahasiswa menggunakan bahasa Belanda moderen secara produktif-praktis, sehingga mereka tidak diajari bahasa Belanda secara teoritis atau ilmiah. Selain bahasa Belanda aktif, mereka juga dibekali ilmu administrasi, terjemahan, periklanan dan pariwisata.

Setakat ini ada empat Program Diploma bahasa Belanda, yakni di Universitas Indonesia (sejak tahun 80-an, tertua), di Akademi Bahasa Asing Universitas 17 Agustus Semarang (sejak awal tahun 90-an), Universitas Hassanuddin Makassar (sejak pertengahan tahun 90-an), dan Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta (sejak tahun 2000). Keempat program Diploma ini memiliki sekitar 500 mahasiswa.

### **3.3 Program Studi Sejarah**

Di Indonesia ada 10 Program Studi Sejarah tingkat Sarjana Strata-1 yang tersebar di 10 universitas terkemuka. Setiap tahun sekitar 30

mahasiswa baru masuk program ini. Para mahasiswa diwajibkan mengikuti kuliah Bahasa Belanda Sumber selama 3-4 semester, sekali seminggu (90-100 menit), 14-16 kali pertemuan. Bahasa Belanda yang diberikan adalah bahasa Belanda untuk kemampuan membaca dan memahami teks (kemampuan reseptif-pasif). Selain bahasa Belanda moderen mereka juga diperkenalkan dengan bahasa Belanda lama dan bahasa Belanda arsip dalam bentuk tulisan lama dan tulisan tangan.

Bahasa Belanda Sumber juga diberikan di beberapa Program Studi Sejarah Program Pascasarjana (Magister, Strata-2) dan tingkat doktor (Strata-3).

### **3.4 Program Studi Bahasa dan Sastra**

Beberapa Program Studi Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Bahasa Daerah di beberapa universitas di Indonesia memberikan bahasa Belanda sumber sebagai mata ajar tidak wajib atau pilihan, tergantung kepada ada tidaknya tenaga pengajar. Bahasa Belanda diberikan selama dua semester, sekali seminggu (90-100 menit), 14-16 kali pertemuan.

### **3.5 Bidang Hukum**

Sistem hukum Indonesia berakar dari hukum Belanda, sehingga istilah-istilah hukum Indonesia banyak berasal dari bahasa Belanda. Di samping itu juga masih ada undang-undang, peraturan-peraturan dalam bahasa Belanda yang masih diberlakukan atau dijadikan rujukan di Indonesia. Kerana itu sebagian besar Fakultas Hukum di Indonesia, terutama di universitas negeri atau di universitas swasta ternama, memberi kuliah Bahasa Belanda Sumber selama satu atau dua semester (sekali seminggu, 90-100 menit, setiap semester ada 14-16 kali pertemuan). Ini berlaku untuk tingkat sarjana (Strata-1). Mata kuliah ini tidak wajib. Diperkirakan ribuan mahasiswa setiap tahun memilih Bahasa Belanda Sumber. Para mahasiswa tingkat magister (Strata-2) juga wajib mengikuti Bahasa Belanda Sumber Hukum selama satu semester (sekali seminggu, 90-100 menit, 14-16 kali pertemuan).

### 3.6 Bidang-bidang lain

Beberapa bidang studi lain juga mengajarkan Bahasa Belanda Sumber, misalnya arkeologi, ilmu perpustakaan, kearsipan. Banyak hasil penelitian arkeologi tertulis dalam bahasa Belanda. Perpustakaan di Indonesia juga banyak menyimpan buku berbahasa Belanda dan bidang kearsipan sudah pasti banyak mengurus arsip berbahasa Belanda.

### 3.7 Lembaga Bahasa dan Pusat Kursus

Bahasa Belanda juga diajarkan di beberapa lembaga, seperti Erasmus Taalcentrum Jakarta, Budaya Mukti Bandung (hingga tahun 2000), Karta Pustaka Yogyakarta, Yayasan Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Indonesia-Belanda Surabaya. Di empat lembaga ini ribuan siswa baru setiap tahun mulai belajar bahasa Belanda aktif (percakapan) maupun reseptif (bahasa sumber). Metode ajar yang digunakan adalah metode ajar yang mutakhir, yang dihasilkan oleh ahli-ahli di Belanda.

Erasmus Taalcentrum (ETC) merupakan lembaga bahasa yang kuat dalam bidang pengajaran bahasa Belanda, terutama bahasa Belanda produktif, dilihat dari sarana penunjang dan pengajarnya. Setiap semester sekitar 500 peserta kursus baru mendaftarkan diri di sini. Lembaga ini bagian dari *Nederlandse Taalunie* 'Uni Bahasa Belanda', sebuah lembaga gabungan Belanda dan Belgia yang bertugas mempromosikan bahasa Belanda di seluruh dunia. ETC juga memberikan pelatihan bahasa Belanda untuk para pengajar muda dari Indonesia dan juga Malaysia. Dari Malaysia juga pernah datang para ahli kearsipan dan musium untuk belajar bahasa Belanda, tetapi sayang sekali program ini tidak dilanjutkan. Selain itu ETC juga menerbitkan buku ajar bahasa Belanda baik untuk kemampuan produktif maupun sumber dan juga menerbitkan beberapa terjemahan kamus kecil dan buku-buku penting. ETC juga menyelenggarakan pelatihan pengajar bahasa Belanda se-Asia dan Oceania. Selain itu ETC juga bekerja sama dalam pengajaran bahasa Belanda dengan lembaga lain, misalnya Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Kepolisian, dan Lembaga Pengerah Tenaga Kerja Keperawatan.

### **3.8 Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI)**

ANRI di Jakarta secara berkala juga memberi kesempatan kepada stafnya untuk belajar Bahasa Belanda Sumber, yang setakat ini bekerjasama dengan Erasmus Taalcentrum Jakarta. Pertama mereka belajar Bahasa Belanda Sumber dasar, kemudian juga belajar bahasa Belanda aktif/percakapan. Mereka juga ada yang pernah belajar tulisan lama di Belanda.

## **4. Pengajar, bahan ajar dan kamus**

### **4.1 Dosen (Pengajar)**

Dosen-dosen Indonesia yang memberikan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber biasanya tidak dididik sebagai dosen bahasa Belanda. Kita dapat mengelompokkan mereka dalam dua kelompok, yakni dosen senior dan dosen muda.

Yang termasuk dosen senior adalah dosen-dosen tua yang menguasai bahasa Belanda dengan baik secara reseptif dan produktif. Mereka pada masa penjajahan telah mengenyam pendidikan yang baik, sehingga bahasa Belanda seolah-olah telah menjadi bahasa ibu kedua mereka. Bidang utama mereka biasanya bukan bahasa Belanda, tetapi misalnya hukum atau sejarah. Tetapi, hal ini tidak serta merta berarti mereka juga dapat mengajarkan bahasa Belanda dengan baik. Para dosen senior ini sering mempertontonkan kepada mahasiswa mereka betapa sulitnya bahasa Belanda itu. Mereka mulai panjang lebar dengan gramatika bahasa Belanda yang rumit dan dengan bunyi-bunyi sulit yang sejak awal telah membuat para mahasiswa takut. Untung saja kita tidak pernah mendengar bahwa mereka juga menyuruh para mahasiswa untuk bersenam bibir. Kadangkala mereka juga memberi mahasiswa dengan latihan-latihan produktif yang sebenarnya tidak perlu untuk membaca atau memahami teks. Dengan demikian mahasiswa harus belajar semuanya: mendengarkan, membaca, berbicara, menulis, dan membaca. Mereka barangkali masih sulit melepaskan pendirian bahwa para mahasiswa bahasa sumber harus belajar semuanya. Apabila kita punya waktu banyak, ini tidak menjadi

masalah. Tetapi, waktu terbatas: sekali seminggu seratus menit dan paling banyak lima belas kali setiap semester.

Para dosen muda bahasa sumber biasanya dosen-dosen yang pernah belajar di Belanda. Kemampuan reseptif bahasa Belanda mereka, terutama membaca, cukup baik. Namun, mereka biasanya juga tidak dididik untuk memberikan kuliah bahasa Belanda. Mereka sering terlalu banyak memperi penekanan pada struktur bahasa Belanda, meskipun mereka telah sering mengikuti pelatihan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber. Dari cerita dan diskusi mereka terbukti bahwa kadang-kadang mereka terlalu banyak mencurahkan perhatian pada gramatika.

Kelompok dosen muda di samping itu juga terdiri atas lulusan Program Studi Belanda, Universitas Indonesia dan juga puluhan lulusan *Dutch Studies* Universitas Leiden. Bahasa Belanda mereka lebih baik dari dosen muda yang disebutkan sebelumnya, tetapi mereka kadangkala belum menyadari perbedaan antara bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa komunikasi dengan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber. Karena itu mereka juga mengajari para mahasiswa dengan semua kemahiran untuk lagi-lagi mempertunjukkan betapa sulit bahasa Belanda itu.

Dosen-dosen muda dari berbagai universitas di Indonesia dan juga dari Malaysia, yang lebih dikenal sebagai kelompok *Jodoned 'Jonge docenten Nederlands'* (Pengajar bahasa Belanda Muda), secara berkala mendapatkan pelatihan bahasa Belanda dan pengajarannya di Erasmus Taalcentrum, Jakarta, yang pembiayaannya didanai oleh lembaga *Nederlandse Taalunie* (Uni Bahasa Belanda). Dari program *Jodoned* ini telah diperoleh banyak dosen muda yang mampu mengajarkan bahasa Belanda aktif maupun pasif (sumber). Mereka berasal dari berbagai bidang, misalnya sejarah, sastra dan bahasa, filologi dan hukum. Diharapkan mereka inilah yang akan mengemban tugas mengajarkan bahasa Belanda di masa mendatang.

Untuk mengarahkan agar para dosen menggunakan metode yang tepat guna Erasmus Taalcentrum mengembangkan buku ajar yang khusus ditujukan untuk belajar bahasa Belanda sumber untuk berbagai bidang, yang dimulai sejak tahun 90-an, dengan sponsor lembaga *Nederlandse Taalunie* (baca bahagian 5.2).

## 4.2 Bahan ajar

Dibandingkan dengan bahasa Inggris, misalnya, posisi bahasa Belanda di Indonesia tidak kuat. Kerana itu juga terlalu sedikit bahan ajar yang tersedia untuk belajar bahasa Belanda. Beberapa dosen yang sebenarnya harus memberikan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber sering menggunakan bahan ajar yang ditujukan untuk bahasa Belanda produktif (komunikatif). Bahan ajar yang paling lama disukai adalah buku *B-3: Belajar Bahasa Belanda* (1982) dari N. van den Toorn-Danner. Gramatika disajikan panjang lebar dalam buku ini. Juga di sini banyak dilatihkan kemampuan produktif dan gramatika. Ada beberapa buku ajar yang khusus ditujukan untuk belajar bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber untuk bidang hukum. Saya sebutkan beberapa:

1. H.J. Boukema dkk. (1978), *Bahasa Belanda Hukum*.
2. R. Salverda dkk. (1987), *Bahasa Belanda Hukum S-1*.
3. L. Suratminto (1995), *Belajar Bahasa Belanda untuk Studi Hukum*.
4. Sugeng Riyanto dkk. (1996), *Bahasa Belanda sebagai Bahasa Sumber, Bidang Hukum*.

Dua buku pertama tidak bisa diperoleh di mana pun dan tidak dicetak ulang lagi. Menurut pengalaman berbagai dosen buku-buku ini terlalu sulit untuk pemula. Buku-buku ini juga tidak memiliki buku pegangan dosen. Buku Lilie Suratminto dapat dibeli di toko-toko buku. Buku ajar ini layak digunakan untuk pemula dan buku ini memberikan cukup banyak informasi gramatika, namun tidak dilengkapi dengan buku panduan dosen. Buku ajar dari Sugeng Riyanto dkk. ditujukan bagi pemula yang ingin belajar membaca teks-teks hukum Belanda. Buku ajar ini terdiri atas sebuah buku gramatika ringkas bahasa Belanda, buku mahasiswa, buku dosen, dan kaset.

Untuk bidang studi sejarah orang harus puas dengan seri bahan ajar dari Sugeng Riyanto dkk. (1999), *Bahasa Belanda sebagai Bahasa Sumber, Bidang Sejarah* yang terdiri atas satu paket untuk pemula dan satu paket untuk tingkat mahir.

Seri buku ajar dari Sugeng Riyanto dkk. belum dicetak secara komersial, tetapi merupakan cetakan percobaan yang diterbitkan dalam bentuk seri *Erasmus Educatief*, yakni seri terbitan intern Erasmus

Taalcentrum. Seri tersebut belum dapat dibeli di toko-toko buku, tetapi dapat dipesan melalui Erasmus Taalcentrum Jakarta. Buku ajar ini sudah digunakan di berbagai universitas di Indonesia.

Menggunakan kamus Belanda-Indonesia yang baik juga menimbulkan masalah. Ada beberapa kamus beredar, misalnya:

1. S. Wojowasito, *Kamus Umum Belanda-Indonesia* (1996, cetakan pertama 1976).
2. W. van Hoeve, *Kamus Belanda-Indonesia* (1986).
3. Datje Rahajoekoesoemah, *Kamus Belanda-Indonesia* (1991).
4. M.R.R. Soekartini, *Kamus Belanda-Indonesia* (1992).

Kamus-kamus ini tidak disusun untuk orang yang ingin belajar bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber. Tanpa kemampuan gramatika bahasa Belanda kita sebenarnya tidak serta merta bisa menggunakan kamus-kamus ini. Susi Moeimam sedang bekerja keras menyusun sebuah kamus yang khusus ditujukan untuk bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber.

Ada juga beberapa kamus untuk bidang hukum:

1. N.E. Algra e.a., *Kamus Istilah Hukum Fockema Andreae* (1977).
2. Y. Pramadya Puspa, *Kamus Hukum* (1977).
3. Subekti en R. Tjitrosoedibio, *Kamus Hukum* (1982).
4. M. Termorshuizen, *Kamus Hukum Belanda-Indonesia* (1999).
5. A. Massjer en M. Termorshuizen, *Indonesisch-Nederlands woordenboek privaatrecht* (2000, enam jilid).

Kecuali kamus yang keempat kamus-kamus ini sulit diperoleh. Kamus yang kelima belum bisa dibeli di Indonesia, tetapi bisa dibeli di Belanda.

Buku ajar yang khusus menyajikan gramatika bahasa Belanda adalah karya C.J. Stokkermans (1978) berjudul *Korte Handleiding Nederlandse Grammatica. Pedoman Singkat Tata Bahasa Belanda*. Buku ini ditulis dalam dua bahasa, yakni bahasa Belanda dan bahasa Indonesia, berisi tata bunyi, kata, kalimat bahasa Belanda yang terpenting, ditujukan untuk pembelajar bahasa Belanda pemula. Buku ini juga menyajikan latihan-latihan gramatika. Sayang sekali buku tersebut tidak dicetak ulang sejak terbit pertama kali dan juga tidak diperbaiki atau disempurnakan. Buku ini sudah tidak dapat diperoleh

di toko buku, karena tidak dicetak ulang.

Dari deretan buku ajar dan kamus yang telah disebutkan di muka terbukti bahwa di Indonesia perhatian banyak diarahkan pada bidang hukum. Ini tentu disebabkan karena dari segi jumlah, mahasiswa bidang hukum yang mengikuti kuliah Bahasa Belanda Sumber jauh lebih banyak daripada bidang sejarah dan bidang-bidang lainnya.

Untuk kebanyakan mahasiswa bahan ajar tersebut terlalu mahal. Selama krisis ekonomi di Indonesia masih berlanjut, buku-buku dan kamus-kamus itu tetap merupakan barang mewah. Orang dapat saja dengan mudah bicara tentang hal-hal ideal dalam pendidikan, tetapi apabila para mahasiswa tidak mampu membeli bahan ajar tersebut, maka keberhasilan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber tetap merupakan angan-angan kosong. Belajar bahasa Belanda tanpa bahan ajar dan kamus hampir tidak mungkin dilakukan.

## **5. Beberapa Sumber Sejarah Berbahasa Belanda**

Telah banyak diulas oleh berbagai pihak bahwa masa lalu Indonesia tidak akan lengkap apabila tidak diteliti dengan memanfaatkan sumber-sumber berbahasa Belanda, baik buku, ensiklopedia, majalah-majalah, artikel-artikel, catatan-catatan harian atau perjalanan, serta arsip-arsip. Tanpa pengetahuan bahasa Belanda atau paling tidak bahasa Belanda sumber, harta karun tersebut tidak bisa dijamah.

Pada tahun 1965 Graham Irwin (dalam C. Fasseur, 1989) menyatakan bahwa tanpa pengetahuan penelitian aspek sejarah Indonesia yang mana pun juga mustahil dilakukan. Pada awalnya para ahli sejarah Amerika dan Australia yang ingin meneliti sejarah Indonesia harus belajar bahasa Belanda terlebih dahulu.

Bunga rampai karya sejarah klasik dan moderen berbahasa Belanda tentang Indonesia antara lain dibahas oleh C. Fasseur (1989), salah seorang ahli sejarah Indonesia dari Belanda. Menurut dia, pada mulanya sejarah Indonesia, yang sebagian juga merupakan sejarah Belanda, ditulis dengan kaca mata Belanda. Belakangan kaca mata itu menjadi lebih netral, dalam arti tidak lagi memihak Belanda. Berikut ini akan disarikan beberapa karya terpenting tentang sejarah Indonesia atau sejarah daerah tertentu di Indonesia, seperti yang diulas oleh



C. Fasseur (1989).

Orang Belanda pertama yang menerbitkan sejarah mengenai pulau Jawa adalah sejarawan Kompeni J.K.J. de Jonge. Pada tahun 1862 dia menerbitkan *De opkomst van het Nederlands gezag over Java* ('Timbulnya kekuasaan Belanda di Hindia Timur') berjumlah tiga jilid dan *De opkomst van het Nederlands gezag op Java* ('Timbulnya kekuasaan Belanda di Jawa) sebanyak tujuh jilid. Keduanya merupakan publikasi sumber-sumber referensi. Kebiasaan ini berlanjut hingga sekarang de-ngan diterbitkannya *Officïlle bescheiden betreffende de Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen 1945-1950* ('Dokumen-dokumen resmi mengenai hubungan Belanda-Indonesia 1945-1950) oleh Van der Wal dan Drooglever (jilid ke-13 terbit tahun 1986 dan akan menyusul tujuh jilid lagi). Coolhaas dan Van Goor menyusun *Generale Missieven van Gouvernours-Generaal en Raden van Heren XVII der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* ('Surat-surat resmi para Gubernur-Jenderal dan Dewan XVII VOC') (jilid kedelapan terbit tahun 1984). Ikhtisar mengenai para sejarawan tadi dan karya-karya mereka diulas oleh De Graaf, Coolhaas, Resink dan yang paling mutakhir susunan Klooster.

Karya yang lebih tua disusun oleh Johannes Jacobus Meinsma, yakni *Geschiedenis van de Nedelandsche Oost-Indische bezettingen* ('Sejarah tanah jajahan Hindia Belanda Timur') (1872), yang merupakan contoh penulisan sejarah kolonial yang liberal.

Prof. P.J. Veth terkenal dengan *Java, geografisch, ethnologisch, historisch* ('Jawa, geografis, etnologis, historis') (1875-1878, dua jilid).

Karya-karya lain dihasilkan oleh J.C. van Leur, Colenbrander, Van Vollenhoven, Snouck Hurgronje, W. Fruin-Mees, H.J. de Graaf, B.J. Schrieke, Wertheim.

Salverda (1989) menyebutkan bahwa sejarah Hindia-Belanda tidak sempurna tanpa bantuan *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indi'* yang diterbitkan dalam delapan jilid hingga cetakan kedua (1917-1939).

## 6. Bahasa Belanda Sumber Sejarah

Mengingat begitu pentingnya bahasa Belanda sebagai 'gerbang' untuk memasuki khasanah sumber sejarah berbahasa Belanda, di semua Jurusan Sejarah yang ada di berbagai universitas di Indonesia, para mahasiswa diwajibkan mengikuti mata kuliah Bahasa Belanda Sumber selama 3-4 semester (untuk tingkat Sarjana Strata-1) dan 2 semester untuk tingkat Sarjana Strata-2 (Magister), dengan perincian sebagai berikut: kuliah diberikan sekali seminggu selama 90-100 menit, satu semester ada 14-16 pertemuan. Untuk tingkat doktor bahasa Belanda tidak diberikan secara terstruktur, tetapi apabila mereka menulis tentang sejarah Indonesia, mereka harus mampu membaca teks mahupun arsip berbahasa Belanda. Mereka harus belajar sendiri. Sejak tingkat S-2 para mahasiswa wajib menggunakan sumber berbahasa Belanda bila menulis tentang sejarah Indonesia atau daerah. Untuk tingkat S-1 mereka belum diwajibkan, jadi diperbolehkan mengambil data dari bahan berbahasa Indonesia atau Inggris (jadi, bahasa Inggris dianggap lebih mudah dibandingkan bahasa Belanda).

Perlu diketengahkan di sini, bahwa bahasa Belanda tidak diberikan dalam bentuk apa pun untuk sekolah lanjutan, jadi baru diberikan pada tingkat universitas. Hal ini barangkali tidak disadari oleh orang Malaysia, yang barangkali mengira di Indonesia bahasa Belanda diberikan secara luas, mengingat di Indonesia banyak sekali sumber ilmu berbahasa Belanda. Sejak Sekolah Menengah Pertama, bahasa Inggris wajib diikuti para siswa, bahkan di kota-kota besar anak-anak sudah diajar bahasa Inggris. Jadi, bahasa Inggris yang diajarkan secara meluas.

Bahan ajar yang banyak digunakan adalah *Bahasa Belanda sebagai Bahasa Sumber, Bidang Sejarah* (diredaksi oleh Sugeng Riyanto, M.P.B. Manus, Andry Nurtjahjo, dan Ismarini). Buku ajar ini terbit antara 1999, terdiri atas dua siri. Siri pertama untuk tingkat dasar (terdiri atas buku mahasiswa, buku dosen, dan kaset) dan seri kedua untuk tingkat lanjutan (terdiri atas buku mahasiswa, buku dosen, dan kaset). Buku pertama berisi 13 pelajaran dan buku lanjutan berisi 24 pelajaran. Kedua siri buku ini dilengkapi sebuah buku tatabahasa rujukan ringkas.

Buku pertama berisi lima pelajaran awal yang berisikan pokok-pokok penting struktur bahasa Belanda, pelajaran ke-6 hingga ke-13 berisi teks sejarah, yakni sejarah kuli di Sumatra karya J. Breman (1986). Teks-teks tersebut disederhanakan untuk keperluan pengajaran tingkat pemula, tanpa mengurangi kandungan isinya. Pelajaran pertama bertajuk *De eerste planter op Sumatra* 'Pengusaha perkebunan pertama di Sumatra'.

Buku lanjutan berisikan teks-teks yang lebih asli, pada pelajaran awal masih sedikit disederhanakan, pada pelajaran selanjutnya teks sejarah tidak lagi disederhanakan. Bahkan teks beraksara Gotik serta arsip tulisan tangan juga diberikan pada penghujung buku ajar. Teks Pelajaran 1 sampai dengan 6 berasal dari buku karya J. van Goor (1994). Buku sejarah untuk awam ini berbahasa Belanda moderen, mudah dimengerti oleh orang kebanyakan. Teks-teksnya hampir tidak disederhanakan lagi, jadi hampir seperti aslinya.

Pelajaran 7 s/d 12 menyajikan teks-teks yang berasal dari berbagai sumber, bertarih antara 1932 hingga 1994, berisikan catatan pribadi, *handboeken* 'textbooks', dan kajian-kajian moderen. Bahasa Belanda yang digunakan sudah mulai sulit dan teks-teksnya tidak disederhanakan lagi.

Teks-teks pada Pelajaran 13 s/d 18 berasal dari enam jenis sumber, bertarih antara 1900 hingga 1938, yang berisikan catatan pribadi (karya Kartini), artikel dari *Padangse krant*, cuplikan dari sebuah *handboek* klasik, serta dari *Encyclopaedie van Nederlands-Indi*. Bahasa Belanda yang digunakan sudah sulit dan menggunakan ejaan lama. Teks-teksnya tidak diubah sama sekali.

Pada Pelajaran 19 s/d 24 disajikan teks-teks yang berasal dari naskah-naskah lama (dari sebelum tahun 1800) dan naskah arsip tulisan tangan dari abad ke-17 hingga ke-19. Teks-teks tersebut disajikan dalam bentuk foto.

Kemahiran yang diajarkan adalah kemahiran memahami teks dan menerjemahkan untuk merangkum isi teks, tidak diberikan pelajaran menulis dan berbicara dalam bahasa Belanda, karena waktu yang tersedia memang tidak banyak. Mahasiswa banyak dilatih untuk mencari kata dalam kamus, mencari pokok kalimat, predikat, mencari rujukan suatu kata dan juga mentranskripsi teks (untuk Pelajaran 19 s/d 24).

Selain itu juga disajikan penjelasan mengenai ejaan lama, tulisan Gotik dan tulisan tangan lama, serta penjelasan serba ringkas mengenai kearsipan.

Pada akhir makalah ini akan dilampirkan beberapa contoh pelajaran yang dimuat pada buku ajar dimaksud.

## **7. Perspektif**

Satu hal jelas: untuk bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber harus dilakukan sesuatu. Pertama kita harus memusatkan perhatian pada bahasa Belanda di Fakultas Hukum yang posisi bahasa Belandanya sangat labil. Para dosen dan pengelola fakultas harus membangun konsensus tentang tujuan pembelajaran dan sasaran untuk bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber di fakultas mereka. Mereka harus beawal dari anggapan bahwa bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber harus dibedakan dengan bahasa Belanda untuk kepentingan komunikatif yang umum. Struktur (gramatika) memang penting, tetapi sebenarnya bukanlah tujuan pembelajaran dan hanya merupakan salah satu alat bantu untuk lebih mempermudah memahami sebuah teks. Untuk setiap Fakultas Hukum perlu dipertunjukkan bahwa bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber untuk studi hukum masih perlu, sehingga ini akhirnya akan masuk dalam Kurikulum Nasional, seperti pada studi bidang sejarah.

Di berbagai seminar bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber di berbagai universitas di Indonesia para dosen bersepakat mendukung agar bahasa Belanda tidak akan dihapuskan. Para dosen harus menunjukkan kepada pejabat di Fakultas Hukum bahwa bahasa Belanda masih perlu dan juga bagaimana bahasa Belanda bisa dikelola dengan lebih efektif.

Buku-buku ajar yang tersedia hanya bermanfaat apabila buku tersebut berpatokan pada prinsip bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber, yakni membuat para mahasiswa secepat mungkin berkenalan dengan teks dari bidang studi mereka, memilah-milah kalimat (untuk mencari subyek, predikat, dan sejenisnya), dan menerjemahkan beberapa kalimat untuk kepentingan pemahaman teks dan akhirnya

membuat ringkasan teks dalam bahasa Indonesia. Berbicara atau menulis dalam bahasa Belanda tidak mereka pelajari. Di pasaran boleh lebih banyak buku beredar. Lebih banyak buku berarti lebih banyak variasi dan pilihan.

Pelatihan dosen muda bahasa Belanda harus terus berjalan. Sementara Erasmus Taalcentrum (ETC) secara organisatoris dan finansial masih memegang peran penting untuk hal itu. ETC – instansi yang bertanggung jawab kepada Nederlandse Taalunie – setiap tahun menyelenggarakan pelatihan intensif di ETC, Jakarta, bagi para dosen muda dari berbagai universitas dari luar Jakarta. Dalam pelatihan itu mereka memperoleh kesempatan untuk meningkatkan kemampuan bahasa Belanda aktif mereka. Mereka juga mendapatkan pelatihan dalam bidang bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber. Mereka terutama berasal dari Fakultas Hukum dan Fakultas Sastra.

ETC dan universitas-universitas di luar Jakarta sering bekerja sama untuk menyelenggarakan pelatihan atau lokakarya di berbagai universitas di negeri ini. Orang muda memiliki masa depan, tetapi para senior memiliki masa lalu. Kerana itu para dosen senior juga diundang untuk lokakarya di salah satu universitas tersebut untuk bertukar pikiran berkaitan dengan bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber.

Dalam lima belas tahun terakhir terbit bahan ajar baru untuk bidang hukum, sementara beberapa tahun belakangan juga terbit bahan ajar baru untuk sejarah dan untuk bidang lain akan menyusul. Pendek kata, bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber tidak berhenti bergerak.

Apabila hingga kini para mahasiswa tingkat Sarjana Strata-1 masih takut menggunakan sumber sejarah berbahasa Belanda, barangkali memang karena cara pengajaran bahasa Belanda sumber belum sesuai betul dengan sasaran. Waktu yang diberikan fakultas juga terlalu sedikit untuk pengajaran bahasa Belanda, sehingga para dosen sulit memotivasi para mahasiswa. Untuk tingkat Sarjana Strata-2 dan Strata-3 keadaannya lebih baik, karena mereka memiliki motivasi yang cukup baik untuk mendapatkan dan memanfaatkan sumber berbahasa Belanda, mungkin juga karena keharusan atau keterpaksaan. Tanpa sumber berbahasa Belanda, mereka tidak dapat berbuat banyak.

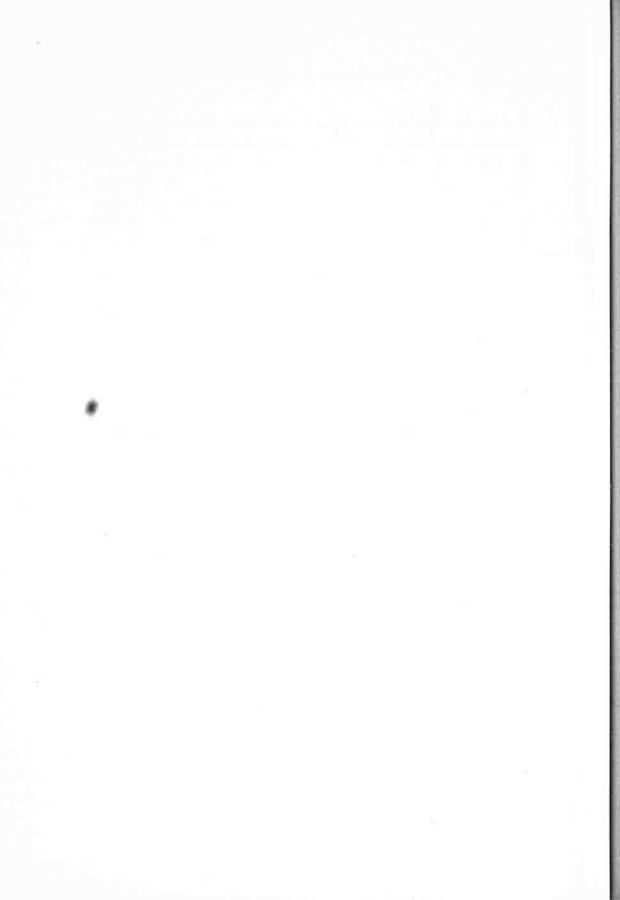
Secara internasional bahasa Belanda sebagai bahasa sumber juga

mendapatkan perhatian. Di kongres *Internationaal Vereniging voor Neerlandistiek* (Perkumpulan Internasional Neerlandistik) tahun 1997 dan 2000 ada perhatian pada persoalan ini. Negara-negara yang pernah diduduki Belanda, misalnya Sri langka, Malaysia (khususnya Malaka), Taiwan (Formosa), India, Jepang, Afrika Selatan, Suriname, tentu juga sangat berkepentingan dengan bahasa Belanda sumber (Groeneboer, 1996).

## **8. Penutup**

Memang, dibandingkan Malaysia, Indonesia sudah cukup berpengalaman dalam pengajaran bahasa Belanda. Namun, dibandingkan dengan banyaknya sumber berbahasa Belanda, waktu yang disediakan untuk pengajaran bahasa Belanda terlalu sedikit dan kadangkala bahasa Belanda diberikan dengan metode yang tidak tepat guna. Di sana sini masih terasa ada beberapa persoalan yang membuat pengajaran bahasa Belanda tidak menghasilkan kemampuan bahasa Belanda yang ditargetkan. Semua faktor pendukung suksesnya pengajaran bahasa Belanda harus ditingkatkan kualitasnya pada masa mendatang.

Pengajar ideal tidak ada dan buku ajar ideal atau mahasiswa ideal juga tidak ada. Tetapi, apabila Anda dosen yang bermotivasi dan dilengkapi dengan bahan ajar yang cocok dan bertujuan jelas, maka Anda dapat berdiri di depan kelas dengan kepercayaan diri. Apabila Anda memiliki tujuan pembelajaran yang jelas, Anda dapat meningkatkan motivasi para mahasiswa.



# AKTIVITAS TRAVEL HAJI FIRMA AL-SEGAFF & CO 1885-1899 BERKEDUDUKAN DI SEMENANJUNG MELAYU DALAM ARSIP BELANDA

Drs M Dien Majid<sup>1</sup>



**B**ANYAK informasi ditemukan dalam arsip, khususnya Arsip zaman Belanda. Arsip berbentuk dokumen tidak pernah dengan sengaja diciptakan untuk kepentingan sumber sejarah, melainkan digunakan untuk kepentingan administrasi pemerintah, organisasi ataupun pihak swasta. Kerana arsip tercipta dalam suasana sezaman, dekat dengan kejadiannya sifat subjektivitas dimungkinkan berskala kecil<sup>2</sup>.

Makalah ini bermaksud hendak membentangkan segala kegiatan pengangkutan dan pelayaran jamaah haji yang dilaksanakan oleh suatu perusahaan di zaman kolonial, berkedudukan di Semenanjung Melayu (Singapura) bernama Firma Al-Segaff & Co. Aktivitasnya mencakup daerah Cocob, Johor dan di kepulauan Indonesia. Sumber data tentang kegiatan keagamaan, termasuk aktivitas haji dapat dijumpai dalam berbagai arsip. Sumber tulisan ini diperoleh hanya dari Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia. Maka tidak menutup kemungkinan dapat dikembangkan lebih lanjut dengan arsip yang terdapat di Arkip Negara Malaysia.

Jamaah haji sebagai unit masyarakat yang sudah dilembagakan dapat berinteraksi yang mempunyai kontinuitas pelaksanaan dihadapkan kepada berbagai permasalahan, sehingga pendekatannya dapat dilakukan dengan pendekatan multidimensional approach<sup>3</sup> yang terpolakan dan bertendensi<sup>4</sup>.

Perjalanan jamaah Haji Nusantara (Indonesia dan Semenanjung



Melayu) menuju tanah Suci Mekah telah dilakukan sejak awal mula Islam berkembang di Nusantara. Hanya saja tidak diketahui secara konkrit kapan dan siapa yang pertama pergi menunaikan ibadah haji itu. Kecuali setelah tumbuhnya kerajaan-kerajaan yang bercorak Islam menjalin hubungan diplomatik dengan kerajaan Turki Usmani guna memperoleh legitimasi kekuasaan dan "gelar Sultan", sekaligus menunaikan ibadah haji, seperti Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa yang kemudian dikenal dengan nama Sultan Haji (Banten) dan Sultan Maulana Matarani (Sultan Agung)<sup>5</sup>. Keinginan menunaikan ibadah haji makin meningkat dari tahun ke tahun seiring semakin meningkatnya jumlah pemeluk Islam.

Hasrat masyarakat muslim menunaikan ibadah haji, sebagai rukun Islam kelima tidak terhenti<sup>6</sup> manakala Nusantara dikuasai oleh pemerintah Kolonial Belanda, yang berbeda agama. Sementara transportasi pelayaran belum memadai; tidak ada fasilitas kamar, kesehatan, bahkan harus berhimpit dengan barang<sup>7</sup>, karena itu orang yang hendak menunaikan ibadah haji itu lebih suka pergi ke Semenanjung Melayu, seperti ke Singapura, atau Penang sebagai tempat awal berlayar ke Mekah. Bahkan setelah terusan Suez dibuka (1869) dan kemajuan teknologi dengan ditemukannya pembuatan kapal uap, hubungan laut antara Arab dengan Nusantara semakin lancar, cepat dan jarak tempuh semakin dekat sehingga menumbuhkan minat orang melaksanakan ibadah haji setiap ada kesempatan.

Tingginya aktivitas pelayaran pengangkutan turut mempengaruhi meningkatnya pengangkutan jamaah haji menyebabkan pemerintah Kolonial Belanda membuka mata untuk menangani langsung transportasi dengan memberi kepercayaan pada tiga perusahaan negara (Kongsi Tiga) yang dikenal dengan nama "Kapal Dines"<sup>8</sup>.

Tumbuhnya sifat fanatik agama sebagai dampak menunaikan ibadah haji menyebabkan pemerintah kolonial Belanda menaruh perhatian dan pengawasan ketat bagi setiap muslim yang akan pergi haji. Berbagai peraturan pergi naik haji dan pelayaran diterapkan, sehingga lahirlah Resolusi 1825, Ordonansi 1859 dan 1922. Semuanya terselubung adanya kepentingan monopoli dan ambisi pemerintah kolonial Belanda untuk menguasai semua pengapalan<sup>9</sup>. Peraturan tersebut berlaku bagi kapal pengangkut dan jamaah haji dari

Nusantara, termasuk juga dari Semenanjung Melayu menuju Laut Merah, Arab diatur bersama Consulat Inggris di Singapura.

## **B. AKTIVITAS FIRMA AL-SEGAFF**

Perusahaan Firma Al-Segaff & Co dipimpin oleh Sayid Muhammad bin Ahmac Al-Segaff yang berkedudukan di Semenanjung Melayu (Singapura) pada akhir abad ke-19 merupakan salah satu agen terkenal. Di Malaka firma ini lebih dikenal daripada ditempat lain. Karena di samping pemilik Firma Alsegaff & Co, sayid juga tuan tanah perkebunan di Pulau Cocob Johor, Malaysia. Hasil dari tanah perkebunan ditambah hasil dari usaha biro perjalanan itu membuat dirinya termasuk orang kaya di tanah jajahan Inggris. Ia bergerak di bidang jasa pemberangkatan dan pemulangan jamaah haji Jawa dari Singapura – Mekkah dan sebaliknya.

Dalam perjalanan waktu, ternyata untuk menggarap tanah perkebunan di Pulau Cocob memerlukan banyak tenaga kerja. Sementara itu upah buruh waktu itu sangat mahal. Hal ini karena bersamaan wak-tunya dengan diberlakukannya kebijaksanaan pintu terbuka di Hindia Belanda menuju pada politik ekonomi liberal.<sup>10</sup> Artinya pemerintah Hindia Belanda tidak perlu lagi menangani langsung kegiatan ekonomi di tanah jajahan seperti yang telah dilakukan pada masa Tanam Paksa (1830-1870) di Indonesia, tapi disewakan kepada pihak swasta untuk mengelolanya. Pemerintah akan mendapatkan keuntungan dari sewa tanah itu.

Akibat buruh banyak datang ke Deli Serdang, mempersulit usaha Al-Segaff mendapat tenaga buruh perkebunannya. Jika tidak, tanah perkebunan itu terbengkalai. Itu sebabnya Firma Al-Segaff memanfaatkan tenaga haji Jawa yang telah selesai menunaikan ibadah yang ingin kembali ke tanah air, tapi tidak cukup uang untuk membeli tiket kapal api. Kepada merekalah lalu ditawarkan pinjaman uang untuk biaya perjalanan pulang. Besarnya uang pinjaman itu masing-masing tidak sama tergantung dari kebutuhan. Untuk membayar hutang ongkos perjalanan itu dibuatlah "kontrak kerja" pada perkebunannya di Cocob. Tawaran ini dilakukan di luar kota Jedah dengan sembunyi-sembunyi. Apabila para jamaah haji bersedia, mereka dibawa dengan kapal api

ke Malaka. Sejak itu para haji bukan lagi orang yang bebas tapi "telah tergadai". Para haji harus bekerja di tanah perkebunannya hingga hutang mereka dinyatakan lunas, baru diperbolehkan melanjutkan perjalanan kembali ke tempat asal (Hindia Belanda).

Melalui putranya, Sayid Omar Bin Mohamad Bin Achmad Alsegaff seorang pengusaha kapal api berusaha mencari calon penumpang ketika berada di Jedah dengan memanfaatkan tenaga Syekh. Mereka berusaha mendapatkan calon penumpang sebanyak-banyaknya, terutama jamaah Jawa yang telah selesai menunaikan ibadah haji. Secara samar seolah tidak ada paksaan para jamaah sejak di Jedah diajak membuat kontrak hutang untuk keperluan transport pulang, namun terlebih dahulu singgah di Cocob sebagai tenaga kerja pada perkebunan Sayid Mohamad Bin Achmad Al-Segaff sampai hutang mereka dinyatakan lunas. Banyak jamaah Hindia Belanda memilih melalui Semenanjung Melayu menuju tanah suci dengan menggunakan jasa Al-Segaff & Co. Menurut Snouck Hurgronje,<sup>11</sup> para jamaah lebih senang dikapal karena boleh masak sendiri dan dalam kapal banyak ditemukan kemurahan hati dan sikap baik para penumpang dan awak kapalnya.

Aktivitas yang dilakukan oleh Al-Segaff terhadap jamaah yang ber-ada di Singapura ataupun di Jedah sudah sejak 1885 dilaporkan oleh Konsul Belanda di Singapura ataupun Jedah kepada Gabenor Jeneral di Batavia ataupun Menteri Koloni di s'Gravenhage tapi tidak pernah mendapat tanggapan. Bahkan dalam surat Konsul Belanda di Singapura untuk Gabenor Jeneral di Batavia tertanggal 12 Desember 1885 nomor 914, mengusulkan agar dilakukan penundaan kembalinya jamaah Jawa ke Singapura sampai ada jaminan atas keamanan jamaah. Pertimbangan konsul membuat surat tersebut didasarkan atas sikap manusiawi terhadap keadaan para jamaah yang sangat menderita di tanah Cocob.<sup>12</sup> Kepedulian Konsul Lavino terhadap nasib jamaah Hindia Belanda bukanlah yang pertama kali terjadi. Dikatakan: "*Reeds door mijne amtsvoorganger werden ijverige pogingen gedaan, om aan de hiermede bedoelde misbruiken een einde te maken.*"<sup>13</sup> (Pejabat sebelum saya telah giat melakukan usaha untuk mengakhiri maksud penyalahgunaan tersebut).

Berbagai usaha telah dilakukan oleh Konsul Belanda di Singapura untuk menjamin keselamatan para jamaah dari tindakan para syekh

dan menjamin agar tidak terjadi pencurian barang-barang jamaah di kapal-kapal. Upaya yang dilakukan pemerintah ialah mengadakan koordinasi dengan Sir Frederich Kepala pengadilan Singapura, Sir Cecil Smith bekas Sekretaris Koloni serta Gabenor Koloni, untuk mengurangi derasnya arus jamaah ke Cocob, harus diberlakukan peraturan emigrasi bagi mereka yang mahu masuk Johor. Sehingga dengan adanya bea emigrasi tersebut membuat harga seorang buruh menjadi mahal dan itu akan mengurangi jumlah kuli asing yg didatangkan ke Cocob.<sup>14</sup>

Pada tahun 1886 Konsul Belanda di Singapura mempersoalkan ini lagi. Usahanya mendapat tanggapan positif dari Straits settlement, bersungguh-sungguh mendengar pengaduan tentang tindakan Said Mohamad Bin Achmad Al-Segaff, ayah Sayid Omar Bin Mohamad Al-Segaff. Dikatakan bahwa jamaah Hindia Belanda telah menandatangani kontrak sebagai pekerja pada firma ini, lalu wajib menjadi buruh di Johor atau di kota-kota lainnya. Sementara Konsul Belanda di Singapura maupun di Jedah sibuk melakukan koordinasi dengan berbagai pihak, usaha Al-Segaff terus berjalan. Rata-rata para jamaah telah mempunyai hutang sebesar \$50 per kepala. Hutang tersebut dikembalikan secara kredit selama 80 kali sebesar \$2, diambil dari gaji bulanan yang diterima sebesar \$4.50. Standar upah buruh ini terlalu murah dibanding upah bulanan dari buruh lepas di koloni Inggris sebesar \$5. Perbedaan upah yang sangat mencolok itu menunjukkan adanya indikasi pemerasan. Ditambah lagi karena tidak ada kontrol dari pihak manapun maka biasa terjadi seorang buruh baru dinyatakan selesai hutang setelah bekerja selama 5 bahkan 10 tahun.

Di tahun 1888 Konsul Belanda di Singapura mengirim surat kepada Gubernur Jenderal tertanggal 25 Juni 1888 no. 651 menyatakan tetap akan berusaha membebaskan jamaah Hindia Belanda dari perjanjian kontrak kerja di Cocob dengan berpura-pura melunasi hutang, dimana Al-Segaff serta bersedia meminjamkan uang sebagai salah satu usaha agar berkenan membuat perjanjian kontrak kerja, sebagai cara untuk mengembalikan hutang. Pada tahun itu (1888), kurang lebih 200 jamaah Hindia Belanda datang ke Cocob selepas menyelesaikan ibadah haji. Sementara di Cocob sudah ada 400 yang sedang menjalani kontrak kerja.

Bahkan dalam surat Menteri Luar Negeri Belanda tertanggal s'-Gravenhage 18 April 1895 yang ditujukan kepada Konsul Belanda di Singapura mengatakan bahwa sejak 1892 praktek menyimpang telah pernah dilakukan Al-Segaff berulang dalam skala besar.<sup>15</sup> Dalam surat tersebut dihimbau agar pemerintah dapat melakukan suatu tindakan preentif terhadap perbuatan Al-Segaff. Konsul hanya bisa berharap bahwa: "Sampai berapa jauh penanganan yang akan dapat dilakukan oleh pemerintah untuk mengakhiri penyimpangan tersebut". Sementara hutang belum lunas, surat jalan para haji (paspor haji – Mekkapassen) itu ditahan oleh Al-Segaff. Walaupun kontrak telah selesai dan jamaah ingin pulang, toh pengembalian paspornya masih dipersulit.

Melihat kesengsaraan yang terus menerus itu, konsul hanya dapat berkata apakah hal seperti itu yang disebut "Contract for Service" seperti yang tertuang dalam "Straits Settlements Labour Contract Ordonantie 1882". Sementara keadaan di lapangan tidak ada kontrol atas kontrak-kontrak yang sudah ditandatangani, banyak kontrak yang di jalani lebih lama dari perjanjian, bahkan hutang dinyatakan tidak pernah terlunasi<sup>16</sup>.

Dalam perkembangannya kemudian (1895) Al-Segaff telah memberlakukan peraturan yang lebih ringan kepada para jamaah. Setelah dilakukan penyelidikan terhadap perubahan sikap Al-Segaff yang memberi kelonggaran seperti itu ternyata bahwa:

1. Atas usaha Konsul Belanda di Singapura (sejak sebelum Konsul Lavino, seperti tuan Read) berusaha bekerja sama dengan Gubernur Koloni Sir Frederick Weld serta Sultan Johor mendesak Al-Segaff untuk mengakhiri petualangannya. Para jamaah yang telah melunasi hutang setiba di Singapura dilarang dibawa ke Cocob.
2. Di Onderneeming Sumatera Timur telah terjadi penurunan harga buruh. Hal ini disebabkan karena buruh-buruh dari Jawa datang dalam jumlah sangat besar (dikenal dengan sebutan kontrak Deli) membuat biaya mendatangkan para haji dari Mekah menjadi mahal dan harus menunggu pengembalian uang cukup lama.

Para Syekh Al-Segaff membantu jamaah melunasi hutangnya

kepada Al-Segaff. Syekh ikut mengantar pulang jamaah ke Jawa dan di sana dilakukan pembayaran pelunasan hutang. Jamaah juga harus menanggung tiket Syekh berangkat ke Jawa dan tiket kembali ke Singapura. Jamaah yang membayar hutangnya kepada syekh dalam jumlah bervariasi. Syekh mendapat komisi besar atas usaha ini. Adapun pertolongan yang dilakukan itu dengan maksud mendapat nama baik dan dengan harapan mendapat jamaah yang lebih banyak pada musim haji yang akan datang. Tindakan ini diizinkan oleh Al-Segaff karena tanpa Syekh ia tidak mampu menagih tunggakan hutang.

Terjadi lagi tindakan penyimpangan terhadap jamaah oleh Al-Segaff. Sebanyak 124 jamaah teken kontrak, menumpang kapal api Ocampo dan tiba di Singapura tanggal 6 Agustus 1895. Al-Segaff tidak lagi memaksa pergi ke Cocob atau ke Johor bagi jamaah yang telah melunasi hutang. Tapi bagi mereka yang tidak dapat mengembalikan hutang harus tetap tinggal di Cocob atau Johor untuk bekerja.

Dengan adanya keluhan yang terus menerus itu, konsul mengambil langkah melakukan koordinasi dengan Sekretaris Koloni dan Sultan Johor untuk membentuk suatu komisi penyelidikan. Penyelidikan dilakukan terhadap 5 orang Jawa (wanita) yang telah meninggalkan Cocob, tidak mau bekerja lagi. Padahal mereka dikatakan telah menerima upah seperti pekerja lainnya. Gubernur Koloni minta kepada Sultan Johor untuk melakukan perlindungan kepada para pekerja asing tersebut bila kesimpulan komisi itu benar adanya.<sup>17</sup> Ke 5 pekerja Jawa itu memberitahukan bahwa dengan satu tahun bekerja, maka hutang sebesar \$24 dapat dibayar. Tapi telah lebih satu tahun bekerja masih dinyatakan belum lunas, bahkan gaji mereka ditahan. Lalu mereka lari dan mengadu ke konsulat. Juga mereka dipaksa untuk mengatakan kedatangan ke Cocob atas kemauan sendiri, mereka tidak akan menuntut Alsegaff dan tidak akan mengadukan penanganan di Cocob kepada konsulat. Keterangan yang disampaikan itu bertentangan dengan hasil penyelidikan komisi Sultan Johor. Nampaknya komisi ini dengan kekuasaannya akan membuktikan kepada dunia luar bahwa di Cocob tidak terjadi sesuatu yang meresahkan.

Melihat kenyataan itu, konsul lalu mengusulkan kepada Sekretaris

Koloni, melarang emigrasi di Cocob.<sup>18</sup> Jika usul itu tetap tidak diindahkan, maka tiap emigran dikenakan tarif emigrasi yang tinggi bila hendak bekerja di Johor. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje<sup>19</sup> pun memberi saran untuk melakukan penyelesaian melalui jalan diplomatik bekerja sama dengan Inggris, Pemerintah Turki dan penguasa Mekkah terhadap kebijakan yang diterapkan pada para jamaah Jawa di tanah suci.<sup>20</sup> Atas dasar saran Dr. Snouck itu maka Gubernur Jenderal dalam surat keputusannya 30 Januari 1896 No. 4 memberi kuasa kepada Menteri Koloni untuk menjalin kerjasama dengan pemerintah terkait (Inggris, Turki) tersebut untuk mengatasinya<sup>21</sup>.

Adanya tekanan yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah baik di Batavia, Inggris, Turki memaksa Al-Segaff memperbaiki aturan-aturan yang diberlakukan untuk para jamaah yang berhutang padanya. Kontrak perjanjian diperbaharui, ditulis dalam bahasa Inggris dan Melayu agar dipahami para haji. Dalam kontrak itu jelas tertulis barang siapa yang berhutang tidak boleh bekerja diluar Cocob. Tapi secara lisan agar orang tertarik dikatakan siapa saja boleh bekerja di manapun sejauh masih diwilayah Straits Settlements sekalipun hutang belum lunas. Dengan penjelasan itu orang berbondong-bondong teken kontrak.

Memang sulit memantau secara pasti sistem kontrak itu karena di pulau itu sangat tertutup. Penjelasan yang disampaikan itu oleh konsul dianggap tindakan yang bertentangan dengan isi kontrak "dat zulks in strijd is met het contract"<sup>22</sup>. Aktivitas pemberangkatan jamaah terjadi lagi pada bulan Juli 1896 dengan kapal api Glenfalach dan Energia. Kapal api Glenfalach membawa penumpang kurang lebih 1100 jamaah, 300 jamaah yang melakukan teken kontrak, 155 orang berasal dari Indonesia, selebihnya dari Semenanjung Melayu. Sedang kapal api Energia berangkat membawa penumpang jamaah haji Hindia Belanda yang telah teken kontrak berjumlah 61 orang.<sup>23</sup> Ketika itu Al-Segaff membekali diri dengan surat-surat yang diberikan oleh Konsul Belanda di Jedah seperti surat keberangkatan yang ditandatangani konsul, stempel konsulat, sementara surat jalan para jamaah yang teken kontrak di cap dengan tinta hijau.

Konsul Belanda di Jedah sangat hiba melihat keadaan jamaah,

bagaikan orang tergadai, tanpa ada perlindungan hukum, bahkan tidak memiliki bekal. Karena itu Ia berpesan kepada Konsul Belanda di Singapura agar melindungi keamanan dan memberi pertolongan serta campur tangan secara hukum terhadap setiap tindakan Al-Segauff.<sup>24</sup>

Konsulat mohon kepada Gubernur Jenderal agar pemerintah Hindia Belanda bersedia memulangkan mereka tanpa dimintai ongkos, sehingga terbebas dari pengaruh kontrak ataupun para syekh. Menurut Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, bahwa akar pemasalahan sebenarnya terletak pada para jamaah itu sendiri. Pemberlakuan *Retourbillet* (karcis Pergi-pulang) seperti yang diusulkan berkali-kali oleh Konsul Belanda di Singapura ataupun Jedah memang bagus tapi juga banyak masalahnya, meskipun demikian pemerintah akan mencoba menerapkannya<sup>25</sup>.

Dr. Snouck sekali lagi mengingatkan kepada pemerintah bahwa memang pada masa lalu, firma Alsegauff benar-benar mempunyai tujuan mengadakan kontrak kerja dengan mengeksploitasi para jamaah untuk mendapat tenaga kerja yang murah bagi perkebunannya di Cocob. Tapi sejak di Singapura melalui cara-cara yang biasanya bisa diperoleh tenaga kuli dengan mudah dan murah, maka cara-cara lama dengan mengeksploitasi tenaga haji itu lalu ditinggalkan. Kini tujuan utama firma itu adalah memupuk bunga yang tinggi melalui peminjaman uang dengan pengembalian yang cepat. Karena itu kontrak kerja yang telah ditandatangani sejak di Jedah lalu menahan jamaah yang telah teken kontrak setiba di Singapura itu, seolah-olah akan dibawa ke Cocob tapi hanya pura-pura saja. Padahal sebenarnya hanya untuk menunggu hingga kerabat kerja mengirim uang untuk melunasi hutang mereka. Atau syekh bersedia membantu maka terjadilah hutang baru bukan lagi dengan Alsegauff tapi dengan syekh yang tentu saja mendapat bunga tinggi sekali. Pembayaran kepada syekh akan dilakukan setiba di tanah air.<sup>26</sup> Para haji bukan fakir miskin yang perlu mendapat uluran tangan, tapi mereka adalah orang yang layak kredit. Karena apapun uluran tangan pemerintah baik *retourbillet* ataupun tiket gratis pulang dari Singapura ke Batavia, mereka tetap akan berhutang karena di-belanjakan untuk hal-hal yang tidak perlu.<sup>27</sup> Namun karakteristik pribumi ini belum dilakukan penelitian lebih mendalam oleh Snouck. Bagi mereka yang ingin kembali ke tempat tinggal atau bekerja di tempat lain tapi tidak memperoleh kembali paspor haji dari Firma



Alsegaff dapat diganti dengan paspor konsulat (Konsulatpassen).<sup>28</sup>

Dalam perjalanan perusahaan Firma Alsegaff ada terjadi vluktuasi keuangan. Di satu saat memperoleh keuntungan. Tapi di saat yang lain mengalami kerugian. Kali ini Al-Segaff mengalami kerugian yang cukup berarti. Dari usaha membungkakan uang sebesar \$23.000, ternyata baru mendapat uang \$4.000, para kreditur tidak banyak lagi yang tinggal di Singapura sehingga sulit dilacak keberadaannya. Berdasar pengalaman itulah maka Al-Segaff tidak lagi gegabah, mudah memberi pinjaman uang kepada jamaah. Ia bersedia memberangkatkan jamaah ke Singapura apabila jamaah itu telah lebih dahulu membayar karcis penumpang. Ini berarti melalui prosedur yang semestinya. Sisi lain bila pemerintah baik Hindia Belanda ataupun di Singapura telah memberlakukan tiket pergi-pulang. Itu ancaman baginya. Dalam laporan Konsul Belanda di Singapura kepada Gubernur Jenderal 5 Agustus 1896 no. 804. lampiran 729 hal itu dibenarkan bahwa pemerintah singapura juga menyarankan agar memberlakukan *retourbillyet* bagi jamaah yang akan berangkat melalui Singapura dan Penang ke Jedah. Namun menurut Kolonial Belanda bahwa secara politik tidak harus dipaksakan.

Dari surat R. Abukabar penterjemah Konsulat Belanda di Jedah untuk Konsul Jenderal Belanda di Bangkok J.E. de Sturler 18 Januari 1898 Rhs, terlihat bagaimana usaha yang dilakukan Alsegoff untuk meng-gagalkan *retourbillyet*:

"...doeloe Joesoef Gotta (kepala Syech), Sagaff (Said Omar Alsegaff), Nasif (Oemar Nasif Syarif Besar di Jedah) meminta pada toean Robinson (agen Nederland Lloyd di Belanda) soepaia pembesar *compagnij* kapal die Europa akan larang pada agent-agentnja di Indie djangan kloerken *retour biljet* pada orang-orang hadji... Maka sekarang saia soeda dapet soerat soerat dari sobat sobar die Indie tertoeis Oktober-November 1897 jang agent-agent disana firma kawat dari Eupora terseboet djangan kloerken Rt. biljet pada orang orang hadji, dari itoe ini moesim trada jang bahwa Rt.biljet....adapoen magsoednja itoe empat orang djikalau orang orang hadji pakej Rt. biljet ija mereka itoe tida bisa tjoeriken al maalaam dan djoega kalau orang hadji tiada de-ngan Rt. biljet brangkali nanti kombalinja banjak kakoerangan

boewat siwa kapal mendjadi musti tjari oetang sagoff tida mare trima begitoe soepaia dia tinggal diatas akan membetoelkan dirinja dari pada jang memetjahkan dia poenja contract serta dia berharap dapat idzin atau prenta dari Gouvernement Englis boewat angkat lagi bri oetang pada orang hadji....<sup>30</sup>

Persekongkolan Al-Segaff dan kroni-kroninya harus segera diakhiri. Tapi karena hambatan itu berada di negeri orang jelas harus mampu bekerjasama dengan negara-negara lain. Melalui para konsul Belanda di Singapura atau Jedah usaha pembrantasan itu terus dilakukan tanpa kenal lelah. Dengan adanya kerja terpadu Batavia – Singapura – Johor – Jedah – Turki menyulitkan usaha Al-Segaff menjaring jamaah. Lambat laun usaha Al-Segaff pun berakhir.

### **C. KESIMPULAN**

Berdasarkan uraian di atas maka dapat disimpulkan bahwa haji di Nusantara dan Semenanjung Melayu dilaksanakan semenjak Agama Islam masuk dan berkembang di sana. Kemudian bertambah ramai se-telah hilir mudiknya kapal api dan dibukanya terusan Suez (1869) melalui Laut Merah.

Semenjak Kolonial menguasai Nusantara, keinginan masyarakat naik haji tidak pernah redup, bahkan dapat menimbulkan sikap fanatisme. Untuk mengatasi rasa takut itu, pemerintah kolonial Belanda campur tangan mengurus persoalan haji di Nusantara dan Semenanjung Melayu.

Pemberangkatan dan pemulangan jamaah haji dipercayakan kepada tiga perusahaan pelayaran (disebut Kongsi Tiga). Tetapi dalam perkembangannya perusahaan tersebut tidak mampu menanggulangnya sehingga harus bekerjasama dengan perusahaan swasta. Salah satu perusahaan swasta itu adalah Firma Al-Segaff & Co.

Firma Al-segaff & Co dipimpin oleh Sayid Muhammad bin Achmad Al-Segaff, berkedudukan di Singapura. Tetapi wilayah operasionalnya mencakup Cocob, Johor dan kepulauan Indonesia. Perusahaan itu memanfaatkan jamaah haji menjadi pekerja di perkebunan karet di Cocob, dengan cara memberi pinjaman uang

untuk ongkos, tapi dikembalikan dengan cara kredit melalui potong gaji kontrak kerja setiap bulan. Bagi jamaah, cara yang demikian itu bukanlah suatu pemerasan, melainkan merupakan bantuan bagi mereka yang tidak punya dana untuk melaksanakan ibadah haji.

Tindakan penyimpangan yang dilakukan oleh Al-Segaff mendorong pemerintah Belanda menerapkan peraturan-peraturan pemberangkatan dan pemulangan jamaah haji, termasuk penerapan "retourbillyet", sehingga lambat laun perusahaan Al-Segaff menurun dan tidak dapat beroperasi lagi.

Data aktivitas Firma Al-Segaff ini dapat ditemukan pada Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, tanpa menafikan data yang ada di negara lain.

## UNDERWATER HERITAGE IN MALAYSIA

Dato' Dr Adi Haji Taha



**T**HIS paper attempts to discuss the Dutch heritage in Peninsular Malaysia, with a focus on its underwater heritage. Early maritime trade in Peninsular Malaysia goes far back in time. This is evident from the discovery, on land, in many parts of Peninsular Malaysia, of a number of bronze artifacts believed to have originated from the *Dongson* culture of Vietnam. At the beginning of the Christian era, trade ties were already in existence between the two great civilizations of China and India. Western presence in Peninsular Malaysia began in early 1500s with the arrival of the Portuguese and their subsequent conquest of Malacca in 1511. The Dutch came to South-east Asia in 1619, and consolidated its hold on the Indonesian archipelago by expelling the British in 1623 from Ambonesia (Lee Kam Hing 1998:45). The Dutch then seized Malacca in 1641 from the Portuguese and from Malacca gradually extended its influence and existence in Peninsular Malaysia. Thus began the Dutch era in Peninsular Malaysia. This era of Dutch political and economic control over Malay peninsula came to an end with the signing of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty in 1824.

There are numerous archives relating to Dutch presence in Peninsular Malaysia, and a number of seminars and workshops have been devoted to discussing various aspects of Dutch colonization in this part of the world. Unlike these archival materials, there is not much documentation or lists relating to the physical heritage of the

Dutch era in Peninsular Malaysia. The most prominent Dutch heritage buildings in the country are located in the heart of Malacca. They include the Stadthuys, the Christ Church, and others. There are a few other Dutch heritage sites elsewhere which have hardly been publicised. I shall take this opportunity to discuss those heritage sites that have been preserved and maintained by the Department of Museums and Antiquities.

### **Fort Filipina and Kota Simpang**

Fort Filipina and Simpang Forts are two old forts sited on the Linggi river, one at the river mouth (within Malacca territory) and the other 10 kilometres upstream at the confluence of the Rembau and Linggi rivers in Negeri Sembilan.

The fort was named Fort Filipina by the Dutch who first built it in about 1757. A treaty of friendship between the Dutch and the Bugis was signed in the Fort on 1 January 1758. The Bugis leader, Daeng Kemboja, who had attacked Malacca on several occasions, had made his headquarters at Linggi in Negeri Sembilan some years back. The 1758 treaty gave the Dutch the monopoly over the tin from Linggi, Rembau and Klang, and Fort Filipina had been built as a show of strength. The fort stands on the promontory overlooking the mouth of the Linggi river, the only route by which the tin of Sungei Ujong and Rembau could be exported for sale.

This fort was excavated in November 1935 under the direction of Mr. H.D. Collings of the Raffles Museum. A musket ball, an iron cannon ball, a large quantity of broken pottery and six Dutch East India Company coins were found during the excavation.

Kota Sempang ("the fort at the junction") stands on the bank of the Linggi on a short neck of land which was once owned by the Straits Settlements. The existence of this fort, which has no direct land connection with the rest of the territory, and the probable origin of the fort is explained in Sir R. O. Winstedt's "History of Negeri Sembilan".

"In the '50s the 'illegal' collection of taxes on the Linggi River



Fort Filipina and Simpang Forts are two old forts sited on the Linggi river  
*Source: Department of Museum and Antiquities*

led to much correspondence with Rembau and Sungei Ujong. In 1851 the Penghulu of Rembau promised to make enquiries but in spite of a meeting and agreement between the Governor, the Yam Tuan and the Penghulu of Rembau taxes were still being collected by one Lebai Kulup at Kuala Linggi in May, 1852. In August 1855 the Klana eventually took vigorous action to drive Lebai Kulup out of this tax collectors' stockade at Simpang on the Linggi River".

It is recorded that a gunboat was periodically sent up the river to see that no further stockades were being erected and "*in 1877 first Sungei Ujong and then Rembau ceded the bone of contention, Simpang, to the British*".

The fort is roughly rectangular, 170 metres long and approximately 70 metres wide. The banks are composed of laterite about 2.5 metres thick at the top. The bank closest to the river has disappeared. There is a dry ditch outside the walls, 2.5 metres deep and 7 metres wide. When the fort was occupied there was probably a strong wooden stockade along the top of the banks.

At each corner of the fort, inside the bank, is a rectangular pit the

largest of which measures 13 metres wide, and 4 metres deep. Its purpose is not clear.

Articles found during excavation included 2 iron cannon balls, numerous fragments of pottery including a number of plates (European) with willow patterns, a gun flint and a number of iron pieces which could have been used as strengthening bands for a gun carriage. Two other iron cannon balls were recovered from the Linggi river bed opposite the fort, one of which is oval in shape with flattened ends. It is 0.5 metres in circumference and 0.6 metres long. There are remains of other earth works on a commanding natural site about 2.4 kilometres further upstream in Negeri Sembilan territory, in Bukit Tiga Rubber Estate.

### **Fort Altingsburg and Fort Utrecht, Kuala Selangor**

● The Kuala Selangor lighthouse that stands on the hill behind the small town is a local landmark. Close to it, but invisible until the hill is climbed, are two Forts which, though built by the Malays and have been removed from Malay occupation for just one year in the last two centuries, are listed in survey plans with Dutch names. Their history has been written by the Keeper of the East India Company Archives at the Hague, Holland.

In 1758 the Ruler of Selangor, Sultan Salahu'd-din, agreed to admit to the harbours of his territory only those ships which had been provided with a pass by the V.O.C. (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) or by the Ruler of Johore – who was at that time an ally of the Dutch. In addition the V.O.C. was allowed duty-free trading in Selangor and had the exclusive right to purchase all Selangor tin at a fixed price.

The prestige of the V.O.C. had weakened considerably after the fourth Anglo Dutch war (1780-1784). This led the rulers of Johore and Riau to open hostilities against the Dutch. The Ruler of Selangor joined Johore and Riau and tried to capture Malacca. Thereupon the V.O.C. dispatched a squadron commanded by Jacob Pieter van Braam. Malacca was safeguarded and an expedition was organised to fight

the Ruler of Selangor. Kuala Selangor was captured in July 1784, and the Ruler and a large number of inhabitants fled inland.

The Commander of this expedition was Captain-lieutenant Dirk van Hogendorp, whose reports form part of the records of the family Van Braam, but can also be found in the archives "Dirk van Hogendorp."

Raja Mohamed Ali, Ruler of Siak (Sumatra) was appointed regent of Selangor by the V.O.C. and the heir to the throne of Siak, Said Ali became his Stadtholder in Selangor. The V.O.C. in its treaty with Mohamet Ali (6-13 August 1784) had to promise to construct at Kuala Selangor an earthen fortress with cannon and ammunition and to maintain at the fortress, at least for a certain time, proper occupational forces to protect the town against attacks by the original Ruler and his subjects.

When the Dutch arrived a fortress was already in existence on the top of a hill. The Dutch called this fortress Altingsburg after the then Governor General Alting. The land surrounding the fort was cleared of trees and bushes in order to remove cover for the enemy to hide. A wooden palisade was constructed at the entrance, as the fortress had neither gate nor fence. Two footpaths leading up the hill from the South-Eastern side of the bay were protected by a small battery. It appears that these two footpaths merged into one leading to the fortress. A cannon was installed to prevent incursions on this path.

On the southern bank of the river another fortress, built of stone, was sited on the rocks rising rather steeply from the sea. When on his inspection at the bay, Van Braam had to climb the cliffs to get inside the fort. This Malay fortress was designed according to European style, and had small bastions. The walls were made of heavy stones from the cliffs, joined by masonry. As this fortress was rather high and as the bay near the fortress was very shallow, large ships with heavy cannon could not come close to direct their fire at the fortress. For the defenders on the other hand, the fortress was excellently situated to protect the entrance of the river, as the cannonball from the fortress could easily reach the other side of the bay. When the Dutch came they found sixty eight pounders. They left the fortress as it was, and gave it the name Utrecht after Van Braam's



flagship. The fortress Uretch and the fortress Altingsburg were connected by a road across the swamps between the two forts. The Dutch seem to have considered constructing a dyke to improve the communication between the two forts. It is not clear from the records if the construction was in fact meant for fortification or merely to construct the dyke as mentioned above. As a tactical vantagepoint from which the cannon could reach the beach as well as the original site of the earthen fortification, the Dutch constructed a new earthen fortification and to that end pulled down the house of an Englishman, a certain Captain Scott, who lived in Kuala Selangor as a private trader. This new fortification was called "*Van Braam's batterij*'.

Thus it would seem that there were three fortified sites. It seems possible that for the "*Van Braam's batterij*" material was taken from the demolished fortification and perhaps from the house that was pulled down. The three fortifications were all sited on the Southern bank of the river. North of the river there had also been some batteries, and the Malays had provided longer and more violent resistance there than elsewhere, under the command of an Arab called Said Japhar. The Dutch did not repair these batteries.

Some cannons and ammunition fell into the hands of the Dutch and were left in the fortresses as they could still be used. In the new "*Van Braam's batterji*" the Dutch placed four heavy and two light ones of these.

The records of the Van Braam family contain lists of the cannons found in the fortresses, with reference to number and weight. The number of guns stored by the Dutch is also known. According to Dirk van Hogendorp 68 cannons were taken, and this corresponds with the number mentioned in the list.

The records do not mention whether the guns found by the Dutch were of local make, or imported from Europe. An English sailor, who had deserted the V.O.C. and who had entered the service of Captain Scott, had reported to the Dutch before the forts were taken, that the guns were in pretty poor shape; that only a few were securely mounted, with the rest just left abandoned on the sand.

When the forts fell to the Dutch, the defendants left behind only

one flag. This flag was sent back by Van Braam to Holland to be presented to the Stadtholder William V, and can, to this day, still be seen in the Royal Palace at Amsterdam.

The Dutch were not pleased with the state and the strength of the fortifications, yet they considered it too expensive to reinforce them, even if the new regent Said Ali were to fulfil his part of the obligations to share the cost.

Nor did the general situation appear very rosy to the Dutch. An endeavour to capture the original Ruler, who had fled to Pahang, was of no avail. The local inhabitants were not to be induced, even upon promise of general amnesty, to return to their homes. The local regents refused to recognize Said Ali as their Ruler and were not prepared to trade their tin as long as the rightful Ruler was not reinstated. Trade in general was at complete standstill, while Said Ali spent precious time robbing and plundering the region.

Thus when the Malay counter attack came on the night of 28 June 1785 the Dutch, after repulsing the first assault, did not put up a serious resistance, and took to their ships. The Dutch commanders, Gerardus Zwykhardt and August Gravensteyn, had orders to demolish the cannons and ammunition if they were to abandon the forts, but in practice these orders were not followed. On their return to Malacca the commanders were court-martialed. The report of the proceedings clearly shows that the commanders had mismanaged their task and had seriously neglected the upkeep of the fortresses.

After the Ruler of Selangor, Sultan Ibrahim, had reoccupied his Kingdom, the Dutch sent a new expedition under the command of the Chief Trader of Malacca, Couperus, to blockade the Selangor River. Apparently Van Braam had little inclination to try to recapture the forts.

The V.O.C. wanted peace and so did the Sultan of Selangor, who offered conditions which were judged reasonable by the authorities in Batavia but which had then already been turned down by the Governor of Malacca.

In the meanwhile the Sultan reinforced the existing fortifications. But as the Dutch did not dare to attack the reinforced forts, and as the

blockade was extremely harmful to the trade of the Malays, the parties were able to reach a settlement on 29 June 1786.

By this treaty the Sultan of Selangor recognized the suzerainty of V.O.C., granting it economic privileges, the principal one being that the whole tin produce of his country should be sold to the V.O.C. at a fixed price. The Dutch however no longer demanded the right to occupy one or more of the forts.

The forts had been in Dutch hands for less than a year. With the exception of Van Braam's Batterij they did little to change or fortify them.

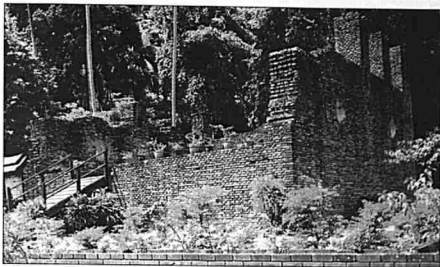
For the V.O.C. this treaty meant an advantageous conclusion to a hazardous and costly adventure, in which the Dutch had little realized the grave consequences of their temporary occupation of the forts at Kuala Selangor.

### **Dutch Fort in Pangkor**

In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Dutch East India Company, which had secured a monopoly of the tin trade in Perak, blockaded the Perak Coast to protect its trade from the Malay and other pirates (Illanun) who frequented the coast.

Telok Gedong (literally "warehouse bay") provided the best anchorage in the neighbourhood; and in 1670 orders were received from Batavia to build a wooden fort close to the bay, which was garrisoned by one Dutch Sergeant, three soldiers and three sailors. In about 1680 a brick fort replaced the original wooden structure and its remains can still be seen today.

William Dampier, the English explorer and adventurer, who lived from 1652 to 1715, landed on Pangkor Island and visited the fort in 1689 and described it in some detail. The garrison had been greatly increased, and he recorded that there was accommodation for the Dutch Governor and other officers on the upper floor and that thirty soldiers had living quarters on the ground floor. Twelve cannons also stood there for use if required. The Governor, he reported, also had a house near the beach and only withdrew to the fort at night or



**Fort in Pangkor, 1670**

*Source: Department of Museum and Antiquities*

the island was attacked.

The presence of the Dutch garrison gravely interfered with the activities of the Malay pirates who were accustomed to preying on Malay ships which carried tin up the coast from as far south as Telok Anson (now *Telok Intan*) to Penang, where they could obtain a better price than from the Dutch. These pirates made a number of attacks on the Dutch, and the Dutch retaliated by attacking and pursuing the Malay pirates. In 1690, a large party of Malays under the leadership of Panglima Kulop attacked and massacred the Dutch garrison, and the fort was abandoned until 1745.

There is a tradition that on this occasion the Malays had carried away a little Dutch girl whom they found in the fort. There is a picture of a little girl being carried off by a tiger engraved on a rock about 68 metres from the fort, which is believed to relate to this incident. This rock also bears some lettering which has not yet been deciphered.

The fort was reconstructed in 1745 and a garrison of 30 Dutch and 30 locally recruited soldiers was sent to occupy it, but the cost

of maintaining this outpost was found to be too uneconomical, resulting in the fort being abandoned in 1748. It has remained unoccupied ever since.

### **Underwater Dutch Heritage**

Now I will focus on the underwater Dutch heritage that have been found, recovered and researched in Peninsular Malaysian waters. The list of shipwrecks of the Dutch period I am presenting here is not exhaustive. There may be many more Dutch shipwrecks that are yet to be identified and investigated. It was known that Malacca provided anchorage to hundreds of ocean going ships that visited its shores at any one time. In 1987, the Department of Museums organised an underwater survey in the estuary of Malacca, but unfortunately the poor visibility inside the waters in the estuary made it impossible to under-take a systematic research. However, through mere touch and feel the divers managed to bring up numerous artifacts which among others include a Tullermain or Beardman's jar of early 17<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

### **Risdam**

In 1984, the Royal Malaysian Customs intercepted a vessel that was engaged in looting a wreck site near Mersing, Johore. This made news at that time, forcing the hands of the then Department of Museums to undertake a brief expedition in collaboration with the Royal Malaysian Navy to assess the extent and nature of the wreckage. This expedition brought to light 110 tin ingots, 40 elephant tusks and other items. Later, materials taken by the looters to Singapore were repatriated to Malaysia following a hearing by a subordinate court in the island state.

Due to the significance of the site and the excitement of the discovery, being the first Dutch Indiaman to be found in this region, the Department of Museums requested expertise from the Western Australian Maritime Museum and assistance from the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Kuala Lumpur for the purpose of undertaking a more scientific investigation of the wreck site. This expedition was carried out in 1985. It was led by Jeremy Green from Australia, with the support of the

Royal Malaysian Navy whose divers joined the weeklong survey of the wreck site. Professor Jaap Buijn of Leiden University also joined in the expedition (Green and Ganggadharam 1985).

The *Risdam* was built in 1713 for the Chamber of Hoorn. She had made two voyages to Southeast Asia. The first departed from Amsterdam on 27 September 1714, arriving in Batavia on 22 April 1715 with 119 people on board. The *Risdam* returned to the Netherlands on 16 January 1717, arriving in the Netherlands on 30 July 1718, and back in Batavia on 13 August 1719 with 162 people on board (Bruijn et al 1979).

The vessel is described as a *fluit* of 38.8 metres long. According to the records, the vessel loaded tin at Ligor in South Thailand and then went to Ayutthaya on 27-29 November 1726 where she loaded sappan wood, barrels of ginger, 40 pots of achar, 30 pots of klak (lime, Malay kapur) and 150 empty glazed pots. The vessel had a leak at the time it left Ayutthaya on 8 December 1726. The leak became worse when the Captain decided to run aground near Pulau Batu Gajah to save the lives of the crew. It sank on 1 January 1727. *Risdam* was found about 500 metres to the north of Pulau Batu Gajah, about two kilometers off the coast of Mersing, Johore.

The artifacts recovered from this expedition comprises two stoneware jars from either Swankhalok, Sisatchanalai or Ban Rachang kilns in central Thailand. Tin ingots constituted the major cargo ferried by the *Risdam*. According to the records, a total of 28,342 pont (12.8 tons) in 459 ligoore baren were loaded in the vessel, with each ingot weighing 27.79 kilograms and measuring 402 mm in length, 182 mm in width and 80 mm in height. The top surface of the ingot was stamped with the VOC mark. The letter 'L' imprinted above the VOC mark is believed to stand for Ligor. Elephant tusks, some measuring 1.3 metres long, formed part of the cargo, but was not mentioned in the inventory of the cargo carried on the vessel. Sappanwood, in the shape of short logs measuring some 500mm in length and about 10 mm in diameter, was noted during the excavation. The record showed that *Risdam* carried 37,199 pieces of sappanwood weighing some 209 tonnes (each weighing about 5.63 kilograms). A number of small conical-shaped lead ingots were also recovered from the site. They were not included in the vessel's inventory, but was commonly found on ships trading with Siam. Other items recovered

by the expedition included green glass bottle, blue and white Chinese porcelain, salt-glazed Chinese jug fragments (possibly belonging to a beardman's jug), fragments of Martaban jar and leather shoe remnants.

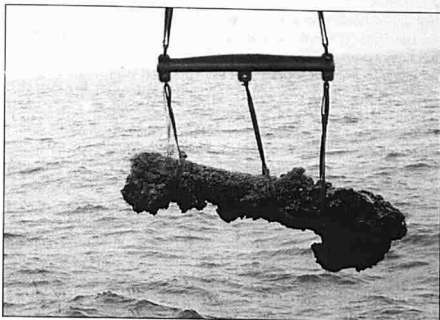
The discovery of Risdam is of great significance. It is the best known example of a *fluit*, and represents the second best preserved *Dutch East Indiaman* found to date, the best being the Amsterdam found off Hastings, England (Green and Ganggadharam 1985). Because of the shallow waters between 5-6 metres, and the well-preserved nature of the hull, the site is extremely interesting and important. Risdam offers useful records and data on domestic and regional trade.

### **Nassau**

The discovery of the Nassau wreck was a sheer coincidence. Transea Sdn Bhd, a company which was given a license to survey and salvage 'Caroline' along Bambek Shoal off the coast of Cape Richardo or Tanjong Tuan, Negeri Sembilan uncovered a cannon which pointed to Dutch origin. The Department of Museums and Antiquities was notified, and proposals to survey and undertake systematic research of the wreck was forwarded to the authorities. By August, 1995, the Government through the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism approved and granted funds for the project. It was suggested that the project team should involve local and foreign institutions of higher learning with a long history of underwater research programme. Thus began one of the most important maritime archaeological excavations in the region, represented by Oxford University, Transea (M) Sdn. Bhd and University Kebangsaan Malaysia. It was considered the first underwater excavation to have been properly carried out in the country.

The Nassau wreckage was under 80 feet of corrosive salt water and was not conducive to work in. Almost all of the artifacts were hidden away under crusty layers of mud and sand and the vessel structures had rotted away in the murky depths. The bronze and iron cannons, once so devastating and powerful in their wrath had long been silenced.

The first artifact that was hoisted up was a bronze cannon with the broken mouth (*muncung*), of slightly over two metres in length and about 0.7 metres in diameter. The finding of the cannon lighten up several



**Cannon from the *Nassau* lifted from the sea depths at Bambek Shoal,  
Negeri Sembilan**

*Source: Department of Museum and Antiquities*

questions as it carried the inscriptions depicting a ship and the words 'DE VEREENICHDE OOST INDISCHE COMPANGHIE TOT AMSTERLEDAM ANNO 1604'. The abbreviations V.O.C was not used until 1700s. In the 1600s, the name of the Company was written in full. The research also revealed that other ships had also sunk at or around Bambek Shoal. It was the venue of the famous Battle of Cape Ricardo between the Dutch and Portuguese fleet, which occurred in 1606 at Bambek Shoal which was close to what is now known as Tanjung Tuan, Negeri Sembilan. Some 1.2 kilometres from the *Nassau*, Portuguese cannons were found. They had beautifully-detailed motifs of dolphins and the initials 'P-DIAS' and 'PDB' – a reference to Pedro Dias Bocarro, a famous cannon maker of that time.

The other artifacts found have been assured of their rightful place in the museum. The porcelain piece, the musket balls and apostles, the bell shaped land mortars, the bellaine jar and jarlets are among items used by these people who must have desperately cried, knowing full well that



they would not live to see another day.

The Battle of Cape Richardo, points to a fierce battle between the two super powers of that era in the region as well as in Europe, namely the Portuguese and the Dutch. As for the Dutch fleet it comprised 11 ships, which sailed from Holland on 12 May 1605 under Admiral Cornelius Mattelief. At the same time a Portuguese fleet sailed from Goa with 20 Portuguese ships under Viceroy Don Martin d'Alphonso de Castro. They encountered each other in battle in August 1606. During the battle, the Nassau had been attacked by Santa Cruz, one of the ships of the Portuguese armada. The Dutch admiral somehow got the sails of his ship, the Orange, entangled with a neighbouring vessel, the Middlesburg. Seizing this opportunity, the Portuguese attacked these two ships, using the Sao Salvador and Don Duartes de Guerra's galleon. The Orange eventually managed to break free, but the other three vessels caught fire and sank.

The Dutch, who enjoyed good relationship with the local rulers, received help from the Malay Sultanate, the Johore Sultan and the Kedah Sultan. On 19 August 1606 the Dutch Admiral Matelief had requested permission from the Johore Sultan for the fleet to retreat into the Johore river to prepare for more ammunition. This battle was part of a long drawn Dutch campaign against the Portuguese. They were unable to capture Malaka until 1641, more than three decades after that initial skirmish.

## **Conclusion**

The paper is the first attempt to present Dutch physical heritage in Peninsular Malaysia both on land and in the sea. The built heritage discussed above supplement and is closely connected to historical events that have been recorded by historians in the Malay Peninsula. Built heritage preserved in their environment will enhance our understanding of the events of history surrounding them. Underwater cultural heritage adds further to our understanding of history. The two wrecks presented here represent two different activities at sea : Risdam was a trading vessel, while Nassau was a warship. They serve to enhance our understanding of the historical context involved, and the technology that was in use.

## FOOTNOTES

### CROSSING THE BORDERS OF MALAYSIAN HISTORY

by Prof Dr Leonard Y Andaya

- 1 In referring to the "Malay world" in the pre-nineteenth century, I am including not only the Malay Peninsula, but also the east coast of Sumatra, the Riau-Lingga archipelagoes, the islands in the southern part of the South China Sea, and the southwest Borneo coastal areas with their immediate hinterlands.
- 2 TANAP ("Towards a New Age of Partnership") is a Leiden University initiative funded by the Dutch government. It is intended to encourage the study of the VOC archives by young scholars from those countries which had been part of the VOC area of influence. This includes young scholars from Malaysia, and one is currently in the Netherlands undergoing the training program in language and methodology which would enable him to exploit these archives for the writing of Malaysian history.
- 3 During my career, I have used the VOC archives and indigenous materials to write the histories of Johor and the Straits of Malacca, South Sulawesi, and Maluku in the early modern period. They appeared as *The Kingdom of Johor: Economic and Political Developments* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975); *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague, 1981); and *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu, 1993).
- 4 Among these were R. J. Wilkinson and R.O. Winstedt, 'A History of Perak,' *JMBRAS*, 12, 1 (1934); R.O. Winstedt 'A History of Johore (1365-1895 AD),' *JMBRAS* 10, 3 (1932); 'A History of Negeri Sembilan,' *JMBRAS*, 12, 3 (1934); 'A History of Selangor,' *JMBRAS*, 12, 3 (1934); and 'Notes on the History of Kedah,' *JMBRAS*, 14, 3 (1936); Linehan, 'A History of Pahang,' 1-256; and Anker Rentse, 'History of Kelantan,' *JMBRAS*, 12, 2 (1934). For a discussion of this development, see Barbara Watson Andaya, "Beyond the Negeri: The Declining Study of Pre-Nineteenth Century Malaysian History". Paper presented to the 16<sup>th</sup> Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, 27-31 July 2000, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.
- 5 B.W. Andaya, "Beyond the Negeri", p. 7.
- 6 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). Maier may have also intended it as a criticism of the "Indonesianists", i.e. the Dutch scholars of colonial Indonesia who used the methods criticized by Maier for the production of knowledge about the former Dutch colony.
- 7 Hendrik Maier, *In the Center of Authority* (Ithaca, 1988). This work is also an example of a rereading of the *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*, which has long been dismissed as a source with little historical value. Maier demonstrates that other interpretations can be found in such texts when considered from a Malay and not Malayist viewpoint.

- 8 Taufik Abdullah and Sartono Kartodirdjo, authors of the multi-volumed History of Indonesia, argued during a discussion at a colloquium on national histories and historiographies in Brunei in 1996 that an important task of Indonesian historians was to promote the unity of their new nation. They pointed out that the needs of the nation overrode for the moment the interest in local areas and histories. Such reasoning may have inspired other historians in many other Southeast Asian nations whose independence was only granted in the middle of the twentieth century.
- 9 Clifford Geertz long recognized the shift in scholarship, and thus characterized this development as a "blurring of genres". C. Geertz, "Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought", in C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge* (New York, 1983), pp. 19-35.
- 10 The most influential study was E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963).
- 11 It was founded in 1929 by Marc Bloc and Lucien Febvre. Referring to the variety of innovative approaches as the "Annales School" became more widespread after the journal became affiliated with the Sixth Section of the ...cole Pratique des Hautes ...tudes after World War II. Among its long list of distinguished scholars are Fernand Braudel and Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie, perhaps the most well-known in the English-speaking world.
- 12 Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 1-3.
- 13 Hayden White is the most well-known proponent of this view, though he has modified his stance over the years in face of criticisms from historians and others. See his *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore, 1978) and his "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth", in S. Friedlander (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).
- 14 See, for example, a collection of articles on the Philippines providing this "discrepant" viewpoint. Vicente L. Rafael, *Discrepant Histories* (Philadelphia, 1995).
- 15 William Cummings, "History-Making, Making History: Writing the Past in Early Modern Makassar", PhD Dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1999.
- 16 Helen Creese, "The 'Javanization' of Bali: Creating Cultural Identities". Paper presented to the Asian Studies Association, Boston, 11-14 March 1999.
- 17 Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped* (Honolulu, 1994).
- 18 R. Raben and H. Spijkerman (eds.), *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602-1795) ('s-Gravenhage, 1992).*
- 19 Only very rarely was the original letter written in a local language appended to the documents sent to the Netherlands. The originals were sent and kept in Batavia, many of which have now been lost.
- 20 Among these are Cornelis Speelman's *Notitie* on South Sulawesi, Robertus Padbrugge's journal on northern Sulawesi, and Balthasar Bort's Report on Malacca. Their value was quickly recognized by later scholars, and all three

- have been published. For Speelman, see J. Noorduyn, "De handelsrelaties van het Makassaarse rijk volgens de Notitie van Cornelis Speelman uit 1670", *Nederlandse historische bronnen* published by the Nederlands Historisch Genootschap 3 (1983), pp. 97-123, 309-12. For Padbrugge, see "Het journaal van Padbrugge's reis naar Noord-Celebes en de Noorder-eilanden", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 14 (1867), pp. 105-340 [originally written in 1677]. For Bort, see M. J. Bremmer (ed.), "Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Malacca, 1678", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5, 1 (Aug. 1927), pp. 1-232. There are other examples in the VOC archives which have not been edited or published.
- 21 The use of archeology for nationalistic purposes is well-documented. The aim is to trace a historically-known people back to their supposed prehistoric origins. One of the most striking examples in recent times was the Nazi effort to demonstrate a German superrace descended from the Indo-Europeans. Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London/New York, 1997), p. 2. Another pernicious manifestation of nationalist archaeology is the practice of attaching the identity of prehistoric communities to the majority ethnic group within a nation-state in order to demonstrate priority and thus legitimize the group's privileges and political dominance.
  - 22 Most of the work on ethnicity and identity have been done by anthropologists and sociologists, rather than historians. Some of the most interesting studies on current Malay and Malaysian ethnicity and identity are those of Professor Shamsul A.B. of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. See, for example, his "Bureaucratic Management of Identity in a Modern State: 'Malayness' in Postwar Malaysia", in Dru C. Gladney (ed.), *Making Majorities* (Stanford, 1998), pp. 135-50.
  - 23 Richard O'Connor, "Agricultural Change and Ethnic Succession in Southeast Asian States: A Case for Regional Anthropology", *Journal of Asian Studies* 54, 4 (Nov. 1995), p. 987.
  - 24 O'Connor, "Agricultural Change", pp. 984-5.
  - 25 There is a huge amount of literature on the subject, but a good introductory discussion which synthesizes the main views is Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race* (Thousand Oaks, 1998).
  - 26 For example, Geoffrey Benjamin's assertion that the Malays and the Orang Asli could have had essentially the same origins in the Peninsula would not be particularly popular among the Malays. See Geoffrey Benjamin, "Ethnohistorical Perspectives on Kelantan Prehistory", in Nik Hassan Shuhaimi b. Nik Abd. Rahman (ed.), *Kelantan Zaman Awal* (Kota Bharu, 1987), p. 112. Yet if one conducted even a cursory study of the historical relationships between the Malays and the Orang Asli, one would have to admit that there was much more of an equal partnership in earlier centuries. L.Y. Andaya, "A Reconstruction of Orang Asli and Melayu Relations on the Malay Peninsula prior to the Nineteenth Century" (forthcoming).

- 27 The example that comes to mind is the situation between the Malays and the Bataks in east coast Sumatra. See A.C. Milner, *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule* (Tucson, 1982), pp. 88-9. The process is usually explained as an attempt by the Batak to become part of the higher status Malays. For the Bataks seeking economic and social advantage on the Sumatran east coast where the Malays were dominant, becoming Malay was useful. But when they returned to their home villages in the interior highlands, they assumed their Batak ethnicity because of the need to officiate at Batak rituals and to retain claims to land. Again, multiple identities were useful and common in order to enable groups to maintain the greatest flexibility in seeking advantage.
- 28 Fredrik Barth, "Introduction", in F. Barth (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Oslo, 1969), pp. 9-38.
- 29 The case of the creation of the "Orang Asli" on the Malay Peninsula or the "Orang Ulu" identities in East Malaysia are cases in point. Both of these "ethnicities" were political creations to enable smaller, disadvantaged indigenous groups to create a much larger constituency and thus be "heard" politically in Malaysia.
- 30 B.W. Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts: Women, Gender, and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 2000).
- 31 C. R. Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (London, 1965); Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia* (Madison, 1983).
- 32 Hendrik E. Niemeijer, "Slavery, Ethnicity, and the Economic Independence of Women in Seventeenth-Century Batavia", in B.W. Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts* (Honolulu, 2000), pp. 174-194.
- 33 Ruzy Hashim, "Bringing Tun Kudu out of the Shadows: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Understanding the Female Presence in the Sejarah Melayu" in B.W. Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts* (Honolulu, 2000), pp. 105-24.
- 34 Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Kheronese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961).
- 35 Geoffrey Benjamin, "Ethnohistorical Perspectives on Kelantan's Prehistory", in Nik Hassan Shuhaimi b. Nik Abd. Rahman (ed.), *Kelantan Zaman Awal* (Kota Bharu, 1987), pp. 134-42; Geoffrey Benjamin, "Issues in the Ethnohistory of Pahang" in Nik Hassan Shuhaimi b. Nik Abd. Rahman (ed.), *Pembangunan Arkeologi Pelancongan Negeri Pahang* (Pahang, 1997), pp. 83-7.
- 36 Milton Osborne, *The Mekong* (New York, 2000).
- 37 William Cronon, *Changes in the Land* (New York, 1983).
- 38 Greg Bankoff, *Cultures of Disaster* (London, 2001).
- 39 James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State* (New Haven, 1998).
- 40 Geoffrey Benjamin, "On Being Tribal in the Malay World", in G. Benjamin and Cynthia Chou (eds.), *Tribal Communities in the Malay World* (forthcoming).

- 41 Among the first to suggest this approach was Patrick Sullivan in his article entitled, 'A Critical Appraisal of Historians of Malaya: The Theory of Society Implicit in Their Work,' in Richard Higgott and Richard Robison (eds.) *South-east Asia: Essays in the Political Economy of Structural Change* (London and Boston, 1985), pp. 63-146.

#### **MALACCA IN ASIAN MARITIME TRADE IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD**

by Prof Dr Om Prakash

- 1 Letter from the Board of Directors to Batavia dated 22 September 1648, *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, The Hague, VOC 317, f.120vo.
- 2 S. Arasaratnam, "Some notes on the Dutch in Malacca and the Indo-Malayan trade 1641-1670", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 10(3), 1969, pp.480-90.
- 3 H.W. van Santan, *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan*, Leiden, 1982, pp.21-4.
- 4 T. Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel*, The Hague, 1967, pp.48-51.

#### **THE DUTCH THREATS FROM PORTUGUESE SOURCES (1600 – 1641)**

by Encik Yahya Abu Bakar

- 1 International Seminar On Malaysian History From Dutch Sources, 23-25 October, 2001, Melaka.

#### **PERDAGANGAN DAN PERKAPALAN MELAYU DENGAN MELAKA SEKITAR SEPARUH KEDUA ABAD KE-18**

by Dr Ahmad Jelani Halimi

- 1 A.Reid & R.Fernando, "Shipping on Melaka and Singapore as an Index of Growth, 1760-1840," kertas kerja, 13<sup>th</sup> Conference International Association of Historians of Asia, Sophia University, Tokyo, September 1994, h. 7.
- 2 R. Vos, *Gentle Janus, merchant prince*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993, h. 125.
- 3 Sumber: VOC 3467-1775, VOC 3582 & 3599 – 1780, VOC 3135 – Dis.1790 – Nov. 1791. Dakwaan A.Reid & R. Fernando, *op.cit.*, h. 6, yang mengatakan bahawa perkapalan Inggeris di Melaka menurun dengan pesat pada akhir abad itu agak kurang tepat kerana kelihatan bahawa jumlah kapal Inggeris yang berlabuh di Melaka di antara Dis. 1790 hingga Nov. 1791 adalah 53, walaupun ia agak menurun sekitar tahun 1785. Daftar di bawah dapat menjelaskan;

Tahun :	1761	1765	1770	1780	1785	1790-91 (Dis.-Nov.)
Jumlah Kapal :	17	25	40	56	37	53

R. Vos pula mencatatkan jumlah kapal *country traders* Inggeris yang singgah di Melaka di antara tahun 1764-78 seperti berikut;

1764	'68	'69	'70	'71	'73	'74	'75	'76	'78
24	28	26	29	16	27	50	36	75	56

Lihat R. Vos, *op.cit.*, h. 9.

- 4 A.Reid & R.Fernando, *op.cit.*, h. 9.
- 5 Nakhoda dan pedagang-pedagang Cina yang datang ke Melaka ketika itu sebahagian besarnya berpangkalan di sekitar Nusantara, sama ada di pelabuhan-pelabuhan di Semenanjung, timur Sumatera atau di Jawa. Mereka juga menggunakan perahu-perahu model Melayu seperti **baluk** dan **cialup**. Lihat Lee Kam Hing, "The Shipping Lists of Dutch Malaka: A Source for the Study of Coastal Trade and Shipping in the Malay Peninsula During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries," dlm. *Kapal dan Harta Karam*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, 1986, h. 65.
- 6 Sultan Perak sendiri terpaksa menjualkan timahnya kepada wakil Belanda yang ditempatkan di negeri itu. Lihat B.W.Andaya, *Perak: The Abode of Grace, A Study of an Eighteenth Century Malay State*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979, h. 139.
- 7 **Padowakang** merupakan kapal Bugis yang utama di Selat Melaka, namun demikian terdapat juga perahu jenis ini yang digunakan oleh orang-orang Melayu.
- 8 VOC 3650 – tahun 1782M.
- 9 VOC 3062
- 10 VOC 3135 – Dis. 1790.  
VOC 3650 & 3735.
- 11 VOC 3650 & 3735
- 12 VOC 3135.  
**Baluk** merupakan perahu kecil yang digunakan mengangkut kargo di kawasan pantai dan sungai. Perahu ini tidak sesuai melayari laut besar. Justeru itu ia banyak digunakan oleh pedagang-pedagang Siak untuk berdagang dengan Melaka kerana ia mudah dikendalikan dan laju. Awak perahu itu hanya 5-6 orang sahaja.
- 13 VOC 3650 & 3735
- 14 Daftar Perkapalan Belanda di Melaka 1783M mencatatkan; 10/10 Nakhoda

- Amaldin, Maleijer, Joana, sloop De Snelrijt, 345 lasten, toebehoorende de Resident de Joana d'heer Rulgere Reinier Keijner, 12 cannon, 12 snapang, 66 dander, 50 kop, 28 dag. van Semarang 200 koyan rijst 950 pik. poder zinjer Eenje kleeden 10/10 Nakhoda Saijt, Maleijer, Joana, Brigantijn, De Theorada Cornelia, 160 lasten toebe an den Resident de Joana d'heer Rulgere Reinier Keijner, 8 cannon, 8 snapang, 25 kop, 28 dag. van Semarang. 110 koyan rijst Eenige kleenjing kleenden
- Sumber:** VOC 3735
- 15 VOC 3735.
  - 16 Dipadankan daripada Daftar 3, A.Reid & R.Fernando, *op.cit.*, h. 11. **Sumber:** VOC, *op.cit.*, 3062, 3183,3334, 3467,3582 & 3599, 3702 & 3734.
  - 17 Dipadankan daripada Table 3,4,5,6,7, A.Reid & R.Fernando, *op.cit.*, h. 11, 14, 15. Bagi tahun 1791, sumber VOC 3135.
  - 18 **Sumber:** VOC, *op.cit.*, 3062 (1761), 3334 (1770), 3650 & 3735 (1783), 3702 & 3734 (1785), 3135 (Dis. 1790 – Nov. 1791)
  - 19 Yang dimaksudkan dengan Perahu Melaka adalah perahu yang berpengkalan di Melaka tetapi keluar ke pelabuhan-pelabuhan lain dan kembali ke Melaka pada tahun yang dinyatakan itu.
  - 20 Ketiadaan perahu Siak ke Melaka itu dapat di fahami kerana dari tahun 1740-1779M, Siak sering sahaja berbalah dengan pihak Belanda. Pihak Belanda menganggap raja-raja Siak ketika itu sebagai kepala-kepala lanun. Perahu Siak sering ditahan dan dirampas oleh pihak Belanda.
  - 21 Lihat L.K.Hing, *The Sultanate of Aceh, Relations with the British 1760-1824.*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995, h. 76.
  - 22 RAS, *Malay* 142, Surat C
  - 23 VOC 3062
  - 24 Lihat Fasal 9, 16, 34, 47 dan 49, Undang-undang Perahu, OR 3292. Lihat juga Fasal 45 Undang-undang Belayar, OR 3293.
  - 25 **Sumber :** VOC 3650
  - 26 Jumlah awak perahu.
  - 27 **Sumber:** VOC 3135
  - 28 **Sumber:** VOC 3650 & 3735
  - 29 Lihat A.Bulley, *Free Mariner, John Adolphus Pope in the East Indies, 1786 – 1821*, London:BACSA, 1992, h. 58.
  - 30 Biasanya beras, sagu dan garam didagangkan dalam sukatan **koyan**. Satu koyan bersamaan 40 pikul atau 800 gelen. Lihat T.J.Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, Kuala Lumpur:Oxford University Press, 1971, h. 26.
  - 31 Daripada 74 koyan 300 gantang beras yang dibawa masuk dari Kedah, 74 koyan dibawa oleh pedagang Cina, VOC 3135.
  - 32 **Sumber:** VOC 3135.  
83.55 beras yang dibawa masuk ke Melaka di antara bulan Disember 1790



hingga November 1791 datangnya dari Jawa, yang terbanyak dari pelabuhan Semarang. Dari sejumlah 721 koyan beras yang datang dari Jawa itu 271 koyan dari pelabuhan Semarang.

- 33 **Sumber:** VOC 3062
- 34 **Sumber:** VOC 3735
- 35 Padi dari Kedah ini dibawa oleh perahu-perahu Cina. VOC 3135.
- 36 **Sumber:** VOC 3135
- 37 **Sumber:** VOC 3062 & 3735
- 38 VOC 3702 & 3734
- 39 Lihat VOC 3135, Dis. 1790 – Nov. 1791.
- 40 Sebagai contoh, seorang nakhoda Melayu bernama Malim Moeda (Muda) yang membawa **cialup** dan barangan kepunyaan seorang taukeh Cina bernama Tan Lee Ko dari Semarang. Beliau sampai di Melaka pada 21 Oktober 1783 dengan membawa barangan seperti 6 koyan beras, 20 koyan garam, 10 tong minyak kelapa dan satu keranjang tembakau jawa. Lihat VOC 3735.
- 41 **Sumber:** VOC, *op.cit.*, 3062 (1761M), 3334 (1771M), 3650 & 3735 (1783M), 3702 & 3734 (1785M), 3135 (Dis. 1790 – Nov. 1791).
- 42 Perahu yang berpengkalan di Melaka tetapi membawa garam dari pelabuhan-pelabuhan lain.
- 43 Satu *corgie* bagi tembakau mengandungi 40 keranjang (bakul). Lihat T.J.Newbold, *op.cit.*, h. 26.
- 44 VOC 3062
- 45 VOC 3334.
- 46 VOC 3650 & 3735
- 47 VOC 3702 & 3734.
- 48 VOC 3135
- 49 Sejenis gula mentah seperti gula batu (bentuk ketulan) yang berwarna perang, mungkin gula kabung atau gula kelapa.
- 50 VOC 3062.
- 51 VOC 3735.
- 52 VOC 3135.
- 53 VOC 3062. Kain-kain ini disukat menggunakan satu sukatan yang dipanggil *corgie* (satu bungkus mengandungi 20 helai). Namun demikian pada akhir-akhir abad itu, sukatan ini tidak digunakan lagi. Daftar tahun 1791M menggunakan sukatan *kordie* (kodi).
- 54 VOC 3599.
- 55 Satu *corgie* bersamaan dengan 20 helai. Lihat S.P.Sen, "The Role of Indian Textile in Southeast Asian Trade in the Seventeenth Century," dlm. *JSEAH*, Vol.3, No.2, Sept. 1961, h. 108. Lihat juga T.J.Newbold, *op.cit.*, h. 26.
- 56 VOC 3062.
- 57 VOC 3135.
- 58 Tidak termasuk bulan Disember kerana kemasukan dan pelayaran keluar perahu-perahu ke dan dari Melaka dicatat di dalam daftar tahun yang berikutnya.

- 59 VOC 3135.  
 60 VOC 3062. Namun demikian sebuah pelabuhan yang disebut dalam daftar 1761M tidak lagi dicatat dalam daftar 1791M, iaitu pelabuhan Bukit Batu.  
 61 VOC 3135. Ini tidak termasuk perahu Bugis dan Aceh.  
 62 VOC 3062 & 3135.

**PERKEMBANGAN POLITIK SELAT MELAKA SELEPAS VOC:  
 RUJUKAN TERHADAP PERSELISIHAN ANTARA ACEH DENGAN  
 PENTADBIRAN BRITISH DI PULAU PINANG PADA AWALABAD 19**  
*by Salina Haji Zainol*

- 1 K.G. Tregonning, *The British in Malaya: The First Forty Years 1786-1833*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1965, hlm. 111.
- 2 *SSFR*, (IOL) Vol. 2: Penang to Bengal, 22 Januari 1787, t.h.
- 3 Pulau Pinang sentiasa dikunjungi oleh pedagang tempatan terutama dari Aceh Sumatera Timur.
- 4 *SSFR*, Vol. 1, (IOL), Notes Mr. Dilsell (sic), Memoir on the Prince of Wales Island Considered (sic) Politically and Commercially, 13 Mac 1795, t.t.
- 5 *SSFR*, Vol. 2 (IOL): Penang to Bengal, 13 Jun 1787, t.h.
- 6 *SSFR*, Vol. 4 (IOL): Penang to Bengal, 6 Disember 1790, t.h.
- 7 *SSFR*, Vol. 2 (IOL): Bengal Public Consultations, Minute by Governor General, 13 Disember 1786, t.h.
- 8 *SSFR*, Vol. 2 (IOL): Bengal Public Consultations, 13 Disember 1786, Appendix 1, Ships arrived 15 Julai – 30 September, 1786, t.h.
- 9 *SSFR*, Vol. 1 (IOL), Fort William Proceedings, Surat Francis Light kepada William Bruce, Secretary of General Department, 25 November 1786, f411.
- 10 G. Leith, *A short Account of the Settlement, Produce and Commerce of Prince of Wales Island in the Straits of Malacca*, London, 1804, hlm. 46.
- 11 *SSFR*, Vol. 1 (IOL), Penang to India, 24 November, 1805, t.h. 6 *SSFR*, Vol. 4 (IOL): Penang to Bengal, 6 Disember 1790, t.h
- 12 *SSFR*, Vol. 179 (IOL): Penang to London: 12 November 1805, t.h.
- 13 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 32.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 *Ibid.*, hlm. 39.
- 16 *SSR*, B 3, Surat Gabenor Pulau Pinang kepada Lembaga Pengarah EIC, 30 Jun 1813, f. 161. Fenwick pernah berkhidmat dengan Sayid Hussein. Atas desakan Philip Mannington, Sayid Hussein telah memecat Fenwick kerana dituduh terlibat dalam pelbagai masalah. Fenwick telah menghantar dua pucuk surat kepada pihak British di Pulau Pinang untuk membela dirinya daripada tuduhan tersebut. Pada tahun 1795, Mannington mengemukakan tuduhan baru yang mendakwa Fenwick telah 'mencuri' pekerja daripada kapal

- Kapten Pitman. Mannington mengugut Fenwick dengan mengatakan bahawa dia (Mannington) telah menghantar surat ke Bengal melaporkan segala aktiviti Fenwick di Pulau Pinang. Fenwick menghantar surat rayuan kepada pihak British di Bengal. Tetapi pentadbiran British di Bengal tidak menghiraukannya. Kekecewaan ini menyebabkan Fenwick beralih ke Aceh pada tahun 1810 yang dia telah diambil bekerja sebagai penasihat diraja oleh Sultan Aceh, Sultan Jauhar al-alam. Lihat T. Puvanarajah, "Penang's Relations with Sumatra, 1786-1824", Academic Exercise, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1960, hlm. 25.
- 17 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 25.
  - 18 Mengenai latar belakangnya dalam pentadbiran, lihat IOL/M3/138 (IOL), Vol. 1-20, Personal Records, 1794-1841, William Petrie, character, hlm. 525-530.
  - 19 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 43.
  - 20 Ibid, hlm.44; SSFR, Vol. 112: Gabenor Pulau Pinang kepada Sultan Aceh (tiada tarikh tetapi telah diluluskan oleh Majlis pada 24 Jun 1813), f. 67-70.
  - 21 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports in the North and East Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 47.
  - 22 Ibid.
  - 23 Mengenai latar belakang Fullerton lihat, IOL/M2/128 (IOL), *Personal Records*, 1794-1841, Robert Fullerton, Character, hlm. 199.
  - 24 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 47.
  - 25 C.A. Gibson-Hill, "Raffles, Acheh and the Order of the Golden Sword", *JMBRAS*, XXIX, I, May 1956, hlm. 13.
  - 26 SSR, D5, Penang to Bengal, 1 Disember 1814, t.h.
  - 27 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coasts of Sumatra*, hlm. 52.
  - 28 Puvanarajah, "Penang's Early Relations with Sumatra, 1786-1824", hlm. 40.
  - 29 Ibid, hlm. 69.
  - 30 SSR, B4, Penang to London, 8 Julai 1816, t.h.
  - 31 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and east Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 81.
  - 32 Ibid., hlm. 111.
  - 33 SSFR, Vol. 137, Fort Cornwallis Council Proceedings, Laporan Kapten J. Coombs mengenai Rombongnanya ke Achen, 1 Februari, 1818, t.h.
  - 34 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 126-7, T. Puvanarajah & R. Suntharalingam, "The Acheh Treaty of 1819", *JSEAH*, Part iii, 1961, hlm. 42.
  - 35 Ladu Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Service of Sir Stamford Raffles*, hlm. 56-7.

- 36 Gibson-Hill, "Acheh, raffles and the Order of golden sword", hlm. 9.
- 37 T. Puvanarajah & R. Suntharalingam, "The Acheh treaty of 1819", *JSEAH*, No. 2, Part iii, 1961, hlm. 43.
- 38 R. Coupland, *Raffles of Singapore*, London, Oxford University press, 926, hlm. 89.
- 39 Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coast of Sumatra*, hlm. 128.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 A.T. Gage & L.H. Burkhill, "William Jack's Letters to Nathaniel Wallich, 1819-1921", *JMBRAS*, No. 73, Julai 1916, hlm. 150.
- 42 Coupland mentafsirkan tindakan Bannerman ini sebagai rasa cemburu beliau kepada Raffles, lihat Coupland, *Raffles*, 1781-1826, hlm. 91, H.F. Pearson, *This Other India, A Biography of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*, Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, t.t. hlm. 76.
- 43 Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and public Services of Sir Stamford Raffles* Vol. II, London, James Duncan, t.t., hlm. 26.
- 44 John Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coasts of Sumatra*, hlm. 218-221.
- 45 Peristiwa penandatanganan perjanjian tersebut, oleh kedua-dua belah pihak dibincangkan oleh Lee Kam Hing, "Aceh's Relations with the british, 1760-1819", Tesis M.A., Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Januari 1969.
- 46 SSR, Vol. F3, Surat Saif al-Alam kepada Gabenor Pulau Pinang, 11 Ogos 1820, t.h.
- 47 SSFR, Vol. B5, Penang to London, 1 Julai 1819, t.h.

**DISCLOSURES FROM THE RECORDS OF THE DUTCH REFORMED  
CHURCH IN MALACCA AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF MALAYSIA**  
by Dato' Habibah Zon

- 1 The names of the town was spelt Mallaca, Malacca, Malacka or Malakka in the Dutch period, and specifically as Malacca during the British era.
- 2 See letter by Director-General, National Archives of Malaysia to the Rt. Hon. Archbishop Soter Fernandez on St. Peter's Church Records, Malacca dated 25 April 1987. File : National Archives of Malaysia, ANM 1109 Jld. 2 (9).
- 3 Report by Dr. F.R.J. Verhoeven, Director, National Archives of Malaysia on visit to the Cheng Hoon Teng Temple (Incorporated), Malacca, Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1965. File : National Archives of Malaysia, ANM 352 (c.c ANM 224 Vol. 2 (1)
- 4 This is mentioned in a caption prepared for an exhibition on "*Malaysian History from Dutch Sources*," organized by the National Archives of Malaysia, February 2001
- 5 Verhoeven, article entitle "*Dutch Malacca – the Dark Centuries of Malaya's*

- History 1641-1825", File : National Archives of Malaysia ANM 352.
- 6 Notes of interview with Drs. Max de Bruijn, independent historical-museological consultant from the Netherlands, July 1999.
  - 7 Ibid
  - 8 See ICA Guide to the Sources of Asian History, Sri Lanka II Vol II, National Archives of Sri Lanka, Colombo, 1996. The Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon was founded in 1642. The members of the Church Council were chosen by vote, the election being subject to the approval of the government. It sent progress reports to Holland annually on the state of the Church in the island.
  - 9 Fernando, Raden; unpublished notes received via e-mail, October 2001.
  - 10 Verhoeven, *Memorandum on the Writing of a History of Dutch Malacca and Malaya 1644-1824*, 1965.
  - 11 Letter from Verhoeven to Thomas Fennel of the American Express in Singapore dated 16 November 1966; File : National Archives of Malaysia, ANM. 352 (74).
  - 12 Fernando, Raden, op. cit
  - 13 It is interesting to note that the famous Dutch scholar Herman Neubronner vander Tuuk was born in Malacca on 24 October 1824. Please refer to *Nieuwenhuis, R : Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk. De Pen in gal gedoopt* (Amsterdam, 1962).

**HUBUNGAN MULTILATERAL KERAJAAN-KERAJAAN DI RIAU –  
KAWASAN SEMENANJUNG MELAYU PADA PERIODE KOLONIAL  
BELANDA DALAM KHAZANAH ARSIP RIAU DI ARSIP NASIONAL  
REPUBLIK INDONESIA**

by *Dra Darmiati*

- 1 Disampaikan dalam acara Seminar Antar Bangsa Sejarah Malaysia tanggal 22 -26 Oktober 2001 di Malaka.
- 2 ENI, Vol III, Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 1905, 605-626; Nahar Effendi, 1973; Wall 1982; Mukhtasar Tawarikh Al-Wusta, 1999, 15 pasal jang ke-3.
- 3 Masyarakat Melayu Riau dan Kebudayaannya, 1986. hal. 197.
- 4 ENI, 423-453
- 5 Arung Samudra, 2002. 589-599
- 6 Sejarah Daerah Riau. Depdikbud, 1977/ 1978. hal. 3
- 7 Khazanah arsip Residensi Rriau 225/7
- 8 Arsip Nasional Jakarta, Khazanah Arsip Residensi Riau 71/6
- 9 Arsip Nasional Jakarta, khazanah arsipResidensi Sumatra West Kust 2B/6
- 10 Arsip Nasional Jakarta, khazanah arsip Residensi Sumatra West Kust 2B/6, Residensi Riau 209
- 11 Missive Gouvernement Secretarie 14 Agustus 1891 no. 1939.
- 12 Usaha perbaikan bagi penduduk Hindia Belanda tak banyak men-dapat hasil, karena negeri Belanda sendiri sedang berada dalam kekuasaan kerajaan Perancis

dibawah Napoleon yang membentuk Republik Bataav. Kekuasaan Republik Bataav yang hanya singkat itu tidak banyak meninggalkan arsip di Hindia Belanda. Selama masa kekuasaannya – dengan Gubernur Jendral Daendels – dilakukan perombakan sistem pemerintahan. Tapi karena pemerintahannya tidak lama, perombakan itu baru dilakukan di Jawa.

Sedang masa Inggris di Indonesia yang hanya memakan waktu 5 tahun itu juga tidak banyak menciptakan arsip (dengan gubernur Raffles). Pembaruan yang dilakukan dengan sistem pajak tanah itu dapat dilihat dalam khazanah arsip Engels Tusschen Bestuur yang kini tersimpan di Arsip Nasional Jakarta. Sesuai dengan perjanjian London 1814 antara Inggris dengan Belanda, maka ketika Perancis kalah atas Inggris, Pulau Jawa yang diduduki Inggris itu dikembalikan kepada Belanda 1816.

### DUTCH SOURCES IN SRI LANKA RELATING TO MALAYSIAN HISTORY

by Dr K D Paranavitana

01. *Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656-1665*, translated by Sophia Pieters, Colombo, 1908, p. 1.
02. Baldaeus, Phillipus, A true and exact description of the great island of Ceylon, Translated by Pieter Brohier, *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, vol. III, Nos. 1-4, July 1958 to April 1959, p. 4.
03. Crowford, John, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh, 1820.
04. Sirisena, W. M., The Kalinga Dynasty of Ceylon and the Theory of its South East Asian Origin, *CJHSS*, n.s., vol.1, no. 1, 1971, pp. 11-47.
05. Hussainmiya, B. A., *Orang Rejimen, the Malays of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment*, Penerbit, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, 1990, p.35.
06. Hussainmiya, B. A., *Ibid*, p. 36.
07. Wijnaendts van Resandt, W., *De Gezaghebbers der Oost-Indische Compagnie op hare Buiten-Comptoiren in Azie, Amsterdam*, 1944, p. 60.
08. Baldaeus, Phillipus, *Ibid.*, pp. 167-8.
09. Meijer, P., *Verzameling van instructien, ordonancien en regelementen voor de regering van Nederlandsch Indie*, Batavia, 1848, pp. 80-81.
10. Dam, Pieter van, *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, F. W. Stapel, ed., vol. III, pp. 229-249.
11. Regarding the references to the Political Council Minutes and annexes please see the attached list no. 1.
12. Regarding the Inward and Outward correspondence please see the attached list no. 2.
13. Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA), I/1030.

List No. 1

01.	Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA)	1/2008	March 1788
02.	SLNA	1/69	14 November 1733
03.	SLNA	1/102	15 November 1747
04.	SLNA	1/95	5 November 1748
05.	SLNA	1/61	13 June 1727
06.	SLNA	1/137	7 December 1761
07.	SLNA	1/58	20 September 1724
08.	SLNA (Annexe)	1/490	22 January 1761
09.	SLNA	1/1793	18 January 1788
10.	SLNA (Secret Minutes)	1/4864	9 September 1763
11.	SLNA (Secret Minutes)	1/1865	11 August 1764
12.	SLNA	1/193	26 April 1786
13.	SLNA (Annexe)	1/591	21 October 1781
14.	SLNA	1/68	30 September 1743
15.	SLNA (Annexe)	1/736	15 April 1794
16.	SLNA.	1/179	24 June 1785

List No. 2

Inward and Outward Correspondence

Inward: SLNA 1/2064-2078	(15)	1749-1792
Outward: SLNA 1/2114-2136	(23)	1751-1792

**TWO COLONIAL PORT-TOWNS IN THE STRAITS OF MELAKA:  
DUTCH-MELAKA AND ENGLISH-PENANG**

by Dr Nordin Hussin

- 1 The studies on the the oretical aspects of colonial towns and ports include: Anthony D. King, "Colonial Cities"; Anthony D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*; M.E. P. Bellam, "The Colonial City: Honiara, A Pacific Islands' Case Study"; Ronald J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City"; David Simon, "Third World Colonial Cities in Context: Conceptual and Theoretical Approaches with Particular Reference to Africa". A good discussion on the colonial ports and towns in Southeast Asia can also be found in: Anthony Reid, "The Structure of Cities in Southeast Asia, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries"; Anthony Reid, "The City and its Commerce", in *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, Yale University Press, 1993, pp.62-131; T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City: A Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia*, London, G. Bell, 1967.
- 2 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, p. 42.

- 3 Anthony D. King, "Colonial Cities", p. 9.
- 4 "Preindustrial cities" a concept based on the development of cities in Europe was put forward by G. Sjoberg, in his *The Preindustrial City*, New York, Free Press, 1960. In this work Sjoberg notes: "preindustrial cities everywhere display strikingly similar social and ecological structures, not necessarily in specific cultural content, but certainly in basic form", p. 5. See also the critique on Sjoberg's thesis by Ronald J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City", where he states: "He (Sjoberg) suggested that his model was relevant to the developing world although in a later paper he modified this view. The evidence that he drew from to construct his model was unfortunately limited to a few cities during the end of the 19th century; he specifically mentions Peking, Lhasa, Mecca, Cairo, Fez, Florence, and Bokhara. Conspicuously absent is any serious mention of cities from Sub-saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and cities from ancient civilizations such as the Roman civilization. In fact, he draws very heavily on examples from Islamic civilization", p. 71.
- 5 For further explanation on colonialism, see D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: a Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1982.
- 6 Ronald J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City", p. 76.
- 7 There were also inland towns and cities that were not necessarily dependent on trade but on agriculture. However, the majority of the towns in the South-east Asian region depended on trade. For further discussion, see T.G. McGee's, *The Southeast Asian City* which points out that "The sacred cities drew their economic wealth from the great agrarian civilizations of Southeast Asia. They were administrative, military and cultural centres of empires that drew their power from the tribute of conquered territories, and the labour supplies which could be manipulated by the rulers. This is not to say that trade was not important in such cities; substantial trade was indeed carried on in such empires as that of the Khmers; but it was not the major source of wealth and power". p. 33.
- 8 Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, p. 68.
- 9 Ibid. p. 70.
- 10 Ibid. p. 75.
- 11 Ibid. pp. 75-77.
- 12 To M.E.P. Bellam, in his, "The Colonial City": "In general, most of the towns and cities in these areas are as Hoselitz says, "cultural importations from abroad" which were founded by Europeans to satisfy the needs of metropolitan administration, trade and commerce. These new urban centres which were typically primate port cities, owed their origin and growth to their function as an entrepot between the colony and the metropole rather than to indigenous economic growth. In the high phase of colonial dependence, in particular, they tended to form economically parasitic "ports of trade en-



- claves" many of which had only minimal links with their immediate hinterlands", pp. 67-68.
- 13 There are many writings on the early history of Melaka and some of the good ones are Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*; C.H. Wake, "Melaka in the Fifteenth Century: Malay Historical Traditions and the Politics of Islamization", in Kernal Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, *Melaka: The Transformation of A Malay Capital*, Vol.1, pp.128-161; and Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, *The Malay Sultanate of Melaka: A Study of various aspects of Melaka in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in Malaysian History*, DBP, Kuala Lumpur, 1992.
  - 14 For works on the history of Makassar see: Heather Sutherland, "Eastern Emporium and Company Town: Trade and Society in Eighteenth-century Makassar"; Heather Sutherland, "Ethnicity, Wealth and Power in Colonial Makassar: A Historiographical Reconsideration"; and, Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, KITLV, 1981.
  - 15 Gerrit J. Knaap, "A City of Migrants: Kota Ambon at the end of the Seventeenth Century". See also, Gerrit J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen: De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon*.
  - 16 Leonard Blusse, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*. See also Remco Raben, *Batavia and Colombo*.
  - 17 Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis*, Vol.22, University of California Press, 1978.
  - 18 F.G. Stevens, "A Contribution to the Early History of Prince of Wales Island, *JMBRAS*, Vol. VII, Part III, October 1929, pp. 374-414.
  - 19 H.A. Newell, *Madras the Birth Place of British India*, Madras, Times printing, 1919. See also, Susan J. Lewandowski, "Urban Growth and Municipal Development in the Colonial City of Madras, 1860-1900", in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXIV, No.2, February 1975, pp. 341-360.
  - 20 S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687*, (reprint) New Delhi 1988. See also Remco Raben, "Batavia and Colombo".
  - 21 K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 80-97.
  - 22 See Ronald J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization, Notes on the Colonial City"; T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*; Anthony D. King, "Colonial Cities"; and, M.E.P. Bellam, "The Colonial City".
  - 23 See, for example: David Simon, "Third World Colonial Cities in Context"; and Ronald J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City".
  - 24 See discussion on the development of the pre-industrial city in G. Sjoberg, *The Pre-industrial City*, New York, Free Press, 1960; See also the discussion on the critique on Sjoberg's works by David Simon, in his, "Third World

- Colonial Cities in Context". Where he notes: "Colonial cities are now widely regarded as being a separate type, with common structural features not accounted for by Sjoberg's typology. Sjoberg himself subsequently attempted to include them as an "industrializing" form, in transition from preindustrial to industrialized cities. While some third world cities are indeed industrializing, this is not general; nor can they be regarded as merely a transitional form. Their distinctiveness arises from the culture-contact situations in which they occur, where the societal groups concerned have different levels of socioeconomic, political and technical organization and development" p. 498. Sjoberg's model of preindustrial city has also been criticized by Ronald J. Horvath's, "*In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City*". To Hovath, during the past five years it has become increasingly apparent to me that Sjoberg's model does not match, nor of the account for, the pattern of urbanization found in much of the Third World. Evidently, Sjoberg recognized this shortcoming because in a recent paper he devoted considerable space to the urban phenomenon in the Developing World and described it as the industrializing city—a city neither industrial nor preindustrial in his terms.....but the fact that Sjoberg found need to distinguish this phenomenon from the preindustrial and industrial cities alone, implies that his extension of urban theory in *The Preindustrial City*, still does not account for a major class of cities", pp. 71-72.
- 25 Heather Sutherland, "*Ethnicity, Wealth and Power in Colonial Makassar*", pp. 45-46.
- 26 See, Ronald J. Horvath, "*In Search of a Theory of Urbanization*". To Horvath, "The colonial city is viewed as a subsystem of a colonial society and, therefore, we may inquire briefly into the nature of the colonial society. The basic characteristic of a colonial society is that it is *heterogeneous*, unlike the models of industrial or preindustrial societies, which are basically or relatively more homogeneous". p. 74.
- 27 Bellam interprets the "firm-centered" and "bazaar sector" as one "where trade and industry occur through a set of impersonally defined social institutions which organise a variety of specialised occupations with respect to some particular productive or distributive ends". The bazaar sector, on the other hand, is founded on "the independent activities of a set of highly competitive commodity traders who relate to one another mainly by means of an incredible volume of an ad hoc acts of *exchange*". The bazaar sector is labour - rather than capital - intensive and the bazaar business generally is run on a personal, often kinship, basis", see M.E.P. Bellam, "*The Colonial City: Honiara, A Pacific Islands Case Study*", p. 68.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 29 Ronald J. Horvath, "*In Search of a Theory of Urbanization*", pp. 76-77.
- 30 *Ibid.* p. 77.

- 31 See, T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, pp. 59-60. He notes that "the Chinese were heavily concentrated in the trading occupations, the Indians made up of the unskilled labour force, the Ang-lo-Indians formed and important sector of the clerical and public services and the indigenous community fell into three distinct employment groups the professional and technical groups; the domestic craftsmen and the unskilled labouring group".
- 32 Ronald J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City", p. 77.
- 33 See, for example the case of Madras which at the end of eighteenth century became an important port on the Coromandel Coast. For further discussion see, Susan J. Lewandowski, "Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and the Colonial Port City in India: An Historical Analysis of Madurai and Madras", in *Modern Asian Studies*, II, 2, 1977, pp. 196-209.
- 34 Ibid. p. 77
- 35 See, for example the *Jawi Pekans* in Penang, (a mixture between the Chulians with the Malays), and the Chinese Mestizos in Manila (the offspring of Chinese immigrants and the natives).
- 36 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, pp. 58-59.
- 37 Ronald J. Horvath, "In Search of a Theory of Urbanization: Notes on the Colonial City", p. 78.
- 38 See, for example, the colonial towns and ports of Madras, Calcutta, Batavia, Galle, Colombo, Penang, and Melaka.
- 39 See, for example, the towns and ports of Madras and Melaka.
- 40 Segregation occurred in Madras, Calcutta, Batavia, and Singapore.
- 41 In Melaka there were night-watchers patrolling the town at night.
- 42 In the case of Penang, the whole island and a strip of land on the mainland, Province Wellesley were under direct colonial administration.
- 43 F.S. Gaastra, "The Organization of the VOC", p. 25.
- 44 Remco Raben, "Batavia and Colombo", p. 11.
- 45 S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687*, New Delhi, 1988; Gerrit Knaap, "A City of Migrants: Kota Ambon at the End of the Seventeenth Century"; Gerrit Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen*; Heather Sutherland, "Ethnicity, Wealth and Power in Colonial Makassar"; Heather Sutherland, "Eastern Emporium and Company Town"; Heather Sutherland, "Mestizos as Middlemen? Ethnicity and Access in Colonial Makassar"; Leonard Blusse, *Strange Company*; and Remco Raben, "Batavia and Colombo"; F.de Haan, *Oud Batavia*, Batavia, 1922; Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*, London, 1983; Pauline Dublin Milone, *Queen City of the East: Metamorphosis of a Colonial Capital*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966; J.L. Oosterhoff, Zeelandia, "A Dutch Colonial City on Formosa 1624-1662", in Robert Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp (eds.), *Colonial Cities*, Martinus Nijhoff, Dordrecht, 1985, pp.51-64.

- 46 Remco Raben, "Batavia and Colombo", p. 11.
- 47 Ibid. pp. 33-34.
- 48 Ibid. p. 34.
- 49 Ibid. pp. 9-39.
- 50 Heather Sutherland, "Ethnicity, Wealth and Power", p. 41.
- 51 For further discussion on the history of revenue farms in Southeast Asia, see Anthony Reid, "The Origins of Revenue Farming in Southeast Asia" in J. Butcher, (eds.) *The Rise and Fall of Revenue Farming Business Elites and the emergence of the Modern state in Southeast Asia*, Macmillan press, London, 1993, pp. 60-79.
- 52 Heather Sutherland, "Ethnicity, Wealth and Power", p. 113.
- 53 Barbara Watson Andaya, "Melaka under the Dutch, 1641-1795", in Kernal Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, *Melaka: The Transformation of A Malay Capital c. 1400-1980*, OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1983, p. 203.
- 54 Heather Sutherland, "Eastern Emporium and Company Town", p. 114.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 H.C. Gall, "De Weeskamer in Nederlands-Indie Als Negetiende-Eeuws Instituut", in, C.J.H. Jansen, E.Pooritinga, and T.J. Veen, *Twaalf Bijdragen Tot De Studie van de Rechtsgeschiedenis van de Negentiende Eeuw*, Faculteit der Rechts-geleerdheid, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1996, pp. 29-43; See also, Margreet van Till, "Social Care in Eighteenth-century Batavia The Poorhouse, 1725-1750", in, *Itinerario*, Vol. XIX, 1995, Number 1, pp. 18-31; See also, H.E. Niemeijer, "Calvinisme en Koloniale Stadscultuur Batavia 1619-1725", Ph.D. thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1996; Frank Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azie in de achttiende eeuw*; Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*. For the laws regarding orphanages see some discussion on this matter in Peter Burns, "The Netherlands East Indies: Colonial Legal Policy and The Definitions of Law", in M.B. Hooker (ed.) *The Laws of Southeast Asia*, Vol. II, Butterworths, 1988, pp.147-214.
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- 60 See, for example Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800*, University of Minnesota Press, 1976; Holden Furber, *John Company At Work*, Cambridge University Press, 1951.
- 61 Dirk Kooiman, Bombay: "From Fishing Village to Colonial Port City 1662-1947", in Robert Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp (eds.) *Colonial Cities*, pp. 207-230.
- 62 Susan J. Lewandowski, "Urban Growth and Municipal Development in the Colonial City of Madras, 1860-1900", in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXIV,

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- 64 F.G. Stevens, "A Contribution to the Early History of Prince of Wales" Island"; H.P. Clodd, *Malay's First British Pioneer: The Life of Francis Light*, Luzac, London, 1948.
- 65 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*; Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, *Melaka The Transformation of A Malay Capital c. 1400-1980*, Vol. 1 and II, OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1983.
- 66 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*; Brenda S.A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore*, OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1996; C.M. Turnbull, *A History of Singapore, 1818-1975*, Kuala Lumpur, OUP, 1977; C.M. Turnbull, *The Straits Settlements, 1826-67: Indian Presidency to Crown Colony*, Singapore, OUP, 1972.
- 67 S. Arasaratnam, "European Port Settlements in the Coromandel Commercial System 1650-1740": "The English were given a plot of ground in the coastal village of Chennapatnam in 1639 which they were allowed to fortify with the construction of Fort St George in 1641", p. 79; See also Susan M. Neild, "Colonial Urbanism: The Development of Madras City in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in *Modern Asian Studies*, 13, 2, 1979, pp. 217-246.
- 68 Ibid. See, also, Ashin Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson, *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, OUP, Calcutta, 1987; S. Arasaratnam, "The Coromandel-Southeast Asia Trade 1650-1740".
- 69 Patrick A. Roche, "Caste and the British Merchant Government in Madras" p. 381.
- 70 Ibid. pp. 384-385.
- 71 See, Madras and Calcutta two English towns in the Indian subcontinent which practised segregation.

- 72 Patrick A. Roche, "Caste and the British Merchant Government in Madras", p. 381.
- 73 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, pp. 69-72.
- 74 Ibid. pp. 69-72.
- 75 See, map of Singapore on proposed racial groupings in Singapore city 1828, in, T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, p.70.
- 76 Ibid. pp. 69-72.
- 77 Patrick A. Roche, "Caste and the British Merchant Government in Madras", p. 387.
- 78 Ibid. p. 385. See also Susan J. Lewandowski, "Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and the Colonial Port City in India", p. 199. "The wealthiest and most prestigious residents of the city resided in closest proximity to the Inner Fort, containing the factory house. White Town developed on the north side of the Fort to house European, Eurasian and Native Christian population of the settlement".
- 79 Susan M. Neild, "Colonial Urbanism: The Development of Madras City in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" p. 218. See, also, Susan J. Lewandowski, "Urban Growth and Municipal Development in the Colonial City of Madras" p. 347.
- 80 Rhoads Murphey, "The City in the Swamp" pp. 241-243. See also P.J. Marshall, "Eighteenth-Century Calcutta" p. 91.
- 81 See the discussion on Singapore trade by Wong Lin Ken, "The Trade of Singapore, 1819-69", *JMBRAS*, Vol. 33, Part 4, 1960. pp.11-105.
- 82 See, C.W. Ranson, *A City in Transition: Studies in the Social Life of Madras*, Madras, 1938, p. 9.
- 83 Patrick A. Roche, "Caste and British Merchant Government in Madras", p. 386.
- 84 C.W. Ranson, *A City in Transition Studies in the Social Life of Madras*: p. 10.
- 85 Raja Binaya Krishna Deb, *The Early History and Growth of Calcutta*, Calcutta, 1977, p.12. See also, W.S. Birney, *Calcutta Guide*, 1964, p.9; and Murari Ghosh, *Calcutta A Study in Urban Growth Dynamics*, Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1972, p. 13.
- 86 Susan J. Lewandowski, "Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and the Colonial Port City in India" p. 205.
- 87 Patrick A. Roche, "Caste and British Merchant Government in Madras", p. 386.
- 88 Ibid. pp. 388-389. See also George D. Winus, "A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns: Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, in *Itinerario*, Vol. XVIII, 1994, Number 1, p. 62.
- 89 See P.J. Marshall, "Eighteenth-Century", p. 92.
- 90 Rhoads Murphey, "The City in the Swamp", pp. 251-253.
- 91 J.J. Sheehnan, "Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsular",

- JMBRAS*, vol. 12, Pt. 2, 1934, p.100. Sheehnan rightly notes Melaka's strategic location: "Melaka is seated on the southernmost part of the antient Chersonesus, 2 degrees and 20 minutes latitude, and therefore the days and nights are always equal". See, also, Walter Caulfield Lennon, "Journal of a voyage through the Straits of Melaka on an expedition to the Molucca Islands under the command of Admiral Rainer", *JSBRAS*, Vol.7, June 1881, p 64. In his writing Lennon pointed out that: "Certainly Melaka is better situated for trade, particularly that carried on by the Malays in their prows; and it is the key of the straits, since no ship can pass but in the sight of it".
- 92 See, J.J. Sheehnan, "Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsular", where he indicates that place is in two degrees and a half of north latitude; the climate is charming, the place where the Catholic live the best in the world, p. 91. See, also, T.J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Melaka, Pinang, Melaka, and Singapore*, Vol. I, London, John Murray, 1839. Newbold also stresses that the climate of Melaka is justly celebrated for its salubrity; and certainly preferable to that either of Pinang or Singapore", p. 116.
- 93 The many writings on the uncultivated hinterlands of Melaka include: James N. Anderson and Walter T. Vorster, "In Search of Melaka's Hinterlands: Beyond the entrepot", in, Dilip K. Basu (ed.) *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port cities in Asia*, Monograph Series No. 25, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1985, pp. 1-5; F.L. Baumgarten, "Agriculture in Melaka", in, *JIA*, Series I, Vol. 3, 1849, pp. 707- 723; and E.A. Blundell, "Notices of the History and Present Condition of Melaka", in *JIA*, Series I, Vol. 2, 1848, pp. 726-754.
- 94 J.J. Sheehan, "Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsular", p. 76.
- 95 See, for example, Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, pp. 7-113.
- 96 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, p. 50.
- 97 T. Braddell, "Notes on Naning with a brief notice of the Naning War", *JIA*, Series II, Vol. 1, 1856, pp. 194-232. For further reference on Naning see Jonathan Cave, "*Naning in Melaka*", *MBRAS*, 1989, Kuala Lumpur.
- 98 See, "Valentyn's Description of Melaka", *JSBRAS*, No. 13, 1884, p. 50 where it is stated that the territory belonging to Melaka extends over a length of 30 miles and over a breadth of about 10 miles.
- 99 See, Barbara Watson Andaya, "*Melaka under the Dutch*", p. 198. See, also, J.J. Sheehnan, "Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsular", p 103. Where Sheehnan mentions that the region that falls under the Dutch-Melaka control only covered an area of not more than three miles round the city.
- 100 T. Braddell, "Notes on Melaka", *JIA*, Series II, Vol 1, 1856 p. 43. For the problems of boundary and the question on Naning see, Jonathan Cave, "*Naning*

- in *Melaka*" and T. Braddell, "Notes on Naning with a Brief Notice of the Naning War".
- 101 Further discussion on this can be found in my thesis (Chapters on Urban Administration in Melaka and Penang; and Social Structure and Life in Melaka and Penang).
- 102 For a discussion on the problems of land ownership and the conflict between English and Dutch laws regarding land ownership, see, for example, K.T. Joseph, *The Melaka Land Laws*, Federation Museums Journal XV, 1970 and Paul H. Kratoska, "Land Law and Land Tenure in British Melaka", in Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, *Melaka*, pp. 497-534.
- 103 Brian Harrison, *Holding The Fort*, p.110.
- 104 For example at Sungai Kluang there were sixty families with 250 people. A total of 600 orlongs of lands were distributed and cleared for planting. The area from Sungai Pinang to Sungai Kluang which covered almost 6 miles were occupied by Malay and Chinese settlers. A large part of these lands was planted with spices. In another region which covered an area called Salisbury plain, 30 Malay families with their headman or Penghulu named Panglima Dato Hakim had settled permanently. These lands were cultivated with food crops and spices. In addition to the above the government also gave the right to James Scott to own plantations constituting 200 orlongs on the newly cleared ground on the east side of Penang river and another 200 orlongs on the southwest side of Penang river. For detailed account see Letter from Captain Light 14th January 1790, in, G/34/4. See also an account of lands cleared and cultivated from Teehouse points to Penang as compiled in 1791 in G/34/5. See also, *Report of the Lieutenant Governor upon Prince of Wales Island in 1805* in G/34/9 and look at appendix 14 in G/34/9. See also statement of expenses incurred on accounts of roads and bridges at Prince of Wales Island from January 1804 to September 1805 in G/34/9, and Extract of Bengal Consultations 17th April 1802: an account of the spice plantations on this island belonging to the Company and to the inhabitants, in, G/34/9. For further reference see James Jackson, *Planters and Speculators Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya 1786-1921*, University Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1986.
- 105 Extract of Bengal Consultations 17th April 1802: an account of the spice plantations on this island belonging to the Company and to the inhabitants, in, G/34/9.
- 106 T.G. Mcgee, *The Southeast Asian City*, p. 40. As Mcgee correctly points out "the economic base of Melaka was first and foremost trade. Melaka did not rely upon its hinterland for its wealth. The life blood of Melaka was commerce. Its location at a point where the staple produce of the region passed through a narrow channel, together with the favourable seasonal patterns of wind, meant that Melaka became the collecting centre for the produce of the



- archipelago and a distributing point for the Indian textiles".
- 107 Walter Caulfield Lennon, "Journal of a Voyage through the Straits of Melaka on an Expedition to the Molucca Islands under the command of Admiral Rainer", *JSBRAS*, Vol. 7, June 1881, p. 62. He notes that, "Though situated in the most favourable way for uniting all the resources of a rich country with an easy communication by sea to foreign markets, Melaka now labours under every inconvenience that an island does, without its advantages, and though it has adjoining a soil capable of yielding the richest productions of every kind, and though under the dominion of an European power for about 250 years, it remains, even to the foot of the lines of the town, as wild and uncultivated as if there had never been a settlement formed here".
  - 108 J.J. Sheehnan, "Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsular", p. 76.
  - 109 See, for example, Anthony Reid, "The Structure of Cities in Southeast Asia", pp. 235-250.
  - 110 See, for example, Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1944. See also C.C. Brown, (ed.), "Sejarah Melayu", *JMBRAS*, vol. 25, pts. 2 and 3, 1952, pp. 1-276.
  - 111 J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "The Islamic City: Melaka to Jogjakarta, c. 1500-1800", in, *Modern Asian Studies*, 20, 2, 1986, p. 336.
  - 112 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*", p. 50. He states that the morphology of the city did not change dramatically apart from the addition of the stone buildings and walls of Fort A'Famosa.
  - 113 T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City*, p. 49. See, also Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, "From Capital to Municipality", in, *Melaka*, pp. 495-597.
  - 114 See for example, "Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Melaka in 1678", in *JMBRAS*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 1927, pp. 1-232 and P.A. Leupe, "The siege and capture of Melaka from the Portuguese in 1640-1641", pp. 1-175.
  - 115 J.J. Sheehnan, "Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsular", pp. 72-73.
  - 116 For more information on Melaka, see, T.J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Melaka*, pp. 109-110.
  - 117 See, "Valentyn's Description of Melaka", *JSBRAS*, No. 13, 1884, pp. 50-51. According to the author, the town of Melaka was built in the form of a crescent. There was a respectable fortress of great strength, with solid walls and fortified with bastions, well-provided with guns, able to stand with its garrison a hard blow.
  - 118 Abdullah Abdul Kadir, *The Hikayat Abdullah*, (An annotated translation by A.H.Hill), OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1970. A.H. Hill says that Abdullah was the first writer in Malay to bring realism into historical accounts. Abdullah sees events of everyday life from the standpoint of a common experience of mankind and not through the tinted glasses of legend and romance. It was said that he began his writing on the "Hikayat Abdullah"

- after his wife's death and during that time he had settled permanently in Singapore. According to his post-script he completed the first draft of the "Hikayat Abdullah" in May 1843, pp. 1-28.
- 119 A.H. Hill, "Munshi Abdullah's Account of the Melaka Fort", *JMBRAS*, Vol.23, Pt.1, 1950, pp. 88-89.
- 120 A good description on the Forts of Melaka can be found in Report of Governor Balthasar Bort on Melaka 1678, pp.14-27.
- 121 J.J. Sheehnan, "Seventeenth Century Visitors to the Malay Peninsular", p. 101.
- 122 A.H. Hill, "Munshi Abdullah's Account of the Melaka Fort", p. 85. According to him one of the gates is connected by a large bridge and having in it a small door through which men went out after 8 o'clock at night. See, also *The Hikayat Abdullah*, an annotated translation by A.H. Hill, OUP, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, pp. 56-64.
- 123 See, A.H. Hill, Munshi Abdullah's Account of the Melaka Fort, p. 87. It is stated that after six o'clock in the evening the authorities would not allow anyone to enter the fort and one could only walk round the outside. At eight o'clock the authorities fired a gun and then followed by the raising of the draw-bridges. After these anyone walking about without a torch was arrested, and anyone not answering a challenge was fired from the fort above.
- 124 A good discription on the layout of the inside of the fort can be gathered from, "Munshi Abdullah's Account of the Melaka Fort", pp. 87-88. Here Abdullah describes the inside of the fort as "there was a rise of moderate elevation on the summit of which was the Dutch church. Originally it had been the Portuguese Church and had been converted by the Dutch for their own use. Below the church was a Dutch cemetery. By the side of the church there is a garden belonging to the East India Company. On one side of the hill was a prison which the people called Misericordia meaning a place of penitence"
- 125 See Map on the layout of the fort and town of Melaka in J.W. Heydt, *Geographisch und Topographischer Schauplatz von Africa und Ost-Indien*, p. 304, (see the reproduction of the map: Old map of Melaka by J.W.Heydt)
- 126 See report made by, Raffles, 31st October 1808, in *SSFR* vol. 22.
- 127 Abdullah Abdul Kadir, *The Hikayat Abdullah*, p. 63. See also abstract of the statement about the fortification and public building demolished at Melaka, 10th August 1807 to 30th November 1808, in *SSFR* vol. 21.
- 128 William Dampier, *Voyages and Discoveries*, The Argonaut Press, London, 1931, p. 110.
- 129 Kernal Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, "From Capital to Municipality", pp. 532. Where the author states that the town of Melaka was divided into various quarters: Kampung Keling, denoting a settlement of South Indians, mainly Tamils; Kampung China where South Chinese known in Melaka as

- Chincheos lived; and Kampung Java and Kampung Bendahara where the chief native official had his residence.
- 130 The name of the streets were introduced during the Dutch administration. See the old map of Melaka in J.W. Heydt, *Geographisch und Topographischer Schauplatz von Africa und Ost-Indien*, Pg. 304. (see the reproduction of the Map).
- 131 Toine Ketellars, "Van Inheemse stapelmarkt".
- 132 See, "Valentyn's Description of Melaka", p. 50. The author describes the town of Melaka as "many fine and broad streets, but unpaved, and also many fine stone houses the greater part of which are of the time of the Portuguese, and built very solidly after their fashion".
- 133 The *Historical Guide of Melaka*, The Melaka Historical Society, Singapore, 1936 states that "the Stadthuys was the only important and well preserved building from the middle of the 17th century. The style of the stadthuys fits a date between 1641 and 1660", p. 21.
- 134 The original name of Pulau Pinang was derived from the betelnut palms or areca found on the island. The palm tree was a very prominent feature of the scenery on the island. It had straight stems, graceful leaves and bunches of fruits and became one of the major exports of the island. Nevertheless, the original name, Penang, was seldom used in official documents since it was renamed the Prince of Wales Island when Francis Light took possession of it in 1786 from the Kingdom of Kedah. The town, which was created on the island, was named Georgetown after the Prince of Wales. However, in this article Penang rather than Georgetown will be used to denote the town (since Penang is more often used to refer to the town) unless otherwise stated.
- 135 K. G. Tregonning, "The Early Land Administration and Agricultural Development of Penang", *JMBRAS*, Part 2, Vol. 39, 1966, p. 34.
- 136 The term Penang is used to refer to Georgetown in the latter part of this article. This is because Georgetown is less used as compared to Penang. The same applies to the term Prince of Wales Island which was rarely used. Thus, Penang Island refers to Prince of Wales Island, while Penang refers to the town, unless otherwise stated.
- 137 *Ibid.* p. 34.
- 138 The term Province Wellesley was rarely used, as compared to Prai. However, in this article, the term Province Wellesley is used to denote Prai, unless otherwise stated.
- 139 L.A. Mills, "British Malaya 1824-67: Penang 1786-1830", *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXXIII, Part 3, 1960, pp. 36-59.
- 140 *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
- 141 *Ibid.*
- 142 M. Stubbs Brown, "The Failure of Penang as a Naval Base and Shipbuilding Centre", *JMBRAS*, Vol. 32, part 1, 1959, pp. 30-31.

- 143 Ibid. pp. 28-29.
- 144 See, James Jackson, *Planters and Speculators Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprise in Malaya*, pp. 93-110.
- 145 K. G. Tregonning, *"The Early Land Development and Agricultural Development of Penang"*, p. 42.
- 146 "Notices of Pinang", JIA, vol.5, 1851, pp. 107-108.
- 147 F.G. Stevens, *"A Contribution to the Early History of Prince of Wales' Island"*, p.390. He notes that "within this area the network of roads laid out by Light survives almost without change to the present day, the original names of the streets, with the exception of Malabar Street, being still in use".
- 148 Ibid., p. 390. F.G. Stevens, states that "Light Street came to a dead end, approximate at the point where the main gate of the Convent now stands. The only road from the town into the interior of the island was given the name of the Penang road. This road started where Farquhar Street now starts, between the Supreme Court and the Church, and followed the course of Farquhar Street, whence it pursued its course behind the back of the town, to meet the inner end of Malabar Street. Love Lane (so-called apparently from the earliest times) followed its present course. A narrow road called "Battery Lane" led from the Penang road, past the old burying ground, along what is now the beginning of Northam Road, to the site of a battery guarding the north-west entrance of the town".
- 149 See, *Penang Past and Present 1786-1963 A Historical Account of the City of Georgetown since 1786*, Ganesh Printing, Penang, 1966, p. 8.
- 150 See report to ascertain the value of houses and lands in Penang in 1808 in G/34/19.
- 151 Report by the police magistrate regarding the application of John Brown in G/34/13. See also letter from judge and magistrate, 29th July 1806, in G/34/14.
- 152 George Leith, *A Short account of the Settlement*, p.49.
- 153 See letter to Secretary to Government, George Leith, 10 May 1800 in "Notices of Pinang", JIA, Vol 5, 1851, p.162. This letter notes that, "I find that the land belonging to the Company in the town and vicinity to be extremely limited and much dispersed. The only spot of any tolerable size is a square where it will be advisable to build the chapel. There is not a foot of ground on the sea beach from the Fort to the entrance of the harbour reserved for government. The whole has been given away to individuals who taking advantage of the situation are most exorbitant in their demands. I have been induced to make a purchased of a very excellent piece of ground on the beach, for the purpose of building the new hospital.... this being the sum offered by a merchant here".
- 154 See, F.G. Stevens, *"Early History of Prince of Wales Island"*, p. 381. See account on sale of the Company spice plantation at public auction by order

- of the Lieutenant Governor in Penang 20th June 1805 where plantation containing clove and nutmeg were purchased by Mr. Smith and Scott in G/34/9. See, also, Account on sale of Company spice plantation sold at public auction on 22 July 1807 where a total of 17 lots of plantations were sold at a price of Spd 9,656.00 all were bought by Mr. Smith and Scott in G/34/9. See also report by Mr. Oliphant in 1805 on government premises and officers that were rented from James Scott property's, in, G/34/11. For the detail real estate owned by James Scott see an account on the sales of his property on 11 September 1811, where his lands were sold for a total of Spd35,721.00 to various people (Europeans, Malays, Chinese, Chuliars), in, G/34/33. See also an account of Francis Light's estate and estate of James Scott (no year) in G/34/37.
- 155 F.G. Stevens, "A Contribution to the Early History of Prince of Wales' Island", p. 397.
- 156 Ibid. p. 390.
- 157 As F.G. Stevens, notes in A Contribution to the Early History of Prince of Wales' Island, "the area south of Malabar Street was reserved for a Malay Kampong, and here a large site was allotted to a Malay Mosque near the junction of Pit Street and Malabar Street" p. 390.
- 158 Walter Caulfield Lennon, "*Journal of a Voyage through the Straits of Melaka*", p.57. He remarked that "the fort is situated in the North-East point of the island, which I think the best, but it is in itself so childish a plan and scale, so near the sea, so ill-executed, and so crowded on by the town and houses adjoining, that I fancy, to afford a real security to their possessions, it will be found necessary to build another in a different place".
- 159 See, Extract of letter from R.T. Farquhar to the Governor General of India in "Notices of Pinang", *JIA*, Vol. 5, 1851, p. 401. Where, Farquhar wrote, "Having found the fortifications on this island in the most deplorable condition, so bad indeed that they would not have annoyed one frigate, or well appointed privateer, I resolved immediately to repair the works, and to put them in the best state of defence that our circumscribed means on the island would admit of".
- 160 Patrick A Roche, "*Caste and the British Merchant Government*" p. 390.

**AKTIVITAS TRAVEL HAJI FIRMA AL-SEGAFF & CO 1885-1899  
BERKEDUDUKAN DI SEMENANJUNG MELAYU DALAM ARSIP  
BELANDA**

*by Drs M Dien Majid*

- 1 Dosen Sejarah Islam Indonesia pada Fakultas Adab Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia
- 2 Mona Lohanda, *Sumber Sejarah dan Penelitian Sejarah*, (Depok: Pusat Penelitian Kemasyarakatan dan Budaya, Lembaga Penelitian universitas Indonesia, 1998), h.

- 4
- 3 Pembahasan lebih luas tentang pendekatan Multidimensional approach lihat Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pendekatan ilmu Sosial Dalam Metodologi Sejarah*, (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka utama, 1922)
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**HUBUNGAN MULTILATERAL KERAJAAN-KERAJAAN DI RIAU –  
KAWASAN SEMENANJUNG MELAYU PADA PERIODE KOLONIAL  
BELANDA DALAM KHAZANAH ARSIP RIAU DI ARSIP NASIONAL  
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*by Dra Darmiati*

**A. BUKU**

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**Riau 225/7** : Brief van den onderkoning van Penjengat aan onderkoning van Lingga (zij wilen naar Djohor gaan)

**SWK 2B/6** : Historische beschrijving de Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1602-1665

**APENDIK**

Daftar rujukan khazanah arsip yang memuat informasi tentang kerajaan-kerajaan di Semenanjung Melayu.

**Contract Boek VIII.**

Maleische schiereiland, Riau en Lingga gesloten voor 1601-1787, Djohor, Pahang, enz.:

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- I.d. met den koning van Djohor, Pahang, enz. 9 April 1689
- Tractaat gesloten met den zelfden 23 Mei 1746
- Contract met den koning van Djohor, Pahang en Trenggano 3 Nopember 1754
- Tractaat met den koning van Djohor, Pahang 19 Januari 1756
- Afstand van het landschap Rombouw en de negerij Lingi door den koning van Djohor en Pahang 12 December 1757.
- Acceptatie van het tusschen de compagnie en de regenten van Rombouw gesloten contract, onder eede gepasserd door Sultan Achmad Ibeni Radja Baijang, verkonen koning van Rombouw.

#### **NANNING**

- Verneeuwing van de Contracten 17 September 1646
- Voorwarden met de oudsten van nanning 24 Mei 1740
- Artikelen en conditie voorgeschreven de aan de oudsten van nanning 14 april 1760

#### **NANNING EN ROMBOUW**

- artikelen overeengekomen met de oudsten van Nanning en omliggende dorpen 15 Augustus 1641
- Artikelen bij verneeuwing gesloten met de gezanten van Nanning en Ronbouw 25 Januari 1680, bekrachtigd 6 Augustus 1680

#### **PERAK**

- Overeenkomst met dien Sultan 15 Augustus 1650
- Verdrag met de gebieders van Perak 7 December 1655
- Verbond met de koning 25 Juli 1746

#### **RIOUW 70/1**

Origineel rapport van de heer van Braam wegens de volbragte expeditie naar Riouw nevens de bijlagen volgende register 13 Maij 1784

- Acte met het vorsten van Selangor, Perak, Pahang-Djohor-Riouw, Trenggano.

- Capitulatie wegens Riouw : Gesloten tusschen capiteijn commanderis J.P. van Braam commandeerende s' lands esquader in de Oost Indien en Den Doorliegtigen vorst al zoe Padoeka Serie Sultan Mahmoed koning van Djohor Pahang en Riouw en onderkoning eijlanden op 1 Nopember 1786.
- Obligasi gepasserd doorden : koning van Selangor Radja Mahmoed Alij hier bevoorens van de overwin naast van het genoemde koningrijk de dato 27 September 1784
- Tractaat van vried en bondgenootschap tusschen Nederlandsche Oost Indiesche Compagnie en Den Doorliegtigen vorst radja Machmoed Alij, hier bevoorens koning van Siac thans koning van Selangor gesloten op den 12 Augustus 1784.

#### **RIOUW 71/6**

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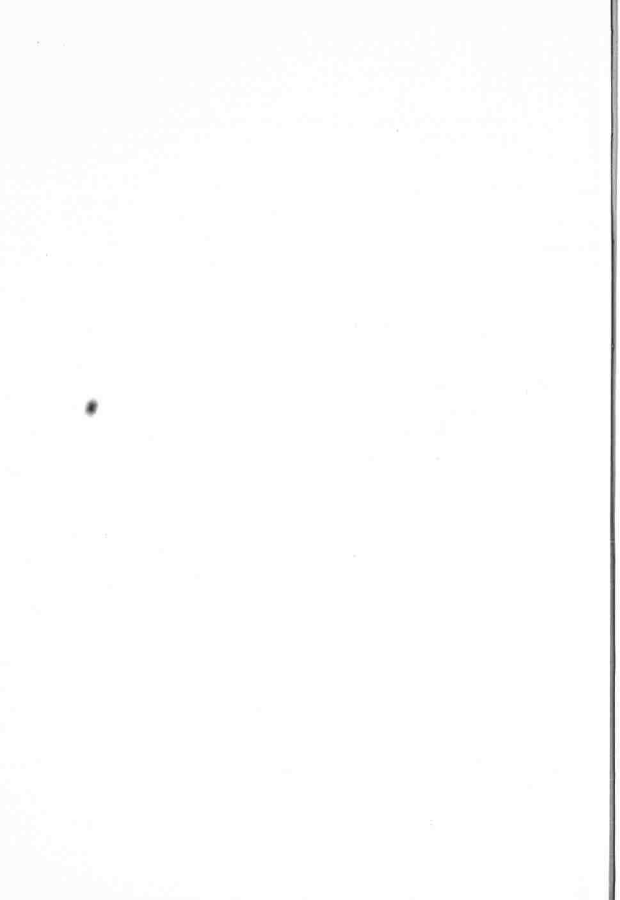
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# **BIODATA**





## BIODATA

SYED HUSSEIN ALATAS, Prof. Dato' Dr.



Born September 17, 1928 in Bogor, Indonesia. Obtained doctorate in Political and Social Sciences (1963) from the University of Amsterdam. Started early career as Head of Research Section, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Ministry of Education (1958–1960). He went on to pursue a distinguished career in the world of academia, starting off as part time lecturer in philosophy at the University of Malaya, and moving on subsequently to become lecturer and head of the Cultural Division, Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya (1963–1967). Between 1967 and 1988 he served the National University of Singapore as Professor and Head, Department of Malay Studies. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor, University of Malaya in 1988, a position that he held until 1991. Even after retirement as Vice-Chancellor, he continues to make contributions as Professor at the National University of Malaya, particularly at the Institute of the Malay World Civilization (ATMA). Prof. Alatas is internationally acclaimed as a scholar of rare distinction. His publications include *Sociology of Corruption* (1968), *Thomas Stamford Raffles: Schemer or Reformer?* (1972), *Modernization and Social Change in Southeast Asia* (1972), *The Intellectuals in Developing Societies* (1977) and *The Myth of the Lazy Native* (1977).

PROF DR LEONARD Y. ANDAYA



Born 23 October 1942 on Maui, Hawaii, USA. Married to Barbara Watson Andaya. Both of them are Professors in History at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Andaya obtained his B.A. in History magna cum laude from Yale University in June 1965; and M.A (February 1969) and Doctorate (December 1971) in History from Cornell University. He majored in Southeast Asian History. Andaya is well known in Malaysia among the academic circles. He has worked in Malaysia as lecturer in Malaysian, Indonesian, and Thai history at the University of Malaya, 1972–1974. In 2000 he was appointed Visiting Fellow at the Asia-Europe Institute at the University of Malaya. Andaya has carried out extensive research in the Netherlands. In 1965–1966, he received the Fulbright Scholarship to study at the University of Utrecht in The Netherlands. In 1971–1972 he was appointed Research Assistant at the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden. In 1998, he became Senior Fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden). In 2000, he was awarded the Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad grant for 12 months to conduct research in the Netherlands, Malaysia, Australia, and Indonesia. In the same year, he was appointed Fellow-in-Residence at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Wassenaar, Netherlands. Andaya was also Visiting Professor to the Portuguese Centre for Studies on Southeast Asia (CEPESA), lecturing and supervising graduate students at Oporto and Lisbon (2001). His numerous publications include *The Kingdom of Johore, 1641–1728; Economic and Political Developments* (1975); *The Short History of the Kings of Siam* (translation of a seventeenth century Dutch archival source on Thailand), edited by D.K. Wyatt (The Siam Society, Bangkok, 1975); and *A History of Malaysia* which was co-authored with Barbara Watson Andaya (Macmillan, London, 1982). His numerous articles include *The VOC and the Malay World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs (ed.), *The VOC in Asia*, Martinus Nijhoff (1976).

## PROF DR OM PRAKASH

Born January 9, 1940. Graduated in economics; obtained doctorate in economic history from Delhi University (1967). Serves currently as Professor of Economic History at the same University. He has held numerous visiting positions and Fellowships: as Visiting Fellow at the Centre for the History of European Expansion, Leiden University (1976–1977), and Visiting Senior Fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden (May–June 1995 and April–July 1996). He has also been Visiting Scholar, Kern Institute, Leiden University, April–December 1998. Honoured as Research Fellow by the Government of the Netherlands, 1961–1963. Appointed Fellow-in-Residence, Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and the Social Sciences, Wassenaar, 1982–1983 and 1992–1993. Guest of the Rector at the same Institute between January–March 1999. Elected permanent Associate Foreign Member of the Institute for the History of European Expansion, Leiden University (1990) and permanent Foreign Member of the Dutch Academy of Sciences, Haarlem, Netherlands in 1992. Again elected Foreign Member, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam in April, 2000. Also served on the International Review Committee to evaluate the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, March–April 1999. Mr Prakash has also organised an international conference together with Dr. F.S. Gaastra, Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, Wassenaar, the Netherlands on the theme *The Eighteenth Century as a Category in Asian History*, June 1993. He has authored a number of books including *The Dutch Factories in India, 1617–1623*, New Delhi, 1984; *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630–1720*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1985. *Precious Metals and Commerce : The Dutch East India Company in the Indian Ocean Trade*, Variorum, Collected Studies Series, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Hampshire, U.K., 1994; and *Asia and the Pre-modern World Economy*, International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, 1995. He has written numerous papers including *The Dutch East India Company Documents*



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#### YAHAYA ABU BAKAR

Yahaya Abu Bakar graduated in history at the University of Malaya (1974.) and obtained his Masters at the National University of Malaysia (1978). He studied the Portuguese language in both England and Portugal, and has conducted research using Portuguese primary source materials. He currently serves as lecturer in history at the National University of Malaysia.



#### AHMAD JELANI HALIMI, Dr

Born 1948. Lecturer of history with School of Distance Education, Universiti Sains Malaysia. Obtained B.A.(Hons) and M.A. from same University in the field of History; and Ph.D from University Malaya. His publications include *Perdagangan dan Perkapalan Melayu Di Selat Melaka Dari Abad ke-15 Hingga Abad ke-18* (Malay Trade and Shipping in the Straits of Malacca from the 15th to the 18th Century), 2004; *Sejarah dan Tamadun Bangsa Melayu* (History and Civilization of the Malays), 2004; *Undang-undang Perahu dan Undang-undang Belayar* (Laws of the Boats and Laws of Sailing), 2004; *Tinjauan Sejarah Asia Tenggara dan Asia Timur Moden* (A Study of Modern South East Asian and East Asian History), 1990; *Sejarah Islam* (History of Islam), 1996; *Sejarah Tamadun Dunia* (History of the World Civilization), 1996; *Kajian Sejarah Tempatan*, (Study of Local History), 1991.



## SALINA HAJI ZAINOL

Born 1966. Lecturer in history at Universiti Malaya. Obtained M. A (History) in Indonesian History at the same University. Attended a number of courses in the Dutch Language Center (Erasmus) in Jakarta, Indonesia. Publications include *Conflicts Between British Administration in Penang and Aceh (1808–1820)*; *Hubungan Perdagangan Antara Aceh dan Pulau Pinang Pada Abad ke-19*, and *Kajian Terhadap Pedagang dan Struktur Perdagangan*. The latter two articles appeared in "Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah" (No. 27, 1999; and No. 31, 2003 respectively).



## HABIBAH ZON, Dato'

Born 19 June 1947. Soon after graduation from the Universiti of Malaya in 1972, Habibah embarked on a career of rare distinction with the National Archives of Malaysia, becoming its 6th Director-General some two decades later. In recognition of her services, she was conferred the Dato' Paduka Mahkota Perak Award which carries the title Dato'.



### HEDLEY SUTTON

After gaining a history degree at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, Hedley Sutton obtained for a Master's Degree in librarianship at University College, London, shortly before starting his professional career with the British Library in 1982. He has spent his entire working life to date with the Library, working first as a cataloguer, and then as Librarian in charge of serials at the India Office Library & Records. In 1999 he became Reading Room Manager at the renamed Oriental & India Office Collections. He is also a member of the Chartered Institute of Library & Information Professionals (CILIP), Library & Information Research Group (LIRG) and Royal Asiatic Society.



### DARMIATI, Dra

Born 1953. Senior officer at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, and lecturer in Archival Science at Junior College, University Indonesia Jakarta en State Pajajaran University Bandung. Graduated from Department of History, Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta. Her publications include *Sejarah Kabupaten Tangerang*, *Pemberantasan Prostitusi di Indonesia Pada Masa Kolonial Belanda*, *Otonomi Daerah di Indonesia 1903-1940*, *Jakarta Sekitar Proklamasi 1945*, *Perjalanan Haji Indonesia Kolonial Belanda*, *Jakarta-Krawang-Bekasi Dalam Gejolak Revolusi: Perjuangan Moeffreni Mo'min*.



### DR KARUNASENA DIAS PARANAVITANA

Born 1944. He graduated from the University of Ceylon in 1968 and joined the National Archives in 1970. In 1979 he studied archive administration in the General State Archives in The Netherlands where he specialized in 17th and 18th century Dutch language. In 1994 he obtained his Ph.D at the University of New



South Wales in Sydney Australia his thesis being *The Dutch East India Company Administration in Ceylon 1640–1796*. In 1996, after retiring from the post of Deputy Director, National Archives, he took up a University career at the Rajarata University of Sri Lanka. He is currently a member of the Royal Netherlands Association of Archivists, the Australian Society of Archivists and President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka. His works include translation of the *Travel Journal of Joris van Spilbergen, the First Dutch Envoy to Ceylon* (1997) and Authorship of *Land for Money Dutch Land Registration in Sri Lanka* (2001) and *Maps and Plans of Dutch Ceylon* (2002). He has also published several books in Sinhalese and contributed widely to scholarly journals.

#### RUUD SPRUIT

Born 1942. Spruit has been Director of the Westfries Museum in Hoorn since 1983, prior to which he was Head of the Department for Education and Public Relations at the Rotterdam Historical Museum. He was also one of the founders of the Dutch Museum Year Card, and has been its member as well as Chairman of the Board of Trustees for a number of years. He has authored some 35 books in the fields of art, history and architecture, as well as books for children and immigrants. Besides books, he has also contributed numerous articles for magazines, and has served as Editor-in-Chief of *Vitrine*, the museum bulletin. He is also known as a producer of documentaries for Dutch Television. The various places highlighted in these documentaries have included Deshima and Holland Village (Japan), Malacca, Sarawak, and Banda Islands. He has completed a series of 9 TV programmes on the history of Dutch companies in Amsterdam (September 2001) and organised expositions outside the Netherlands, including Nagasaki, Jakarta, Singapore, Malacca, New Delhi, Cape Town, New York and Bangkok.





NORDIN HUSSIN, Dr



Dr Nordin is a lecturer at the History Department, University Kebangsaan Malaysia. He graduated in history from the University Malaya, and subsequently pursued his post-graduate studies in England. He obtained Ph.D from Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam for his thesis entitled *Dutch-Melaka and English-Penang 1780-1830 : A Study on Two Colonial Port-towns in the Straits of Melaka*. Some of his research works have been published in the Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Malaysian Journal of Tropical Geography. His major writings include *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780-1830*. Dr. Nordin's research into trade and society of colonial port-towns in Melaka and Penang is considered a pioneering effort.

SUGENG RIYANTO, Drs, M.A.



Sugeng Riyanto is lecturer with the Department of Indonesian Languages and Literature, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia. He graduated in Dutch Studies at the Faculty of Letters, Universitas Jakarta; and went on to obtain M.A in Linguistics at the University of Leiden, Netherlands (1987). His publications include *Bahasa Belanda Sebagai Bahasa Sumber*, *Bidang Hukum Tingkat Dasar* (1996), *Bidang Sejarah Tingkat Dasar* (1997), *Bidang Sejarah Lanjutan* (1999); and *Bidang Hukum* (2004).

## M. DIEN MADJID, Drs

Born 1949. Currently teaches history at the Faculty of Letters and Humanities, State Islamic University, Jakarta. He is also Vice Editor (1995–1998) of “Mimbar Agama dan Budaya” and “al-Turas”, journals published by the Faculty of Arabic Letters & Islamic Civilization. After graduating in Islamic History (1977), he went on to obtain his doctorate from the State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta (2002). He completed a five month course in the Dutch language at Erasmus Huis, Jakarta (1989), followed by a course in English at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (July–September 1989). He has also attended lectures at Rijkuniversiteit te Leiden from 1989 to 1990. He has written numerous articles for academic journals, and has conducted extensive studies on a number of subjects relating to Indonesian and Islamic history.



## ADI HAJI TAHA, Dato', Dr.

Born 1951. Currently Director-General, Department of National Museum and Antiquity, Kuala Lumpur. Obtained Ph.D from Australian National University Canberra (2001) for archaeological work in Ulu Kelantan. His numerous publications include *Archaeological Investigations in Ulu Kelantan, Peninsular Malaysia* (2000); *Archaeological Discoveries 1991–1992* (1993); *Archaeological Discoveries in Peninsular Malaysia* (1987–1990); *Current Status of Underwater Archaeology in Malaysia* (1989); *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Peninsular Malaysia (1983–1985)* (1987); *The Excavation of the Megalithic Alignment at Kampung Ipoh, Tampin, Negeri Sembilan* (1982); all of which appeared in the Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He has also contributed to various other professional journals including Journal Arkeologi Malaysia, Bulletin of Indo-Pacific Prehis-



tory Association; Malaysia in History; Jurnal Arkeologi Malaysia; and Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology. Since 2000, he has held the post of President, Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association; and from 1997 has been Vice-President of the Museums Association of Malaysia, and also of the Association of Malaysian Archaeologists. In 2000, he was awarded the Darjah Setia Mahkota Perlis (S.M.P) which carries the title Dato'.