Indigenous Populations, Plantations, and Agrarian Conflicts in Rural North Maluku during the Colonial Period from the 17th to the 20th Century

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Abstract

North Maluku in the course of its history is full of conflicts involving the natives and colonial rulers of their time, at least from the 17th century to the early 20th century. One of the reasons for this conflict was the seizure of agricultural lands, plantations, especially for clove and nutmeg spices, as well as forest areas and their products based in rural areas. Which overall only benefited the colonial government and private sector. The problems that then arise are: How did agrarian conflicts on indigenous plantation lands in rural Northern Maluku come about? What was the involvement of indigenous and colonial authorities in the conflicts? and What was the impact and process of resolving the conflicts? Based on the results of the research, it was found that agrarian conflicts occurred due to: first, because of the monopolistic attitude of the colonial rulers through contracts or a number of cooperation agreements that only benefited the colonial party; second, the lives of the natives were increasingly depressed by colonial social, economic, political and military policies; third, provocations deliberately carried out by the colonial rulers to disrupt good relations between the kings and native rulers and their people. This article was written based on the results of source studies and field research from the colonial period, using historical research methods: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The spirit of colonialism and foreign imperialism with liberal capitalist views also played an important role in killing indigenous freedoms to plant spices in their own plantations, including in terms of managing forest products such as resin and trading their products. In addition, indigenous people are prohibited from conducting trade transactions with other traders, both to fellow natives, other archipelago traders, and to foreign traders other than the Dutch.

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Introduction

In the 17th century, the North Maluku region was politically divided into three kingdoms: Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan. These kingdoms had formal, written relations with the Dutch East India Company (VOC), which sought to secure a monopoly on the spice trade. Ternate and Tidore, each centered on small islands of the same name, held formal power over the entire Moluccan Sea and Islands, extending north to West

Papua and parts of the eastern Sulawesi coast. Bacan's power was limited to its namesake island and a few surrounding islets, mostly uninhabited during this period. However, before the 17th century, two other kingdoms existed: Loloda and Jailolo, centered in Northwest and Southwest Halmahera, the largest island in North Maluku. Oral traditions, including genealogical and mythological accounts, suggest that Loloda was the oldest kingdom in North Maluku, established in the early 13th century, followed by Jailolo. However, most local and Western writers, particularly the Dutch, identify Loloda as the oldest kingdom and equate it with Halmahera, the largest and longest island in the Moluccan Sea and Islands. Valentijn (1724) also mentions Loloda as the oldest kingdom, noting that it was annexed by Ternate with VOC assistance in the 17th century.

Until the early 1900s, resistance movements in Halmahera continued to challenge the economic, political, and military power of the Dutch colonial government, which sought to maintain its monopoly on the spice and commodity trade in North Maluku. Notable rebellions include the Dano Baba Hasan Uprising in Jailolo (1876), the Kao War (1904) led by Kuabang and Tomini, the Loloda War (1906-1909) led by Kapita Sikuru, the Galela War (1906-1907), and the Jailolo War (1914) led by Kapita Banau. These conflicts were often rooted in plantation and agrarian issues in rural Halmahera.

Studies on indigenous populations, plantations, and agrarian conflicts in rural North Maluku during the Dutch colonial period (17th-19th centuries) have not received much attention from Indonesian or foreign historians. However, villages in this region were significant producers of spices, particularly nutmeg and cloves, as well as forest products like damar. Rural populations in mainland Halmahera, Morotai, and Bacan relied on plantation and forest lands, especially for spice and damar cultivation. These rural areas were often the target of power struggles and monopolies among four European powers: Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and England. Discussions about North Maluku's history often focus on the small island kingdoms of Ternate and Tidore, influential local powers and major spice producers in the archipelago and the world. North Maluku, located in the Moluccan Sea and Islands (now North Maluku Province), is primarily known as the Spice Islands, a region marked by competition and conflict throughout Indonesian history. The rural areas, which make up a significant portion of the region, have often been overlooked as sites of bloodshed and conflict, involving colonial powers, indigenous populations, sultans and their subjects, and even among the indigenous people themselves due to Dutch provocation and manipulation.

Numerous foreign works, particularly by Europeans and especially the Dutch, have explored North Maluku from various perspectives, including religion (beliefs and practices), culture (language, literature, linguistics), architecture, geography, customs and traditions, demographics, economy (agriculture/plantations, forestry, and maritime activities), flora and fauna, politics, and government administration. However, few Indonesian authors have examined agrarian conflicts in rural communities due to colonial intervention in plantation and forest areas, highlighting the importance of this research.

Several earlier studies on colonialism in North Maluku were written by Dutch authors. J.M. Baretta (1917), in his book Halmahera en Morotai Bewerk Naar de Memorie van Den Kapitein van Den Generalen Staf, discusses the natural environment, geography, topography, socio-economic life, and religion (indigenous beliefs and practices) in Halmahera and Morotai during the Dutch colonial period. Baretta mentions several villages in Loloda, such as Soa-Sio, Bantoli, Bakun, Laba, and Kedi in southern Loloda, and Ngajam, Pocao, Diti, Gamkahe, and Barataku in northern Loloda. He also notes villages on Doi and Salangade (Tobo-Tobo) Islands in the Loloda archipelago. Baretta's 1917 statistical data includes most of these colonial-era villages.

Campen (1888) discusses the Ternate Residency and its subordinate areas, encompassing the entire North Maluku region. This region was divided into several island groups consisting of villages and hamlets under the authority of the Ternate Residency and its subordinate areas. Clercq (1890), in his work "Ternate: The Residency and Its Sultanate" (Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate), translated into English by Paul Michael Taylor and Marie Richards (1999), discusses the villages of Todowongi and Tuadah in Jailolo. These villages consisted of apanage (sultan's land cultivated by loyal subjects) and were inhabited by Ternate dano-dano. The residents were obliged to meet the needs of the dano-dano and deliver seven plates of rice to the district head daily (de Clercq, 1890a, p. 107).

Fraassen (1987), in his dissertation Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische Archipel: van Soa Organisatie en Vier Deling-Een Studie van Traditionale Samenleving en culture Indonesie, discusses the terms of the 1903 contract. One contentious point was the second clause, which "granted the Dutch government tax officials the authority to collect head tax (belasting) from all residents in self-governing (swapraja) areas." This clause caused unrest among sultans and other indigenous rulers, who felt their prerogative over taxes, including land, occupation, and income taxes, was threatened by the colonial government. The swapraja system, as outlined in the Regeringsreglement (RR) of 1854, recognized areas governed by indigenous rulers without direct Dutch intervention. This system applied to the Sultanates of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan (van Fraassen, 1987, p. 60).

Valentijns (1856), in his book Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien (originally published in 1724), provides a comprehensive account of the Moluccan Sea and Islands, particularly the Sultanate of Ternate and the Ternate Residency since the Portuguese period. He discusses the early history and fluctuating territorial extent of the Ternate kingdom, culminating in its peak during the reign of Sultan Baabullah Datuk Syah (1570-1583 [Valentijns, 1856a, pp. 3-4]). Valentijn's work also covers the period when Ternate held the largest overseas territories in Eastern Indonesia. When Baabullah became Sultan of Ternate, succeeding his father Sultan Khairun Jamil (Khairun [1535-1570]), Ternate controlled several overseas areas, extending from Butuan (Philippines) in the north to Bima in the south, Selayar in the west (South Sulawesi), and Banda in the east.

Visser, ed. (1980), in the collection Halmahera and Beyond: Social Science Research in The Moluccas, discusses the rural population of Sahu, a key group in providing rice for the Sultanate of Ternate, who were subject to rice tribute obligations.

The amount of tribute generally increased with abundant harvests. In the early 1900s, coconut, clove, nutmeg, and chocolate cultivation became important in northeastern Halmahera, but Sahu remained underdeveloped due to the Sultan's prioritization of rice cultivation and supply obligations. Rice collection was typically paid at a price set by the Sultan. Another notable work by Visser is Man and Plant: An Anthropologist's View Upon the Agricultural Process in Masinambow, E.K.M., ed. (1980) "Halmahera dan Raja Ampat Konsep dan Strategi Penelitian," which discusses the tradition of rice cultivation for tribute and taxes imposed on the people of Halmahera by the Sultanate of Ternate.

Andaya (1993(, in his book The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in Early Modern Period, translated into Indonesian as Dunia Maluku: Indonesia Timur pada Zaman Modern Awal (2015), describes the World of Maluku as a unified region connecting previously separate islands. Andaya also mentions that the Governor of Maluku in Ternate, Robertus Padtbrugge (1677-1682), in his handover memorandum to Jacob Lobs (1682-1686) in 1682, stated that North Maluku had long been known for the presence of five local kingdoms with their own names (titles): Loloda (Ngara ma-beno, meaning "gateway"), Jailolo (Jiko-ma-kolano, meaning "ruler of the bay"), Tidore (Kie-ma-kolano, meaning "ruler of the mountain"), Ternate (Kolano ma-luku, meaning "ruler of Maluku"), and Bacan (Kolano ma-dehe, meaning "ruler of the border" [Andaya, 1993a & Andaya, 2015b: 51]). These names and titles are also mentioned by van Fraassen (1987, pp. 1-18 & 115) and van Fraassen (in Masinambow, [ed.], 1980b, pp. 115-116).

Two journal articles are relevant to this study. The first, by J. Braithwaite, V. Braithwaite, L. Dunn, and M. Cookson (2010, pp. 147-242), is titled Maluku and North Maluku" in Anomie and Violence: Non-truth and Reconciliation in Indonesian Peacebuilding. The authors discuss anomie, meaning the breakdown of established political rules, as evident in two civil conflicts in Maluku and North Maluku, particularly their impact on security. The security dilemma in Maluku villages intensified with the arrival of thousands of Laskar Jihad and other jihadists. Persuading these fighters to return home was a significant achievement. These cases illustrate the multidimensional and rich reconciliation process, characterized by a pattern of non-truth and reconciliation, as well as gotong royong (mutual cooperation) in Indonesia. This article focuses on the horizontal social conflict that erupted in Maluku and North Maluku between 1999 and early 2002, falling within the contemporary period rather than the colonial era. However, despite its contemporary focus, the article remains valuable for comparison with communal conflict patterns during the colonial period.

The second article, by Henley (2004, pp. 85-144), is titled "Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King: Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewhere, published in Modern Asian Studies. This article examines the expansion of the colonial state in North and Central Sulawesi, a region where indigenous attitudes towards integration into the colonial-dominated state system were often ambivalent, though sometimes positive. The backdrop of endemic conflict and fear of political oppression

and economic exploitation by outsiders was not solely due to the opportunism of local elites seeking external support, but also a broader appreciation for the utility of foreign authority in controlling conflict and communal violence through third-party mediation, impartial justice, and law enforcement. Indigenous leaders, far from possessing a 'genius for stateless management,' were often constrained by popular jealousy and distrust, making it easier for people to accept outsiders as arbiters, judges, and peacekeepers rather than establishing indigenous institutions with similar functions. These functions, however, were not entirely unique to the colonial state. To some extent, historical prototypes for colonial rulers can be seen in the precolonial 'stranger-kings' of eastern Indonesia: chieftains who, like their European successors, owed their position partly to their detachment from local rivalries and their ability to provide relatively impartial conflict resolution.

Lapian (1980), in Bacan and The Early History of North Maluku (Lapian in Visser [ed.], 1980, pp. 11-20, Halmahera and Beyond: Social Science Research in The Moluccas; Lapian (1980a, pp. 11-20 in Visser [ed.], 1994, pp. 11-22)), describes the region now known as North Maluku, which in many old sources was more accurately called the Moluccas. Lapian notes that the early Ternate hierarchy has been preserved as a provision recorded in the "Bacan chronicle." He also discusses the myth of the first kings of Maluku, as presented by Jacobs (1971, pp. 80-83) regarding the myth of Bikusagara and the "four dragon eggs." This myth relates to the mythological and genealogical aspects of the emergence of the first kings and kingdoms of Maluku and Loloda's position within them (Lapian, 1980a, p. 14 in Visser, (ed.), 1994, pp. 11-22 & Zuhdi, 2010, p. 97). Lapian argues that Indonesian knowledge of North Maluku's history remains limited. It is generally known that the Portuguese arrived in the region in the 16th century, followed by the Spanish and then the Dutch. Subsequently, a power race among these Western nations arose to control the Spice Islands (Lapian, 1980, p. 14 in Visser, (ed.), 1994, pp. 11-22 & Zuhdi, 2010, p. 97).

Amal (2010), in Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah: Maluku Utara Perjalanan Sejarah 1250-1950 (Spice Islands: North Maluku's Historical Journey 1250-1950), provides a general overview of the indigenous local kingdoms in Maluku: Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and Jailolo. In addition to these four kingdoms, the Loloda Kingdom is also mentioned, highlighting its role in North Maluku's history, particularly during the Dutch colonial administration. However, Amal's discussion remains general and does not specifically address how colonialism impacted agrarian conflicts in rural areas between indigenous people and colonial rulers.

Asyhari (2008, pp. 193-410), in Status Tanah-Tanah Kesultanan Ternate dalam Perspektif Tanah Nasional (The Status of Ternate Sultanate Lands in the National Land Perspective), discusses how, after President Suharto's resignation in 1998, demonstrations in Ternate demanded the return of all lands belonging to the Ternate Sultanate. The argument put forth was that the Indonesian government had unlawfully seized land rights from the Sultanate. In 2006, a land dispute arose at Sultan Baabullah Airport, encompassing four surrounding villages. This study is contemporary, focusing on the 21st century and agrarian conflicts in rural areas within

the Ternate Sultanate after the fall of the New Order.

Fauzi (1999), in Petani dan Penguasa, Dinamika Konflik Agraria Indonesia (Farmers and Rulers, the Dynamics of Agrarian Conflict in Indonesia), presents a brief history of agrarian politics in Indonesia, focusing on the belief among legal experts that September 24, 1960, was a historic day for Indonesian farmers. On that date, Law No. 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Regulations, better known as the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA), was enacted. The birth of this law marks a milestone in agrarian history. Although the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies had implemented the Agrarian Law (Agrarische Wet) and the land lease system (landreform) in 1870, providing ample opportunities for foreign investors in the agro-industry sector (production of clothing, food, housing, markets, and trade) from the agrarian sector (agriculture, plantations, and forestry), Fauzi's study remains relevant for comparing the colonial period with the Old Order period.

One notable study is Wijayengrono's (2009) thesis, Pertanian Rakyat dan Perkebunan Eropa di Karesidenan Ternate, 1860-1920 (Peasant Agriculture and European Plantations in the Ternate Residency, 1860-1920). While not specifically addressing agrarian conflicts in rural North Maluku communities starting in the 17th century, this thesis provides valuable context for this article. Sunu highlights a fundamental shift in agrarian economic arrangements when the Dutch colonial government imposed its will through a political contract known as the "korte verklaring" (short declaration) in 1910. This agreement stripped the sultans of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan, along with their subordinate territories, of their personal land rights. The abolition of the sultans' land ownership rights led to horizontal social mobility among indigenous people, who migrated from the interior, previously controlled by the sultans, to coastal areas. The sultans' land ownership rights, known as aha kolano in Halmahera and Morotai, were abolished by the Dutch as part of agrarian reforms in the local kingdoms of North Maluku. Consequently, the kings and sultans were forced to accept the conversion of their rights into public rights under Dutch colonial regulations, resulting in the loss of their agrarian sovereignty (Wijayengrono, 2009, p. 268).

The research questions addressed in this study are as follows: How did agrarian conflicts arise on indigenous plantation lands in rural North Maluku? What roles did indigenous and colonial authorities play in these conflicts? What were the consequences of these conflicts and how were they resolved?

Method

This research employs the historical method. Data collection involved searching, discovering, and gathering information from various locations with potential historical sources relevant to the research topic, through literature review, archival research, field observation, and documentation study. Literature review was conducted at several libraries, including the Khairun University Faculty of Humanities Library, Khairun University Central Library, University of Indonesia Central Library in Depok, the National Library of Indonesia (PNRI), the Indonesian Institute of

Sciences (LIPI) Library in Jakarta, the BRILL-KITLV Library in Jakarta, and the Dutch Language Center (Erasmus Tall Centrum [ETC]) in Jakarta. Some literature sources were also obtained from local communities in Ternate, both individually and collectively, who willingly provided them to the researcher.

Meanwhile, archival research was conducted at several archival offices in Ternate and Jakarta. In Ternate, the researcher visited the Ternate City Archives and Library Agency (however, the management of colonial archives there was not well-organized, so adequate and necessary sources were not found). In Jakarta, the researcher visited the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI). Literature and archival studies were also conducted by searching digital collections and browsing official websites of libraries and archives in the Netherlands, such as the Leiden University Library in Leiden and the National Archives of the Netherlands in The Hague. By field observation, the researcher conducted field observations in Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Jailolo, Loloda, and other locations on Halmahera Island. Documentation study involved searching and collecting images, maps, photos, graphs, tables, diagrams, charts, films/videos, and other audiovisual materials.

Second, a process of source criticism was undertaken, involving the internal and external verification and validation of both primary and secondary historical sources, in both print and electronic formats. Printed primary sources, such as Dutch colonial writings and other foreign publications, were read, translated, reviewed, and analyzed to extract information relevant to the research topic and this article. This critical examination of sources ensures the accuracy and reliability of the historical data used in the research.

Additionally, reading, translation, and review of internal and external aspects of rural population issues and agrarian conflicts in North Maluku were conducted, verifying relevant historical information from other contemporary sources such as Corpus Diplomaticum, Neerlando-Indicum, Verzameld en Toegelicht door Dr. F.W. Stapel, vierde Deel (1691-1725); Pedoman Hindia, De Indische Gids. Staat en Letterkundig Maandschrift (1881-1902); J. Metz (1910) "Loloda" in M.J. van Baarda (1910) De Laatste Berichten van Halmaheira; A. van Essen (1910) "Morotai" in De Laatste Berichten van Halmaheira; D.G. Stibbe (1918) Encyclopediae van Nederladsche-Indie; and Henri Zondervan (1917) Winkler Prins' Geillustreerde Encyclopaedie. These sources provided crucial references with relevant information for the article's title.

Reading, translation, and analysis of contemporary colonial archives were also conducted, including three Transfer of Office Memoranda of the Resident of Ternate obtained from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia: the Ternate Archives Collection, Positive Film/MF/2E/Reel 27/MvO (Memorie van Overgave), K.H.F. van Roos (1910), and the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia-Publication of Historical Sources No. 11 (1980) on Ternate: Memorie van Overgave (MvO), J.H. Tobias (1857) and Memorie van Overgave, C. Bosscher (1859), all obtained from ANRI in Jakarta.

The third step involved interpretation of all collected historical sources after

undergoing source criticism (verification and data validation) to gain a deep understanding of their content. The fourth step was historiography. After the heuristic, critical, and interpretive steps, the final step was to write the history according to the chosen research topic.

Indigenous People and Rural Residents in North Maluku

During the colonial era, the term "pribumi" (meaning "native" or "indigenous") was used in Malay to refer to the inlanders, one of the population groups in the Dutch East Indies, comprising the original ethnic groups of the Indonesian archipelago. As a result, Indonesians of Chinese, Indian, or Arab descent (all grouped together as vreemde oosterlingen or "foreign Easterners"), Europeans, or those of mixed heritage (Indos) were often classified as "non-pribumi," even if they had been born in Indonesia for generations. This classification was not intended to be racist, as individuals could move between groups, but in practice, it led to racism through discriminatory practices in public life, wage disparities, prohibitions on the use of the Dutch language for certain groups, and so on. After the New Order, the Indonesian government instructed the discontinuation of the terms “pribumi” and “non-pribumi,” emphasizing that all native ethnic groups in the archipelago are “pribumi.”

In North Maluku, there are approximately 32 ethnic groups and languages, according to a mapping of ethnic groups and languages in the region. These local ethnic groups and languages include Ternate, Tidore, Bacan (Makian), Moti (Jailolo), Loloda, Tobelo, Galela, Kao, Modole, Boeng, Pagu, Sawai, Sahu, Ibu, Bobaneigo (Gorap), Sanana, and others. They have been recognized as indigenous to North Maluku for centuries. The languages they speak belong to both Austronesian and non-Austronesian families, similar to the language families in West Papua (Voorhoeve, 1988).

In terms of population, as with other islands in North Maluku, population figures, particularly for Halmahera, are generally difficult to find. North Halmahera is somewhat better documented due to reports such as the 1807 census (Algemeen Verslag Ternate, 1824-1843). There is also the General Report (Algemeen Verslag) from Dutch colonial authorities in Ternate (Gezaghebber Ternate, 27-01-1807, p. 122), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Population of Halmahera 1824-1843

Year	East Halmahera	North Halmahera
1824	10,000	20,000
1825	5,000	20,000
1829	5,000	20,000
1837	3,720	18,908
1838	3,890	18,973
1841	4,447	18,918
1843	4,004	19,500

Source: *Algemeen Verslag* Ternate, 1824-1843.

The figures from 1824 to 1829 are clearly estimates, and more accurate numbers only appear from the 1837 General Report onwards. There is a noticeable decrease in the figures for East Halmahera, from 10,000 in 1824 to half that number in 1825. According to Leirissa (1996, p. 61), these estimates reflect the fact that many villagers from the Maba, Patani, and Weda districts joined Raja Jailolo, Muhammad Arif Billa, in North Seram to fight against the Dutch colonial government. However, this migration had already begun earlier, between 1820 and 1822. It is estimated that during those years, their numbers, along with the Tobelo people in North Seram, reached around 7,000. In 1832, some of the East Halmahera people were returned to their home villages, and many others had taken the initiative to return in previous years. However, the figures for the 1830s, which seem to be more accurate from then on, are still based on estimates.

Rural areas in North Maluku are synonymous with villages, often referred to as negeri. Recent research, such as that conducted by Visser (1999) in two settlements in Sahu and by Platenkamp (1988 & 1990) on several settlements in Tobelo, has successfully depicted village structures in all their aspects. Colonial documents often mention “negeri” and “kampung” (Malay for “village”). Within these settlements, the authority of a group of local rulers or officials called bobato emerged, alongside the Sultan, Jougugu, Sangaji, Kapita, Kimelaha, Hukom, Sowohi, and others. Some Dutch East Indies colonial rulers, who began to directly interact with the people of Halmahera from the second half of the 19th century, also equated the term negeri with gam and kampung with soa, two terms rarely used in their documents, as seen in Campen's notes (1883, p. 242). Based on Van Fraassen's (1987) analysis in his dissertation, the concept of soa actually refers to kinship relationships not limited to a specific locality, so the term does not refer to a settlement system. This is likely also the case with the term gam.

The aforementioned 1807 census used the concepts of "negeri" and “kampung” for various settlement systems in the five kingdoms of North Maluku (Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Jailolo, and Loloda). This issue is further complicated by the fact that the terms negeri and kampung were only used for coastal settlements with predominantly Muslim populations and Malay culture. The inland communities, called halefuru, had a different social structure.

Following the signing of the London Convention in 1814, which transferred power in Indonesia from the British to the Dutch, the Dutch began reorganizing the government for the entire Dutch East Indies. On January 3, 1815, the Regeringsreglement (RR, Government Regulation) was enacted, effectively taking effect in 1818. The form of government established in the RR was centralized. C. Fasseur argues that the RR was riddled with discrimination based on race and religion (de Graaf, 1977, p. 212). This claim is well-founded. Racism, for example, was evident in the division of Dutch East Indies subjects into European, Foreign Easterners, and Native groups. Each group had different rights in public and private legal treatment. Certain positions, such as resident, assistant resident, controller (controleur),

gezaghebber, and others, could only be held by Europeans. The Landraad and swapraja (self-governing) courts were for natives, while the Raad van Justitie was for Europeans. Adat law (customary law) applied to natives, while the Burgerlijk Wetboek (BW, Civil Code) applied to Europeans. Europeans received higher salaries than natives, even with the same educational qualifications, skills, and abilities. In representative bodies, both the volksraad (people's council) and city councils, the Dutch were represented in the majority, even though their numbers were a minority.

All those who were neither native nor European were classified as Foreign Easterners. This group was further divided into Chinese and non-Chinese Foreign Easterners, including people from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Despite being from Asia, the Japanese were classified as Europeans based on a treaty. The same privilege was enjoyed by white South Africans.

General Description of Rural Areas in North Maluku During the Colonial Period

Before discussing rural areas in North Maluku during the colonial period, it is necessary to briefly define the term "desa" (village). Etymologically, the word "desa" originates from the Sanskrit word deca, meaning homeland, land of origin, or birthplace. From a geographical perspective, a village is defined as a group of houses or shops in a country area, smaller than a town. A village is a legal community with the authority to manage its own affairs based on ancestral rights and customs recognized in the National Government and located within a district.

Bintarto (2010, p. 6) states that a village can also be considered a result of the interaction between a group of people and their environment. This interaction creates a physical manifestation on the earth's surface, influenced by physiographic, social, economic, political, and cultural elements that interact with each other and with other regions. According to Daldjoeni (2011, p. 4), a village, in a general sense, can also be defined as a human settlement located outside of a city, where the inhabitants' livelihoods are primarily based on farming, gardening, or cultivation.

Widjaja (2009, p. 3) states that a village is a legal community with an original structure based on special ancestral rights. The fundamental principles of village governance are diversity, participation, original autonomy, democratization, and community empowerment. Paul H. Landis provides a more comprehensive definition of a village, including the characteristics of its community. According to Landis, a village has three main characteristics: 1) close-knit social interactions among thousands of people; 2) a shared sense of belonging and customs; and 3) an agrarian-based economy heavily influenced by the surrounding environment, such as climate, natural conditions, and natural resources, while non-agrarian occupations are secondary.

The term "pedesaan" (rural area) generally refers to a geographical area located outside of a city or urban area. Pedesaan typically have relatively low population densities and small-scale settlements. Agricultural, plantation, and forestry areas are usually considered rural (Wikipedia, July 15, 2022).

Currently, North Maluku Province administratively consists of ten

regencies/cities (Regencies: North Halmahera [17 districts and 199 villages], South Halmahera [30 districts and 256 villages], West Halmahera [8 districts and 169 villages], East Halmahera [10 districts and 104 villages], Central Halmahera [10 districts and 64 villages], Sula Islands [12 districts and 80 villages], Morotai Island [6 districts and 88 villages], Taliabu Island [8 districts and 71 villages], and Cities: Ternate [8 districts and 78 villages] and Tidore [8 districts and 90 villages]), totaling 117 districts and 1,199 villages (BPS North Maluku Province, 2020).

In North Maluku, rural areas are generally found on Halmahera Island, the largest and longest island in the region. North Maluku is geographically composed of hundreds of islands, both inhabited and uninhabited, including large and small islands. Generally, settlements on Halmahera and the surrounding islands, even today, still have a rural character. However, there are some differences in the present day, such as Ternate, which has been the center of formal government administration since the colonial period, under the Portuguese, Spanish, British, Dutch, and even the Japanese. Ternate has developed into a medium-sized city, unlike Tidore, which has administrative status as a city with a higher population density and population mobility. Ternate City remains the center of social, economic, and cultural activities, even though the capital of North Maluku Province was moved to Sofifi (Tidore Islands) in 2008.

In early 19th-century Dutch East Indies sources, Halmahera Island is described as consisting of six regions: 1) North Halmahera; 2) Northeast Halmahera; 3) Southeast Halmahera; 4) South Halmahera; 5) Central Halmahera; and 6) Halmahera Rau. However, according to the current contemporary regional arrangement, Halmahera consists of only five districts: North Halmahera (with Tobelo as its capital), West Halmahera (Jailolo), South Halmahera (Labuha on Bacan Island), East Halmahera (Maba), and Central Halmahera (Patani). Topographically, most of Halmahera consists of volcanic and coral islands with predominantly complex soil types, including brown forest soil, Mediterranean soil, latosol soil, and rendzina soil. Halmahera comprises islands, coasts, bays, rivers, and capes, as well as plains, hills, and mountains stretching across its four peninsulas. These geographical and topographical conditions allow Halmahera Island to support a variety of plants for food, clothing, and shelter, from both the agricultural and plantation sectors, as well as forestry, especially damar (Agathis dammara).

Geographically, Halmahera is located in the Moluccan Sea and Islands region. Halmahera Island borders the Pacific Ocean to the north, the Maluku Sea to the west, the Seram Sea to the south, and the Halmahera Sea to the east, facing the Raja Ampat Islands in Papua (Ohorella, Ratnawati, & Suhardi, 1990, pp. 4-21). According to its topography, most of Halmahera consists of volcanic and coral islands, with predominantly complex soil types, including brown forest soil, Mediterranean soil, latosol soil, and rendzina soil (Masinambow [ed.], 1980, p. 4 & Baretta, 1917, p. 2). These geographical and topographical conditions allow Halmahera Island to support various plants for food, clothing, and shelter, from both the agricultural and plantation sectors, as well as forestry, especially damar (Agathis dammara). Halmahera is the

largest island in the region, with an area of approximately 20,000 km2, divided into four large peninsulas separated by small bays (Winkler Prins' Geillustreerde Encyclopaediae [WPGE], 1905-1917, p. 745 & Baretta, 1917, p. 2).

In terms of regional divisions, Halmahera is divided into three areas: first, Ternate Halmahera, consisting of areas under the authority of the Sultanate of Ternate (North and West Halmahera), Moro (Morotia and Morotai), and surrounding islands; second, Tidore Halmahera, consisting of areas under the authority of the Sultanate of Tidore (East and Central Halmahera) and surrounding islands; and third, areas under the authority of the Sultanate of Bacan (South Halmahera), including Bacan, Makian, Obi, Kasiruta, Kayoa Islands, and surrounding areas (Regeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indie, 1900-1909). Due to political dynamics, the territories of the Sultanate of Bacan, namely Makian and Bacan Islands, became part of the Sultanate of Ternate, leaving only two influential regional powers in Maluku: Ternate and Tidore (Stbl. 1834, No. 198; in Stibbe in ENI, 1939, p. 414; ANRI, 1971, No. 4, 1837, pp. 158-164).

Inter-island mobility in North Maluku from Halmahera to surrounding islands like Ternate, Tidore, Obi, Moti, Makian, Morotai, Sula, and others was facilitated by traditional wooden boats and ships, both motorized and non-motorized. During the Dutch East Indies colonial administration, only colonial rulers generally used modern sea transportation, such as steam-powered or steamships from the Konigklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM), at least since the mid-19th century. In essence, Halmahera is the origin of various small islands in its vicinity, both inhabited and uninhabited (Leirissa, 1996, p. 57). Etymologically, Halmahera is generally explained as derived from the word "hale," meaning land, and ma-hera, meaning origin. According to Willer (in Leirissa, 1996, p. 157), the Halefuru people use the term kabalamo (big island) for Halmahera.

Halmahera, consisting of rural areas, is located between 120º and 129º 40' East Longitude and 2º 59' North Latitude and 1º 23' South Latitude. Its area is estimated to be around 20,000 km2, with a length from north to south of about 170 km and a width of about 80 km (Masinambow 1977, p. 9 in Leirissa, 1996, p/ 58). Halmahera Island consists of four peninsulas, like four separate islands connected in a specific area. Another source mentions that the northern peninsula was once a separate island due to the mountainous region connecting it with the rest of Halmahera Island, about eight hours' walk from the coast, where shell fossils were found (Campen, 1883, p. 253).

Willer (1849, pp. 343-398) notes that Ternate residents often referred to those living on the west coast of the northern peninsula as bala mi motik or "people living on the east coast," and bala kadato modeha for those living on the west coast. Specific terms for the four peninsulas of Halmahera are not found in VOC and Dutch East Indies documents. Only the area where the four peninsulas meet is often referred to as Westkust (West Coast) and Oostkust (East Coast). These four peninsulas are interspersed with four bays that serve as primary means of communication between villages. The first is Kao Bay between the Northern and Northeastern Peninsulas, the second is Buli Bay between the Eastern and Southeastern Peninsulas, the third is Weda

Bay between the Southeastern and Southern Peninsulas, and Loloda Bay between the Northwestern and Southwestern Peninsulas. There is also Jailolo Bay, geographically similar to Loloda Bay, but neither Leirissa (1996, p. 58) nor Willer (1849, pp. 343-398) mention Loloda and Jailolo Bays. These four peninsulas are covered by a mountain range with elevations of about 1,000 to 2,000 meters above sea level, often reaching steep areas. Among them are volcanic mountains stretching from Mount Tolo in the Tobelo region to the Loloda District in the south, connecting with a series of volcanoes on other small islands nearby, such as Ternate, Tidore, Makian, and Moti (Leirissa, 1996, p. 59).

Mount Tolo, no longer dangerous at that time, only showed volcanic activity in the form of hot water bursts. In its vicinity are two important lakes, Lake Galela and Lake Lina, which according to local oral tradition are the origins of the Galela and Tobelo tribes. Another active volcano is Mount Gamkonora (1569 meters above sea level), along with several other mountains that form the aforementioned islands. The impact of these volcanic eruptions is evident in the changing coastline of the Kao area, which at one time could increase by about 50 paces in five years. Tectonic movements (earthquakes) also often cause land uplift, which is then carried by river currents to the sea during the rainy season. These natural phenomena are one reason why the area around Mount Gamkonora is fertile, as are Kao and Sahu, which were once rice granaries for the Sultanate of Ternate. These natural phenomena also caused the sudden relocation of certain settlements by their inhabitants (Campen, 1883, p. 254).

Generally, Halmahera Island is covered by dense forests, especially in the interior. This type of tropical forest is characterized by tall trees with foliage only at their tops, making it difficult for sunlight to penetrate and resulting in sparse growth of new plants underneath, except for various types of rattan. The leaves are a rich source of humus, enriching the soil, especially infertile clay soil. Only in coastal areas are there types of forests with low trees and dense undergrowth that is difficult to penetrate. This situation makes it challenging to establish new villages or hamlets. Although mountains with slopes reaching the sea are the main characteristic of the island, there are also fairly wide plains in some places, such as on the West Coast.

In addition, there are other vast plains on the Northern Peninsula (Sahu Plain) and the Southeastern Peninsula (Maba Plain) in East Halmahera. The Maba Plain, in particular, has the largest nutmeg forests on Halmahera Island, so it is not surprising that the nutmeg trade, which irritated the VOC, was mainly carried out by the people of East Halmahera. Generally, the rivers on Halmahera Island are not navigable except by small boats up to a certain distance where settlements are usually found. Thus, the coastline, full of bays and capes, also becomes an ideal place for settlements. This is because the paths between the mountain gaps are very narrow and not easily used, so generally, the means of transportation are small boats whose wood materials are abundant in the surrounding forests (Campen, 1883, pp. 242-253).

Basic Agrarian Law and Damar Forest Exploitation

In 1870, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies enacted the basic agrarian law

(agrarische wet) and the land lease system (landreform), providing ample opportunities for foreign investors in the agro-industry sector (production of clothing, food, housing, markets, and trade) from the agrarian sector (agriculture, plantations, and forestry). Additionally, the government implemented a policy recognizing land use rights over vast areas for extended periods, enabling Dutch plantation entrepreneurs to thrive, as in North Maluku. With the support of an adequate sea transportation network, the North Maluku economy grew and developed, albeit under colonial domination.

The colonial government intensified the exploitation of natural resources, particularly forests (boschen exploitatie), in the colonized lands. Damar was a profitable forest product because, firstly, Halmahera's nature already provided it, and secondly, it was a commodity in demand in the world market. The arrival of the Dutch in North Halmahera brought with them the notions of capitalism and liberalism, applying modern economic concepts and theories to global trade. As liberal capitalists, they aimed to maximize profits from the management of damar forest resources.

The patrimonial government system facilitated the mobilization of labor through traditional leaders. Labor was needed for both public interests and the personal interests of the king and other nobles. Compulsory labor in Halmahera can be divided into two categories. First, the obligation to send tribute in the form of goods to the palace (kadaton), and second, the obligation to provide human resources for the needs of the palace household (heerendienst). The mobilization of human resources can be further differentiated into three parts: first, human resources for the needs of the palace household; second, human resources for extirpatie or the destruction of clove and nutmeg plantation areas; and third, for hongi or the royal fleet (Leirissa, 1996, p. 99).

Through the Sultanate of Ternate, taxes and compulsory labor, which in the past were imposed on the sultan's subjects and whose proceeds were only used to meet the needs of the Sultan and other nobles, were collected in the form of agricultural products, particularly damar, through compulsory labor. The redemption of this compulsory labor was done at very high prices. None of the proceeds from these taxes were paid to the state. This compulsory labor and collection of agricultural products were changed to a monetary levy per worker per year of f 4 for those who were married and f 2 for bachelors, with the understanding that those who were not married by the third year would be charged the same as those who were married.

The amount of tax mentioned above was very low, but uniformity with taxes levied in several areas since 1877 could be established. Everywhere this tax was valid for more than a year, there were no difficulties in its collection. The signed circulars for this purpose were also used as travel permits for the tax officials concerned throughout the year. The government increased the tax for those who were still single to f 3.50 due to concerns that the low f 2 fee could act as a disincentive to marry (van Roos, 1910, p. 14). According to the resident, this concern was unfounded, as no one refused to marry because of the f 1.50 tax difference.

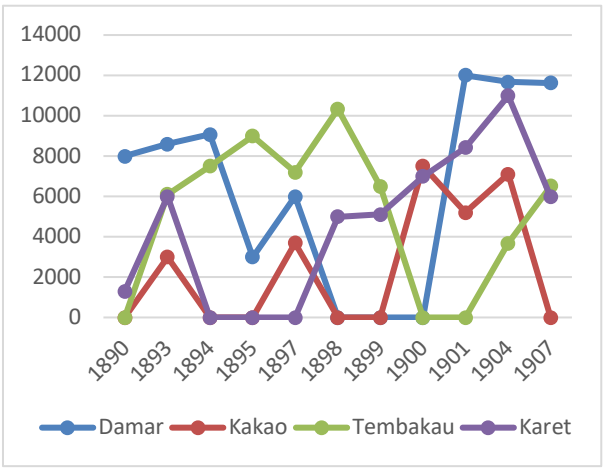
A Dutch missionary, A. van Essen, in his notes, mentioned that in the period 1909-1910, the villagers of Jano in the Loloda District were diligent in collecting damar

in the forest, but their lives were not prosperous. There are pressure and unrest in Loloda, exemplified by Jano village, between Dutch merchants and indigenous male farmers working as damar collectors. Often, farmers were forced into debt ranging from f. 100 to f. 200 to compensate for the damar they could not collect for the merchants. The shouts of "get damar, get damar" were a constant reminder of the Dutch pressure in owning and managing damar forests in North Halmahera (Metz, 1910, p. 24).

The encounter between liberal Dutch capitalists and the traditional subsistence economy of the Halmahera people, who were resistant to the monetary and market economy, as was common in rural Southeast Asia (Scott, 1979), triggered conflicts among all parties involved: the people, the sultan, and the Dutch government and its investors. The people formed a power base to resist all colonial policies that did not favor them. In the late 19th century, both the colonial government and indigenous rulers granted land concessions for plantation and forestry management. In 1880, the Sultan of Bacan signed a contract with the Elout, Giebert, Roundry, and H. Hope companies, granting land concessions for the cultivation of export crops such as damar, tobacco, cocoa, and coffee. The success of this company encouraged other Dutch private companies to engage in similar ventures in the Ternate Residency. During the same period, the Bacan Archipelagic Maatschappij (BAM) emerged, establishing tobacco plantations.

Most of the damar produced in North Halmahera and Bacan was exported to South Africa. Other commodities like cocoa, tobacco, and rubber from Bacan, with a small portion from Makian and Sula, were exported to Europe, China, and Singapore. Figure 1 shows the export figures for forestry and plantation products from the Ternate Residency.

Figure 1. Export Volume of Forestry and Plantation Products from Ternate Residency 1882-1907



Source: processed from KV 1885-1910 and Hasyim (2006: 111-112).

Figure 1 shows an increase in the export of damar and tobacco, while rubber and cocoa production fluctuated. The increase in damar production was due to two factors: first, the increasing demand from European and American markets; second, the tax

collection policy of the Sultanate of Ternate, which imposed a tax on forest products, especially damar, amounting to 7.50 guilders per person, along with other taxes (ngase, kebon, ngase kayu, ngase perahu, ngase bambu, ngase dendeng rusa, ngase kalero (lime), ngase kelapa, and ngase sagu). This tax collection significantly impacted the productivity of the people in trading these commodities.

The concessions previously granted by the Sultans contributed to the success of Dutch entrepreneurs. This is evident in a Dutch government report from 1881, which stated that the damar trade from North Halmahera in the Ternate Residency was generally thriving, with large quantities transported to Ternate and sold at very high prices (Koloniaal Verslag, 1882-1883, pp. 21-22). Damar was sold to Chinese trading companies in Singapore and the Philippines (Stibbe, in ENI, 1939, p. 417).

Based on Article 27 of the Employment Contract and Income Tax applicable in the Sultanate of Ternate, as reported by E.C. van Kesteren and T.C.L. Wijnmalen in the Indische Gids (Guide to the Indies), it was found that in the period 1879-1882, Loloda was a village in North Halmahera that contributed 389 healthy, young, and productive male workers to Ternate. Of that number, 5 people from Loloda served as soldiers, security guards, and officers, while none worked serving the sultan in the palace. Additionally, 50 oarsmen for kora-kora (war canoes) were sent from Loloda. Each year, Loloda was required to contribute 4 kora-kora to the Sultanate of Ternate. The annual taxes paid by the Loloda Kingdom to the Sultan of Ternate during that period consisted of: bird's nests (wallet); 200 bird's nests (wallet); 2,700 sacks of bamboo fiber; 10 lori of damar (resin); 10 pieces of bamboo; 4 sheep hooves; and 10 masaya gole (bamboo decorations) (van Kesteren & Wijnmalen in De Indische Gids, 1881, p. 706).

Until the early 20th century and even beyond, the main export commodity from North Halmahera was damar, and generally, the trade in this commodity was very advanced. However, only a few people had enough money to engage in buying and selling damar. A large number of North Halmahera residents still relied on the barter economic system. Interest rates were also very high, ranging from 9 to 12% per year for mortgages and 10% per month for unsecured loans. While trade was previously in the hands of only a few people, the region became filled with small traders from Makassar, Manado, and Ambon who had firms there (Stibbe, in ENI, 1939, p. 417).

Conflict and People's Resistance Related to Spice Plantations

The wealth of North Maluku was primarily derived from spices, especially cloves. These spice plants initially grew wild on the islands of Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian, and Kasiruta. Cloves were only cultivated from the 15th century onwards. The abundance of spices attracted Chinese, Malay, Javanese, Arab, Persian, and Gujarati traders to these areas, bringing textiles, rice, jewelry, and other necessities to exchange for spices. These foreign traders reaped greater profits than the people of the Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan kingdoms, who were the spice producers. However, the sultans, especially those of Ternate and Tidore, who controlled the spice trade centers, also became very wealthy and prosperous. The staple foods of the Maluku people were sago, rice, and fish. However, sago and rice were not produced in Ternate and Tidore.

These two types of food were imported from Moro, Bacan, Sahu, and other regions of Halmahera.

The second Sultan of Ternate, succeeding Zainal Abidin, was Bayanullah. Among Westerners, he was known as Abu Lais or Sultan Boleif, and was considered a very intelligent, educated, and skilled warrior and trader. Ludorico di Varthema, in a writing during Bayanullah's time, described the Sultan of Ternate as "an honorable man from the city of Rome."

The decline in spice prices in the international market led the VOC authorities in North Maluku to carry out large-scale Hongi Tochten (inspection raids) and Eradication (extirpatie = extermination/felling) of clove trees starting in 1652. To boost prices, plantation production had to be reduced, and clove trees had to be cut down. The trees to be felled were those in the North Maluku Islands, the Seram Islands, and Buru Island, which had always been disrupted by smugglers, and the VOC's monopoly rights were often violated. Only clove trees growing on Ambon and Seram Islands were exempt from eradication. To implement the plan to raise clove prices, the VOC negotiated with Mandar Syah. In early 1652, an agreement was reached with an annex stating that Mandar Syah allowed the VOC to eradicate clove trees, and as compensation, Mandar Syah would receive recognitie penningen (payment for a specific service), the amount of which was agreed upon, according to point 3 of the January 31, 1652 agreement, while the people who owned the felled clove trees received very little compensation.

In addition to receiving the recognition money, Sultan Mandar Syah also received bonuses in the form of clothing and expensive jewelry. While the recognition money, which was supposed to be given to the bobato in cash, was replaced by the Sultan or other palace officials with gifts of Indian-style clothing, jewelry, and other items of much lesser value than the amount originally intended. The income of the bobato significantly declined both before and after the felling of clove trees. They became increasingly dependent on the Sultan and the Kingdom.

In November 1651, de Vlamming arrived in Ternate and invited Mandar Syah along with several high-ranking officials of the sultanate to Batavia. This entourage arrived in Batavia in December of the same year. Since this was Mandar Syah's first visit, he was received with full honors. Mandar Syah was given a military salute upon entering the gates of the Batavia fort. Accompanied by Kaicil Kalamata, Mandar Syah then negotiated with the VOC Governor-General, Karel Reinierszoon, and members of the Council of the Indies. On January 31, 1652, an agreement was signed between Ternate and the VOC, the key points of which can be summarized as follows: 1) The Sultanate of Ternate was prohibited from appointing a new Salahakan for the Hoamoal region, which, from the date of the signing of this agreement, would fall directly under VOC administration in Ambon; 2) Sultan Ternate granted permission to the VOC to fell all clove trees within the Ternate Sultanate, including in Hoamoal and the surrounding islands; 3) The VOC would pay annual compensation to the Sultan and officials of the Ternate Sultanate, detailed as follows: a) For the Sultan: 2,000 ringgits; b) Kaicil Kalamata: 500 ringgits; c) The nobility of the sultanate: 1,500 ringgits (divided

equally among them); d) The sangaji of Makian: 500 ringgits (divided equally among them); 4) The Company would undertake voyages to fell clove trees, and as compensation, the Sultanate of Ternate would receive 12,000 ringgits annually; and 5) The islands of Moya and Tofure would be returned to the Sultanate of Ternate. The signatories of this agreement from Ternate were Sultan Mandar Syah, Sangaji Malayu Tamim Amsara, and representatives from Makian, namely Sangaji Tahane by Tomi, Sangaji Moti by Tulaba, and Sangaji Dowora by Jani Sopi Sawahi. The Dutch (VOC) signatories were Yan Maatsuiker, Gerard Demmer, Carel Haitsink, and de Vlamming, while the members of the Council of the Indies were Cornelis Caesar and Willem Verstigen.

On February 8, 1652, de Vlamming and Mandar Syah, along with his retinue, departed for Ambon with a fleet of ten ships. The fleet stopped at Buton to gather information about the Makassarese who were still operating in Buru. Reports indicated that the Makassarese continued their operations, albeit covertly. In the previous November, the Ambalau people had attacked VOC concentrations, particularly in Buru, with the assistance of the Makassarese. The Ambon leader, Rijali, even sent Tersina and Limayau along with several kora-kora (outrigger canoes) to Buru.

In 1652, besides signing the eradication agreement, Mandar Syah also deposed Kaicil Kalamata from the Jailolo throne upon returning from Batavia. Kalamata had been appointed by Mandar Syah as the King of Jailolo through a political marriage aimed at consolidating Ternate's annexation of Jailolo with the help of the VOC. However, Kalamata could only sustain his position for two months.

The outcomes of the negotiations between Ternate and the VOC Governor-General in Batavia, as articulated in the January 31, 1652 agreement concerning clove tree eradication, were rejected by several Sangaji from North Halmahera with respect to their regions. A significant number of Sangaji opposed the agreement, citing their exclusion from the negotiations that led to the agreement. They demanded that a bilateral negotiation specifically involving their regions be reopened, with participation limited to the Sangaji and the VOC, excluding Sultan Ternate. The VOC was compelled to meet this demand, and negotiations were conducted directly in North Halmahera. The Sangaji who participated in these negotiations included Sangaji Mamuya, Samafo, Kimalaha Cawu, Sangaji Tolo, Rao, Sopi, Mira, Sakita, Tohowafe, and Jontolo. Similarly, Makian community leaders also questioned the agreement. When Mandar Syah and Arnold de Vlamming briefly stopped at Makian on their journey from Ambon to Ternate, the leaders of the largest clove-producing island approached them for a more detailed explanation regarding compensation for the clove trees felled. Both Mandar Syah and de Vlamming invited them to the Oranje Fort in Ternate for further clarification. On June 26, 1655, a meeting was held at the Oranje Fort to provide detailed explanations concerning the January 31, 1652 agreement. The price of cloves, including those stockpiled by the populace in anticipation of better prices, was also discussed during this meeting.

Tidore and Bacan had similarly obstructed the enforcement of clove and nutmeg

tree felling programs. In 1779, under pressure from the Company, Sultan Patra Alam and the high-ranking officials of the Tidore Sultanate were compelled to recognize the sovereignty of the Company over their sultanate (Stapel, 1955, p. 299). Consequently, Kaicil Nuku seceded and initiated a rebellion.

After acquiring the exclusive trading rights to spices following the Spanish withdrawal, the Company's policy in Maluku was to secure the spice trade from all forms of disruption. Despite the Company's efforts to enforce this policy, violations continued.

On March 27, 1802, a peace conference was held in Amiens—a city in northern France, approximately 72 miles from Paris—attended by France, England, the Netherlands, and Spain. The decision taken at the conference stipulated that all Dutch territories occupied by the English were to be returned to the Netherlands, with the exception of Sri Lanka. Thus, Indonesia was among the territories to be returned by the English to the Dutch, including Maluku, Ambon, and Banda. The transfer of these territories was to be carried out gradually, with the process scheduled to commence on March 1, 1803. During the brief two-year British administration, thousands of clove seedlings were transported to Penang (Malaysia), where they were planted and cultivated. Alongside Zanzibar, Penang emerged as a clove producer, in addition to Maluku itself. Meanwhile, the Resident of Ternate was replaced from Farquhar to H. Webber. It was the latter, as the second British Resident, who conducted the handover of Maluku from the British to the Dutch government representatives, Buijskes and Goldbach, on May 23, 1803. Following the handover, Webber immediately departed from Ternate. A month later, on June 23, 1803, the British Governor in Ambon also transferred authority to Dutch Governor Cranssen and left Ambon immediately. To manage the transfer of Maluku from the British, the Dutch government in Batavia formed a takeover commission led by former Maluku Governor W.J. Cranssen, with members C.L. Wieling, former Gezaghebber of the Ambon Archipelago Province, and Colonel Abraham Melissen, Commander of the Dutch Navy. This commission arrived in Ternate in August 1803 aboard the ships Avonturier and the corvette The William.

In 1799, the VOC was dissolved. As a commercial enterprise, the dissolution of the VOC or Company had a practical impact mainly on the economic sphere of Maluku. The effects on governance were not significant. However, the dissolution had a considerable impact on the administrative structure with respect to the Dutch government's program for reorganization. With the VOC's dissolution, the monopoly should have been abolished, as was the case with the extirpation policy. Nevertheless, the Dutch government continued to maintain the monopoly for several more decades, until it was finally abolished in 1864 (van Fraassen, 1987, p. 57).

It is also known that since 1770, the French had been smuggling clove seedlings from Ambon and Ternate to the island of Mauritius, where they were planted. From Mauritius, the English brought seedlings to Zanzibar in 1800. Between 1801 and 1803, the English also transported clove seedlings from Maluku to Penang. To this day, these former British colonies continue to produce cloves, known in Indonesia as Zanzibar cloves (van Fraassen, 1987, p. 57).

By the mid-19th century, free trade began to develop. Large European (Dutch) traders started to operate. Local spice trade began to shift towards export. The Maluku kingdoms, which had previously held local spice trade rights, no longer possessed these rights as they were transferred to private Dutch traders. The kingdoms were prohibited from trading. The port of Ternate was opened and became the main commercial port in Maluku. Chinese merchants began to open shops and engage in agriculture and fisheries, extending from major cities to villages.

In 1855, the people of Gamhoku (Tobelo) launched a rebellion led by Laba, a former smuggling leader. As a result, the Dutch Government razed the capital of Tobelo and relocated its inhabitants to Gamsungi, which was then established as the new capital of the Tobelo district. The 19th century was also marked by piracy involving the Tobelo, Galela, and Loloda peoples, as well as the Weda, Patani, and Maba peoples, which proved to be a significant challenge for the Dutch. This piracy extended across a wide area, from Central Maluku—by the Weda, Patani, and Maba peoples—to the eastern coast of Sulawesi, East Java, and Nusa Tenggara—by the Tobelo and Galela peoples. These pirates even collaborated with Mindanao and Balangingi pirates from the southern Philippines. In addition to raiding property, their operations aimed to capture inhabitants and enslave them.

For nearly fifty years, the Dutch pursued and attempted to eradicate these pirates. Through cooperation with the Sultan of Ternate, efforts focused on combating piracy in the Maluku and Manado waters. To facilitate this, the Sultanate of Ternate issued passes for Tobelo and Galela boats. Additionally, since the 19th century, Ternate participated in sending Alifuru troops periodically to patrol high-risk pirate areas around the Manado waters. Although it was a prolonged effort, the campaign against piracy achieved considerable success. Meanwhile, in 1876, Dano Baba Hasan attempted to revive the Kingdom of Jailolo. He traveled to Ambon and tried to persuade the Dutch Governor to recognize him as Sultan of Jailolo, but his request was denied. Supported by the people of Eastern Halmahera and Tobelo, Dano Baba Hasan led a rebellion in June or July 1876.

On September 3, 1876, the capital Kao was attacked and razed, and by September 7, Dano Baba Hasan and his forces reached Tobelo, which supported his rebellion. However, Dano Baba Hasan eventually surrendered to the Dutch on June 21, 1877. By the mid-19th century, the economy of Maluku was no longer reliant on spice products. Instead, forest products and marine resources—such as resins, pearls, shark fins, sea cucumbers, and others—began to enter the market and be exported. The KPM (Koningklijk Paketvaart Maatschappij) shipping company began connecting key ports in Maluku with Sulawesi and Java. Alongside Chinese traders, Arab, Bugis, Makassar traders, and local inhabitants began engaging in economic activities. By the end of the 19th century, Dutch plantation entrepreneurs began to enter Tobelo and Bacan, while Dutch entrepreneurs and distributors, Borsumij and MHV, entered Ternate.

Conflicts and Resistance Among Forest Damar Communities

Initially, resistance among the people emerged in response to the policies of their own

sultans and local rulers. On one hand, the sultans were ambitious to dominate the benefits from the management of damar forest areas throughout their domains, leveraging their authority as sultans. On the other hand, the local people, who had invested considerable time, effort, money, and thought into living and working in the damar forest areas for years, demanded their rights from the Sultan and the Colonial Government. The people felt they had a significant role in the management of damar resources growing on lands claimed by the sultans as their property.

Resistance in North Halmahera intensified when the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government began to take over the ownership and management of damar forest resources from the sultans, such as in Loloda, Galela, and Kao. The damar forests in these districts were subsequently managed by Dutch investors with the support of the colonial government in Ternate. The Dutch colonial government granted extensive concessions to entrepreneurs for the exploitation of damar forests, which had long been overseen by the sultans and their relatives. This situation failed to improve the lives of the local population.

High-quality damar in North Halmahera was found in Kao and Galela. Due to the critical importance of damar as a source of income for the people, a customary meeting was held in Morotai from September 27 to October 2, 1909, specifically to discuss the community's customary rights over the damar forests. The meeting included traditional functionaries such as Sangaji, hukom, ngofamanyira, and Kapita from Loloda, Galela, Tobelo, and Morotai. The meeting ultimately decided that: "According to customary law, the sultan has no rights over damar trees that grow naturally in the mountains. The enjoyment rights belong to the local customary community. The sultan’s rights are limited to regulating their utilization" (Adatrecht bundel, Vol. VII, pp. 130 et seq.). This decision, known as the damar meeting, established that the sultan's (Ternate) customary rights over damar trees were not recognized. This decision was made by the customary functionaries of Halmahera from Loloda, Tobelo, Galela, and Morotai (MvO by K.H.F van Roos [1903-1909]). The damar meeting in Morotai in 1909 was held in response to the escalating social unrest in North Halmahera, particularly in Loloda. The local actions were aimed at opposing the arbitrary tax collection (belasting), communal service (gemeentedienst), and corvée labor (hereendienst) imposed by the Ternate Sultanate and the Dutch Colonial Government, which were related to land ownership and damar forest management.

Firstly, there exists an oral tradition stating that in the early 20th century, a major disturbance occurred in Kalibobo, a border area between Loloda and Galela, involving a large-scale conflict between the residents of Loloda and Galela over a damar forest dispute. Secondly, the damar meeting held in Morotai from September 27 to October 2, 1909, was a gathering of traditional functionaries specifically convened to discuss the customary rights of the people over damar forests. The attendees included Sangaji, hukom, ngofamanyira, and Kapita from Loloda, Galela, Tobelo, and Morotai. This meeting concluded that "according to customary law, the sultan has no rights over damar trees growing naturally in the mountains. The right to benefit belongs to the local customary community. The sultan’s rights are limited to regulating their

utilization" (Adatrecht bundel, Vol. VII, p. 130ff). This meeting, known as the damar meeting, established that the sultan's (Ternate) customary rights over damar trees were not recognized.

Thirdly, the damar meeting in Morotai was prompted by widespread social unrest caused by mass movements in North Halmahera, particularly in Loloda. These mass actions were directed against the Ternate Sultanate and the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government's arbitrary tax collection and compulsory labor policies, which were related to land ownership and damar forest management (Courant NAC-AH, March 13, 1909; Courant NAC-AH, March 15, 1909; & Courant NAC-AH, December 19, 1909).

In addition to Galela, in the northeastern part of Halmahera, specifically in the Kao region, there was also similar resistance led by Tamini and Kuabang in 1904 (Koloniaal Verslag, 1904, p. 351). Both were emissaries sent by the Sultan of Ternate to serve as Sangaji in Kao. Besides their role as Ternate emissaries, they led the Kao resistance against Dutch colonization of the region and its natural resources. During this resistance, seven Kao soldiers were reported killed: 1) Suda; 2) Ganti; 3) Basi; 4) Saban; 5) Gusuwo; 6) Guruwa; and 7) Sisil (Nasrani). Other accounts suggest nine casualties, including 8) Bolongi and 9) Bandera (HUJ, interview, Tobelo, June 5-6, 2018 & ZT, interview, Ternate, June 12-14, 2018).

An oral tradition in Kao, using the local language, includes a verse about the "Kao War": Bunga Biru Daku Jere, Rorano Toma Luketu (Blue Flowers on the Sacred Tomb, as a spirit-raising remedy for struggle). On the battlefield, a related verse reflects the persistent fighting spirit of the Kao people against the Dutch: "Bunga biru daku jere, Ge daku jere Rorano toma luketu Toma luketu". It means: Blue flowers, on the sacred tomb, on the sacred tomb, become the spirit of struggle on the battlefield. This verse was recited (IHA interview in Kao & HUJ, interview in Tobelo, June 6, 2018).

The communities of Loloda and Kao felt a shared social and cultural connection in their struggle against Dutch pressures. The peoples of Kao and Loloda, as regions with a common fate in resisting Dutch colonialism, have a traditional oral expression passed down through generations: "Cucu Pao Kata mo Kao, Bira Ma Utu Toma Loloda, Hira Bira Fomaku Sidika Wange Rao fomako hida" (We come from Kao, scattered in Loloda, we are all separated, when will we meet again). Before engaging in battle, the weapons used were first prayed over in Arabic, according to the collective memory of the people: Allahumma min kulli minrihin, Wa min kulli min ri hi (O Allah, our Lord, protect us). This prayer signifies that, through the will of Allah SWT, the Almighty, all sacrifices and struggles will succeed.

Conclusion

Northern Maluku is rich in natural resources, particularly cloves and nutmeg. Since the early 16th century, this natural wealth became the focus of competition among European nations: the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English. After the decline in clove prices in the European and global markets at the beginning of the 17th century, Northern Maluku fell out of favor with the colonial powers. Interest in the region

revived with the reorganization of Dutch colonial administration, beginning when the Dutch resumed control over all of Maluku from the British.

The enactment of the Agrarian Law (agrarische wet) and the land lease system (landreform) in 1870 by the Dutch East Indies Governor-General in Batavia, de Wall, shifted the trade orientation in Northern Maluku. The Colonial Government diverted its focus from spice trade (cloves and nutmeg), which had declined in the early 17th century, towards the cultivation of fisheries, plantation crops, agriculture, and forestry (including damar, cocoa, tobacco, copra, coffee, and other resins) on an export scale. The 1870 Agrarian Law and land lease system granted extensive opportunities to foreign investors (Dutch) to invest in agroindustry. One of the investments promoted by the colonial government and its investors since then was in the forestry sector.

When the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government took over the rights to ownership and management of damar forests from the control of the sultans of Ternate and other local rulers, the social and economic conditions of the indigenous population did not improve. Instead, this led to conflicts and unrest throughout North Halmahera, especially in Loloda, Galela, and Kao. The Dutch takeover of damar forest areas also led to the imposition of heavy taxes and compulsory labor (gemeentedienst and hereendienst) on the people.

The Dutch accused the sultans and other local officials of being behind these conflicts. The Resident of Ternate reported that all victims of the damar forest disputes in Loloda, Galela, and Kao were politically caused by the local rulers. Consequently, the Dutch government assumed control over the ownership and management of damar forest resources in Halmahera and exploited them. This action was part of the Dutch colonial policy of "pacification" to establish "Pax Neerlandica" over Northern Maluku.

Notes

This paper contains several references that could not be directly displayed. These references primarily include primary sources (manuscripts) concerning the first three contracts dated: 1817, 1822, and 1824 between the Sultanate of Ternate and the Dutch Colonial Government following the Dutch takeover of Northern Maluku from the British in 1817. These three initial contracts detail the Dutch political and military pressure on the Sultan of Ternate to obtain monopoly rights in the economy and trade of spices and forest products from Halmahera, both within and beyond the Maluku maritime and island regions.

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