



R. Leirissa

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In: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Authority and enterprise among the peoples of South Sulawesi 156 (2000), no: 3, Leiden, 619-633

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R.Z. LEIRISSA

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Introduction

Traders from South Sulawesi have been visitors to the Moluccas since at least the seventeenth century (Tiele 1886-95). In 1605 the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) established its first stronghold in Ambon, and during the first half of that century it tried to expand its monopoly over the spice trade in the islands by preventing all non-Dutch traders from taking part in this lucrative trade. But this spice trade continued to attract the daring sailors from southern Sulawesi, who, with financial support from foreign traders in Makassar – mainly English, Danish, and Portuguese – often succeeded in avoiding the patrolling VOC vessels and thus were able to enter the prohibited area with their ships to trade by barter in a number of villages around Ambon. The conquest of Makassar by the VOC in the mid-seventeenth century (Stapel 1922) ended the golden age of the Bugis-Makassarese trade in the Moluccas. Nevertheless, small numbers of this ethnic group remained in existence in the towns in Ambon and Ternate, as well as in other parts of the islands.

I do not intend in this essay to give an exhaustive account of the nature of Bugis-Makassarese trade in the Moluccas; the main focus here is on the structure of Bugis-Makassarese communities in the port towns of Ambon and Ternate through the nineteenth century, particularly the role of its leading groups. Differences between Ternate and Ambon will also be stressed.¹

¹ The materials used for this article were taken from the residency archives of Ternate and Ambon in the Indonesian National Archives (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia) in Jakarta. The Ambon collection, the largest of the residency archives, consists of 1,651 bundles, while the Ternate collection has only 429 bundles. The citation of these materials in this article is given by stating the initial capital of the collection (A = Ambon or T = Ternate), followed by the number of the bundle.

Background categories

First of all, some notes on geographic categories used in this article must be given. As a geographic label, Ambon was used to demarcate five different regional categories: 1. the name of the island; 2. the administrative subdivision of the southern part of the Moluccas; 3. the residency in the central Moluccas; 4. the port town situated on Ambon island; and 5. the indigenous inhabitants of the residency. Ternate was used to indicate four different categories: 1. the kingdom; 2. the island; 3. the residency; and 4. the port town. In this article Ambon and Ternate are used, except where otherwise indicated, to label the port towns with these names.

Furthermore, different categories of urban dwellers are found in the source materials. The Dutch officials and former officials had been denoted since the era of the VOC as *Europeanen* ('Europeans'). A number of these Europeans were married to local women, and their children were known as *mestiezen* ('mestizos'), a category of considerable demographic importance in the town of Ambon (Bleeker 1856, II:74). Other categories encompassed a number of different types of 'foreigners' – migrants (and their descendants) from outside the local region, including merchants, traders, men pursuing specialized occupations, common labourers, etcetera. Among these foreigners, the Chinese were very important as were other indigenous ethnic groups from the Indonesian archipelago, including the Bugis-Makassarese, Malays, and Javanese. Since the nineteenth century, a number of Arabs had also settled in these two towns.

These town dwellers were also denoted as *burgers*, a category differentiated into *Europeesche burgers* (including mestizos), *Chinese burgers*, and *Moorsche burgers*. The latter category encompassed the Muslims, including those of Bugis-Makassarese, Malay, and Javanese descent, as well as the Arabs at a later date. Due to the process of urbanization undergone by Ambon in the nineteenth century, a great number of *inlandsche burgers* or 'native burgers' emerged.² Ultimately, they became the most numerous urban dwellers in the town of Ambon, as well as in a number of other central Moluccan towns, including Hila and Larike (on the island of Ambon), Kayeli (on the island of Buru), Haruku, and Saparua (Bruyn Kops 1895).

Foreign traders had always been assigned separate quarters in the port towns long before the coming of the VOC. Territorial differentiation was especially strong between the Chinese and Muslim traders. Since the early seventeenth century, the Dutch had found this a convenient arrangement, and it remained so until at least the nineteenth century.

As part of a colonial social system, the foreign communities were organ-

² The process by which the category of *inlandsche burgers* came into being is discussed below.

ized and supervised by the authorities of the port towns. The Chinese, for instance, had been provided since the earliest periods of their settlement with their own head, accorded such titles as *kapitein* and *luitenant* (Hoetink 1922). The leaders of the Dutch *burgers* were also given such titles. Later, when units of town guards (*schutterij*) were established in the towns in the first part of the nineteenth century, this practice was expanded to include leaders of the Bugis-Makassarese community in Ternate. Thus, the title *kapitein der Maccassaren* came into existence in Ternate. The case in the town of Ambon was rather different, since no *kapitein der Maccassaren* has been reported there, although some of the Bugis-Makassarese community were included in the *schutterij*.

This socio-political arrangement including a number of ethnic groups continued up to the first decades of the twentieth century. Thus, in accord with the practice in the other parts of the Netherlands East Indies, the natives of the Moluccas were divided into *Christen inlanders* ('native Christians') and *Mohamedaansche inlanders* ('Muslim natives') (*Adatrechtbundels* 1913:193). The term *burgers* was then dropped in official documents.

Kampung Makassar in Ternate

The Bugis-Makassarese community in Ternate is known to have existed since at least 1680. Most of the first generation of settlers was composed of traders settled before the Dutch were able to impose control of the spice trade in the islands of the kingdom of Ternate in 1607. The VOC governor of Ternate, Robertus Padtbrugge, instructed the members of the trading community to live north of the Castle of Oranje (built in 1607), bordering with the Soa Siu, the wards of the subjects of the Sultan of Ternate. Since the majority of the 'foreign' Islamic traders indigenous to the archipelago were Makassarese, this place came to be known as *kampung Makassar*. However, besides the Makassarese, a number of Malays and Javanese were also allowed to live in that area (De Clercq 1890:17). Before the town guard in Ternate was established, a unit of Bugis-Makassarese, Malays, and Javanese troops, led by a certain Tete, had already assisted Dutch forces during rebellions in Tidore and Hal-mahera. This unit was later incorporated into the town guard, and its leader was given the title of *kapitein der Maccassaren*. The participation of these foreigners in the town guard continued until the last decade of the nineteenth century (*Staatsblad* 1896, no. 203), although the Javanese were excluded from the town guard in 1838 (*Staatsblad* 1838, no. 22). The institution of the *kapitein der Maccassaren* continued in use until the twentieth century.

The heads of the Bugis-Makassarese in the Moluccas, like the heads of the Chinese communities, were, until 1866, responsible to the *resident-magistraat*,

a high government official responsible for internal affairs. As 'foreigners', the Bugis-Makassarese in Ternate were divided into wards (*wijken*), each with its own ward head (*wijkmeester*), who was responsible to the *kapitein*. The *resident-magistraat* in Ternate was in fact only a supervisor, since most of the internal affairs of the community were left to the *kapitein der Maccassaren*. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the *kapitein* was not only responsible for policing the wards, but also served as the head of the religious authorities in his community. His duties thus included administering matters concerned with marriage and inheritance based on Muslim laws and regulations (*Staatsblad* 1859, no. 20). Understandably, Islam was a strong binding force in this foreign community.

The location of the Bugis-Makassarese wards north of the Castle of Oranje rendered them adjacent to the wards (*soa* in the local language) of the subjects of the sultan or the Soa Siwa (Van Fraassen 1987). Although the Bugis-Makassarese, like the Chinese, were regarded as the subjects of the Dutch, considerable opportunities for interaction with the subjects of the sultan must have existed.

The other two categories of town dwellers, namely the *Chinezen* and the *Europeesche burgers*, who were provided with their own wards situated to the south of the castle, also retained their own cultural values. These *burgers*, including the mestizos, were led by the *kapitein der burgerij* and followed Dutch laws and regulations (Bakhuizen van den Brink 1915). Not unlike the Chinese in Ambon, the Chinese in Ternate adopted many of the ways of the Dutch mestizos and chose to use Malay as their mother tongue. However, unlike those in Ambon, they preferred to become Christians (De Clercq 1890:13). In the eighteenth century a section of the Christian wards was known as *kampung Borgor Mardika*, but later the whole area was better known as *kampung Serani* ('the Christian ward'). These wards were also known as *kampung Melayu*, in accord with the earlier name of the centre of the kingdom, -Malayo (*Staatsblad* 1913, no. 7). Members of each ethnic group manifested a preference for working with their own kind. Wealthy traders mainly used their compatriots of lower strata to perform manual labour for their trading operations; as did sea captains (*anakoda*) on their trading vessels. Interaction between different ethnic groups took place mainly in the context of the infrastructure laid down by the authorities of the port towns, especially in the market place (*pasar kompeni*). In such contexts the use of the Malay language predominated.

Archival materials do not yield the impression that the Bugis-Makassarese were particularly important as traders in the northern Moluccas in the nineteenth century. Most of them were manual labourers, fishermen, vegetable gardeners, and pedlars (*dagangers*). Most of the interisland and interregional trade was in the hands of a number of Chinese and Dutch *burg-*

ers (T 6, 7, 42, 54, 80, 112, 121, 141). Makassarese, Bugis, and Mandar traders from southern Sulawesi regularly visited Ternate and Tidore in their sailing vessels (*padewakang* in Makassarese or *padduakeng* in Bugis) to trade with local peoples, whether with or without sailing passes from the authorities in Sulawesi, but such traders never became a part of *kampung Makassar*.

However, occasionally the archives provide us with documents depicting a number of enterprising persons who had the courage to transcend the infrastructure laid down since the early seventeenth century. These rare cases are found mainly in accounts of a person apprehended and sentenced to death or sent as a slave labourer to the nutmeg plantations in the Banda Islands. Such instances provide us with a picture of the wider relationships the Bugis-Makassarese maintained with other parts of the maritime world of eastern Indonesia.

An interesting example is the case of Haji Umar (circa 1717-1808). Although originally residing in *kampung Makassar* in Ternate, he later moved to the foreign ward in Tidore known as *kampung Jawa*. His father, who was married to an indigenous woman from Tidore, was Makassarese, and probably also from *kampung Makassar* itself. Haji Umar maintained relationships not only with traders from South Sulawesi – he was himself married to a woman from Mandar – who visited the Moluccas clandestinely, but also with such Magindanao pirate colonies as that at Tolitoli (Tontoli in the archival sources). This colony was headed at the time by a certain Syarif Mohammad Taha, whose son, Syarif Jafar, accompanied Haji Umar on a number of trading expeditions in the northern Moluccas. Haji Umar's fortunes increased with the rise of Prince Nuku as the sultan of Tidore during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and first years of the nineteenth century (Katoppo 1984). He became one of the most trusted men in the circle of the prince, who was considered a rebel by the Dutch. Haji Umar was apprehended by the Dutch in 1805 after the death of Prince Nuku, and was himself sentenced to death in 1808 (T 81, 121, 185).

As a cultural unit, the settlement of *kampung Makassar* apparently experienced a rapid decline during the last decade of the nineteenth century. F.S.A. de Clercq, who was resident of Ternate in the 1880s, was wholly unimpressed by the inhabitants of the *kampung*, because 'at present not one of them is able to prove his Makassarese origins, and their own language is largely unknown among them' (De Clercq 1890:17). Integration with the subjects of the sultanate must thus have been characteristic of this community.

Thus, it is not surprising that in the official annual reports of the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of Bugis-Makassarese in Ternate was much smaller than that of the Chinese, who were in turn larger in number than the Dutch and other *Europeesche burgers*. The following figures were taken from the annual reports of the Netherlands Indies officials made in

Table 1. The population of Ternate

	1878	1880	1884	1887
European burgers	285	254	300	308
Chinese burgers	401	480	467	383
Islamic burgers	77	107	101	77
(Bugis-Makassarese, Javanese, Malay, Arab, etcetera)				

Ternate (T 160, 162). The figure of approximately 2,000 given by De Clercq (1890:18) probably includes those who were already integrated into Ternatan society, while the annual reports must only have mentioned those who participated in the Ternatan *schutterij*.

The Bugis-Makassarese in Ambon

The town of Ambon developed around the castle built by the Portuguese during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It was conquered by the VOC in 1605 and renamed Victoria, later Nieuw Victoria (Jacobs 1975). The Bugis-Makassarese and Chinese, who lived in and around the castle, appear to have been a part of the town since the earliest records were made (Knaap 1987:166). In 1667 the town area was divided into eight wards (*wijken*). The élite wards were Urimeseng and Batugajah, where the senior officials had their residences. The coastal area to the south of the castle, bordering on Batugajah became the ward where the residences of the Chinese were situated. Many of the Bugis-Makassarese also lived in that ward adjacent to the Chinese. The territorial division of the town did not change greatly in the ensuing years. But when P. Bleeker visited the town in 1854, its territory had considerably expanded. The local geographical conditions restricted the area of the town to a triangular alluvial plain with the widest angle on the coastal side. Its eastern border was the Batumerah river, while the Batugantung river constituted its western border. The Chinese quarters were still situated on the coast south of the castle, while the European wards were also still southwest of the castle. The main change was in the area occupied by the ever increasing number of *inlandsche burgers* at the border of the Chinese and European quarters (Bleeker 1856, I:89, 99).

The figures taken from the annual reports of the Netherlands East Indies officials help to illustrate demographic conditions in Ambon (Table 2). In contrast with the situation in Ternate, Bugis-Makassarese, combined with the Javanese, Malays, and other Islamic peoples from elsewhere in the archipelago, outnumbered the Chinese. An important addition to the demographic

tables in these reports was the data given on the Arabs. Whereas in 1826 there were only two Arab families, whose heads were named Syech Ali and Syech Djoban (De Bruyn Kops 1895:29), in later years their numbers increased considerably.

Although the number of Chinese, most of them of mixed descent, was smaller than that of the Islamic peoples, archival data point to the greater volume of business conducted by the Chinese and Dutch *burgers*.³ Indeed, since the time of the VOC, most of the Makassarese in the town of Ambon were either manual workers or slaves, while the Chinese and Dutch *burgers* had always been functioning as interisland and interregional traders (Knaap 1987:101, 128, 133, 266), as they had in Ternate. But to an even greater extent than in Ternate, the activities of the Chinese in Ambon increased during the nineteenth century due to the emergence of Singapore as a free port in Southeast Asia in the early years of the century. This increase was also facilitated by the opening of the port towns of Ambon, Ternate, Kayeli, and Banda in 1854. In addition, Arabs also began to play a dominant role in certain aspects of the local economy in this period. In contrast, after the administrative reorganization of 1866, the number of Dutch *burgers* began to decline, as many of them left Ambon.

In contrast to the situation in Ternate, the Bugis-Makassarese community in Ambon also had to cope with the absence of a predominantly Islamic cultural and political environment. All these factors pointed to the relatively weaker economic situation of this community in Ambon, as shown by the distribution of their occupations. In fact, the situation was not very different at the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the reorganization of 1817, their leaders were not accorded the right to use the prestigious title *kapitein* that was bestowed upon the leaders of the Chinese and European *burger* communities or to their own community head in Ternate. Instead, a promi-

Table 2. The population of Ambon

	1856	1858	1860
Europeans	695	742	778
Burgers	7415	7659	7793
Chinese	20	217	301
Arabs	19	48	69
Other Islamic peoples (Bugis-Makassarese, Malay, Javanese, etcetera)	-	473	645

³ This difference is particularly well illustrated by the documents on the numerous civil cases presented at the Court of Law (Raad van Justitie). Documents concerning the sales of land in the Ambon archives are also important in this respect.

nent Makassarese in Ambon by the name of Syafiuddin, better known to the Dutch as Guru Primo, was appointed as *hoofd der Maccassaren* ('head of the Makassarese community') (A 173, 226). Guru Primo retained this position until 1838, when another Makassarese man named Haji Umar was appointed to succeed him and continued in the position until about 1845. After the death of Haji Umar, the post appears to have been discontinued. By the middle of the century the community was reorganized into a separate ward, in accordance with the pattern for the rest of the town dwellers, under a ward head of the Makassarese or *wijkmeester der Maccassaren* (A 1190, 1271).

Obviously possessed of a more comprehensive knowledge of Islamic laws and regulations than most of his compatriots, Guru Primo (and later his successor) was also appointed as mediator and translator in the Raad van Justitie in Ambon. In this court of justice the Muslim *burgers* were tried in civil cases, as were the Dutch, Chinese, and Arabs. This post was labelled as *Arabische schrijver* (Arabic secretary), and later as the *Maleische schrijver* (Malay secretary), in the bureaucratic hierarchy of Ambon, where it was one of the most highly paid (f 25) clerical jobs (A 28, 29, 30, 184). Experience in this position must have heightened the business capacities and the relationships with the Chinese and Arab merchants in town. Not surprisingly, the archives of the Court of Law in Ambon also include a number of civil cases in the name of Guru Primo (A 61, 68, 71). After the post of *hoofd der Maccassaren* was discontinued, the position of mediator and translator at the Court of Law was given to Haji Hatala, a local authority on Islamic law who was also a member of the ruling family in Batumerah, a Muslim village near Ambon.⁴ Another salaried job accorded to a Bugis-Makassarese in Ambon was the *Ceramsche Bode*, about which more will be said below.

Apparently, only two or three men in the Bugis-Makassarese community manifested a capacity for trading. The minimal participation of the Bugis-Makassarese community in the social activities of the port town was also indicated by their marginal position in the *schutterij*, the town guard established in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The task of assisting the government in maintaining peace in the port

⁴ Batumerah is a village established by the VOC in 1656 not far from Kampung Mardika on the Bay of Ambon. It was first intended as a holding place for hostages taken from the island of Manipa, which, together with other islands, had fought the VOC's monopoly system during the first half of the seventeenth century. Later, a number of people from the villages in Hoamoal in western Ceram also migrated to Batumerah, when they were driven from their villages during the same conflicts. Built on the slopes of a rocky hill, the village lacked grounds for cultivation. So the inhabitants became local traders, maintaining business and familial connections with other trading villages in the Gorong and Ceram Laut island groups (Knaap 1987:32, 49, 214). Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the village was under the control of Kampung Mardika, but after that it selected its own village leaders.

town and its vicinity had always been one of the duties of the European *burgers*. This task was also accorded to the *mardijkers*, composed of manumitted slaves formerly held by the Portuguese and the descendants of these former slaves, as well as the retired Portuguese soldiers and their descendants who had lived in the town since the sixteenth century.⁵ The two categories of town dwellers were separated at first; with each led by its own *kapitein*, but they were joined together in one unit since the eighteenth century (*Encyclopaedie* 1917-39, II:422). Following the Pattimura Rebellion of 1817, in which the *burgers* and *mardijkers* participated in military operations, Governor P. Merkus (1822-1827) initiated a series of measures to organize the town dwellers into more effective units. Six companies were formed, the first two of which consisted of Dutch and native *burgers* as well as *mardijkers*. These two companies constituted the élite of the town guard and were provided with firearms and white uniforms. Each member of these companies had to contribute f 6,12 to the town dwellers' fund (*burgerkas*) to be used for its expenses. The town guard was led by the *resident-magistraat* with the honorary rank of *luitenant-colonel*, while a number of highly placed civilian government officials functioned as his staff. But, from the very beginning government officials were exempted from guard duty, as were wealthy *burgers* who paid a higher contribution instead of performing active service (De Bruyn Kops 1895:19-31). Later on, a similar organization was formed in the towns of Ternate and Banda, while in the Central Moluccas other units led by a sergeant or a corporal were established around the smaller forts in Hila and Larike (both in Ambon), Kayeli (Buru), Loki (Ceram), Haruku, Saparua, and Nusalaut (Bleeker 1856, II:7).

Only *burgers* were able to become members of the town guard; mere villagers were never included. Since the free (namely non-slave) Bugis-Makassarese in Ambon had been considered as *Moorsche burgers* since the time of the VOC, they too were included in this organization. Nevertheless, as stated earlier, the Bugis-Makassarese in Ambon, unlike those in Ternate, were never very important in this organization.

The Bugis-Makassarese in Ambon were included in small units in the fifth company, which was known as the company of the *Moorsche burgerij*. The members of this company were mostly Muslim Chinese of mixed descent, and it was from this group that its officers were also chosen. From 1828 Arabs

⁵ The *mardijkers* were mostly manumitted slaves of the Portuguese. The term is of Sanskrit origin (*mardhaheka*), meaning 'free persons' or 'freed persons'. *Mardijkers* were to be found in Ambon and throughout parts of the Moluccas influenced by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, including Ternate and Bacan. Some of them originated from the south coast of India, others from Angola (*Encyclopaedie* 1917-39, II:675). The VOC set these slaves free and allowed them to settle in their own wards, such as *kampung Mardika* in Ternate and Ambon (Bakhuizen van den Brink 1915:598-9).

were also included in this company (A 226). In the officers' corps, the leaders of this company were accorded the title of *kapitein der Moorsche burgerij* and *luitenant der Moorsche burgerij*. During the 1820's the rank of *kapitein* was often given to members of the Kyat family, one of the most important Muslim Chinese families of mixed descent in Ambon. The first to be accorded this honour was Muskin Kyat, when Tjie Kariem acted as *luitenant der Moorsche burgerij*. Later, Abdurachman Kyat succeeded to the office of *kapitein* (A 108, 223, 226, 233). Djin Sukur of the well-known Sukur family was also accorded this rank much later. However, from the middle of the century, the Muslim Chinese of mixed descent, as a religious community of their own, formed a separate unit with its own leader, termed the *kepala djemaat der Islamsche peranakan Chinezen* ('the head of the congregation of Muslim Chinese of mixed descent'). One of these *kepala* was Tan Husein. In fact, beginning in 1828 when new regulations were issued, especially a series requiring proper registration of all members of the *schutterij* (A 226), a clear distinction came into existence between the *schutterij* as a paramilitary organization with a fixed membership and the *burgerij* as the general category of town dwellers from which the members of the *schutterij* were recruited.

An abundance of archival data clearly indicates the internal differentiation of Ambon's urban society. However, data concerning the activities of the Bugis-Makassarese in this town are very scarce.⁶ Different occupations in the *burger* communities included merchants, ship captains, small traders, pedlars, bricklayers, sailors, and others. A considerable number of the *burgers* performed all kinds of manual labour at the harbour or for government institutions. One of the most important criteria of internal differentiation was the ownership of various kinds of trading vessels. The leading Chinese families of mixed descent in Ambon, including the The family, the Ong family, and others, were included in the category of wealthy merchants who owned trading vessels of a high quality and thus maintained trade relations of wide geographic extent. Later, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Arabs, including the Attamimi family, the Bahasoan family, the Basalama family, and the Lapary family, also became prominent as merchants in Ambon (A 40, 43, 48, 50, 62, 66, 70, 72, 113, 114, 117, 126, 127, 129). During the first half of the nineteenth century a number of prominent Dutch *burger* families, including the van Aalt family and the Ostrauwsky family, also owned their own vessels, trading not only within the Moluccas, but as far

⁶ Most of the data concerning the Bugis-Makassarese community are scattered in reports or letters bearing mainly on other matters or focused on other groups like the Dutch or Chinese *burgers*. Specific data on this community are confined to such notices as appointments or resignations of the *kapitein der Maccassaren* in Ternate and the *hoofd der Maccassaren* in Ambon. I have yet to discover reports, notes, or even whole letters dealing specifically with these communities in the archives housed in Jakarta.

afield as Makassar and Java. However, due to the 1866 reorganization of administration in the Moluccas, which abolished the central government of the Moluccas in Ambon that had been established in 1817, many prominent Dutch families left the town. Their place in business was taken over by the new generation of Chinese and Arab families. Nearly all sea captains employed by such families were of the same ethnic category as the owners of the vessel, although the other members of the crews were drawn from all ethnic origins, including the Bugis-Makassarese.

As happened in Ternate, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Bugis-Makassarese community in Ambon began to decline. Their numbers decreased rapidly in the last decades of the century. This decline was one of the main reasons they were excluded from the *schutterij* after its reorganization in 1886 (*Staatsblad* 1886, no. 136).

The decline of the Bugis-Makassarese as *burgers* in Ambon must have been related to the process of urbanization in the town of Ambon, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. This process assumed a specific form in the towns of the central Moluccas that was wholly absent in Ternate. From the time of the British interregnum (1811-1817) a number of villagers on the islands of the central Moluccas were accorded the status of *burgers*. Those who gained this status were no longer allowed to lay claim to family garden land in the villages, but were exempted from the *corvée* labour to which villagers were subject until the abolition of the clove monopoly in Ambon in 1864. The practice of granting *burger* status to villagers was continued by the Netherlands East Indies government in Ambon after the interregnum. As soon as a villager could prove that he practised a particular occupation in town, he was provided with a permit (*vrijbrief*) granting him the status of *burger* (*Encyclopaedie* 1917-39, I:423). Both Christian and Muslim villagers came to prefer this position, although most of them kept living in their villages. Thus arose the new category of town dwellers known as *inlandsche burgers*. During the period of VOC control this category had not existed at all; the category of *Moorsche burgers* had only included Bugis-Makassarese, Malays, Javanese, and the Muslim Chinese of mixed descent. But in the nineteenth century the Ambonese *inlandsche burgers* came to predominate (Bleeker 1856, II:74-80). While most manual labour during the VOC period had been carried out by *Moorsche burgers* and slaves, including those of Bugis-Makassarese descent (Knaap 1987:133-6), by the nineteenth century a large portion of the manual labour and nearly all occupations, including those of sailor, carpenter, bricklayer, and others, were carried out by the *inlandsche burgers*, although there were also reports of members of this category who preferred to remain idle (and arrogant!) (Bleeker 1856, II:114-5). The *inlandsche burgers* were also provided with the means to improve their own condition with the establishment of their own educational system – the

Ambonsche Burgerschool – by decree of the governor-general on 6 January 1869 (Leirissa 1984; A 392).⁷ This system of elementary education was also accorded the right to examine candidates for lower level government employment – the institution of the famous *kleinambtenaarsexamen* – which had also been introduced five years earlier in the elementary school system in Java (*Staatsblad* 1864, no. 194). Nevertheless, unemployment among the *inlandsche burgers* became the most salient characteristic of this community in the later decades of the nineteenth century. In order to stem social disturbances among the town dwellers, the practice of granting the status of *burger* to villagers was discontinued in 1892 (*Staatsblad* 1892, no. 82).

Demographic data from the annual reports of local Dutch officials in Ambon depict the increase of the population in Ambon (A 582). The category *burgers* in Table 2 (about 80% of the total population) in Leitimor (eastern part of Ambon) refers mainly to the *inlandsche burgers*, mostly living in their own villages around the city of Ambon.

'The connecting islands' (schakeleilanden)

The Makassarese and Bugis were never restricted as *burgers* to the 'foreign' wards in Ambon and Ternate. Ever since the eighteenth century, numbers of them had visited the islands in the eastern periphery of the Moluccas. Most of them were to be found in villages in the Gorong and Ceram Laut island groups, as well as the Kei and Aru islands, which had become known in early nineteenth century reports as the *schakeleilanden* or 'connecting islands'. These islands indeed connected the governments in Ambon and Banda with the coastal area of New Guinea not only economically, but also – and perhaps more importantly – culturally. The Gorong and Ceram Laut islands, which are, in fact, small atolls, had been encompassed within the government of Banda since the middle of the seventeenth century (Knaap 1987:53-8). Local community composition was a curious mixture of indigenous inhabitants, who constituted the majority, and people from New Guinea, Ambon, Banda, Bali, and the Bugis-Makassarese (Riedel 1886:148-69; Bosscher 1855; Van der Crab 1864; Kolff 1828:310-36). The villages in these islands differed considerably from those in the Ambon islands, since all of the former were surrounded by walls made from coral and stones. Most of the leading families of these villages, whose heads had been accorded such titles as *majoer* and *kapitein* by the VOC, owned trading vessels (*jungku Seram*), with which they sailed (and traded) to South Sulawesi, as well as to the islands of Sumba, Sumbawa,

⁷ In 1911 a similar institution was established in Saparua on the island of the same name. It was known as the *Saparoeasche school*.

Lombok, and Bali. Most of them accompanied and commanded their own vessels, which were manned by local captains and sailors (A 177, 730, 751).

The Bugis-Makassarese, like the other non-indigenous ethnic groups living in those islands, were totally integrated with the indigenous population through marriages. They thus did not constitute a separate community, as in Ambon or Ternate. These settlers were trading agents for their compatriots stationed as traders in the islands that formed the western destinations for these vessels. With the annual west monsoon, those traders sent their *pade-wakang* to these peripheral *schakeleilanden*, returning to their home ports with the east monsoon.⁸

Before being conquered by the VOC, these islands had been part of the kingdom of Tidore. Until 1768 the VOC controlled these islands indirectly through the sultan, who was regarded as a vassal of the VOC. As in the northern Moluccas, the inhabitants of these islands were strongly prohibited not only from trading in clove and nutmeg, but also from cultivating these crops. Gradually, the leading groups on the islands, who were often connected by marriage with the inhabitants of the spice-producing Muslim villages in Ambon and Haruku, came to be known as the most important smugglers of cloves and nutmegs. Of course, the Bugis and Makassarese also participated actively in this proscribed trade. This clandestine trade often caused conflicts between officials in Ternate and the sultan of Tidore. During one of those conflicts in 1768, the sultan of Tidore decided to terminate his vassalage, a move involving the return of these islands to the VOC (*Acte van Cessie* 20 June 1768, T 140).

In trying to establish another system of indirect rule in these islands, the VOC appointed as its representative in the region a 'native' of these islands by the name of Hamba, who apparently, however, was also of partial Makassarese descent. Following the tradition of bestowing military ranks as titles for the village leaders in the islands, Hamba was accorded the title *commandant van Ceram*. But Hamba, who was also a businessman with extensive connections in the spice-producing islands, was later accused of participating in the clandestine spice trade, and thus was taken prisoner along with a number of other village leaders (A 730). No successor to Hamba is ever mentioned in the VOC documents.

During the reorganization of the Moluccan administration in 1817, these islands were accorded a special status. Although the area had always been the responsibility of the officials stationed in Banda, among whom were

⁸ Governor P. Merkus appointed a trader from the island of Bangka named Juragan Jusuf, who evidently knew the *schakeleilanden* well, to compose a report on the activities of the Bugis and Makassarese on the north coast of Ceram and these islands. The report noted the existence of a number of traders in Bali and Lombok who provided credit to both local and Bugis-Makassarese traders in the area.

those who did possess some knowledge of its social conditions (Leirissa 1982), the governor in Ambon, nevertheless, decided to create his own middleman. Thus, the position of *Ceramsche bode* (literally, 'a messenger to Ceram') was created. This salaried job was given to a Makassarese living in Ambon by the name of Abdul Kadir, who held the job from 1817 to 1830. As was the case for the other 'messengers' to the Christian and heathen parts of Ceram, especially western Ceram, who were usually called by the epithet *portero* ('Portuguese'), the *Ceramsche bode* was not stationed in Ceram, but remained in Ambon. Occasionally, he would visit the islands in a government vessel to investigate specific local matters, as instructed by the governor. Abdul Kadir appears to have been allowed to conduct private business in the islands as well. However, later his private interests came into conflict with his official duties. On his return from an official trip in 1830 he was accused of misconduct, taken into detention, and subsequently relieved of his position (A 244). The post of *Ceramsche bode* was also apparently discontinued then, since no mention of it can be found in the documents of that period. Subsequently, a senior official was regularly sent to the islands to investigate such matters as conflicts between the villages. Some of these officials prepared detailed reports of their inspection tours (Bosscher 1855; Van der Crab 1864). Much later, after the reorganization of 1866,⁹ a number of officials termed *gecommitteerde voor Ceram* were appointed for different parts of the island of Ceram. These officials were largely recruited from the better families of the *inlandsche burgers*.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, during the preparations for the administrative reorganization of 1866, the central government in Ambon also began to be interested in the Kei-Aru island group. The Bugis-Makassarese had been visiting these islands for centuries. These Bugis-Makassarese became the middlemen who exported sea products, both those available locally and those obtained from New Guinea by the islanders, to their compatriots in South Celebes, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and elsewhere. When Singapore rose in importance as an emporium, these traders were also the first to connect these islands to the new international port. This new development even increased their activities in the islands. Consequently, settlements containing primarily Bugis emerged in a number of villages.¹⁰ Since the government at that time lacked the means to control these settlements, it issued a decision in the early 1880s to appoint leaders in these settlements,

⁹ The Netherlands East Indies administration of the Moluccas established in 1817 united the three former VOC *gouvernementen* – Ternate (or the Moluccas), Ambon, and Banda – into one unit with its centre in Ambon. In 1866, after the abolition of the spice monopoly, the administration was again reorganized into three separate units or *residenties*. The resulting units were not very different from those originally established by the VOC: Northern Moluccas, Central Moluccas, and the Banda islands each became a separate *residentie* (Raedt van Oldenbarnevelt 1916).

who would be accorded the title *kapitein der Boegineezen*. Similar developments were also reported at the same time for another 'connecting' island group, the Tanimbar-Babar archipelago.¹¹ The community leaders appointed by the authorities in those areas must certainly have had some influence among the settlers, in many cases being their traditional leaders. Thus, a practice then regarded as obsolete in Ambon and Ternate, emerged again as functional in other parts of the Moluccas.

Conclusion

The differing social systems of the northern and central Moluccas required different patterns of leadership among the Bugis-Makassarese in Ternate and Ambon. In Muslim Ternate the *kapitein der Maccassaren* of *kampung Makassar* was clearly head of his community, but in Ambon the leaders of the Bugis-Makassarese community were involved in a more complex role system. Apart from being the leader of his community, the head of the Bugis-Makassarese in Ambon was also a mediator for the Dutch government, especially in his (lower) bureaucratic post as *Maleische schrijver* in the court of law (*Raad van Justitie*), where the *Moorsche burgers* were tried in civil cases. In addition, another prominent Makassarese in Ambon also functioned as a mediator between the government and the Muslim villages in the islands east of Ceram at a time when the administration of these islands was still rudimentary. These additional roles were only discontinued after the government was able to replace them with other means arising from the internal organization of society in Ambon itself.

In contrast, the system of indirect rule in the northern Moluccas did not foster a need for separate mediators between the government and Muslim society in Ternate. In this situation, the Bugis-Makassarese community in Ternate was more easily integrated into the wider indigenous society.

The developments occurring in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Ambon, during which the Bugis-Makassarese heads lost their formal mediating role, were part of the general process of social differentiation that caused the emergence of a new category of urban dwellers: the *inlandsche burgers*. Besides performing many of the occupations that the Bugis filled since the time of the VOC, these *inlandsche burgers* also became part of the governmental apparatus in the islands.

¹⁰ Reports of such communities can be found in the Algemeen Verslag of 1880, 1881, and 1882. See also the decrees (*besluiten*) of the governor of the Moluccas of 3 October 1835 (no. 2), 13 April 1839 (no. 4), 11 February 1839 (no. 2), and 10 September 1839, as well as the letter of the governor of the Moluccas to Batavia dated 30 September 1825, (no. 27).

¹¹ See the general annual reports of 1880, 1881, and 1882 (A 582).