

# The Anglo-Dutch Imperial Meridian in the Indian Ocean World, 1795-1820



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Abstract

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What happened when the Dutch and British empires overlapped across the Indian Ocean in the late eighteenth century? Histories of these empires generally focus on their early modern rivalry through patterns of war and trade that subsided after Britain's invasion of Dutch colonies during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815). Instead, this thesis unearths the relationship between Britain's capture of three Dutch Indian Ocean colonies – Ceylon, Java, and the Cape Colony – and the rise of the modern state-building enterprises of the British empire. It traces a collection of Anglo-Dutch epistemic exchanges initiated in littoral spaces amid occupation, comprised of political ideas, such as liberalism and autocracy; policies of settlement and work; and cultural information tied to gender and status. These exchanges generated epistemic interdependencies between British and Dutch colonists, establishing new and intrusive ruling practices that shaped British governance while recycling models of colonialism and revolutionary change from the Dutch empire.

I chart this history through contingent life histories describing people who travelled between the Cape, Java, and Ceylon. These include a Dutch teacher, whose involvement in republicanism and anti-slavery reveals that Dutch liberalism was used by Britain's despots to extend their powers. I follow Chinese migrants who show how engagements between Chinese and British and Dutch colonists determined British policies of landholding and labour. I trace Dutch and British ruling elites who reveal that officials created migration regulations tied to Dutch notions of status. This is the period of C.A. Bayly's 'imperial meridian', which describes the British empire's transformation into garrison states in the Indian Ocean in answer to a global age of revolutions. Conversely, this thesis maps the rise of Britain's empire over an Anglo-Dutch faultline linking the early modern and modern eras, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary practices, and the connections and conflicts of an Indian Ocean world.

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## Declaration

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This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other university or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other university of similar institution except as declared in the preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit. The word count is 79,999.

James Wilson

Date

## Acknowledgments

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It is perhaps fitting that a thesis which takes collaboration as its focus has only come to fruition through the help and support of so many other people. There are almost too many people to name here, but, unlike the British colonists who feature in the following pages, I think it is important to try. I am especially grateful for the feedback and stimulating debate provided by members of the world history community at Cambridge, in seminars, workshops, and reading groups. I would particularly like to thank Naomi Parkinson, who helped me to think through my jumbled and often contradictory ideas on our many train journeys to and from London. Steph Mawson's last-minute proof-reading was incredibly valuable and she has also provided so many interesting contributions over the years – not least in opening up my mind to the broader story of the Chinese in southeast Asia. The reading group and, in particular, Tom Smith, Callie Wilkinson, James Poskett, Tom Simpson, Lachlan Fleetwood, Hatice Yildiz, and Alix Chartrand, helped me to develop my knowledge of parts of the world that I would never have thought could have had such an impact on the places that I was writing about. They have also been supportive and understanding friends. I am likewise grateful to the conveners of the graduate world history workshop, with whom I worked for several years, whose endlessly fascinating ideas about how we might encourage the exploration of world history (not least through our conference!) helped me to broaden my thinking about our subject.

There are so many scholars whose reasoned advice and resourceful critiques have shaped this thesis. This thesis would never have got off the ground were it not for Emma Hunter, who provided essential supervisory support in my first term and who remains an enthusiastic voice of encouragement for which I am grateful. Jagjeet Lally's constructive criticism was incredibly helpful for forcing me to think through the parameters of the thesis in its early days. Alicia Schrikker and Mark Frost were kind enough to participate in a panel that I organised on empires in Sri Lankan history and gave fascinating papers on slavery and cosmopolitanism in Sri Lanka that guided my own research as it progressed. I am thankful to those who have provided generous feedback and help over numerous years, in particular Renaud Morieux, John McAleer, and Bernhard Fulda. Others have been especially helpful in

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The research for this thesis was undertaken in London, Cape Town, and Colombo, where I benefited from the support of archival staff and academics. Erika and Jacobus at the Western Cape Archives were knowledgeable guides and were essential in pointing me towards the private papers that proved to be such a treasure trove of sources on Capetonian life in the nineteenth century. Nigel Worden was so positive about my early research in Cape Town and gave me many useful tips in where to look for records. Chris Holdridge was a fantastic host, without whom I would not have had a social life in Cape Town. I am especially grateful to James Marshall, who made the long trek to Cape Town for my final week in the city and with whom I had a fabulous time exploring the western Cape. The staff at the Sri Lanka National Archives also deserve particular thanks for their help. Nadeera Rupesinghe showed me around Colombo and helped me to see the importance of understanding Sri Lanka's Dutch period. Crispin Bates was a thoughtful and ever-enthusiastic companion in the archives. Sandagomi Coperahewa gave me a warm welcome at the University of Colombo and a place in which to study and think while I was there. Closer to home, Michael Killough, Harry Miller, Tom Lewin, and Matt Griffiths were fantastic hosts for my trips back and forth between London and Cambridge and remain ever-inquisitive and wonderful friends.

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There are, of course, some people without whom this thesis would never have begun and would certainly never have been completed. My supervisor, Sujit Sivasundaram, has been a bounteous and ever-patient source of support, aid, and encouragement through the

years. He has been an unwavering proponent of my project and I will always be grateful for the belief he had in me even when I questioned myself. His feedback transformed this project from a loose bundle of dispersed ideas into a fully formed thesis. It is, of course, to Sujit's insightful and captivating teaching that I owe my interest in world history, having first been exposed to it while taking his 'Islands and Beaches' paper seven years ago. I am of course thankful to my parents, Alison and Peter, who encouraged me to develop an interest in history from such an early age and who have been a never-ending source of support. Finally, I am indebted – as ever – to Lucy, who has always been there for me, through thick and thin and everything in between.

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Cover illustration: Thomas Whitcombe, 'The East Indiamen 'Minerva', 'Scaleby Castle', and 'Charles Grant', 1820, © National Maritime Museum, BHC3492. Reproduced with the permission of the National Maritime Museum.



Late in August 1814, a British East Indiaman called the *Scaleby Castle* anchored in Batavia. A bustling port city on the northern coast of the southeast Asian island of Java, Batavia was once home to a Dutch colonial government but had been under British occupation since 1811.<sup>1</sup> The *Scaleby Castle* docked between a warship, HMS *Volage*, and several merchantmen, from where it looked out onto an urban vista once described by the writer Wang Dahai as resembling a 'great emporium'.<sup>2</sup> The *Castle* itself was passing through Batavia on a journey to collect goods from Canton in China, having sailed from Portsmouth via the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa.<sup>3</sup> After arriving in Batavia, the *Castle's* crew offloaded iron for the East India Company (EIC), while some of those who had been onboard stepped ashore.<sup>4</sup> They included Ani, a Chinese sailor who had joined the *Castle* in Portsmouth, and Frederik Turr, a Dutch teacher who had been working in Cape Town but left following a scandal over his republican political beliefs.<sup>5</sup> Maria Fichat, who came from the Cape, disembarked with her daughter. She told officials that she would reunite with her British husband, James, who was working in Java's regime.<sup>6</sup> The captain, Thomas Harington, took a turn around Batavia, acquiring a shipment of tin and shells before charting a course for Canton.<sup>7</sup> The *Scaleby Castle* sailed onwards (fig. 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR) L/MAR/B/34J, fo. 27. For a history of Batavia through this period, see Leonard Blussé, *Visible cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the coming of the Americans* (London, 2008), pp. 32-44; idem., *Strange company: Chinese settlers, mestizo women, and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986).

<sup>2</sup> Ong Tae Hae (Wang Dahai), *The Chinaman abroad, or, a desultory account of the Malayan archipelago, particularly of Java* (trans. W.H. Medhurst, Shanghai, 1849), pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, BL, IOR/L/MAR/B/34J.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., fo. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., fo. 4. For a list of the European passengers travelling on the *Scaleby Castle*, see Luson to Harington, 20 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/20, p. 67. For the scandal over Frederik Turr's beliefs, see Cradock to Bathurst, 25 January 1813, in George McCall Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* (36 vols., London, 1897-1905), IX, pp. 133-34. Turr's broader significance will become clear over the course of this thesis.

<sup>6</sup> See Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Mrs Fichat', 5 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, BL, IOR/L/MAR/B/34J, fo. 29.

## The Dutch, the British, and the imperial meridian

The story of the *Scaleby Castle* and its cast of characters arriving in occupied Batavia occurred against a backdrop of war, revolution, and the British empire's rise across the Indian Ocean. Ani, Frederik, Maria, and Thomas were travelling at the end of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815), during which Britain had occupied not only Java but a raft of Dutch East India Company (VOC) colonies around the ocean rim. Most of these invasions followed the surrender of the Dutch Republic to revolutionary France in January 1795, after which the French turned the Netherlands into a client state called the Batavian Republic and forced the *stadtholder* (monarch) into exile in Britain.<sup>8</sup> The *stadtholder* apparently encouraged the British to take the VOC's colonies to stop them from falling to the French, and the British happily obeyed. They captured the Cape Colony in southern Africa in September 1795, and then Cochin and Malacca in Asia. They occupied Ceylon, the Dutch colony in the littoral regions of present-day Sri Lanka, the following year and formally annexed it in the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. Java capitulated during another round of invasions fifteen years later.

These invasions came at a critical interval in British imperial history. In his seminal *Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world*, C.A. Bayly described the years between 1780 and 1830 as a transitional period – an imperial meridian – in which a second British empire rose through the conservative reaction of the British ruling elite to the revolutions in France and America.<sup>9</sup> For Bayly, this was a period in which Britain turned away from America and came to rule colonies around the Indian Ocean, such as those taken from the Dutch. It was also a period in which colonial expansion was underpinned by the posting of proconsular despots to govern the new colonies. These autocrats ruled under the oversight of the Colonial Office in London and drew their authority from military power and local alliances. In the past, Britain's colonial presence in the Indian Ocean had been shaped by the East India Company and its trading entrepôts in India. Yet in the place of company outposts there now emerged colonial states, and naturally the East India Company presidencies were not unaffected by

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<sup>8</sup> For a brief narrative of these invasions and their impact on the inhabitants of the Dutch empire, see Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: a history of creolisation and empire, 1500-1920* (trans. Wendie Shaffer, Singapore, 2008), pp. 72-94.

<sup>9</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), especially pp. 100-247.

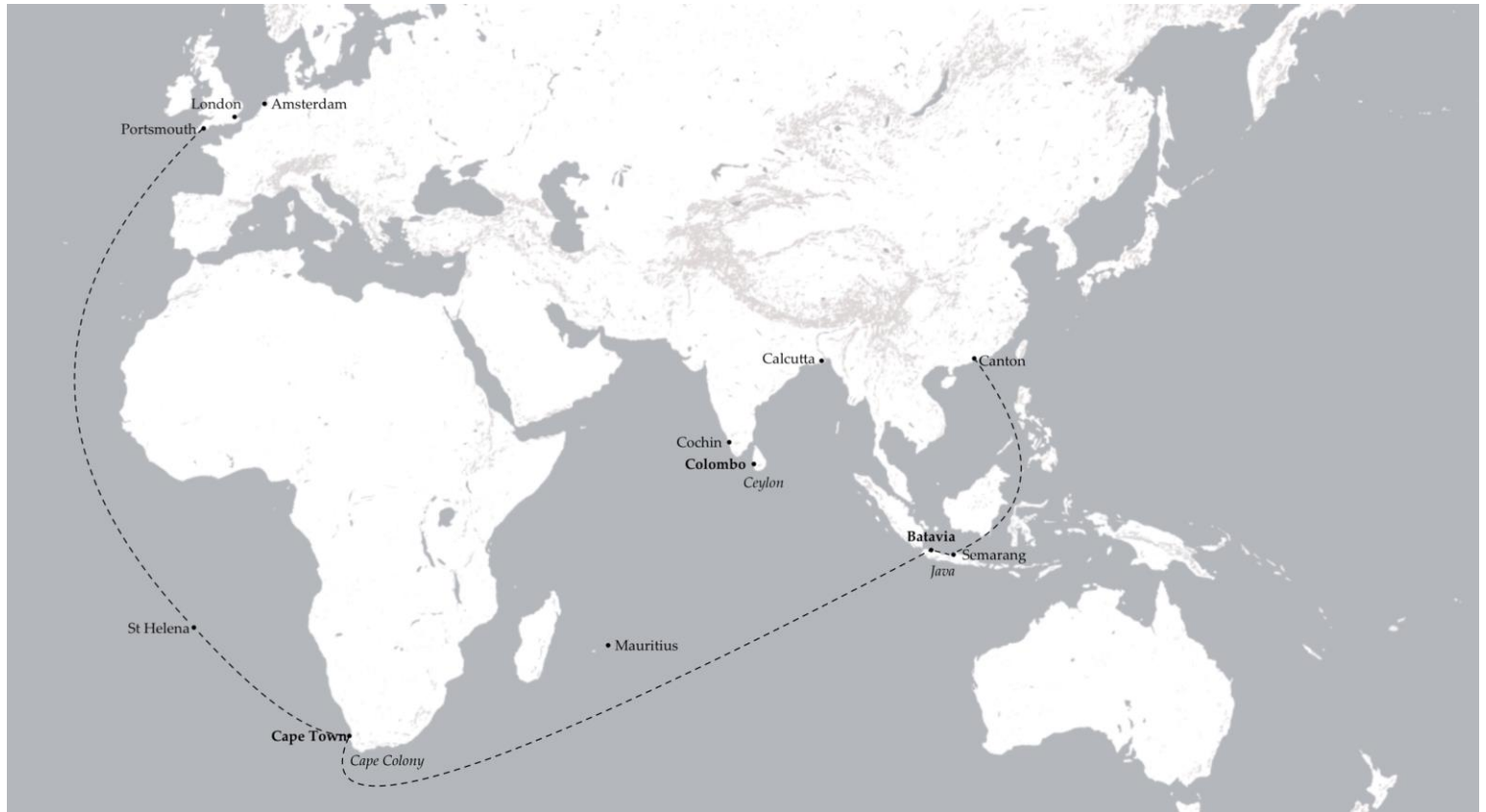


Figure 1. The Scaleby Castle's journey between Portsmouth and Canton (map data © Google, ORION-ME).

such a change.<sup>10</sup> In fact – from India to the Cape and Java – Bayly views the imperial meridian as a period in which conservative ideologies triumphed in the governance of empire. Rulers embraced racial supremacism, social tradition, and agrarian patriotism. Reform was reticent and, where it did progress, it was intended to uphold hierarchies and the ruling elite.<sup>11</sup>

This thesis maps out an Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian, in which the rise of the state-building enterprises of the Second British Empire around the Indian Ocean is characterised by the entanglement of British and Dutch ideas, policies, and information through Britain's occupation of the Dutch colonies. In making this argument, this thesis focuses attention on epistemic exchanges made by the people who lived through these events – in particular the travellers on the *Scaleby Castle* – and additionally the role that their politics and positioning played in shaping British governance. One of the aims of Bayly's work was to open up the

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<sup>10</sup> In fact Bayly argues that the transition from company to state had already begun in the territories ruled by the East India Company. See C.A. Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state and indigenous resistance: India, 1750-1820', in Lawrence Stone, ed., *An imperial state at war: Britain from 1689-1815* (London, 1993), pp. 322-54.

<sup>11</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, p. 162.

study of the Second British Empire to the 'wider context of world history' by developing a macrohistorical perspective on the empire's growth, bringing into view the importance of other Islamic and European empires and their decline for the aggrandisement of Britain's despots.<sup>12</sup> Yet in the decades since Bayly was writing, new ways of doing world history have emerged, not least in response to the trenchant and growing critiques that macrohistories obfuscate particularity and power and excise the personal from the past.<sup>13</sup> Historians have deconstructed the transition from company to state by showing how Britons looked to their Dutch predecessors for models of rule.<sup>14</sup> They have uncovered narratives of women and others missing from the imperial meridian story, who upheld and challenged the process of empire-building.<sup>15</sup> Now, a burgeoning literature is revealing cross-colonial entanglements – interdependencies of trade or knowledge wrought among empires by people who crossed boundaries – as central to the making of empires over time and across oceanic worlds.<sup>16</sup>

This thesis brings these approaches together in studying the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian, which it reveals through the uneven lives of the *Scaleby Castle's* characters and their contemporaries in the Anglo-Dutch colonies of the Cape Colony, Java, and Ceylon. For the purposes of this thesis, the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian should be conceptualised as an adjunct to Bayly's original meridian that – while not all-encompassing – develops a closer analysis of Anglo-Dutch interaction and its consequences for British state-building in the Anglo-Dutch colonies themselves. Principally, therefore, the Anglo-Dutch meridian follows Bayly in describing a period of state-building that began towards the close of the eighteenth century, through which British colonial rule became despotic and territorial, and in which we now see the rise of the modern colonial state. Yet the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian also diverges from Bayly's original model in applying specifically to the Cape Colony, Java, and

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-99.

<sup>13</sup> See David Bell, 'This is what happens when historians overuse the idea of the network', *New Republic* 25 (October 2013); Sarah Hodges, 'The global menace', *Social History of Medicine* 25 (2012), pp. 719-28; Josiah McC. Heyman and Howard Campbell, 'The anthropology of global flows: a critical reading of Appadurai's 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy'', *Anthropological Theory* 9 (2009), pp. 131-48; Sujit Sivasundaram, 'Towards a critical history of connection: the port of Colombo, the geographical 'circuit', and the visual politics of new imperialism, ca. 1880-1914', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59 (2017), pp. 346-84.

<sup>14</sup> In particular, see Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815: expansion and reform* (Leiden, 2007); Jurrien van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism: the Dutch in Asia* (Hilversum, 2004), pp. 83-98.

<sup>15</sup> Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's exiles: the loss of America and the remaking of the British empire* (London, 2011); idem., *Edge of empire: conquest and collecting in the east, 1750-1850* (London, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled empires: the Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830* (Philadelphia, 2018); Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of empire: missionaries, Maori, and the question of the body* (Auckland, 2016).

Ceylon and in identifying the cross-colonial entanglement of ideas, policies, and information as the key driver of the emergence of modern state-building in these places. Temporally, the Anglo-Dutch meridian is more limited than Bayly's model, covering the years between 1795 – when the British first invaded the Dutch colonies – and 1820 – the point by which British control of the Dutch colonies (other than Java) was consolidated. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Dutch meridian also feeds into the wider picture that Bayly painted in *Imperial meridian*. Some of the idiosyncratic elements of state-building pioneered in the Anglo-Dutch colonies bled into the sites of empire that formed the focus of Bayly's work, like India and Singapore.

In practice, this thesis explores British state-building across five themes that relate to Bayly's meridian while also revealing critical points of Anglo-Dutch entanglement. In this way, this thesis builds on Bayly's work by revealing aspects – and limitations – of colonial reform that his work did not consider, for example in the relationship between reform and Dutch ideas or in British reformers' reliance on a wide array of Dutch agents and practices. For instance, the opening chapters of this thesis are concerned with the ideological themes of liberalism and anti-slavery. Ideology was the primary driving factor for reform throughout *Imperial meridian*, in which Bayly explored how liberal and anti-slavery ideas that originated in the revolutionary era were adopted by Britain's autocrats to legitimise imperial expansion and the establishment of colonial states. Yet throughout this thesis we will see how Britain's autocrats adopted forms of liberal thinking drawn from Dutch thinkers connected with the Batavian Republic and the colonies of the Dutch empire in the Indian Ocean. We will examine how this engagement with Dutch liberalism left Britain's autocrats exposed to critiques that precipitated their downfall later in the century. Later, we will explore how Britain's autocrats argued against slavery due to their engagement with Dutch anti-slavery advocates, whose understanding of slavery was characterised by anxieties about the Netherlands' decline.

This thesis will likewise investigate the establishment of an innovative and racialised colonial bureaucracy across three further themes: hierarchy, labour, and territorialisation. State-building on these three themes was essential for the emergence of what Bayly saw as a new type of colonial state, which was interested in ordering its subjects and spaces more closely and thereby extracting resources from them. Accordingly, where Bayly examined the consolidation of local hierarchies in the Second Empire through the confirmation of private property-ownership, this thesis will reveal how colonial governors appropriated Dutch legal

## Introduction

categories to establish hierarchies among migrant peoples. Bayly likewise established labour reform as one of the imperial meridian's most hypocritical yet important elements, namely in the way in that alternative forms of forced labour came to replace slavery in the aftermath of slave trade abolition as a way of sustaining growing demand for colonial capital. In this thesis, the shift towards the use of coerced labour will be contextualised in a longer story that reveals how officials absorbed Dutch racial stereotypes about people and the controls needed to drive their work. Where Bayly studied territorialisation as a key feature of the rise of the expansive colonial state in company-ruled India, this thesis will show how reformers were indebted to older Dutch visions of spaces, including forts, as sites for protecting white settlement.

These narratives will emerge through this thesis. First, however, we need to consider what the Anglo-Dutch meridian means for the study of the Second Empire and how we might trace the exchanges and interdependencies of ideas, policies, and information that lay at its heart and now lie at the heart of this thesis. In order to do this, we also need to understand the background to the Anglo-Dutch meridian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This introduction begins with a discussion of the aims of this thesis. It then charts the rise of the Anglo-Dutch empires and their histories of rivalry and collaboration through the early modern era. It outlines the historiography of the imperial meridian, showing how this era is perceived as a period of transition but also how its study has created divergent schools of thought. On the one hand, historians highlight the overlap between British and Dutch modes of governance, and show that this period was defined by traditions and practices shared across empires. On the other hand, this period has been positioned as a phase that saw the rise of a distinctly British empire typified by anglicisation. Subsequently, this introduction asks how we might build on recent advances in the historiography of empire to show that this was a period of sustained entanglement between the British and the Dutch empires. In so doing, it reflects on what this thesis might reveal about interactions between unequal empires through the consolidation of colonialism across the nineteenth-century Indian Ocean world.

## **Aims and approaches**

The purpose of this thesis is to open up a way of looking at the Second British Empire which recovers the centrality of formerly marginalised voices in the making of its autocratic states

and disrupts narratives of its origins and modernity by locating its development within a wider cross-colonial history of the Indian Ocean world. Generally, historians have visualised the Second Empire from the perspective of the British – or indeed the Colonial Office – as a matrix of colonial states connected to one another and the metropole by the movements of British governors and colonists.<sup>17</sup> Yet by taking the perspective that particular entanglements formed between people in and between the occupied Dutch colonies, this thesis decentres the British view and returns to the fore a set of spaces associated with the Dutch empire around the Indian Ocean. The power of a cross-colonial perspective here is not only that it reveals the Second British Empire's diachronicity – as a construct that emerged in conversation with its predecessors – but also that it emphasises the practices and people that continued to move across colonial boundaries according to historic and evolving patterns of movement that did not disappear with the rise of the British empire. Their stories are obscured by British colonial archives that are intended to tell stories of the ascendancy of Britain and its ruling elite.

In this thesis, entanglements form between people in the Cape Colony, Ceylon, and Java – which are described collectively here as the Anglo-Dutch colonies – because the British and Dutch converge on them and exchange ideas and information. These exchanges give rise to epistemic interdependencies, while, in the setting of occupation, some ideas and pieces of knowledge are also manipulated and redeployed by ruling elites to establish new practices of state-building. In working with epistemic sources, this thesis returns to Bayly, who developed a decentralised definition of knowledge in *Empire and information*.<sup>18</sup> Writing about India, Bayly cast knowledge as something gathered by the state from networks of go-betweens and scribes and the public sphere.<sup>19</sup> In his view, knowledge was dispersed across 'overlapping groups of knowledge-rich communities', each with their own threads of thought and information that intersected when they contacted one another.<sup>20</sup> In this thesis, strands of knowledge as well as information and ideas likewise intersect as the British and Dutch interact with one another.

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<sup>17</sup> David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds., *Colonial lives across the British empire: imperial careerings in the long nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 2006); Alan Lester, *Imperial networks: creating identities in nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain* (London, 2001); Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial connections, 1815-45: patronage, the information revolution and colonial government* (Manchester, 2005).

<sup>18</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Empire and information: intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 1-9.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3-4, 180-246.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

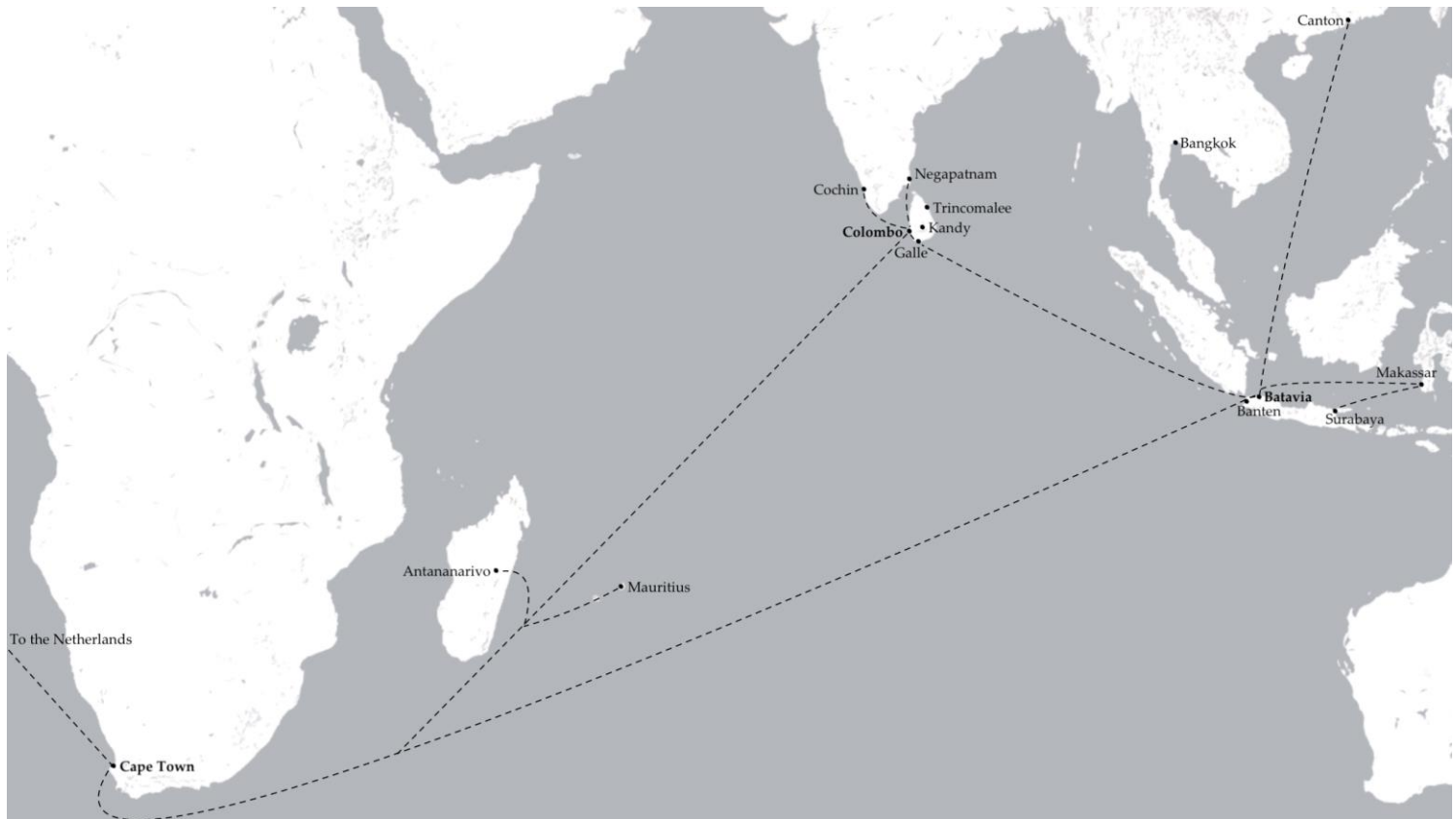


Figure 2. Common routes of trade and migration between and beyond the Dutch colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (map data © Google, ORION-ME).

Partly, therefore, this is a thesis about people who stayed in the Anglo-Dutch colonies even as regimes changed and worked across governments through episodes of British and Dutch rule.<sup>21</sup> Yet it is also a story about migration, specifically the people who moved to the colonies with new ideas and practices during and after their occupation by the British empire.

In framing this narrative in terms of migration as well as regime change, this thesis highlights a particular feature of Dutch empire in the Indian Ocean that persisted into the imperial meridian. The Dutch empire was ruled by the VOC, which ran circuits of trade and

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<sup>21</sup> This picks up on a number of recent histories of Dutch empire in particular that follow individuals who worked across regimes. See Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*; Ulbe Bosma, 'The cultivation system (1830-1870) and its private entrepreneurs on colonial Java', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (2007), pp. 275-91; Caroline Drieënhuizen, 'Social careers across imperial spaces: an empire family in the Dutch-British world, 1811-1933', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44 (2016), pp. 397-422; Arjun Naidu, 'Bencoolen lives: the long aftermath of the 1824 Anglo-Dutch treaty' (MA thesis, Leiden, 2016); for southeast Asian elites working across Anglo-Dutch regimes, see Kerry Ward, 'Blood ties: exile, family, and inheritance across the Indian Ocean in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Social History* 45 (2011), pp. 436-52.



forced migration between its principal colonies.<sup>22</sup> These circuits drove parallel migrations of Europeans and Chinese, for whom trade and labour brought new opportunities. Company officials and traders moved between the Netherlands and the Cape, and from there between Java and Ceylon, with travel facilitated by relationships of marriage and patronage (fig. 2).<sup>23</sup> Chinese traders, sailors, and artisans travelled to Batavia in such numbers that the city was 'basically a Chinese colonial town' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup> From there, Chinese went to other colonies as sailors and exiles.<sup>25</sup> Knowledge and ideas lurched along these routes: Cape colonists adopted the language of Dutch revolutionaries, while the arrival of Chinese in Java gave rise to cultivational practices that the VOC replicated in Ceylon.<sup>26</sup>

Forced migration ceased when the British took the Dutch colonies. Yet as this thesis will show, European and Chinese travel between these locations persisted. Amid the rise of the Second Empire, such travel was even supported by British ships that sailed the routes of the VOC's vessels – which included among them the *Scaleby Castle*. It was in this context that people from Britain's empire, such as officials and soldiers, also moved into and between the Dutch colonies with their own ideas about how to govern. In this setting, a range of concepts and practices from across the Dutch and British empires were exchanged through a mixture of oral and textual mediums. Such mediums included conversations among reformers in political societies, printed texts and newspapers, and bureaucratic procedures. From there, information and ideas were appropriated and redeployed by the colonial ruling elite.

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<sup>22</sup> On forced migration in the Dutch empire, see Kerry Ward, *Networks of empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge, 2009); on slavery, see Markus Vink, 'The world's oldest trade': Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century', *Journal of World History* 14 (2003), pp. 131-77; for the history of the VOC empire more broadly, see Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: expansion and decline* (trans. Peter Daniels, Zutphen, 2003).

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of patterns of European migration in the eastern Dutch empire, see Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 26-65; for the replication of these patterns among European colonists at the Cape, see Robert Ross and Alicia Schrikker, 'The VOC official elite', in Nigel Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west: social identities in a Dutch colonial town* (Hilversum, 2012), pp. 26-44.

<sup>24</sup> Leonard Blussé, 'Batavia, 1619-1740: the rise and fall of a Chinese colonial town', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12 (1981), pp. 159-78, at p. 160. For a more recent picture of Chinese migration to Batavia, see idem. and Nie Dening, eds., *The Chinese annals of Batavia, the Kai ba lidai shiji and other stories (1610-1795)* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 3-24.

<sup>25</sup> On Chinese migration to the Cape, see James C. Armstrong, 'The Chinese exiles', in Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west*, pp. 101-27.

<sup>26</sup> For the use of Dutch revolutionary language by the so-called Patriots at the Cape, see Teun Baartman, 'The politics of burgher honour in the Cape', in Penny Russell and Nigel Worden, eds., *Honourable intentions? Violence and virtue in Australian and Cape colonies, c. 1750-1850* (London, 2016), pp. 94-107; for the VOC's attempts to replicate Chinese agricultural practices in Ceylon, see Donovan Moldrich, *Bitter berry bondage: the nineteenth century coffee workers of Sri Lanka* (Colombo, 1989), p. 22.

This thesis traces these exchanges through the life histories of the people who made them. Life histories force us to see worlds in the terms of the people who lived in them. They show that people complicated seemingly ‘well-ordered’ colonial spaces by drawing together ‘jurisdictions, milieus, identities, and even temporalities’.<sup>27</sup> They likewise reveal how lines of inclusion and exclusion were formed across time and space and the ways in which people navigated social ostracism and statuses that were socially or racially contingent.<sup>28</sup> They bear a specific relevance to the Second Empire, however, because, as Kirsten McKenzie points out, it was an emergent formation dependent on forms of patronage that elevated the importance of individuals.<sup>29</sup> The structure of this thesis is therefore formed from the lives of the *Scaleby Castle*’s characters: Ani, Frederik, Maria, and Thomas. Each of their lives reveals a series of entanglements tied to different people. Each life history is pieced together from fragmentary sources including letters, autograph books, logs, and official records that illuminate their travels. Each chapter begins with a brief narrative of an episode from one of their histories, which is related to a broader theme of exchange. These life histories are not representative and often incomplete, and consequently they are joined throughout to other contemporary biographies. Yet together they reveal the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian and locate the state-building practices that emerged between the British and Dutch empires in the Indian Ocean.

### **The British and the Dutch in the early modern Indian Ocean world**

Britain’s occupations of the Dutch colonies and the entanglements that emerged out of them were actually only a chapter in a longer history of Anglo-Dutch rivalry and collaboration that dated back into the early modern era. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the VOC and the British East India Company clashed through a series of Anglo-Dutch wars.<sup>30</sup> Yet they

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<sup>27</sup> Achim von Oppen and Silke Strickrodt, ‘Introduction: biographies between spheres of empire’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44 (2016), pp. 717-729, at p. 718.

<sup>28</sup> Clare Anderson, *Subaltern lives: biographies of colonialism in the Indian Ocean world, 1790-1920* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 8; see also Emma Rothschild, *The inner life of empires: an eighteenth-century history* (Princeton, 2011); Jasanoff, *Liberty’s exiles*; David Lambert and Alan Lester, ‘Introduction’, in Lambert and Lester, eds., *Colonial lives*, pp. 1-31.

<sup>29</sup> Kirsten McKenzie, *Imperial underworld: an escaped convict and the transformation of the British colonial order* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 1-24, 276-84.

<sup>30</sup> For an outline of the engagements between the British and the Dutch during this period, see Femme S. Gaastra, ‘War, competition, and collaboration: relations between the English and Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, in H.V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, eds., *The worlds of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 49-68.

also coalesced around shared sources of capital, which they defended from common enemies, and British and Dutch colonists even shared knowledge and wealth. These conflicts and ties were derived from the common development of the Anglo-Dutch company empires around the ocean. Both were governed by chartered trading companies that sought quantities of either land or trade in Asia and Africa. Equally, the divergent priorities of the Dutch and British companies, with the former focused on trade and the latter on land revenue, meant that the empires complemented one another as they struggled to rule the Indian Ocean.<sup>31</sup>

The Dutch empire rose around the Indian Ocean through the VOC's usurpation of indigenous trading routes. Granted a monopoly charter by the Dutch states-general in 1602, the VOC was given the ability to wage war on rivals and form its own domains and laws.<sup>32</sup> It turned first towards the trading routes of the Malay archipelago, where Dutch merchants had long bartered with indigenous kingdoms and colonial powers like the Portuguese.<sup>33</sup> The VOC quickly captured much of the inter-Asian trade by importing goods like textiles from India's Coromandel coast and selling them in the Moluccas for spices.<sup>34</sup> However, it was only after the founding of Batavia in 1619 that its power really developed. Batavia was built at the site of the Javanese harbour of Jayakarta.<sup>35</sup> It was created as a fortified trading factory but grew into a larger conurbation with a population of around 35,000 by 1730.<sup>36</sup> It provided a base for the VOC's most senior government beyond the Netherlands, as well as company merchants and ships.<sup>37</sup> From Batavia, the VOC asserted itself over Java, establishing a military-mercantile government. This fused military supremacy with the extraction of trade revenue.<sup>38</sup> The VOC waged wars against rivals like the sultanates of Makassar and Banten and suppressed vassals

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<sup>31</sup> On priorities of the Dutch company empire, see Chris Nierstrasz, *In the shadow of the company: the Dutch East India Company and its servants in the period of its decline (1740-1796)* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 13-46, 73-88; see also Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*. For an overview of the British company's interests and its transformation into a colonial state on land, see Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state', pp. 322-54; see also Philip J. Stern, *The company-state: corporate sovereignty and the early modern foundations of the British empire in India* (Oxford, 2011).

<sup>32</sup> Kerry Ward, *Networks of empire*, pp. 51-3

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>35</sup> On the founding of Batavia, see Hui Kian Kwee, 'How strangers became kings', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36 (2008), pp. 293-307; see also Marsely L. Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia: exposing the hierarchy of the Dutch colonial city', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7 (2015), pp. 1-35; Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo: the ethnic and spatial order of two colonial cities, 1600-1800', (D. Phil thesis, Leiden, 1996), pp. 1-20.

<sup>36</sup> Ward, *Networks of empire*, p. 85. Estimates of Batavia's population at this time nevertheless vary. See also Blussé and Denning, eds., *Chinese annals*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>37</sup> Blussé, *Visible cities*, pp. 4-31.

<sup>38</sup> Nierstrasz, *In the shadow of the company*, pp. 13-46.

on the behalf of local courts like Mataram.<sup>39</sup> Such interventions were generally lucrative: from Mataram, the VOC demanded monopolies over textiles, freedom from customs charges, and privileges in buying rice and sugar.<sup>40</sup> The VOC also suppressed the *ommelanden* (environs) around Batavia, swathes of jungle which stretched from the city's walls to the mountainous regions in the south. They were cleared for the cultivation of crops like sugar and coffee.<sup>41</sup>

The development of Batavia as a site of Dutch commerce was linked to the colonisation of the Cape and Ceylon (fig. 2). A refreshment post, Cape Town, was set up at the former in 1652 to allow for ships travelling between Batavia and the Netherlands to collect supplies, and it soon became a key destination for convicts deported from Java by the VOC.<sup>42</sup> These included the Islamic scholar Shaykh Yusuf, who was arrested after his participation in a civil war in Banten and exiled in 1694.<sup>43</sup> As Kerry Ward has observed, Cape Town became a site at which the VOC's legal hierarchies were worked out. Higher-ranking convicts were employed in a slave police force known as the 'caffers', for instance, and were distinguished from those sent to Robben Island.<sup>44</sup> The Cape was also part of a trading circuit centred on the south-western Indian Ocean, linked to traders in St Helena and Mauritius, as well as Madagascar, where merchants exported up to 3,000 slaves every year.<sup>45</sup> Most slaves were imported to the Cape from present-day Indonesia (twenty-four percent between 1680 and 1731) but the importance of this southern circuit (twenty-two percent) grew in the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile, Ceylon and its settlements, Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalee, were captured by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1640. Like Batavia, these settlements were located at the intersection of trade routes reaching from Coromandel in India to Siam and Java and they were central to the export of Lankan cinnamon and pearls to Europe.<sup>47</sup> For the VOC, Ceylon became another site of exile – Shaykh Yusuf was sent to Colombo before Cape Town – as well as colonisation.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Hui Kian, 'How strangers became kings', pp. 293-307; see also idem., *The political economy of Java's northeast coast, c. 1740-1800: elite synergy* (Leiden, 2006).

<sup>40</sup> Kian, 'How strangers became kings', p. 297; see also Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state', p. 327.

<sup>41</sup> Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', pp. 53-5; see also Bondan Kanumoyoso, 'Beyond the city wall: society and economic development in the ommelanden of Batavia, 1684-1740,' PhD thesis, Leiden (2011).

<sup>42</sup> Ward, *Networks of empire*, pp. 63-4, 127-77.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 199-212.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 191-4, 266.

<sup>45</sup> Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', pp. 144-5.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>47</sup> On the importance of Ceylon to the VOC, see Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp. 13-128.

<sup>48</sup> Ward, *Networks of empire*, p. 60.

The Ceylon government had designs on extending the colony through the invasion of Kandy, the island's interior kingdom, until these plans were frustrated by officials in Batavia.<sup>49</sup>

These places were linked by European migrations as well as trade and transportation. Between twenty and thirty thousand Europeans served the VOC in Asia during its eighteenth-century peak.<sup>50</sup> As much as fifty-seven percent of the company's servants in the same period were soldiers hired in Europe.<sup>51</sup> Their memoirs give us a sense of the places to which they were sent: the German-born Christoph Schweitzer wrote a memoir of his travels to Colombo and Batavia, while Otto Mentzel published an account of his time in Cape Town during the 1730s.<sup>52</sup> There was likewise a fashion for mobility among VOC officials, who rotated between the colonies and the Netherlands and who sent their children to Europe for their education.<sup>53</sup> Accordingly, at the Cape in 1786, only forty-nine of the top ninety-one government positions were occupied by locally-born men.<sup>54</sup> Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben have explored how relationships among official families connected people together across the Dutch empire. They point to the example of Laurens Pit, a low-ranking official who travelled to the Moluccas in the 1630s, married a Dutch woman from Ternate and accrued enough prestige to become governor of Coromandel in 1652. Some of his children married into families in Ceylon and Makassar, while another took up a position in Bengal.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, some of those who left the VOC joined communities of so-called *vrijburgers* (free burghers) in the Dutch colonies.<sup>56</sup> Burghership was a status awarded to colonists not employed by the VOC and many were

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<sup>49</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp. 113-28.

<sup>50</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, p. 16; see also Blussé and Denning, eds., *Chinese annals*, p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 16-17; on the experiences of soldiers in the VOC's empire, see Nigel Worden, 'Strangers ashore: sailor identity and social conflict in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Cape Town', *Kronos* 33 (2007), pp. 72-83; see also Nigel Penn, 'Soldiers and Cape Town society', in Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west*, pp. 176-93. Some of these soldiers were of course coerced into work. See Nigel Penn, 'The voyage out: Peter Kolb and VOC voyages to the Cape', in Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus, and Marcus Rediker, eds., *Many middle passages: forced migration and the making of the modern world* (London, 2007), pp. 72-91.

<sup>52</sup> Christoph Fryke and Christoph Schweitzer, *A relation of two voyages made into the east Indies* (trans. D. Brown, London, 1700); Otto F. Mentzel, *A geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope* (trans. Harry J. Mandelbrote, 3 vols., Cape Town, 1921).

<sup>53</sup> Ross and Schrikker, 'The VOC official elite', pp. 26-44; see also Alicia Schrikker, 'Caught between empires: VOC families in Sri Lanka after the British take-over, 1806-1808', *Annales de démographie historique* 122 (2011), pp. 127-47, at p. 129.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-44.

<sup>55</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, p. 61.

<sup>56</sup> Gerald Groenewald, 'Entrepreneurs and the making of a free burgher society', in Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west*, pp. 45-64.

merchants who aped the patronage practices of the Company.<sup>57</sup> The numbers of burghers varied by colony: there were 15,000 at the Cape in the 1790s, but much fewer in Batavia.<sup>58</sup>

Those travelling between the Dutch colonies also included Chinese. They moved into the empire from Fujian in southern China and parts of southeast Asia. At the height of the junk trade from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, between ten and twenty junks arrived in Batavia every year, laden with hundreds of people.<sup>59</sup> In Batavia, the Chinese worked with the Dutch to manage plantations in the *ommelanden* or became skilled artisans like carpenters or gardeners.<sup>60</sup> By the eighteenth century, they were the largest ethnic group in the 35,000-strong city, and 'basically ran the engine of the urban economy', producing the sugar that was exported by the Dutch.<sup>61</sup> They also travelled across the Dutch empire, often as exiles but also as sailors and traders. The VOC in Ceylon employed 'Chinese who pretend to understand the breeding of silk worms', while Governor van de Graaff (r. 1785-94) apparently detained Chinese sailors so that they could explain methods of agricultural transplantation to farmers.<sup>62</sup> By the early British period, there were also Peranakan Chinese – those born to Sino-Indonesian families – trading in Colombo.<sup>63</sup> A community of Chinese even emerged in Cape Town, although it never numbered more than fifty people in the eighteenth century. These were former sailors and exiles who became traders; one such trader was Abraham de Vrys, who married a freed slave and sold Chinese goods.<sup>64</sup> Wang Dahai observed that Chinese engaged as sailors by the VOC would be exchanged at the Cape for Europeans, and would work in Cape Town until they had enough money to return to Java.<sup>65</sup> While most Chinese

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<sup>57</sup> On the social practices and politics of burghers at the Cape, see Teun Baartman, 'Protest and Dutch burgher identity', in Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west*, pp. 65-84.

<sup>58</sup> Ward, *Networks of empire*, p. 152; on burghership in Batavia, see Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, p. 29.

<sup>59</sup> Blussé, *Strange company*, p. 123; see also Blussé and Dening, eds., *Chinese annals*, p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> Blussé and Dening, eds., *Chinese annals*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; see also Blussé, *Strange company*, pp. 83-5.

<sup>62</sup> Moldrich, *Bitter berry bondage*, p. 22.

<sup>63</sup> These Chinese sometimes identified themselves with the prefix 'Baba' – which reveals their presence in Colombo. See Mark Ravinder Frost, 'Emporium in imperio: Nanyang networks and the Straits Chinese in Singapore, 1819-1914', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36 (2005), pp. 29-66, at p. 33. For their presence in Colombo, see documents concerning the murder of the Chinese trader Baba Tongo in 1806: Twistleton to Arbuthnot, 15 April 1806, Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA), 6/324; see also 'First session of the Colombo supreme court,' 1807, SLNA, 81/464; 'Government advertisement', 23 April 1806, *Ceylon Government Gazette*.

<sup>64</sup> Armstrong, 'The Chinese exiles', pp. 101-27; see also Ward, *Networks of empire*, p. 254.

<sup>65</sup> Tae Hae, *The Chinaman abroad*, p. 39.

therefore returned to Batavia, the Dutch colonies stayed in their memories. Wang described Ceylon as a 'region' filled with 'precious stones ... so brilliant that they dazzle the eyes'.<sup>66</sup>

Records of VOC ships and their passengers assembled by researchers at the Dutch national archives give us a sense of the numbers of people who moved between the VOC's colonies in the late eighteenth century, as well as the most populous routes.<sup>67</sup> Between 1770 and 1795, 585 ships travelled from the Netherlands to Batavia, the vast majority via the Cape. These ships generally carried somewhere between two and four hundred people, a proportion of whom would have been Chinese. For instance, the *Harmonie* left Zeeland in November 1783 with 254 sailors, sixty-four soldiers, and one passenger; 126 sailors, thirty-one soldiers, and the passenger left the ship at the Cape. The *Harmonie* then picked up twenty passengers, including fourteen Chinese, who stayed on board until Batavia. Twenty-one Chinese passengers joined the *Riddermark* in 1786, as well as 204 sailors, seventeen soldiers, and two craftsmen. The Chinese also worked as sailors: the *Zeebouwer* sailed to Java in 1789 with 181 sailors, of whom twenty-five were Chinese; fifteen of the *Zeebouwer*'s sailors then left at the Cape. People likewise travelled between the Cape and Ceylon. Fifty-two ships sailed from the Netherlands to Ceylon between 1770 and 1795. The *Oud Haarlem* departed in 1772 with 301 people, of whom seventy-five left at the Cape and 186 in Ceylon. The *Westerveld* left twenty-seven people at the Cape in 1775, but nevertheless picked up a further 113 travellers.

Movements like these spread various forms of information. One key figure for this period was the painter Jan Brandes, who travelled between the Netherlands, Cape Town, Colombo, and Batavia between 1778 and 1787, producing pictures of local architecture, customs, flora, and fauna. Brandes's images were comparable to those created by the Swedish Linnean naturalists then crossing the Dutch empire in the service of the VOC.<sup>68</sup> Brandes created sketches of Chinese ceremonies in Batavia, such as the Tsingbing festival of sacrificial

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>67</sup> These figures are drawn from the digital database of the Dutch-Asiatic shipping project: J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra, and I. Schöffer, eds., *Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Huygens Institute for Dutch History <[http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/index\\_html\\_en](http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/index_html_en)> (2015). For the print edition, see J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra, and I. Schöffer, eds., *Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries* (3 vols., The Hague, 1979-87).

<sup>68</sup> On Brandes's life and work, see Max de Bruijn and Remco Raben, eds., *The world of Jan Brandes, 1743-1808: drawings of a Dutch traveller in Batavia, Ceylon, and southern Africa* (Amsterdam, 2004); on Swedish naturalists, see Christina Skott, "Ask about everything!" Clas Fredrik Hornstedt in Java, 1783-4', in Tara Alberts and D.R.M. Irving, eds., *Intercultural exchange in southeast Asia: history and society in the early modern world* (London, 2013), pp. 161-202; see also idem., 'Linnaeus and the troglodyte', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42 (2014), pp. 141-69.



Figure 3. Jan Brandes's image of Buddha at Mulkirigala. Source: Rijksmuseum, NG/1985/7/3/125, public domain.

rites, which he misleadingly likened to a Catholic ritual.<sup>69</sup> He also painted a representation of the king of Kandy, Sri Rajadhi Rajasimha, during his time in Sri Lanka, and in less regal moments depicted Cape flowers and the Javanese plantain squirrel.<sup>70</sup> Brandes's images were often annotated, like his drawing of a spider's head in Batavia, on which he recorded seeing a reflection of his hand in the spider's eye.<sup>71</sup> He also noted on an image of a reclining Buddha at the temple at Mulkirigala in Sri Lanka that it was from 'a pagan Sinhalese temple ... not far

<sup>69</sup> Leonard Blussé, 'The burning of the Twabakong during the Tsingbing festival', in de Bruijn and Raben, eds., *The world of Jan Brandes*, pp. 204-5.

<sup>70</sup> On Brandes' depictions of botany and the natural world, see de Bruijn and Raben, eds., *The world of Jan Brandes*, pp. 411-513; for his depiction of the king of Kandy, see 'The king of Kandy, Sri Rajadi Raja Sinha', 10 October 1785, Rijksmuseum, NG/1985/7/2/23; for the plantain squirrel, see 'Badjing of sirikatje', 5 March 1784, Rijksmuseum, NG/1985/7/1/27.

<sup>71</sup> 'Spinnekoppen', 23 March 1785, Rijksmuseum, NG/1985/7/1/26.



from Colombo' (fig. 3).<sup>72</sup> Brandes's images were often intended for personal use but he used others as gifts to friends or hosts, many of whom were members of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).<sup>73</sup> He likewise produced some on commission for officials in Batavia and the Netherlands.<sup>74</sup> Brandes was one of many who built prestige in this way: members of the Society for Arts and Sciences spread out across the empire and, in 1779, Cape colonists dispatched a set of plant specimens to the society in Java for its collection.<sup>75</sup> Officials had sent specimens from Sri Lanka to Java in 1746.<sup>76</sup>

As the VOC and its subjects spread out across the ocean, they came into contact with the British. The British East India Company had likewise risen to power on the back of trade.<sup>77</sup> It established trading factories around the Indian Ocean after being granted a charter in 1600. By the mid-seventeenth century, it had acquired factories in places like Bombay, Banten, and St Helena.<sup>78</sup> Like the VOC, it initially used these factories to enforce monopolies over certain goods and regions.<sup>79</sup> Yet it also developed into what is now known as a military-fiscal state. C.A. Bayly describes how the EIC became expansionist and ruthless in its extraction of land revenues from landowners through the eighteenth century.<sup>80</sup> It began to capture increasing quantities of capital, and invested the proceeds in a standing army, which it used to annex regions and govern them on absolute terms. Thus, following the defeat of the Mughal empire at the battle of Plassey in 1757, the EIC secured a *diwani* (agreement) that allowed it to collect revenues and decide civil cases with regards to Mughal subjects.<sup>81</sup> Unlike the VOC, the EIC was hostile to European migration into its territories, feeling that it posed a threat to company trade.<sup>82</sup> European settlement in the East India Company's territories was therefore generally

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<sup>72</sup> 'Adam's Berg (MulKirigala), reclining Buddha', 10 October 1785, Rijksmuseum, NG/1985/7/3/125.

<sup>73</sup> Remco Raben and Max de Bruijn, 'Introduction', in de Bruijn and Raben, eds., *The world of Jan Brandes*, pp. 10-15, at p. 12; see also Max de Bruijn, 'Journey to Batavia, 1778-1785', in de Bruijn and Raben, eds., *The world of Jan Brandes*, pp. 28-46, at p. 38.

<sup>74</sup> Raben and de Bruijn, 'Introduction', p. 12.

<sup>75</sup> Ross and Schrikker, 'The VOC official elite', pp. 26-44.

<sup>76</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 179-80; see also K.D. Paranavitana and C.G. Uragoda, 'Medicinalia Ceylonica: specifications of indigenous medicines of Ceylon sent by the Dutch to Batavia in 1746', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka* 52 (2006), pp. 1-58.

<sup>77</sup> Stern, *The company-state*, p. 208.

<sup>78</sup> Stern, pp. 21-2.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-3.

<sup>80</sup> Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state', p. 324.

<sup>81</sup> Stern, *The company-state*, p. 207.

<sup>82</sup> Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state', p. 330.

prohibited, while those who were allowed to travel were lawyers or officers who would be of use to the company.<sup>83</sup> Bosma and Raben note that this influenced the numbers of Europeans in the EIC's colonies: the European populations of Calcutta (791 in 1756) and Bengal (4,250 in 1810) were small when compared to Colombo (2,200 in 1694) or Batavia (6,400 in 1700).<sup>84</sup>

Nevertheless, the comparable development of the Dutch and British companies gave rise to moments of conflict and collaboration. In 1619, for instance, the EIC and the VOC formed a cartel controlling the European market for Java spices and peppers.<sup>85</sup> The collapse of this agreement precipitated the Amboyna massacre, in which British company servants were murdered by VOC officials, and the Anglo-Dutch wars (c. 1652-74), culminating in the expulsion of the British from Banten in 1684.<sup>86</sup> Anglo-Dutch rivalry was eventually defused by rapprochement in Europe. In 1688, British parliamentarians joined with the *stadtholder* to overthrow their Catholic king, James II, in what is known as the Glorious Revolution. This formed a global moment in which British and Dutch colonists worked together against the French.<sup>87</sup> It anticipated a period of smoother relations into the eighteenth century that saw the EIC and VOC join forces to bring down the Ostend Company founded by the Holy Roman Emperor, and allowed the VOC to extend its dominance over southeast Asia while the EIC consolidated its rule of India.<sup>88</sup> The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-4) disrupted this period of *détente*; the VOC went bankrupt and was forced to cede Negapatnam in southern India to the British.<sup>89</sup> Yet Anglo-Dutch rivalry was tempered afterwards by the rise of revolution in Europe. In the Netherlands, the republican Patriots began a period of agitation known as the *Patriottentijd* (c. 1781-7). The defeat of the Patriots prompted the British and the Dutch to agree to 1788's Act of Guarantee, in which the former pledged to protect the stadholderate and formalised the place of the *stadtholder* in the constitution of the Dutch Republic.<sup>90</sup>

Increasingly, the EIC's landed interests in India also complemented the VOC's place as a trading empire based in the Malay archipelago. In the late eighteenth century, the VOC

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<sup>83</sup> David Arnold, 'White colonisation and labour in 19<sup>th</sup> century India', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11 (1983), pp. 133-58.

<sup>84</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, p. 16.

<sup>85</sup> Gaastra, 'War, competition, and collaboration', p. 52.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-5.

<sup>87</sup> Jonathan I. Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch moment: essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, 1991); see also Gaastra, 'War, competition, and collaboration', p. 56.

<sup>88</sup> Gaastra, 'War, competition, and collaboration', p. 57.

<sup>89</sup> Van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, p. 90; Gaastra, 'War, competition, and collaboration', pp. 66-7.

<sup>90</sup> Simon Schama, *Patriots and liberators: revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 2005), p. 651.

offered itself up as a means for British colonists to transfer capital to Europe.<sup>91</sup> It granted Britons favourable terms on bills proffered in India and redeemable in the Netherlands. This allowed the VOC to accumulate Anglo-Indian capital – 3,301,757 such bills were bought by Britons in Bengal in 1778 – and it used the money to fund ventures of its own.<sup>92</sup> Meanwhile, Britons moved between the Dutch colonies as migrants. Wang Dahai recalled meeting English merchants in Batavia in the late eighteenth century. He observed that they were a ‘red-haired people’, who shared ‘the sovereignty of Europe’ with the Dutch, ‘whom they much resemble in person and dress but their language and writing are different’.<sup>93</sup> They lived in the trading factories behind Batavia’s fortified walls and there submitted ‘to the regulations of the Dutch’, who ‘treat them well, and do not dare to quarrel with them’.<sup>94</sup> In 1740, one of these merchants, Henry Abbis, had been made a delegate for the Chinese in Batavia.<sup>95</sup> British merchants also lived in Colombo. The British EIC captain, Robert Knox – who was famously captured by the Kandyans in 1659 and wrote about his experiences in 1681 – recalled that there were ‘several ... Englishmen’ in the city on his arrival there after his escape from Kandy.<sup>96</sup> They came to welcome Knox and his companion ‘out of our long Captivity’ and arranged with the captain of the guard for Knox to meet the colony’s governor, Ricklef van Goens (r. 1664-75).<sup>97</sup> Knox was sent to Batavia, from where he sailed to Britain with British merchants from Banten.<sup>98</sup>

These movements gave rise to epistemic exchanges. When Knox met van Goens, the governor demanded that he answer a series of questions about Kandy, including whether the kingdom was prepared for war, and ‘how many Englishmen had served the king’.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, a recent exhibition on the connection between the Netherlands and the Cape at Amsterdam’s Rijksmuseum dedicated a room to the works of Robert Jacob Gordon, a VOC officer born in Gelderland to a Scottish soldier. Gordon is known, like Brandes, for his depictions of the flora and fauna of the Cape, where he was sent on a ‘confidential mission’ in 1777, and granted

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<sup>91</sup> Gaastra, ‘War, competition, and collaboration’, pp. 60-5.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>93</sup> Tae Hae, *The Chinaman abroad*, p. 28, 30.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>95</sup> Blussé and Denning, eds., *Chinese annals*, p. 134.

<sup>96</sup> Robert Knox, *An historical relation of the island of Ceylon in the east-Indies: together with an account of the detaining in captivity the author and divers other Englishmen now living there, and of the author’s miraculous escape* (London, 1681), p. 170.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., pp. 172-4.

sponsorship for expeditions.<sup>100</sup> It has been speculated that Gordon was sent to the Cape to ensure that the colony would fall into the hands of the British rather than the French, should the situation arise.<sup>101</sup> Regardless, Gordon gathered specimens of giraffes and hippos and met with a Xhosa chief, Qoba, whom he painted wearing a VOC helmet.<sup>102</sup> His work was tied to the consolidation of VOC rule at the Cape – it was during his expeditions that a new border was mapped out for the colony – but it was nevertheless carried out in collaboration with the botanist William Paterson, who joined four of Gordon's treks, and drew his ideas into a British milieu. Paterson classified botanical species like the *boophane disticha*, took Gordon's giraffe specimens to Britain, and later even wrote a memoir about his expeditions with him.<sup>103</sup> Such collaboration suggests that the early history of the Anglo-Dutch empires in the Indian Ocean was one of antagonism and exchange, embellished with cross-colonial ideas and information.

### Anglo-Dutch collaboration in the Second British Empire

Historically, the early nineteenth century has been cast as an interlude between this earlier period of collaboration and rivalry and the consolidation of British colonialism around the Indian Ocean. The VOC's fortunes declined after its defeat in the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War and with the rise of the Batavian Republic in the Netherlands. The company's finances spiralled out of control, forcing it to be nationalised in 1796, before it finally went bankrupt in December 1799. It left a debt of 118 million guilders for the Dutch state.<sup>104</sup> Meanwhile, for all its apparent success in India, the British East India Company also faltered. The majority of its monopolies were revoked by parliament in 1813, except for that over the China trade. Along with the emergence of the Second British Empire, and Britain's occupation of the Dutch colonies, these developments seemed to signify the intensification of many longstanding

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<sup>100</sup> Duncan Bull, 'Robert Jacob Gordon: a 'philosophe' on the veld', in Martine Gosselink, Maria Holtrop, and Robert Ross, eds., *Good hope: South Africa and the Netherlands from 1600* (Nijmegen, 2016), pp. 159-70.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., pp. 159-70; see also Dan Sleight, 'Gordon and the end of Company rule', in Gosselink, Holtrop, and Ross, eds., *Good hope*, pp. 171-6.

<sup>102</sup> Bull, 'Robert Jacob Gordon', pp. 159-70.

<sup>103</sup> For details of Gordon's treks with Paterson, see William Paterson, *A narrative of four journeys into the country of the Hottentots and Caffraria in the years 1787, 1788, and 1789* (London, 1789); see also G. Mitchell, 'The origins of the scientific study and classification of giraffes', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 64 (2009), pp. 1-13; Peter E. Raper and Maurice Boucher, eds., *Robert Jacob Gordon: Cape travels, 1777 to 1786* (2 vols., Johannesburg, 1988), I, p. 210.

<sup>104</sup> Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, p. 167, 385.

transitions: between company and state forms of rule; between Anglo-Dutch coexistence and British hegemony; and ultimately between the early modern and modern eras. Trading companies gave way to the nineteenth century's intrusive colonial states, starting with the British autocracies and the rise of a Dutch Crown government in Java, after that colony was returned to the Dutch in 1816 following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>105</sup>

Patterns of migration linked to the VOC's empire seemed to decline with its fortunes. The numbers of Chinese travelling to Java dropped as early as the 1740s and again in the late eighteenth century. In the case of the former, the junk trade was halted following a massacre of Batavia's Chinese residents that was overseen by the Dutch regime of Adriaan Valckenier (r. 1737-41).<sup>106</sup> Some of the Chinese in the *ommelanden* had rebelled over working conditions and in response the government had threatened them with deportation to Ceylon. When the rebels resisted and surrounded Batavia's city walls, the city's residents began a pogrom against the Chinese in which 8,000 people were slaughtered in just one week.<sup>107</sup> Later, British officials would suggest that the massacre was the cause of a larger decline in the junk trade through the eighteenth century, with one EIC official musing that 'since then the China junks never quit the Eastern Archipelago'.<sup>108</sup> In reality, the junk trade had resumed as normal in the decade following the massacre, but declined again in the 1780s after a broader economic downturn across the Malay archipelago that resulted from political instability and the Dutch sack of Riau in 1784.<sup>109</sup> This apparently made Batavia an unattractive place to live, and the junk trade is generally said to have remained subdued until the British founded Singapore in 1819.<sup>110</sup> As such, the numbers of Chinese travelling around the Dutch empire also dwindled. The Chinese community in Cape Town peaked in the 1740s and dissipated thereafter.<sup>111</sup>

Meanwhile, European travel was disrupted by the revolutionary wars. Following the outbreak of conflict with Britain, the Dutch metropolitan regime employed neutral American

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<sup>105</sup> On the transition between company and state in Java, see van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, pp. 83-98; see also Alicia Schrikker, 'Restoration in Java 1815-1830: a review', *Low Countries Historical Review* 130 (2015), pp. 132-144.

<sup>106</sup> Leonard Blussé, 'Chinese trade to Batavia during the days of the VOC', *Archipel* 18 (1979), p. 210.

<sup>107</sup> Blussé and Dening, eds., *Chinese annals*, pp. 13-14; for a contemporary account of the massacre translated from Dutch, see Samuel Auchmuty, *Sketches, civil and military, of the island of Java* (London, 1812), pp. 67-9.

<sup>108</sup> Taylor to North, 20 January 1804, SLNA, 10/39.

<sup>109</sup> Carl A. Trocki, 'Chinese pioneering in eighteenth-century southeast Asia', in Anthony Reid, ed., *The last stand of Asian autonomies: responses to modernity in the diverse states of southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 83-102, at p. 98.

<sup>110</sup> On the rise of Singapore and its relationship to Chinese migration, see Blussé, *Chinese annals*, p. 14; see also Mark Ravinder Frost and Yu-Mei Balasingamchow, *Singapore: a biography* (Singapore, 2009).

<sup>111</sup> Armstrong, 'The Chinese exiles', pp. 101-27.

ships to trade with its colonies in place of the VOC's former vessels. However, this led to disagreements between American merchants and the Java regime and eventually forced the Dutch to introduce free trade between the Netherlands and Asia in 1805.<sup>112</sup> Concurrently, people who wanted to leave the occupied Dutch colonies like the Cape and Ceylon after their invasion by the British were now forced to ask the permission of their British rulers, and even had to resort to travelling on neutral ships that sailed via other ports.<sup>113</sup> Those that did sail were frequently subject to intrusive forms of surveillance.<sup>114</sup> After the collapse of the Treaty of Amiens in 1803, the British also set up a naval blockade around Java that lasted until their invasion in 1811. Historians are divided on the effects of the blockade: Peter Carey has suggested that it caused inflation in Java, while Jean Gelman Taylor argues that the island's official elite became isolated.<sup>115</sup> However, the British struggled to catch the ships that ran the blockade.<sup>116</sup> Either way, it interrupted migration. Another of the *Scaleby Castle's* travellers, Jan de Bruijn Keiser, had moved from Java to the Netherlands for his education, but was stopped from returning home by the blockade in 1803. He was marooned at the Cape until 1814.<sup>117</sup>

In this context, the relationship between the British and Dutch has been recast as one of incomplete succession, and historians have focused on transitions in colonial government. Alicia Schrikker has used the notion of 'regime change' to describe Anglo-Dutch collaboration in Ceylon.<sup>118</sup> This theory refers to the process through which one regime succeeds another. It is marked by stages of divergence and convergence between the governing practices of each

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<sup>112</sup> James R. Fichter, *So great a profit: how the east Indies trade transformed Anglo-American capitalism* (London, 2010), p. 162.

<sup>113</sup> See, for instance, the applications for permission made at the Cape: 'Papers concerning persons leaving', c. 1810-20, Western Cape Archives (WCA), Colonial Office (CO) 6068. These sorts of documents will form the focus of Chapter Three.

<sup>114</sup> On surveillance at the Cape, see the case of Mary Pinnock, as described in Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Mary Pinnock', 29 December 1810, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 185; Truter to Pringle, 8 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 201; Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Captain Covell', 15 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 208; Caledon to Covell, 15 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, pp. 208-9. On the rise of surveillance more generally at this time and in the British empire in particular, see Renaud Morieux, *The channel: England, France, and the construction of a maritime border in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 283-324; see also John Torpey, 'Coming and going: on the state monopolisation of the legitimate 'means of movement'', *Sociological Theory* 16 (1997), pp. 239-59.

<sup>115</sup> Peter Carey, 'Revolutionary Europe and the destruction of Java's old order, 1808-1830', in David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *The age of revolutions in global context, c. 1760-1840* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 167-88; Jean Gelman Taylor, *The social world of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in colonial Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Madison, 2009), pp. 78-114.

<sup>116</sup> Amita Das, *Defending British India against Napoleon: the foreign policy of Governor-General Lord Minto, 1807-13* (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 189.

<sup>117</sup> 'Memorial of Jan Harm de Bruyn Keizer', 14 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, p. 92.

<sup>118</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*.

regime; eventually, the succeeding regime realises its own goals while replicating some of those of its predecessor. In Ceylon, the British can be seen using Dutch policies to secure their rule. In 1795, they introduced dramatic reforms through which magistrates (*amildars*) were employed from southern India, and systems of tenure and taxation were overhauled.<sup>119</sup> These reforms precipitated revolts, in which rebels complained of abuses by the *amildars*, and their complaints prompted the creation of a commission which advised that the British government reintroduce Dutch-period taxes and engage with Dutch officials in their efforts to govern the colony.<sup>120</sup> Thereafter, British officials sought the advice of Dutch colonists on subjects as varied as land surveys and local marital practices. Throughout the eighteenth century, the VOC had already begun to expand its interests beyond trade, and this allowed the British to draw on a Dutch technocracy for the establishment of an autocratic state that also looked to India for inspiration. For instance, Governor Thomas Maitland (r. 1805-11) introduced land reforms inspired by Dutch research as well as the efforts of colonists in Madras in order to reduce the influence of headmen in administering land. Both the British and the Dutch consequently influenced the emergence of Britain's 'exploitation state' in Sri Lanka, the growth of which was consolidated in the invasion of the kingdom of Kandy by the British in 1815.<sup>121</sup>

The British and the Dutch in the Cape Colony followed a similar path. William Freund has observed that there were strong continuities between the regimes that occupied the colony during this period. These included the VOC; the British during their first occupation (1795-1803); the Batavian Republic (1803-6), who ruled the Cape temporarily after it was returned in the Treaty of Amiens; and the British once again (1806-14), after they returned in January 1806 and occupied the colony until its full annexation to the British empire in 1814.<sup>122</sup> Freund suggests that Anglo-Dutch governing elites in these regimes cooperated with one another to uphold the subordination of slaves and servants, and argues that the policies accordingly adopted by each regime were comparable despite British proclamations to the contrary. Not unlike the situation in Ceylon, this allowed the British to develop a constituency of elite Dutch support that they drew on as they created infamous and intrusive projects like anglicisation,

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., pp. 177-210.

<sup>122</sup> William M. Freund, 'The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814', in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., *The shaping of South African society, 1652-1840*, pp. 283-323, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Middletown, 1989), pp. 324-57.

a system of discrimination through which offices and institutions at the Cape were assimilated to those in Britain. The earliest moves towards anglicisation in the colony were made by Governor John Cradock (r. 1811-14), when he introduced regulations mandating the teaching of English in Cape schools, and pursued aggressive anti-Dutch land reforms in the rural parts of the colony.<sup>123</sup> As Robert Ross and Vivian Bickford-Smith have observed, anglicisation's (admittedly limited) success was in part the product of pragmatic displays of support from Dutch governing elites, who wanted to keep their jobs and advance their rights. Ultimately this support for the British evaporated as Cape colonists came to resent discrimination.<sup>124</sup>

In Java, the British built on reforms introduced by the Franco-Dutch regime that was established on the island after the collapse of the VOC, giving rise to what Jurrien van Goor has described as a liberal moment underscoring a shift from company to state rule. As in Sri Lanka, the VOC had begun to turn its interests away from trade in the eighteenth century, and this process was intensified by the arrival of the republican Herman Willem Daendels (r. 1808-11) as governor in 1808.<sup>125</sup> Daendels – who successfully evaded the British blockade – is known for his efforts to overthrow what he saw as Java's 'feudal order', namely the Javanese courts that still ruled parts of the island, and extend the remit of the government.<sup>126</sup> In a series of edicts, he abolished the symbols of deference that were used by the VOC's ambassadors in their dealings with the courts, and hailed these reforms as promoting 'the happiness of ... the island of Java'.<sup>127</sup> He also tried to reform the Java government in the face of spiralling costs, selling government-owned land to Chinese magnates and forming a civil service. Raffles continued Daendels's work after he arrived in Java. He allowed the British army to plunder the court of Yogyakarta in 1812, a watershed moment in the expansion of colonial control over the island.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, he established a land tenure system that abolished the powers of local 'tyrannical' headmen, and granted a larger role in land administration to the state.<sup>129</sup> In turn,

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<sup>123</sup> James Sturgis, 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11 (1982), pp. 5-32; L.C. Duly, 'The failure of British land policy at the Cape, 1812-21', *Journal of African History* 6 (1965), pp. 357-71.

<sup>124</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting anglicisation in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31 (2003), pp. 82-95; Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1780: a tragedy of manners* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 40-69.

<sup>125</sup> Van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, pp. 83-98

<sup>126</sup> Carey, 'Revolutionary Europe', p. 174.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.

<sup>128</sup> Van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, p. 89; Carey, 'Revolutionary Europe', p. 177.

<sup>129</sup> For an exploration of Raffles's land rent system, see John Bastin, *Raffles's ideas on the land rent system in Java and the Mackenzie land tenure commission* ('s Gravenhage, 1954).



Raffles's reforms set the stage for the growth of the Dutch Crown state that introduced Java's *cultuurstelsel* (cultivation system) in the 1830s. This declared all land the property of the state and required a portion to be set aside for the production of crops for the government.<sup>130</sup>

For some historians, the Dutch were therefore key to the making of a British empire that was both socially and culturally assimilationist. Scholars have stressed that the Second Empire's history was generally one of antagonism. Peter Marshall argues that the empire was a 'formidable military machine', through which Britons articulated support for chauvinistic projects (realised more often in rhetoric than in practice) such as free trade and anti-slavery.<sup>131</sup> This drove the British in Java to spread hostile discourses drawn from the Anglo-Dutch wars, denouncing the Dutch as 'selfish, unrelenting, and oppressive', and elevating themselves as 'liberal ... and enlightened'.<sup>132</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor has suggested that British rule in Java was combined with an 'assault on Indies culture', through which British ruling elites attempted to reform the behaviour of Dutch colonists.<sup>133</sup> For Taylor, these efforts were clearest in the social organisations that were taken over or established by Raffles and his entourage in Batavia: the Society of Arts and Sciences, the Auxiliary Bible Society, and, most of all, the Java Benevolent Institution. Taylor argues that the latter, seemingly an anti-slavery organisation founded by Raffles, played host to an almost unrelenting form of British chauvinism that denigrated and attempted to reform Dutch behaviour. This belligerency appeared in the other colonies, too. Histories of the Cape have focused on the emergence of settler colonialism. This was a form of colonialism predicated on the migration of British people, and the application of a form of colonial sovereignty wrought through the degradation of non-whites and non-Britons via the manipulation of violence and systems of criminal justice and land administration.<sup>134</sup> As such, Anglo-Dutch social histories of this period are often narratives of disconnection. Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben suggest that the British and the Dutch maintained 'separate' lives in Java and Ceylon.<sup>135</sup> After their invasion of Ceylon, the British categorised everyone who served the

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<sup>130</sup> Robert van Niel, *Java under the cultivation system: collected writings* (Leiden, 1992); see also Bosma, 'The cultivation system', pp. 275-91.

<sup>131</sup> P.J. Marshall, 'British assessments of the Dutch in Asia in the age of Raffles', *Itinerario* 12 (1988), pp. 1-16, at p. 13.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>133</sup> Taylor, *Social world of Batavia*, pp. 101-5.

<sup>134</sup> See for instance Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Harvard, 2010); Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood ground: colonialism, missions, and the contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (McGill, 2002).

<sup>135</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, p. 81.

VOC as a prisoner of war, and used the term 'burgher' to describe anyone of Dutch descent, much to the consternation of the families who had formerly made up the colony's governing classes.<sup>136</sup> There were similar animosities in the Cape Colony during its first occupation.<sup>137</sup>

Historians have accordingly emphasised a link between the Second Empire and the emergence of what might be described as a 'British' world system. Some argue, for instance, that this period saw the growth of a 'British world' of endogenous cultural connections linked to spaces of British migration and settler colonialism.<sup>138</sup> Saul Dubow has described the 'British world' as an 'interconnected zone of mutual interaction', forged from attachments to British symbols and institutions and including 'people who would not have called themselves British in any sense of direct connection'.<sup>139</sup> This even encompassed the Dutch, who in southern Africa seemed to share in a 'hyphenated sense of ... British and Cape colonial identity' with their British rulers.<sup>140</sup> This was the product of a 'two-way process', Dubow argues, in which Britons were also drawn into hybrid 'Dutch' families.<sup>141</sup> Some Dutch colonists accordingly imagined themselves as part of a wider anglosphere: Dubow quotes the Afrikaner politician Thomas François Burgers, who in the later nineteenth century hailed South Africa as a country of 'Afrikanders' similar to the 'Americans or Canadians'.<sup>142</sup> Yet the 'British world' remains an at times bewildering global construct that forgoes relationships of power and politics. It has attracted significant criticism in recent years for the way in which it privileges neo-imperial narratives and obfuscates diversity while remaining aloof from the nuanced histories of the places onto which it is imposed.<sup>143</sup> Why, for example, would Dutch colonists contribute to a 'British world', when the British had worked so hard to undermine their political rights?

More concretely, historians have drawn a link between Bayly's imperial meridian and the rise of a centralised Crown imperial system run by the Colonial Office in London.<sup>144</sup> Zoë

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<sup>136</sup> Schrikker, 'Caught between empires,' pp. 131-2.

<sup>137</sup> Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen, and Vivian Bickford-Smith, eds., *Cape Town: the making of a city: an illustrated social history* (Cape Town, 1998), p. 87; Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, 'Gij kent genoeg mijn gevoelig hart': emotional life at the occupied Cape of Good Hope, 1798-1803', *Itinerario* 35 (2011), pp. 63-80, at p. 79.

<sup>138</sup> See Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, eds., *The British world: diaspora, culture, and identity* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 2005); Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British world* (Calgary, 2005).

<sup>139</sup> Saul Dubow, 'How British was the British world? The case of South Africa', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37 (2009), pp. 1-27, at pp. 17-18.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, 15.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>143</sup> Tamson Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British world', *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013), pp. 441-63; Rachel K. Bright and Andrew R. Dilley, 'After the British world', *Historical Journal* 60 (2017), pp. 547-68.

<sup>144</sup> Laidlaw, *Colonial connections*, p. 5.

Laidlaw demonstrates that the growth of the Second Empire was linked to the extension of networks of imperial agents and acquaintances that connected the metropole to the Crown colonies and sent 'influence, patronage, and information' between sites of British empire.<sup>145</sup> The spread of these networks was entwined with the expansion of the Colonial Office itself, which received colonial information and distributed appointments in London and which increased in size and jurisdiction across this period. Through the early nineteenth century, this system seemed to underpin the development of autocratic states in the Crown colonies, with governors functioning as mediators between centre and periphery.<sup>146</sup> Yet it also offered opportunities for processes of subversion and resistance that uncovered abuses of power by Britain's colonial governors. Kirsten McKenzie shows how imperial networks were liable to misuse by transoceanic agitators, whose voices they frequently amplified. She analyses the case of the ex-convict William Edwards, who drew the language of abolition into a personal legal conflict with the Cape Colony's governor, Charles Somerset (r. 1814-26), and prompted a wide-ranging debate about the limits of sovereignty and liberty in British colonies after reports on the conflict were sent across the empire. McKenzie argues that the Second Empire was thus home to 'endless interpersonal controversies that marked imperial governance.'<sup>147</sup>

### **Entanglements and power in the Indian Ocean world**

Rather than trying to explain the emergence and significance of the Second Empire in terms of endogenous connections and therefore the assimilation of the Dutch, this thesis argues that we should see the period between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as an era of sustained entanglement between British and Dutch subjects in the Anglo-Dutch colonies, over which British states were assembled as a consequence of equations of power. In so doing, this thesis makes an intervention into the literature on imperial entanglements. Recent work on entanglement is valuable for the way in which it has encouraged historians to consider the exogenous worlds of which empires were a part, drawing attention to the go-betweens who crossed imperial boundaries and worked across regimes around the oceans. Yet it is often easily critiqued for its concern with connectivity, which flattens power relationships and the

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-16.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>147</sup> McKenzie, *Imperial underworld*, pp. 23-4, 103-58.

unevenness of encounter. Conversely, the Anglo-Dutch meridian – with its emphasis on using life histories to follow the evolution of British state-building through occupation – provides a case study for what happens when entanglements form in contexts of unequal power.

Writing on the theme of entanglement, historians of the British and Spanish empires in the Atlantic, such as Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, have argued that that the Anglo-Iberian empires should be viewed not as separate but entwined formations.<sup>148</sup> For these historians, entanglements are principally material interdependencies, made by people who exchanged commodities across empires and came to rely on one another for what were, in effect, inter-imperial supply chains. Cañizares-Esguerra suggests that ‘the production, distribution, and commercialisation of any staple triggered a series of commercial ... entanglements that rendered the entire Atlantic basin into a large borderland of porous boundaries’.<sup>149</sup> Yet entanglements could also be made up of knowledge, exchanged among brokers and soldiers as they crossed imperial boundaries. As Kristie Flannery writes, the British and Spanish empires became closely entangled in the Philippines during the Seven Years’ War (1756-63), after the British occupation of Manila. Soldiers defected across military lines, exchanging knowledge between the two empires. The British replicated Spanish policies related to Manila’s Chinese, while the Spanish employed British engineers to work on their fort.<sup>150</sup>

In the scholarship on the British and Spanish empires, the focus on entanglement has rightly allowed voices otherwise side-lined by imperial history to be brought back into the fold, not as marginalised peoples but as key figures in, say, the oceanic trade routes across which goods were exchanged, or as sources of inter-imperial information. Accordingly, this has enabled historians to deconstruct seemingly British-dominated trades, and ideas and inventions that appeared to be largely British, and reposition them as creations of the Iberian Atlantic or Indian Ocean worlds (Cañizares-Esguerra describes some British ideas as ‘nothing more than disguised translation or piracy’).<sup>151</sup> This has focused attention on the way in which

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<sup>148</sup> Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ‘Introduction’, in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled empires: the Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830* (Philadelphia, 2018), pp. 1-15, at p. 4.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>150</sup> Kristie Patricia Flannery, ‘The Seven Years’ War and the globalisation of Anglo-Iberian imperial entanglement: the view from Manila’, in Cañizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled empires*, pp. 236-54.

<sup>151</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, ‘Introduction’, pp. 3-5.

empires in the Atlantic Ocean, in particular, belonged to 'the same hemispheric system or community', defined by 'circulations of peoples and staples (to say nothing of ideas)'.<sup>152</sup>

Yet one naturally wonders about the relations of power that played out among these 'circulations of peoples'. What happened when one entangled empire was more powerful than the other, and its traders and go-betweens were infused with both a sense of imperial superiority and the ability to make this felt? Could entanglements occur within or beyond single empires? These questions seem key in light of criticisms of global history levied by scholars. Global historians' view of the world in terms of connections has been criticised as imperialist, as it elevates a language adopted by colonists to describe forms of globalisation pioneered by empires.<sup>153</sup> The obsession with the network is said to have mystified the relationships that lead 'to differentiation and polarization' by emphasising 'multiple and unprioritised flows' of people.<sup>154</sup> How can entangled narratives work with these issues?

Entanglements formed between the Dutch and British empires during the imperial meridian give us an idea of how such connections might work in settings of unequal power, such as occupations. For instance, information exchanged among those who worked across Anglo-Dutch regimes was used to legitimise British rule and create state-building practices. For instance, Roy Jordaan reveals how Thomas Raffles depended on 'a Masonic experiment in supranational governance' to establish his rule over Java, drawing the support of Batavian freemasons, who were largely former members of the VOC's governing elite, to staff the offices of his state.<sup>155</sup> The Batavian official elite were also keen to reintroduce the corrupt practices of the VOC period that had made them wealthy, and which had been undermined by Daendels. This drove Anglo-Dutch interdependencies in the gathering of knowledge, for example through investigations into Javanese natural and social history.<sup>156</sup> These drew on a history of Dutch interest in science around the Indian Ocean. The Society of Arts and Sciences funded and facilitated the work of Raffles's colleagues, such as the American naturalist Thomas Horsfield, who served the Dutch and British regimes.<sup>157</sup> Horsfield was acquainted

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<sup>152</sup> Flannery, 'The Seven Years' War', p. 236.

<sup>153</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram, 'Towards a critical history of connection', pp. 346-84.

<sup>154</sup> Heyman and Campbell, 'The anthropology of global flows', pp. 131-48, at 134.

<sup>155</sup> Roy Jordaan, 'Nicolaus Engelhard and Thomas Stamford Raffles: brethren in Javanese antiquities', *Indonesia* 101 (2016), pp. 39-66.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-66.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53-4.

with the paintings of Jan Brandes, and described his image of the plantain squirrel in his *Zoological researches in Java*.<sup>158</sup> Brandes's painting, Horsfield reported, had been published in a set of Swedish transactions by the naturalist Sven Ljung, a student of Linnaeus, whose own researchers had, of course, been connected to the imperial activities of the VOC in the eighteenth century.<sup>159</sup> Yet Anglo-Dutch collaboration in science ultimately reflected what was an unequal relationship between the British and the Dutch. Raffles claimed the achievements of his subordinates as his own, and failed to acknowledge even his closest colleague, the Dutch archaeologist Nicolaus Engelhard, when he used his drawings for *The history of Java*.<sup>160</sup>

These imbalances were replicated in attempts by officials to manipulate Anglo-Dutch ideas to introduce new forms of state rule. Raffles's intrusive land tenure system was not only a continuation of Daendels's reforms, but also picked up on a longer history of ideas about land ownership that bridged the Anglo-Dutch empires. As John Bastin has shown, Raffles was influenced by the ideas of the Patriot officer Dirk van Hogendorp, whose writings were shown to him by a freemason and member of the executive council of Java, Herman Muntighe.<sup>161</sup> Van Hogendorp proposed in a 1799 report that the Dutch introduce a system of land taxation to their colonies to increase revenues and secure the freedom of cultivators.<sup>162</sup> Van Hogendorp's ideas had themselves emerged out of a visit to Bengal during his time as second resident of Patna. There, he had met with the EIC's governor-general, Lord Cornwallis, and discussed the latter's ideas for reform, which were concerned with the introduction of the *zamindari* system that secured the land of local magnates.<sup>163</sup> Van Hogendorp praised Cornwallis's reforms and proposed his own. 'The English have ... by the granting of property of land to its inhabitants ... made their territorial possessions of very much greater importance and profit', he wrote.<sup>164</sup> Conversely, the Dutch, 'by adhering to the old system and making ... commercial interests the main object, have neglected entirely our territorial possessions'.<sup>165</sup> Van Hogendorp's ideas should be seen in the context of the emergence of the Patriots and the decline of the VOC, which popularised notions of freedom and rendered the Dutch company

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<sup>158</sup> Thomas Horsfield, *Zoological Researches in Java, and the Neighbouring Islands* (London, 1824), p. 267.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>160</sup> Jordaen, 'Nicolaus Engelhard', p. 50.

<sup>161</sup> Bastin, *Raffles's ideas on the land rent system*, p. 152.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

unfashionable.<sup>166</sup> Perhaps it was this which prompted Muntighe, habitually an opponent of Patriots like van Hogendorp, to suggest them to Raffles. Either way, entanglements formed across the occupied Dutch colonies ultimately underpinned intrusive practices of governance.

### Uncovering entanglement

Anglo-Dutch entanglements like the above were widespread during the imperial meridian, in which they shaped British efforts to establish autocratic states. Yet they have been obscured by archives that stress the achievements of the British and obfuscate the roles of people who did not fit into (subordinate) colonial categories.<sup>167</sup> The challenge for historians has therefore been to draw attention to the silences and contradictions in official records, through which stories of entanglement might be recovered.<sup>168</sup> For the Second Empire, these stories emerge primarily through documents that the government struggled to define. As Zoë Laidlaw argues, Britain's empire for much of this era was an incomplete formation.<sup>169</sup> Accordingly, officials had yet to work out how to classify numerous documents and subjects according to categories or structures. In the archives in Sri Lanka and Cape Town, and even those of the Colonial Office, one therefore finds extensive folders of miscellaneous documents about which officials were uncertain. It is in these folders that we can uncover fragmentary sources about entanglement; for instance, letters and petitions from Dutch subjects and even records of the *Scaleby Castle's* travellers. There are letters from Frederik Turr in the Colonial Office's miscellaneous files and a petition from Maria Fichat in the in-letters received at the East India Company agency in Cape Town. These documents provide momentary details of lives and hints of the exchanges of information in which these people participated.<sup>170</sup> When contextualised with other sources – including printed texts like almanacs and newspapers – they reveal a broader picture of cross-colonial entanglement around the Indian Ocean. This

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<sup>166</sup> On the decline of the VOC and its ideas, see Nierstrasz, *In the shadow of the company*, pp. 189-218.

<sup>167</sup> For a reading like this of Anglo-Iberian archives, see *Entangled Empires*, p. 5.

<sup>168</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the archival grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense* (Oxford, 2009), p. 1.

<sup>169</sup> Laidlaw, *Colonial connections*, pp. 1-12.

<sup>170</sup> Turr to Peel, 11 July 1812, The National Archives UK (TNA), CO 48/16, p. 28; see also Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Mrs Fichat', 5 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, p. 90.



Figure 4. Points of origin for all ships that arrived at the Cape Colony in 1801 (map data © Google, INEGI).

project would likely not have been possible were it not for technological advancements in the digitisation of sources, which allow us to track individuals across many spaces at once.<sup>171</sup>

In order to reveal uneven entanglements in Anglo-Dutch contexts, we need to follow ideas and information as they moved between the British and the Dutch. One way of doing this is in the Anglo-Dutch context is to follow people who stayed in the Anglo-Dutch colonies as they passed between empires. This approach is becoming widespread in scholarship on Dutch empire and on the Britons who stayed in Java following its return to the Dutch.<sup>172</sup> The other way is via migration. Movements across borderlands have often proven fertile ground for cross-colonial studies. For the Anglo-French empires, uncovering interstitial pathways and sites of migration in Europe and India has arisen as a means of examining trading in goods and knowledge as well as processes of conflict and border-making, such as across the

<sup>171</sup> This picks up on observations made in Clare Anderson, *Subaltern lives*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>172</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*; Bosma, 'The cultivation system', pp. 275-91; Drieënhuizen, 'Social careers across imperial spaces', pp. 397-422; Naidu, 'Bencoolen lives'.





Figure 5. Points of origin for all ships that docked in Colombo in 1807 (map data © Google).

English Channel.<sup>173</sup> They are particularly relevant to the Anglo-Dutch context, owing to the frequency with which people moved between the Anglo-Dutch colonies in this period.

We can repeatedly uncover the convergence of Dutch, British, and Chinese people in the Anglo-Dutch colonies in this period. Shipping continued between the Cape, Java, and Ceylon, and occasionally those colonies and the Netherlands, while these routes were combined with others passing through British colonies and Britain itself. The map below (fig. 4), shows the origins and destinations of all the ships that docked at the Cape in 1801. Although thirty-nine of the 125 ships that arrived in the Cape Colony travelled from England, seven – American – ships also went to and from Batavia.<sup>174</sup> Some ships also sailed between continental Europe and Java via the Cape, such as the Prussian ship *Johanna*, which left Embden in East Frisia, on the border of the Netherlands, for Batavia, and called at the Cape

<sup>173</sup> See Morieux, *The channel*, pp. 209-324; David Todd, *Free trade and its enemies in France, 1814-1851* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 55-89; Jasanoff, *Edge of empire*, pp. 45-80.

<sup>174</sup> These figures are drawn from H.H. Smith, ed., *The African court calendar for 1801* (Cape Town, 1801).



Figure 6. Points of origin for all ships that arrived in the Cape Colony in 1810 (map data © Google, INEGI).

in April 1801. One could likewise travel from the Netherlands to the colonies via Britain, a journey undertaken by the *Scaleby Castle*'s Frederik Turr, although this would have meant obtaining official permission and likely acceding to surveillance from the British government.<sup>175</sup> Meanwhile, those who wanted to travel from the Cape to Ceylon sailed via India. Of the seventy-two ships that anchored in Colombo in 1807, seventeen came from Tuticorin, a former Dutch colony, nine from Madras, and one from the Cape (fig. 5).<sup>176</sup>

The impact of Britain's blockade was heavily felt by these shipping routes. No ships called at the Cape for Batavia through 1810 (fig. 6) and most of those that did travelled to India, Britain, or America.<sup>177</sup> Yet this picture changed after Java's invasion. Figure seven shows that, by 1814, ships were arriving in Batavia from ports in most of the Anglo-Dutch Indian

<sup>175</sup> Frederik stayed at the Aldgate Coffee House during his time in London. See Turr to Peel, 11 July 1812, TNA, CO 48/16, p. 28. On surveillance of migrants in Britain at this time, see Morieux, *The channel*, pp. 283-324.

<sup>176</sup> These figures derive from the 1807 issues of the *Ceylon Government Gazette* and their records of 'arrivals and departures'.

<sup>177</sup> George Ross, ed., *The African court calendar for 1811* (Cape Town, 1811), pp. 63-8.

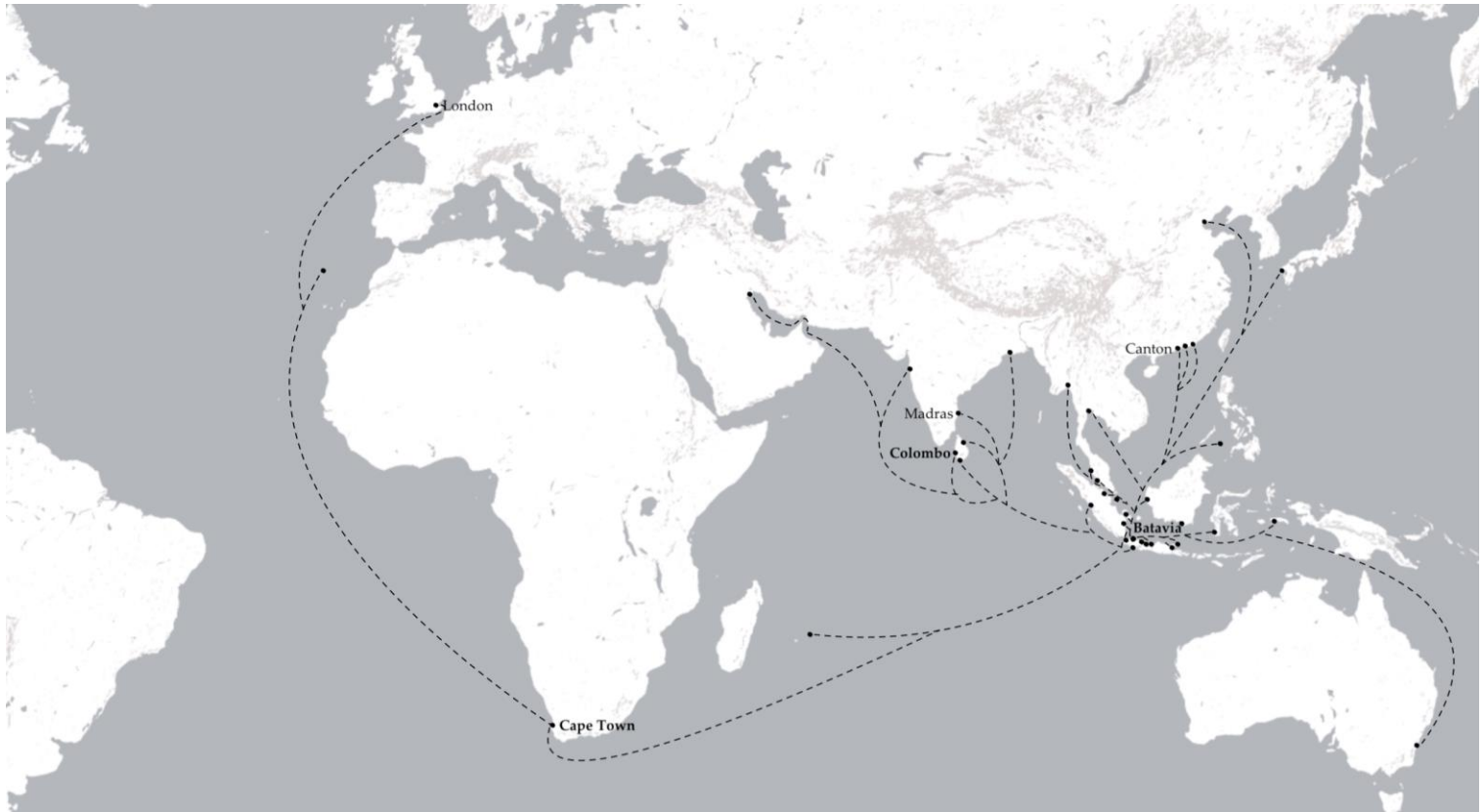


Figure 7. Points of origin for all ships that arrived in Batavia in 1814 (map data © Google, INEGI).

Ocean colonies, including Cape Town and Colombo, as well as British cities such as Madras and London.<sup>178</sup> In total, 304 ships were recorded as arriving in Batavia that year. The vast majority of these had sailed from places around the Malay archipelago, like Semarang or Indramayu. Nevertheless, at least six ships came from Cape Town and four from Ceylon – this was also the year in which the *Scaleby Castle* arrived in Batavia, having sailed from the Cape. By 1815, after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, ships had likewise begun to arrive in Batavia from the Netherlands via the Cape, including the *Maas* and *Elizabeth Johanna* from Rotterdam, the *Elizabeth* from Amsterdam, and the *Zeeploeg* from the island of Texel.<sup>179</sup>

The Dutch and Chinese used these ships to move between the Anglo-Dutch colonies, while Britons arrived from Britain and India. The rising populations of the Cape, Colombo, and Batavia indeed suggest that large numbers of people were arriving in the Anglo-Dutch

<sup>178</sup> Hubbard, ed., *Java almanac for 1815*, pp. 148-74.

<sup>179</sup> A.H. Hubbard, ed., *The Java half-yearly almanac for 1816* (Batavia, 1816), pp. 198-211.

colonies through this period.<sup>180</sup> Of course, some of those travelling changed – with the collapse of the VOC, Dutch soldiers were replaced by Britons – but burghers, former officials, and Chinese sailors and traders continued to travel. They arrived on ships like the *Scaleby Castle*, which carried a crew of 153 people, most of whom were from England, between Britain and St Helena, the Cape Colony, Batavia, Semarang, and Canton.<sup>181</sup> The *Castle* also took ninety Chinese from Britain and St. Helena to the Cape, Batavia, and Canton; these included around twenty who were employed by Thomas Harington to construct a home for him in the Cape Colony.<sup>182</sup> In addition, the ship transported twenty-six passengers to the Cape from Britain, and picked up another ten from Cape Town. Besides those followed in this study, these included the Dutch widow Antonia Faure, her daughter, Elizabeth, and her son-in-law, Jan Keizer, who also disembarked in Batavia. They were accompanied by their children and their servants, Paris van Macassar and Catherina van Ceylon.<sup>183</sup> At least 202 European passengers like these arrived in Batavia in 1814 (along with several detachments of soldiers), and 156 the next year, many of whom were Dutch.<sup>184</sup> They included the son of a Cape notary, Gerrit John Buyskes, who arrived in Batavia in May 1814. Gerrit's father (also Gerrit) described how his relations 'requested I would send one of my sons thither' and reported that 'Messrs. van Groll, de Groot and Berkhout and other friends' had expressed a similar wish.<sup>185</sup> The Schaaps travelled to Batavia from Galle in the same year and two years later requested through family in Colombo that their son be sent to Batavia with 'two boxes containing Piece goods'.<sup>186</sup>

What was the link between these travellers and the imperial meridian? Through the *Scaleby Castle* and its characters – Ani, Frederik, Maria, and Thomas – the chapters that follow

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<sup>180</sup> The population of the Cape Colony rose steadily from 61,947 in 1798 to 116,044 by 1821. See William Wilberforce Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London, 1823), p. 354. Raffles's censuses suggested that the population of Batavia and its environs had risen to 332,015 by 1815. However, the validity of these figures has been questioned. See Yoshihiro Tsubouchi, 'A re-examination of Raffles's statistics on the population of Java in the early nineteenth century', *Southeast Asian Studies* 28 (1991), pp. 481-93. No proper census was taken in Ceylon until 1871, however early efforts indicate growth in Colombo: the 1824 census suggested that around 31,188 people lived in Colombo and its suburbs. See Michael Roberts, 'The two faces of the port city: Colombo in modern times', in Frank Broeze, ed., *Brides of the sea: port cities of Asia from the 16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Kensington, 1989), pp. 173-87, at p. 175. This is compared to 3,352 in 1694. See Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', p. 104.

<sup>181</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, BL, IOR/L/MAR/B/34J, fos. 1-5.

<sup>182</sup> Harington to Pringle, 25 May 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 73-4. See also Melanie Yap and Dianne Leong Man, *Colour, confusion, and concessions: the history of the Chinese in South Africa* (Hong Kong, 1996), pp. 10-12.

<sup>183</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, BL, IOR/L/MAR/B/34J, fo. 4.

<sup>184</sup> Hubbard, ed., *Java almanac for 1815*, pp. 148-74; idem., ed., *Java almanac for 1816*, pp. 198-211.

<sup>185</sup> 'G. Buyskes requesting for his son to proceed to Batavia', 13 May 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 73-4.

<sup>186</sup> Fretz to colonial secretary, 7 October 1815, SLNA, 6/329.

uncover some of those who sailed along these routes, the exchanges they made, and their consequences for state-building in the Second British Empire. Chapter One, 'Liberal reform and despotism', takes up Frederik Turr's story, following his life before he boarded the *Scaleby Castle* to show how Dutch liberal ideas were used by British autocrats at the Cape and in Ceylon. Historicising Turr's life with two others – Egbert Bletterman, a civil servant, and Dorothea Ross, a Cape diarist – it argues that Frederik was part of a European middle class that thrived in the Anglo-Dutch colonies and became a source of reformist agitation. The middle class replicated patterns of migration from the VOC era while adopting liberal ideas from the Batavian Republic and framing them in the language of British loyalism. Frederik was particularly enthused by the Batavians' ideas about education and introduced them in his position as a schoolteacher. However, such ideas were appropriated by British officials, who saw in them a chance to consolidate proconsular despotisms. Consequently, this chapter shows how the Second British Empire's autocracies were indebted to Dutch liberalism.

Chapter Two, 'Anti-slavery', connects Frederik Turr's life history after his journey on the *Scaleby Castle* to the growth of anti-slavery in the British empire. It argues that exchanges between Anglo-Dutch colonists, in particular among the middle classes and governing elites, allowed arguments against slavery to come to the fore in Britain's colonial states. Dutch anti-slavery in this period is often dismissed as non-existent, while anti-slavery is seen as a British invention. Yet this chapter suggests that Dutch figures like Frederik – as well as the Cape's fiscal, Willem van Ryneveld, and Johannes Stork, a burgher in Colombo – played key roles in bringing anti-slavery to the forefront of colonial politics. They adopted Batavian arguments against slavery and combined these with anti-slavery ideas provided by Britons. As with liberalism, officials used anti-slavery policies to entrench autocratic control. Nevertheless, anti-slavery, seemingly an innovation of British empire, can be recast as Anglo-Dutch.

Chapter Three, 'Colonial hierarchies', examines how legal categories entrenched by Dutch colonial regimes were adopted and extended by British ruling elites in the creation of migration controls. Countering the dominance of migration as a theme in this thesis, this





Figure 8. Thomas Whitcombe, 'The East Indiamen 'Minerva', 'Scaleby Castle', and 'Charles Grant', 1820, © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, BHC3492.

chapter suggests that migration was also controlled by the British as they came to rule the Anglo-Dutch colonies, and used to consolidate normative hierarchies that dated from the periods of Dutch VOC and republican rule. This chapter takes up Maria Fichat's story, as well as that of Sarah Batt, a British servant who fled her employer to marry a sailor. It shows how British officials adopted ethnicised Dutch notions of strangeness and used them to exclude ethnic groups that had also been marginalised by the Dutch, such as Malabars in Ceylon. British officials also followed the VOC in using marriage to determine the inferiority of strangers and servants in colonial society. These hierarchies diverge from those imagined by Bayly, which largely occur on land and through the confirmation of private property.

Chapter Four, 'Land and labour', follows Ani. It argues that Chinese migration to Java and Ceylon continued during the imperial meridian in southeast Asia, and shows how sites

of Chinese migration in these places can be used as lenses for understanding the development of Anglo-Dutch policies on land and labour between Sri Lanka and Java. It shows how this was a time of flux in which Britons adopted a mixture of coercive and liberal policies, giving the empire's autocracies a rather schismatic appearance. Yet in this context Britons drew on perceptions of Sino-Dutch interaction to cast Chinese migrants as would-be liberals, who might embrace freeholding and freer modes of work. On this basis, officials in Sri Lanka tried to establish communities of Chinese yeoman farmers. However, these experiments failed, and when the British took Java they adopted negative Dutch attitudes towards the Chinese and promoted land seizures and forced labour. These ideas underpinned a shift towards the use of coercive practices across Britain's empire – as Raffles even took them to Singapore.

Chapter Five, 'Company and state', looks to Thomas Harington to make a materialist argument for the complexity of the transition between company and state during the imperial meridian. In particular, it shows how the principal sites of territorialisation and settlement associated with the VOC – colonial forts – were maintained by the British in Ceylon and at the Cape even as they were neglected elsewhere, as a result of shared strategic concerns and fears about revolution. It argues that their maintenance meant that forms of bureaucratisation that emerged with the British state were therefore pioneered in the former Dutch forts – and that the forms of territorialisation practised by the VOC were consequently reflected in the early bureaucratic regulations of the British colonial state. These regulations were subsequently exported out of the colonial fort and into the town, extending the forms of control adopted by the VOC to the controls used by the British to govern increasingly large swathes of colonial land. Thomas Harington negotiated this transition as he established himself as a merchant in Cape Town and found himself subject to and engaging with the state's regulations.

The lives of those who travelled on the *Scaleby Castle* accordingly reveal a history of Anglo-Dutch entanglement that draws the Indian Ocean and Dutch and Chinese voices into a disruptive and decentralised history of the imperial meridian. Britain's autocratic states can be revealed as complex and contradictory cross-colonial constructs. It is worth noting, at this point, that the only picture we have of the *Scaleby Castle* contains no hint of the Anglo-Dutch history that was contained within the ship, and instead seeks to historicise it in a singular British imperial context. This image (fig. 8) was an imagined depiction of the *Castle* painted by the artist Thomas Whitcombe in 1820. It shows the *Scaleby Castle* firing a cannon shot, in

## Introduction

between the East Indiamen *Minerva* and *Charles Grant*, with the plateau of Table Mountain towering over a distant Cape Town in the background. A common theme of this thesis is the way in which Dutch ideas, places, and people were gradually recast as British, obfuscating any entanglement. By de-centring the British perspective and unpicking the entangled history of the *Scaleby Castle*, it seems, we can unearth an Anglo-Dutch history once hidden from view.



# One            Frederik Turr

## Liberal reform and despotism

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By the time that he boarded the *Scaleby Castle*, Frederik Turr had crossed half the globe. A teacher and late convert to the Dutch republican cause, he travelled to Amsterdam to join the civil service of the Batavian Republic before moving to London, from where he was appointed rector of the Cape's Latin School by the colonial secretary, Earl Bathurst.<sup>1</sup> Frederik arrived at the Latin School towards the end of 1812.<sup>2</sup> Once there, he proposed reforms of the school's curriculum, extending it beyond the conventional Latin and Greek to cover subjects such as History and Geography.<sup>3</sup> These reforms mirrored liberal education policies introduced in the Batavian Republic, which promoted broad, accessible state education for its citizenry as an antidote to tyranny and a source of Christian morality.<sup>4</sup> Frederik's reforms coincided with the adoption of other Batavian-inspired reforms by the Cape's School Commission, including the foundation of new state-run common schools, and together they wrought a liberal moment in colonial education. Yet Frederik was also central to the demise of this moment. He and the commissioners had described themselves as British loyalists in order to build support for their reforms, but Frederik was swiftly unmasked as a republican.<sup>5</sup> Amid the resulting scandal, the governor annexed the School Commission and used its schools to entrench an anglocentric system prioritising English religious instruction.<sup>6</sup> Frederik soon left for Java, telling officials that he wished to travel 'by the first conveyance' – which happened to be the *Scaleby Castle*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Turr to Peel, 11 July 1812, The National Archives UK (TNA), Colonial Office (CO) 48/16, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cradock to Bathurst, 8 December 1812, in George McCall Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* (36 vols., London, 1897-1905), IX, pp. 37-8.

<sup>3</sup> 'Advertisement', *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 19 December 1812, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Simon Schama, *Patriots and liberators: revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 2005), p. 532.

<sup>5</sup> On British loyalist discourse at this time, see Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (London, 2004), pp. 19-71; idem., 'Radicals, Loyalists, and the Royal Jubilee of 1809', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), pp. 543-69; Holger Hock, *Empires of the imagination: politics, war, and the arts* (London, 2010), pp. 300-5, 353-72.

<sup>6</sup> 'Government minute – creation of Bible and School Commission in 1813', 1 July 1813, in *Report of a commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the government educational system of the colony* (Cape Town, 1863), appendix V, pp. 39-40.

<sup>7</sup> Turr to Somerset, 18 July 1814, British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR) G/9/13, p. 93.

## Liberal thinking and the British empire

The rise and fall of the liberal moment in Cape education devised by Frederik and the School Commission brings into view the importance of liberal thinking for the making of the Second British Empire's autocratic states. As an ideology concerned with the promotion of individual social and political rights, liberalism was emerging globally in this period as a consequence of enlightenment thinking and the revolutionary age (c. 1770-1850).<sup>8</sup> These had sparked calls for liberty, equality, and citizenship not only in the famous revolutions in North America and France, but also in places as far apart as India, the Netherlands, and the Caribbean, where they were articulated by everyone from slaves to intellectuals.<sup>9</sup> Frederik's story suggests that particular liberal ideas became pronounced in Anglo-Dutch colonies like the Cape because colonists maintained migratory and intellectual links with the Netherlands and the former Dutch empire in the Indian Ocean world.<sup>10</sup> However, these ideas concurrently became key ingredients of British despotism, as they laid the groundwork for transformation of the Cape into an anglocentric state where centralised powers were vested in the British governor.

The purpose of this chapter is to use Frederik Turr's life to uncover how Dutch liberal ideas were drawn into the Anglo-Dutch colonies and used for the entrenchment of autocratic colonial states. It argues that such ideas were rearticulated in the colonies by a pan-European middle class in social and official settings, from where they were adopted and redeployed by British autocrats to uphold despotism. Accordingly, this chapter fleshes out the history of liberal thinking in the Second Empire, which has focused on liberalism as the antithesis to and successor of despotism, rather than its progenitor. In *Imperial meridian*, C.A. Bayly suggested

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<sup>8</sup> This definition of liberalism is drawn from C.A. Bayly, *Recovering liberties: Indian thought in the age of liberalism and empire* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 1; on the movement of liberal ideas around the Indian Ocean more generally, see idem., 'The 'revolutionary age' in the wider world, c. 1790-1830', in Richard Bessel, Nicholas Guyatt, and Jane Rendall, eds., *War, empire and slavery, 1770-1830* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 21-43.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the repercussions of the age of revolutions in the wider world, see David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *The age of revolutions in global context, c. 1760-1840* (Basingstoke, 2010); C.A. Bayly, 'Rammohan Roy and the advent of constitutional liberalism in India, 1800-30', *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), pp. 25-41; for a take on revolution in the Dutch context, see Gert Oostindie, 'Slave resistance, colour lines, and the impact of the French and Haitian revolutions in Curaçao', in Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie, eds., *Curaçao in the age of revolutions, 1795-1800* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 1-22; Karwan Fatah-Black, 'Orangism, Patriotism, and slavery in Curaçao, 1795-1796', *International Review of Social History* 58 (2013), pp. 35-60. For a discussion in the British metropolitan context, see Mark Philp, *Reforming ideas in Britain: politics and language in the shadow of the French Revolution, 1789-1815* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 11-39; Stuart Semmel, 'British radicals and 'legitimacy': Napoleon in the mirror of history', *Past & Present* 167 (2000), pp. 140-75.

<sup>10</sup> Bayly, *Recovering liberties*, p. 1; Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, pp. 532-3.

that liberal ideas were, in practice, mostly absent from the Second Empire, and, where they did feature, it was as protestations used by Britain's governors to legitimise states that were otherwise militaristic and monopolistic.<sup>11</sup> More recently, Zoë Laidlaw and Kirsten McKenzie, as well as Bayly himself, have identified incipient forms of liberalism as the bane of colonial governors amid the build-up to an age of reforms beginning in the 1830s.<sup>12</sup> Thus, McKenzie reveals how Governor Charles Somerset (r. 1814-26) at the Cape struggled to ward off liberal objections to slavery and the colony's old legal system that called his rule into question.<sup>13</sup> For Laidlaw, it is the emergence of humanitarian commissions and campaigns against corruption in London during the 1820s that mount the first real challenges to the autocrats.<sup>14</sup> Bayly traces the germination of Indian liberalism to the early nineteenth century, when notions of popular representation were set in an Indian context by the Bengali thinker Rammohan Roy.<sup>15</sup>

While these arguments are informative, it is also true that the ideas that emerged amid the revolutionary era intermingled – even earlier, and in more than just rhetoric – with the forms of governance practised by Britain's autocrats, largely due to meetings among British and Dutch colonists. For this argument, Jurrien van Goor's characterisation of Thomas Raffles's rule of Java as the centrepiece of a cross-colonial liberal moment in Java's history is instructive.<sup>16</sup> Van Goor emphasises the overlap between Raffles's policies and those of his Patriot predecessor, Herman Daendels. Raffles persisted with Daendels's reforms creating a colonial civil service, for example, and tried to establish personal ownership of land free from local headmen. This indicates that Raffles embraced the opportunities that Dutch-style liberal reform presented for his autocracy, even as he positioned himself against the revolutionary order. A similar set of arguments can be made for Sri Lanka, where Governor Frederick North (r. 1798-1805) attempted to introduce reforms in the earliest years of British rule, including the abolition of caste-based service tenures.<sup>17</sup> Van Goor argues that these sorts of reforms have

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<sup>11</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), p. 162.

<sup>12</sup> Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial connections, 1815-45: patronage, the information revolution and colonial government* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 61-62; 192-93; Kirsten McKenzie, *Imperial underworld: an escaped convict and the transformation of the British colonial order* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 25-59; Bayly, *Recovering liberties*, pp. 26-103.

<sup>13</sup> McKenzie, *Imperial underworld*, pp. 191-212.

<sup>14</sup> Laidlaw, *Colonial connections*, pp. 169-205; idem., 'Investigating empire: humanitarians, reform and the Commission of Eastern Inquiry', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40 (2012), pp. 749-68.

<sup>15</sup> Bayly, *Recovering liberties*, pp. 50-60.

<sup>16</sup> Jurrien van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism: the Dutch in Asia* (Hilversum, 2004), pp. 83-98.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 84-5; for more on Frederick North's reforms and the efforts of his successor, Thomas Maitland, to roll some of these back, see Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815: expansion and reform* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 140-59.

been obscured by the fact that they lasted ‘only one term of office’, and were rolled back by subsequent British and Dutch regimes in Java and Sri Lanka.<sup>18</sup> This chapter follows van Goor in arguing that Dutch liberal ideas can be identified at the interface of the British and the Dutch across the Indian Ocean. Yet it also shows how the articulation of these ideas in the uneven setting of occupation meant that they were used to entrench autocracy, anticipating reactionary regimes and drawing a formative link between liberal reform and despotism.

In making this argument, this chapter proposes that liberal ideas were spread between the Netherlands and the Anglo-Dutch colonies by a pan-European urban middle class that thrived in the colonies during occupation. The term ‘middle class’ describes a set of people with entwined aspirations, relationships, and attachments, formed from Europeans of moderate socio-economic stature who lacked the wealth and power of the elite but aspired to join their ranks by gaining those things. This group consisted of low-ranking former VOC officials and *vrijburgers* (burghers), some newer British and Dutch colonists, and their families. They were, if male, traders, notaries, businessowners, and junior officials.<sup>19</sup> The link between the middle class and liberal ideas rested on the ambiguous relationship of these people to power. While the middle class assumed mastery next to non-Europeans and slaves, they were subordinate to the British governors and senior Anglo-Dutch officials and plutocrats who made up the elite.<sup>20</sup> There were also distinctions among the middle class, as some Dutch were worse off materially and socially than Britons. As such, the middle classes were motivated by two key concerns: the maintenance of status and political agitation. In pursuit of the former, they perpetuated patterns of migration, marriage, and patronage that had been practised in the Dutch empire, while embracing those of the British. Seeking to agitate, they picked up on ideas for reform that they discovered in the Netherlands and the Anglo-Dutch colonies and

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<sup>18</sup> Van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, p. 96.

<sup>19</sup> Some of these people have already been described as middle class in the Cape context. See, for instance, Kirsten McKenzie, ‘Social mobilities at the Cape of Good Hope: Lady Anne Barnard, Samuel Hudson, and the opportunities of empire, c. 1797-1824’, in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, *Moving subjects: gender, mobility, and intimacy in an age of global empire* (Urbana, 2009), pp. 274-95, especially p. 276 for the middle-class experience of empire; idem., *The making of an English slave-owner: Samuel Eusebius Hudson at the Cape of Good Hope 1796-1807* (Rondebosch, 1993); Gerald Groenewald, ‘Entrepreneurs and the making of a free burgher society’, in Nigel Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west: social identities in a Dutch colonial town* (Hilversum, 2012), pp. 45-64.

<sup>20</sup> For histories of the elite in the Anglo-Dutch colonies, see Robert Ross, ‘The rise of the Cape gentry’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9 (1983), pp. 193-217; Jean Gelman Taylor, *The social world of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in colonial Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Madison, 2009), pp. 74-113; McKenzie, ‘Social mobilities’, pp. 274-95; Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being ‘Dutch’ in the Indies: a history of creolisation and empire, 1500-1920* (trans. Wendie Shaffer, Singapore, 2008), pp. 26-103; Wayne Dooling, ‘The making of a colonial elite: property, family, and landed stability in the Cape Colony, c. 1750-1834’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31 (2005), pp. 147-62.

spread them across the British empire. Accordingly, the middle classes can be seen to work through this chapter as critical vectors who shared liberal ideas around the Indian Ocean.

Crucially, this chapter concurrently sets the middle class in the context of occupation, to show how and why their ideas were adopted by British autocrats. It argues that the middle class worked in unequal contexts, where Britons were able to supplant extant forms of social capital with signs and symbols of British loyalism. This did not mean that the Dutch middle classes were always powerless, but it did ensure that their vocalisations of Dutch liberal ideas had to be framed in a counter-revolutionary language of British loyalism. As is clear from Frederik Turr's experience, this placed Dutch liberals at risk of ostracism, imprisonment, or exile if they were believed to be republicans, while connecting their ideas to the reforming impulses of Britain's reactionary autocrats. For the purposes of this chapter, British loyalism refers to a symbolic language used to indicate support for Britain. It was expressed in terms of cultural and social attachments to Britain, and through markers exhibiting distaste for Britain's enemies, in particular Napoleon Bonaparte and the French.<sup>21</sup> Autocracy, as a form of rule in which power was concentrated in a proconsular governor, was intimately interwoven with loyalism: the latter legitimised the former and underpinned its consolidation. At the Cape, a critical feature of British autocracy was anglicisation, which began in earnest under Governor John Cradock (r. 1811-14), and which was concerned with the assimilation of offices and institutions to those in Britain.<sup>22</sup> In Sri Lanka, successive British governors tried to bolster the autocratic state by subjugating the rival kingdom of Kandy.<sup>23</sup> As Dutch liberal ideas were

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<sup>21</sup> On the changing face of British loyalism amid the Napoleonic Wars, see Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, pp. 38-106; idem., 'British uses for Napoleon', *MLN* 120, no. 4 (2005), pp. 733-46. For the Anglo-Dutch face of British loyalism, see P.J. Marshall, 'British assessments of the Dutch in Asia in the age of Raffles', *Itinerario* 12 (1988), pp. 1-16. For a broader picture, particularly in a settler colonial context, see also the work on loyalism and Britishness in the so-called British world, for instance Donal Lowry, 'The Crown, empire loyalism, and the assimilation of non-British white subjects in the British world: an argument against 'ethnic determinism'', in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, eds., *The British world: diaspora, culture, and identity* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 2005), pp. 96-119; Kathleen Wilson, *The island race: Englishness, empire, and gender in the eighteenth century* (London, 2003), pp. 92-128; Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British world* (Calgary, 2005); Saul Dubow, 'How British was the British world? The case of South Africa', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37 (2009), pp. 1-27; Joseph Sramek, 'Rethinking Britishness: religion and debates about the 'nation' among Britons in Company India, 1813-1857', *Journal of British Studies* 54 (2015), pp. 822-43; Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, London, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> James Sturgis, 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11 (1982), pp. 5-32; Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting anglicisation in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31 (2003), pp. 82-95.

<sup>23</sup> For discussions of British engagements with Kandy through this period, see Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 3-28, 95-134; see also Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp. 177-210.

framed in loyal rather than oppositional terms, Britain's autocrats were able to use them to aid these intrusive projects, while still demonising their progenitors as their enemies.

This chapter begins with an overview of the rise of Dutch liberal ideas. It charts their ascendancy amid the establishment of the Batavian Republic and its transformation into the kingdom of Holland – which was ruled by Napoleon's brother, Louis Bonaparte, between 1806 and 1810 – as well as their rearticulation in colonies around the Indian Ocean world. It then returns to Frederik Turr to trace the rise of the middle classes and their role in spreading liberal ideas between the Netherlands and Anglo-Dutch colonies. First, it explores Frederik's place in the middle class, alongside two other people: Dorothea Ross, a diarist, and Egbert Bletterman, a postmaster. Their lives reveal how Britain's occupation of the Dutch colonies made space for a class that was socially aspirational and politically agitational. Second, this chapter demonstrates how these people were behind key reforms at the Cape and in Sri Lanka in the early nineteenth century. These reforms were inspired by liberal ideas reworked in colonial settings. Finally, this chapter uncovers how such ideas were used for the purposes of British autocratic states. It reveals that they were framed by the middle class in the language of loyalism and shows how Britain's autocrats deployed them to entrench despotism.

This chapter repeatedly compares and contrasts Frederik's story with those of Egbert Bletterman and Dorothea Ross. In so doing, it emphasises two areas of reform to which they contributed, both of which were originally intended to develop a colonial citizenry: namely, education and the post. In terms of the former, Frederik reveals the efforts of middle-class reformers to establish new systems of schooling that promoted the right to education, and knowledge about history and geography, while fostering a society shaped by the principles of Dutch Protestant evangelism. Frederik's story can be paired with that of Dorothea Ross, whose writing reveals how these sorts of reforms were framed in loyalist terms. Dorothea was a Cape-born, Dutch-speaking diarist who was also the illegitimate daughter of a slave and a VOC soldier.<sup>24</sup> While she argued for liberal reforms, she also married a British printer, George, and sought to maintain her status in the middle class.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, she spoke in terms of

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<sup>24</sup> For Dorothea's diary, see 'Reis na England – D.C. Ross', 1813-14, Western Cape Archives (WCA), De Beer papers, A779, pp. 1-40; for Dorothea's parents, see 'Baptism of Dorothea Catharina Steyn', 13 February 1785, Dutch Reformed Church registers, 1660-1970, WCA, microfilm, reel 2, fiche 214, number 107. See also J.A. Heese, *Die herkoms van die Afrikaner* (Cape Town, 1971), p. 162.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Philip, *British residents at the Cape 1795-1819: biographical records of 4,800 pioneers* (Cape Town, 1981), p. 358.

attachments to Britain, especially as she moved between Cape Town and London in 1813. In terms of the post, Egbert Bletterman travelled from the Cape to Sri Lanka in 1803 and began a project of liberal reform on the subject. Egbert's public loyalties lay with the Orangists, the Dutch faction that supported the *stadtholder*, and he even joined the Colombo branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society.<sup>26</sup> However, he also became postmaster of Ceylon, and drafted changes to the military *tappal* (post) to turn it into a system for public use, providing for communication between government and people. These changes resembled those made by the Batavians in Europe and in their rule of the Cape (1803-6). Together, these lives reveal Dutch liberal thinking in the British empire – and its relevance to the making of British states.

### Liberal thinking in the Dutch revolutionary age

The deposition of the *stadtholder*, Willem V, and the establishment of the Batavian Republic by revolutionary France in January 1795 threw lives into chaos across Europe and the Indian Ocean.<sup>27</sup> From the start, the Batavian Republic's appointed leadership was almost irreparably divided in terms of their objectives. Many were drawn from the Patriots, a broad church of radical and not-so-radical liberals and democrats inspired by notions of liberty, the rights of man, and an 'ascetic, evangelical Christian egalitarianism'.<sup>28</sup> The Patriots had first rebelled in 1781, beginning the *Patriottentijd* (c. 1781-7), in which they led a democratic revolt against the *stadtholder* in response to his perceived closeness to Britain after the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-4).<sup>29</sup> At that time, the Patriots had taken control of some devolved municipalities, like Utrecht, and argued for the creation of a federalised state without the *stadtholder's* centralised authority.<sup>30</sup> Now – placed in command of the Batavian Republic – they had a chance to begin a more successful revolution. Many of their initial acts were united. They burned the Act of Guarantee and scrapped the principles agreed by the Synod of Dort, revoking the privileges

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<sup>26</sup> *The ninth report of the British & Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1813), p. 63.

<sup>27</sup> On revolution and the establishment of the Batavian Republic in the Netherlands, see Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, pp. 64-210; Pepijn Brandon and Karwan Fatah-Black, 'The supreme power of the people': local autonomy and radical democracy in the Batavian Revolution (1795-1798)', *Atlantic Studies* 13 (2016), pp. 370-388; Annie Jourdan, 'The Netherlands in the constellation of the eighteenth-century western revolutions', *European Review of History – Revue Européenne d'Histoire* 18 (2011), pp. 199-225.

<sup>28</sup> Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, p. 651.

<sup>29</sup> Jourdan, 'The Netherlands', pp. 200-1.

<sup>30</sup> Brandon and Fatah-Black, 'Supreme power of the people', p. 373.

of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and disabilities targeting Catholics and Dissenters.<sup>31</sup> Yet infighting emerged over the organisation of the future Batavian state. As the Orangists remained in power in many local administrative posts, some Patriots became convinced of the benefits of a unified central state. Others kept to their original position as federalists.<sup>32</sup> The next ten years saw coups and counter-coups driven by federalists and unitarians. These ended with the rise of the regime of Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (r. 1805-6), whose powers closely resembled those of the *stadtholder*.<sup>33</sup> Then, in 1806, Napoleon Bonaparte turned the republic into the kingdom of Holland and appointed his brother, Louis, as king.<sup>34</sup>

Already, the ideas that inspired the Patriots in the Netherlands had been transformed in a colonial setting. During the 1780s, a group of burghers in the Cape Colony adopted the language of liberty and the American Revolution to argue for representation in the colonial government.<sup>35</sup> These burghers became known as the 'Cape Patriots', because their campaign coincided with the *Patriottentijd* in the Netherlands, and they sometimes used the moniker themselves.<sup>36</sup> They first coalesced around the mistreatment of the burgher Carel Buijtendag by the VOC in January 1779, but tapped into enduring resentments among burghers over their dearth of decision-making powers and the VOC's resistance to free trade. In 1783, one of the Cape Patriots wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nederlandsch Afrika*, which chronicled the repression of the burghers in Africa and alluded to the freedoms that they had once held during the sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup> The pamphlet's author suggested that more recent Dutch East India Company officials had denigrated the freedoms of burghers by denying them the right to citizenship.<sup>38</sup> The author warned that the revolution of the English colonists in America could

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<sup>31</sup> Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, pp. 64, 212, 533-534.

<sup>32</sup> Brandon and Fatah-Black, 'Supreme power of the people', pp. 373-4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 383.

<sup>34</sup> For an exploration of Dutch politics under Louis Bonaparte, see Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, pp. 466-610.

<sup>35</sup> See Teun Baartman, 'The politics of burgher honour in the Cape', in Penny Russell and Nigel Worden, eds., *Honourable intentions? Violence and virtue in Australian and Cape colonies, c. 1750-1850* (London, 2016), pp. 94-107, at p. 101; Gerrit Schutte, 'Company and colonists at the Cape, 1652-1795', in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., *The shaping of South African society, 1652-1840*, pp. 283-323, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Middletown, 1989), at pp. 309-15; for some of the documents associated with Cape Patriotism, see André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought: analysis and documents* (2 vols., London, 1983), I, pp. 39-44, 252-6; for another exploration of the politics of protest in the Cape Colony, see Nicole Ulrich, 'Counter power and colonial rule in the eighteenth-century Cape of Good Hope: belongings and protest of the labouring poor' (D. Phil thesis, Johannesburg, 2011), pp. 142-85.

<sup>36</sup> Du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought*, I, pp. 39-44; Baartman, 'Politics of burgher honour', p. 103.

<sup>37</sup> *Nederlandsch Afrika, of historisch en staatkundig tafereel van den oorsprongelyken staat der volkplantinge aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop* (Holland, 1783); for a discussion of *Nederlandsch Afrika* and its significance, see Baartman, 'Politics of burgher honour', p. 101.

<sup>38</sup> Baartman 'Politics of burgher honour', p. 101; Du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought*, I, p. 233.



even become 'contagious' if the Cape Patriots' demands were not met.<sup>39</sup> After all, he said, representation was an inalienable right. 'Any people which does not consist of slaves must have a visible representative acting for it with the supreme rulers', he reasoned.<sup>40</sup>

The VOC resisted the demands of the Cape Patriots, and many of the issues that they raised remained unresolved at the time that the British invaded the Cape in 1795. In the short term, therefore, the greatest impact that the Cape Patriots had was in dividing the colony's population along political lines. As Teun Baartman has shown, some colonists disdained the protestors, casting them as 'those who so inappropriately dared to call themselves patriots'.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the Cape Patriots were aggressive towards burghers who opposed them. When a member of the burgher militia, Jan Lutsche, suggested to the VOC's Council of Justice that he had been mistreated by protesting burghers, he was denounced by his superiors in the militia as a traitor and told by the burgher lieutenants that he was suspended from duty.<sup>42</sup> By the time that the British became interested in the Cape Colony, the disaffection had spread east to the interior district of Graaff Reinet, where Dutch settlers objected to the imposition of a new *landdrost* (Resident) by the VOC in the language of the Cape Patriots.<sup>43</sup> Conversely, the Batavians who ruled the Cape for almost three years following the Treaty of Amiens (1802) generally took a more reticent path to governance, upholding forms of servitude in order to satisfy the Cape Colony's slave-owning landholders and secure its faltering finances.<sup>44</sup>

The populations of Ceylon and Java were marked by similar sorts of political schisms in the years after the establishment of the Batavian Republic, as the VOC's officials broadly aligned themselves with the Orangists and private colonists with the Patriots. The governor of Ceylon, Johan van Angelbeek, was a moderate VOC official who was apparently opposed by his republican subordinates, and there were rumours of a coup against him immediately

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<sup>39</sup> *Nederlandsch Afrika*, p. 3. Original text: 'De Engelsche Amerikaanen kunnen door de Planters der beide Indiën worden nagevolgd; hun voorbeeld kan besmettelyk worden.'

<sup>40</sup> Du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought*, I, p. 240.

<sup>41</sup> Baartman, 'Politics of burgher honour', p. 104.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>43</sup> For a list of the grievances of the Graaff Reinet burghers in their own words, see 'Memorial of the burghers of Graaff Reinet', 29 October 1795, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, I, pp. 208-11; for a more general exploration of the Graaff Reinet rebellions, see Susan Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier, 1760-1803* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 210-31; for a discussion of the radical sailor protests that occurred during the British period, see Nicole Ulrich, 'International radicalism, local solidarities: the 1797 British naval mutinies in southern African waters', *International Review of Social History* 58 (2013), pp. 61-85.

<sup>44</sup> This is the argument advanced in William M. Freund, 'The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814', in Elphick and Giliomee, eds., *The shaping of South African society*, pp. 324-57.

before the British occupied the island in 1796.<sup>45</sup> In Java, the deposition of the *stadtholder* was marked by the drafting of a series of petitions and counter-petitions that were presented to the VOC government in Batavia, calling on it to either celebrate or resist the introduction of Patriot rule. As Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben have shown, the signatories of these petitions divided along lines of socio-economic self-interest. Generally, those supporting the deposition were independent traders who concurrently requested the deregulation of markers of status, while those rallying behind the old regime were VOC servants.<sup>46</sup> Since Java remained under Dutch rule following the collapse of the VOC in 1799, it was actually one of the few places where the Patriots – at least at the direction of the French – were able to implement their vision in a colonial setting. The establishment of free trade with Asia in 1805, and Herman Daendels's commitment to ending Java's 'feudal order' therefore fit into the broader chronology of the revolutionary era.<sup>47</sup> Yet Daendels was also opposed in many of his activities by former VOC officials, who would later look back on what they called the 'fearful days of Daendels'.<sup>48</sup>

Ironically, the divisions between the federalists and unitarians in Europe and colonists around the Indian Ocean meant that, on less controversial matters such as education and the post, one of the key impacts of the Dutch revolutionary era was the rise of more moderate liberal ideas. The constitution that was agreed by the Batavian Republic's national assembly in March 1796, for instance, included a clause pledging to widen access to education, and vowed that instruction would 'be given to all those needy children not already provided for from a poor fund'.<sup>49</sup> Education reform in the republic was in fact driven by the *Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Society for the Greater Good), which predated the deposition of the *stadtholder*, having been established in 1784 as a 'social church'.<sup>50</sup> *Tot Nut* promoted education in the vernacular, high standards of schooling, and the use of the Bible as a moral compass, while also training a vast number of regulators with expertise in reform. In 1798, the Batavian

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<sup>45</sup> Robert Percival, *An account of the island of Ceylon* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 1805), pp. 116-17.

<sup>46</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies*, p. 68.

<sup>47</sup> On these developments, see in particular van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, pp. 83-98; Peter Carey, 'Revolutionary Europe and the destruction of Java's old order, 1808-1830', in Armitage and Subrahmanyam, eds., *The age of revolutions*, pp. 167-88.

<sup>48</sup> Roy Jordaan, 'Nicolaus Engelhard and Thomas Stamford Raffles: brethren in Javanese antiquities', *Indonesia* 101 (2016), 39-66, at 59.

<sup>49</sup> Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, pp. 64, 212, 533-534.

<sup>50</sup> Sigi Howes, "'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' school, Cape Town 1804-1870: case study of a Cape school's response to political and philosophical changes in the 19th century' (M.Ed. thesis, Stellenbosch, 2004), p. 14; Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, p. 534.

leadership founded an agency for national education, run by the reformers Johannes Hendrik van der Palm and Adriaan van den Ende, and adopted *Tot Nut's* plans for reform, buoyed by the number of regulators that the society could supply.<sup>51</sup> Van der Palm introduced new school districts, inspectorates for public schools, and provided for the central training and examination of teachers. In 1806, van den Ende expanded the inspectorates so that they covered private and church schools and required that teachers secure certificates in order to practise. These reforms focused on primary schools and were intended to mould children into a Christian citizenry. The Batavians' schools accordingly taught a range of subjects like Geography and History, 'shot through with ... moral earnestness'.<sup>52</sup> Crucially, this differed from systems in France, which stressed higher education as training for bureaucrats.

Some of these reforms found their way to the Cape with the Batavian government that was posted there in 1803. This was led by the curious mixture of a governor who was a Dutch nobleman, Jan Willem Janssens (r. 1803-6), and a Patriot commissioner-general, Jacob de Mist. One of the few things that de Mist accomplished during his brief tenure at the Cape was to draft proposals for an expansive education system, proposing an increase in the number of common schools and the growth of the curriculum so that it advanced teaching in 'Dutch with purity' as well as Christian morality.<sup>53</sup> Unusually for a Batavian reformer, at least in Europe, he also turned his attention to higher education, at Cape Town's Latin School. Formerly, the Latin School had served those hoping to study in Europe and taught only Greek and Latin.<sup>54</sup> However, de Mist reimagined its purpose, proposing that its pupils be taught 'Geography, History, and Christian principles', in addition to Greco-Roman history, which would inform students of the 'great and famous deeds of their ... statesmen'.<sup>55</sup> He argued that this would allow them to develop into that 'class of citizens to whom in riper years important posts of the Government may be entrusted'.<sup>56</sup> Necessarily, the Latin School's teachers were ordered to be proficient in the 'pure spelling, speaking, reading, and writing of the Dutch language'.<sup>57</sup> De Mist resigned in 1804, but he established the School Commission to oversee his reforms.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Much of the information in this paragraph is drawn from Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, pp. 534-46.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 537.

<sup>53</sup> 'Publication of De Mist', 1804, in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 16.

<sup>54</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, p. xiv.

<sup>55</sup> Publication of De Mist, 1804, in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, pp. 15-17.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>58</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, p. xii.

Another emphasis of liberal reform in the Batavian Republic was the establishment of a nationalised postal service instead of the private system then running in the Netherlands. Like schools, the creation of a government-run post was seen by some among the republic's leadership as a means of stimulating the citizenry. For instance, the Batavian finance minister and later right-hand man of Louis Bonaparte, Alexander Gogel, suggested that a postal service should exist 'for the People, for convenience, and not for taxation', as it would 'help promote the general prosperity'.<sup>59</sup> Gogel's support for a public service was based on what he saw as its importance for the flourishing of trade and communication. 'The Post Office should be a true benefit to commerce and traffic among men', he proclaimed, while a private service was 'an unbearable burden, and more of a hindrance to all internal and foreign trade'.<sup>60</sup> In making this argument, Gogel drew on a long history of calls for reform: the regulation of the post had once been a concern of the Doelisten movement of Amsterdam burghers, who had argued for the overhaul of the corrupt Dutch state back in the 1740s.<sup>61</sup> Accordingly, the postal service in the Netherlands was nationalised in 1803 under the oversight of Jacob George Hahn, a Patriot and postal officer, and a regulated system run by seven commissioners was introduced.<sup>62</sup> In 1804, this was joined by a statute ensuring that all letters would be regarded as confidential.<sup>63</sup> Yet Hahn's system was not enough for Gogel, who regarded the revenue that it brought into the state's coffers as somewhat unsavoury. A state monopoly on conveying packages was therefore created on his orders in 1807. Meanwhile, more post offices were built to improve access to the state system, and costs of postage were standardised across the country.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Izaak Jan Alexander Gogel, *Memoriën en correspondentiën: betreffende den staat van 's Rijks geldmiddelen in den jaare 1820* (Amsterdam, 1844), p. 82. Original text: 'Zij bestaan om het Volk, tot gerief en niet tot belasting.' For a more detailed exploration of Gogel's thoughts and the Dutch post, see Jan Postma, *Alexander Gogel (1765-1821): grondlegger van de Nederlandse staat* (Hilversum, 2017), pp. 150-1.

<sup>60</sup> Gogel, *Memoriën*, p. 82. Original text: 'Zoo zeer als de posterijen eene ware weldaad voor den handel en het verkeer onder de menschen behoorden te zijn, zoo zeer worden ze thans eenen ondragelijken last, en meer belemmerend voor allen binnen en buitenlandschen handel, vooral voor den zoo zeer aanmoediging verdienenden kleinhandel.'

<sup>61</sup> Friso Wielenga, *A history of the Netherlands: from the sixteenth century to the present day* (trans. Lynne Richards, London, 2015), p. 121.

<sup>62</sup> Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, p. 449; for more on the post office in the Batavian Republic and Kingdom of Holland, see also Eduardus Antonius Bernadus Josephus ten Brink, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse postwezen, 1795-1810: het ontstaan van een rijksdienst onder de Bataafsche Republiek en het Koninkrijk Holland* (Amsterdam, 1950); for the original document detailing the requirements for the Batavian Republic's commissioners, see *Instructie voor commissarissen der Bataafsche posterijen* (1803).

<sup>63</sup> Willemijn Ruberg, *Conventional correspondence: epistolary culture of the Dutch elite, 1770-1850* (Leiden, 2011), p. 63.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

As with education, the reform of the post became an object of colonial officials in the Dutch empire, often because it intersected with considerations for defence. At the Cape, the Batavian regime established the first regular postal service from Cape Town to the colony's interior, maintained by a group of light field riders, and before 1806 a waggon began to travel between Cape Town and Swellendam under the oversight of the colony's leading burghers.<sup>65</sup> Postal reform was likewise a concern of Daendels's regime in Java. His infamous 'Great Post Road', which passed from Anyer to Panarukan and was built by forced labour, was supposed to facilitate travel and communication between all parts of the island.<sup>66</sup> It was staffed every few miles by post offices which doubled-up as inns, and which were joined by runners who carried messages between them.<sup>67</sup> The Great Post Road was intended as a military road, but it nevertheless facilitated the introduction of a wider postal system.<sup>68</sup> Daendels rationalised regulations for the conveyance of letters between Batavia and cities such as Buitenzorg and Semarang, and put Batavia's aldermen in charge of a central post office. The post would now leave these places at regular times; for instance, the service travelling to Buitenzorg from Batavia departed at nine o'clock every morning.<sup>69</sup> Later, in 1810, Daendels introduced a full system governed by rules and commissioners that resembled those in the Batavian Republic.<sup>70</sup> No doubt Daendels, who took his orders from Louis Bonaparte, and who identified first and foremost as a liberal with French revolutionary leanings, was acquainted with the social and commercial advantages of the postal service.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, when he introduced his 'generaal reglement' in 1810, Daendels – not unlike Gogel – hailed, in the *Bataviasche Koloniale Courante*, the creation of 'the most useful arrangements', which his government had wrought with

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<sup>65</sup> Ingebord Blom, 'Defence of the Cape Colony under Batavian rule, 1803-1806', *Kronos* 17 (1990), pp. 19-35, at p. 26; a government proclamation tried to prohibit the carriage of letters on this waggon, see 'Government Advertisement', 30 June 1806, in Richard Plaskett and T. Miller, eds., *Proclamations, advertisements and other official notices published by the government of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1827), p. 29.

<sup>66</sup> For a British account of the road's construction, see William Thorn, *Memoir of the conquest of Java* (London, 1815), pp. 208-9.

<sup>67</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor, *Indonesia: peoples and histories* (London, 2003), pp. 62-3.

<sup>68</sup> P. Nas Pratiwo, 'Java and de Groote Postweg, la Grande Route, the Great Mail Road, Jalan Raya Pos', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 158 (2002), pp. 707-25.

<sup>69</sup> For details of these reforms, see 'wegen en posterijen', in *Staat der Nederlandsche oostindische bezittingen onder het bestuur van den Gouverneur-Generaal Herman Willem Daendels* (4 vols., 's Gravenhage, 1814), III, pp. 432-4.

<sup>70</sup> 'Generaal reglement van inrigting voor het postwezen', *Bataviasche Koloniale Courante*, 5 January 1810, p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> John Sturgis Bastin, *The native policies of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java and Sumatra: an economic interpretation* (Oxford, 1957), p. 15.

‘enterprise and execution’, despite the fact that the regime was operating in unfavourable conditions – war – and trying to create policies that were ‘never before tried or thought’.<sup>72</sup>

The introduction of a postal service in Java, along with the proposals for an expansive education system in the Cape Colony, reflect the wide colonial parameters of Dutch liberalism at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was an ideology that was becoming effective in reforming the organs of the colonial state, if not in the remaking of government in its entirety. However, the advocates of such liberal ideas, like Daendels and Jacob de Mist, were generally explicitly linked to the Batavian Republic and the kingdom of Holland. As such, they fell out of fashion during the periods of British occupation in the Dutch colonies; after Napoleon’s annexation of the Kingdom of Holland to France in July 1810; and following the liberation of the Netherlands from France at the end of 1813.<sup>73</sup> Daendels, in particular, was denounced by British colonists as a tyrant who had roused ‘the phlegm of the Dutchman’ during his time in Java.<sup>74</sup> What happened to the liberal ideas that they had once espoused?

### **The middle class and the politics of reform**

There was one group with whom the liberal ideas of Daendels and de Mist did not totally fall out of fashion in later years: the middle class. These were people who had seen their fortunes transformed – for better and for worse – amid the revolutionary age and the British invasion of the Dutch colonies. For instance, Frederik Turr was appointed to the Cape’s Latin School following a scandal among British and Dutch colonists that saw him cast as a stable candidate for the rectorship.<sup>75</sup> The school had formerly been run by Lawrence Halloran, a fake priest who antagonised the Dutch by claiming that the British were subject to ‘incessant Persecution’ under the ‘Dutch System of Jurisprudence’ which applied to the colony under the terms of the capitulation.<sup>76</sup> Halloran was eventually exiled from southern Africa, at which point Frederik was brought in from London as his replacement.<sup>77</sup> For Frederik, this was something of a turn

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<sup>72</sup> ‘Generaal reglement’, *Bataviasche Koloniale Courante*, 5 January 1810, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> For the politics surrounding the annexation, see Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, pp. 611-22.

<sup>74</sup> Letter from Weltevreden by James Bayley, 25 April 1812, BL MSS Eur. D970, pp. 8-9.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Digest of the records’, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, X, pp. 412-13.

<sup>76</sup> Halloran to the Earl of Liverpool, 8 May 1811, in Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, VIII, pp. 58-9; for more on Halloran’s life, see Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1780: a tragedy of manners* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 43-4.

<sup>77</sup> Ross, *Status and respectability*, p. 44.

up for the books. In Europe, he had repeatedly been frustrated in his search for higher office. He had been prevented from taking up the post of receiver-general of the Dutch colony of Demerara in the Guianas by its invasion by the British in 1803.<sup>78</sup> He had served in the ministry of justice and police under Louis Bonaparte but had resigned that post to pursue scholarship in the classics once the politics of that regime began to sour.<sup>79</sup> His publication of a translation of Homer's *Iliad* – dedicated, in its preface, to King Louis – remained half-finished at the time that he left for London after the annexation of the Netherlands.<sup>80</sup> Conversely, from his room at the Latin School on central Graave Street, Frederik was able to place himself at the centre of Cape life.<sup>81</sup> New opportunities – for influence, status, and even power – beckoned.

At the Cape, Frederik began by ingratiating himself with similarly aspirant colonists, such as the notary Gerrit Buyskes. The Buyskes family kept two books containing messages from the people whom they met across the years, granting us an insight into the groups with which Turr socialised at the Cape. They generate a picture of the Buyskes' wide-ranging and even global social circle that encompassed European colonists of different origins. One book records messages from friends in the former Holy Roman Empire, a lock of hair, and paintings of Switzerland, suggesting that it may have been a memento of a trip taken there in 1814.<sup>82</sup> The other includes messages from people from across the globe, recorded largely in Cape Town. One message is from a trader from New York, A.H. van Bokkelen, who related how happy he would have been to 'remain with thee, But there is another call, which says come home ... and to this I must attend'.<sup>83</sup> Another is from a mysterious figure nicknamed 'Indo-Ceilonensis', and a third from a supercargo, George Apthorp, who said that it was 'delightful ... to reach such a peaceful haven'.<sup>84</sup> Many of the messages are marked with masonic symbols, due to Gerrit's former leadership of the lesser Cape lodge *De Goede Trouw*.<sup>85</sup> Frederik himself

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<sup>78</sup> A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* (21 vols., Haarlem, 1852-1878), XI, p. 74; 'Bataafsche Republiek', *Bataafsche Leeuwarder Courant*, 22 December 1803, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> M.A.M. Nauwelaerts, 'De oude Latijnse school van Breda' (D. Phil. Thesis, Nijmegen, 1945), p. 153.

<sup>80</sup> Frederik Everard Turr, *Homerus* (Amsterdam, 1810).

<sup>81</sup> A. Richert, Sr., ed., *The African court calendar for 1814* (Cape Town, 1814), p. 29, 116.

<sup>82</sup> 'Sketch and message book', July 1814, WCA, Buyskes papers, A462, vol. 2, pp. 1-3.

<sup>83</sup> 'A.H. van Bokkelen of New York', 'album amicorum', undated, WCA, Buyskes papers, A462, vol. 2, p. 25.

<sup>84</sup> 'Indo-Ceilonensis', 'album amicorum', undated, WCA, Buyskes papers, A462, vol. 2, p. 32; 'G.H. Apthorp', 'album amicorum', 4 April 1815, WCA, Buyskes papers, A462, vol. 2, p. 45; Philip, *British residents*, p. 9.

<sup>85</sup> Alan Amos Cooper, 'The origins and growth of freemasonry in South Africa, 1772-1876' (MA thesis, Cape Town, 1980), pp. 69-70.

left a heartfelt message with Gerrit in 1814, swearing that he would 'never forget' his memory of him.<sup>86</sup>

Frederik was not the only person who saw his fortunes shift in this period. Following the British invasion of the Cape, Egbert Bletterman's family established a business importing and selling goods from across and beyond the British empire in the Cape Colony. Perhaps this had been a goal of the family's patriarch, Johannes Matthias Bletterman, a former VOC official and member of the burgher militia who had been active in Cape Patriot circles during the 1780s.<sup>87</sup> As it happened, the new business was overseen by Egbert's mother, Geertruij, from her home on Berg Street, with the support of her British son-in-law, William Caldwell.<sup>88</sup> Geertruij imported goods via another son, Johannes, who travelled across China between Macao and Canton.<sup>89</sup> Apparently she told the authorities that Johannes was sending her presents: in September 1814, she sent a petition to Governor Charles Somerset (r. 1814-26) asking for his approval to import from St Helena 'as a present to your Memorialist two Chests of Tea shipped with permission of the Supra Cargoes at Canton'.<sup>90</sup> Egbert Bletterman likewise travelled to Sri Lanka in 1803 and began sending goods to the Cape, a practice that landed him in trouble with the Ceylon government.<sup>91</sup> He started an unsuccessful coffee plantation and, in 1814, applied successfully to Governor Brownrigg (r. 1812-20) for permission to export arrack, coconuts, tobacco, coffee, pepper, and saffron to the Cape.<sup>92</sup> By 1825, he had been appointed a special envoy for trading interests of the Ceylon government at the Cape.<sup>93</sup>

The events of this period similarly gave Dorothea Ross a chance to cultivate her status. She had been born in 1783 into a society shaped by the conservative politics of the VOC and the Dutch Reformed Church, as they led a reaction to the perceived immorality of the Patriots and soldiers who stayed at the Cape during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. The DRC led a

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<sup>86</sup> 'F.E. Turr', 'album amicorum', 19 July 1814, WCA, Buyskes papers, A462, vol. 2, p. 44.

<sup>87</sup> Baartman, 'Politics of burgher honour', p. 103; Christoffel Coetzee de Villiers, *Geslacht-register der oude Kaapsche familien* (3 vols., Cape Town, 1893), I, p. 71.

<sup>88</sup> Robert James Mackintosh, ed., *Memoirs of the life of the right honourable Sir James Mackintosh* (2 vols., London, 1835), p. 183.

<sup>89</sup> Bird to Somerset, 14 September 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 100-1; see also 'Memorial of Mrs Bletterman', 13 March 1812, BL, IOR/G/9/3, p. 60.

<sup>90</sup> Bird to Somerset, 14 September 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 100-1.

<sup>91</sup> J.R. Toussaint, 'Egbert Bletterman: the Hollander who was postmaster general', *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* 41 (1951), p. 83.

<sup>92</sup> Brownrigg to the chief secretary to Cape government, 30 April 1814, WCA, Government House (GH) 13/3, pp. 29-32; on Bletterman's coffee plantation, see Lennox A. Mills, *Ceylon under British rule, 1795-1932; with an account of the East India Company's embassies to Kandy, 1762-1795* (London, 1933), p. 223.

<sup>93</sup> 'Government advertisement', 27 January 1825, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, p. 692.



particularly aggressive push against the mothers of children who, like Dorothea, were born illegitimately, and refused to grant them permission for baptisms.<sup>94</sup> While Dorothea was baptised in 1785, her certificate carried the term 'onegt' (illegitimate), suggesting that the DRC deemed it necessary that her status become public knowledge.<sup>95</sup> Yet Dorothea was able to climb the social ladder during the British occupation of the Cape. Her marriage to George Ross, a clerk who at the time of their wedding was employed in the operation of the Cape's printing press, was something of a social coup. Barring the years of Batavian rule – when he left for Madras, taking with him produce to sell on the Indian market and returning with Indian goods – George was on the ascendancy at the Cape.<sup>96</sup> He bought a small rural estate and, as a freemason, became involved with Buyskes's lodge, *De Goede Trouw*.<sup>97</sup> Dorothea used George's social network to develop advantageous relationships when the Rosses travelled to Britain in 1813. During their voyage, she befriended her ship's captain and fellow travellers, including one Miss Horistoun, whose company she said she would never forget.<sup>98</sup> At Rio de Janeiro, the Rosses met with a British settler, Mr. March, who gave Dorothea 'the friendliest greeting' and allowed her to stay with his wife.<sup>99</sup> Dorothea became close to George's sister's family in Deptford, joining them on trips to the dockyards and St Paul's Cathedral.<sup>100</sup>

In a way, these stories were quotidian. Many of those who made up the middle class under the British had once jostled for influence under the Dutch, not least in the form of the Cape Patriots. Many also maintained personal and professional relationships between Java, the Cape Colony, Sri Lanka, and the Netherlands into the British period, as a way of building status. For instance, Gerrit Buyskes sent his son to Batavia to be educated by his friends and relatives.<sup>101</sup> There was likely a connection here to Gerrit's own move, a year later, to take up a

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<sup>94</sup> See Gerald Groenewald, 'Een spoorloos vrouwspersoon: unmarried mothers, moral regulation, and the church at the Cape of Good Hope, circa 1652-1795', *Historia* 53 (November 2008), pp. 5-32; idem., 'A mother makes no bastard': family law, sexual relations, and illegitimacy in Dutch colonial Cape Town, c. 1652-1795', *African Historical Review* 39 (2007), pp. 58-90.

<sup>95</sup> 'Baptism of Dorothea Catharina Steyn', 13 February 1785, Dutch Reformed Church registers, 1660-1970, WCA, microfilm, reel 2, fiche 214, number 107.

<sup>96</sup> Philip, *British residents*, p. 358.

<sup>97</sup> Eddie Ross, 'George Ogilvie Ross in four continents', *North West Kent Family History* 4 (1987), pp. 300-1; Philip, *British residents*, p. 358; Cooper, 'Origins of freemasonry', p. 73.

<sup>98</sup> 'Reis na England – D.C. Ross', 1813-14, WCA, De Beer papers, A779, pp. 7-8.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>101</sup> 'Memorial of Gerrit Buyskes', 13 May 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 73-4.

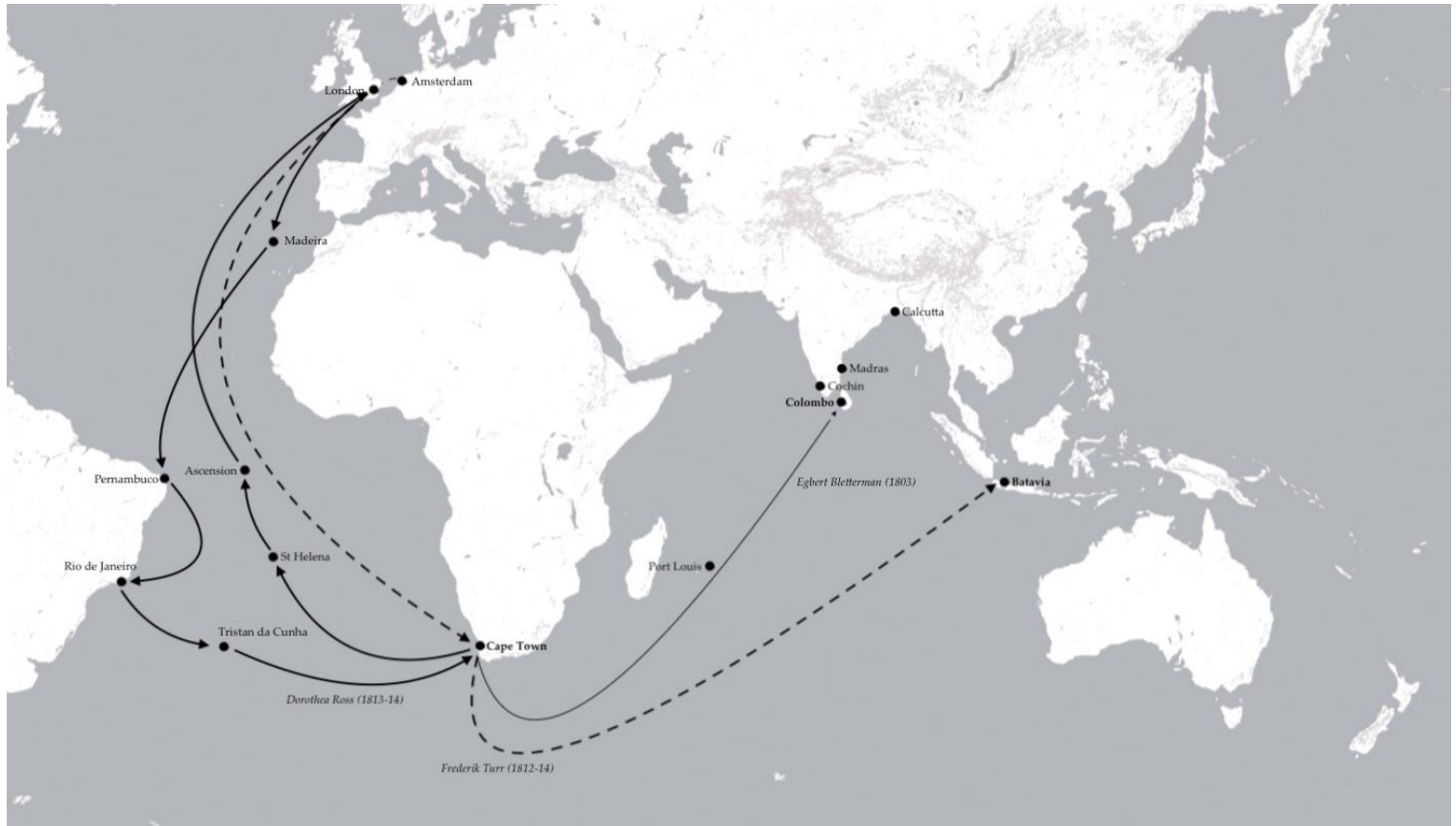


Figure 9. The journeys of Frederik Turr, Dorothea Ross, and Egbert Bletterman, as explored in this chapter (map data © Google, INEGI).

senior position in Batavia's court of justice.<sup>102</sup> Gerrit was likewise joined in his move by other socially-aspirant figures such as the Batavian notary and former member of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences, Arnold Jan van der Tuuk, who moved to the Cape in the 1780s but returned to Batavia after legal troubles in the former endangered his status there.<sup>103</sup> Yet at the same time, this was an era in which the boundaries of middle-class aspiration were being reimagined, as British migrants and ships arrived in the former Dutch colonies. We therefore find middle-class Capetonians traversing the British empire (fig. 9) or marrying into the ranks of British colonists. In 1814, Alida Blankenberg sailed from Cape Town to Calcutta, having become betrothed to a British merchant.<sup>104</sup> Jacobus Wentzel travelled east from Africa with

<sup>102</sup> P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, 'Buyskes, Gerrit', in *Nieuw Nederlands biographisch woordenboek*, (10 vols., Leiden, 1911), I, pp. 529-30.

<sup>103</sup> 'Memorial of Arnold Jan van der Tuuk', 28 June 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 86-7; see also Pringle to Bird, 30 June 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/20, p. 6; on van der Tuuk's legal troubles, see 'A.J. van der Tuuk vs. Egbertus Bergh', September 1811, WCA, CJ 48/2/7, pp. 536-705.

<sup>104</sup> 'Request for permission for Jacobus M. Wentzel and Alida Blankenberg to proceed to East Indies and Calcutta and bonds of security', March 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 35-6.

the British ship *Hope* after resolving 'on making the sea his profession'.<sup>105</sup> In time, new spaces of middle-class sociability – coffee houses, libraries, shops, and theatres – developed and the middle classes also began to socialise with the colonial elite in societies and clubs. Geertruij Bletterman and William Caldwell established a guesthouse in their shop on Berg Street and another in Stellenbosch. The Scottish lawyer James Mackintosh stayed with Geertruij in Cape Town and met William Caldwell, whom, he said 'took in boarders, chiefly from India'.<sup>106</sup>

The Bletterman guesthouses were two of many. In 1800, two Britons established the Commercial Coffee House on the Keizersgracht in Cape Town, promoting it for the Cape's 'merchants and inhabitants' in *The Cape Town Gazette*.<sup>107</sup> Others soon followed, including the African Coffee House, which opened on the Heerengracht, and George's Coffee House, which opened on Hout Street in 1816.<sup>108</sup> These sites were soon joined by libraries and hotels. In 1806, a German soldier named Clemenz Wehdemann founded a library in Cape Town, which was designed for 'LOVERS of READING' with 'a Number of Publications in the English, French, German, and Dutch languages'.<sup>109</sup> In Colombo, the merchant Michael Loughlin formed 'a Circulating Library ... with a good and general assortment of Publications, and to be augmented with a Constant annual supply of modern and approved works'.<sup>110</sup> Loughlin also built a warehouse 'for the reception of Merchandizes on Commission' after a suggestion by 'the principal of the Dutch'.<sup>111</sup> Having arrived in Batavia, one Briton observed that many people were visiting 'a great fête given in the interior by a Dutch gentleman', while others stayed at a hotel run by a Eurasian named Mathews Gonsalvo.<sup>112</sup> Of course, these spaces were invariably gendered: coffee houses and societies were generally the preserve of men, while women used their homes for businesses. Sometimes patrons also divided along Anglo-Dutch lines. Francis Fynn ran the British Hotel in Cape Town, a 'constant resort of officers' and home

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>106</sup> Mackintosh, ed., *Memoirs of James Mackintosh*, p. 183.

<sup>107</sup> 'The Commercial and Navy Coffee House', 25 October 1800, *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, p. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Philip, *British residents*, p. 97, 140, 148.

<sup>109</sup> 'The lovers of reading', 22 March 1806, *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, p. 2. For more on Wehdemann's life, see Mary Gunn and L.E. Codd, *Botanical exploration of Southern Africa* (Cape Town, 1981), pp. 372-3.

<sup>110</sup> 'Petition from M. Loughlin', 26 August 1801, BL, IOR/G/11/7, pp. 288-9.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 289. Of course in Sri Lanka this was not the whole story: some dissatisfied VOC officials did leave the island for Java. See Alicia Schrikker, 'Caught between empires: VOC families in Sri Lanka after the British take-over, 1806-1808', *Annales de démographie historique* 122 (2011), pp. 127-47.

<sup>112</sup> 'Letter LXXV', December 1813, in George Augustus Addison, *Original familiar correspondence between residents in India including sketches of Java* (Edinburgh, 1846), p. 358; John Bastin and Joseph Arnold, 'The Java journal of Dr Joseph Arnold', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 46 (1973), pp. i-v, 1-92, at p. 29.

to some of the more exclusive British clubs like 'the African Hunt, the Turf Club, [and] the Beefsteak Club'.<sup>113</sup> A group of Dutch and French men created Cape Town's Concordia Club, for those wishing 'to pass their leisure hours in [the] company [of] ... men of Probity'.<sup>114</sup>

Nevertheless, the middle class saw opportunities in cross-colonial sociability. On the one hand, it provided customers: Anna Dick issued a notice in Dutch and English informing 'the ladies ... that she has just arrived from London' and invited them into her home to see her designs of millinery.<sup>115</sup> On the other hand, it could be a means of promoting the elevation of one's status: when Frederik Turr travelled to Java, he joined Batavia's Harmony Society, a social club that crossed over in its membership with the colonial elite. With Frederik in the Harmony was the former senior VOC official Jan Isaak van Sevenhoven, as well as Raffles's archaeologist Nicolaus Engelhard and his colleague in botanical study, Joseph Arnold.<sup>116</sup>

For the non-British members of the middle class, cross-colonial relationships and rising statuses could also be secured via marriage, as shown in the cases of Dorothea Ross, and Geertruij Bletterman's daughter, Catherina Hendrika, who wed William Caldwell.<sup>117</sup> Some six hundred such Anglo-Dutch marriages took place at the Cape between 1803 and 1838.<sup>118</sup> Meanwhile, the British captain Robert Percival described attending dinners 'at some of the Dutch houses' in Colombo, specifically 'Mynheer Conrade's', where many Dutch daughters had been able to meet and wed officers to raise their family's status.<sup>119</sup> Generally, the marrying-off of Dutch daughters by families can be understood as a conscious decision made by parents to create social ties with the British empire. If marriage was not an option, one might instead seek other means of creating connections, for instance by taking up a junior government post. Some of the middle classes took roles on the Cape's School Commission, while Egbert Bletterman followed his career as postmaster with a role as a customs overseer

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<sup>113</sup> 'Statement by Francis Fynn', 10 February 1813, BL, IOR/G/9/3, pp. 504-5.

<sup>114</sup> 'Papers relative to the Concordia Club', 4 March 1797, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, II, p. 324.

<sup>115</sup> 'Mantua making and millinery. A. Dick', 3 January 1801, *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, p. 1.

<sup>116</sup> A.H. Hubbard, ed., *The Java half-yearly almanac for 1816* (Batavia, 1816), p. 179.

<sup>117</sup> De Villiers, *Oude Kaapsche familien*, p. 71.

<sup>118</sup> Heese, *Die herkoms*, pp. 29-31.

<sup>119</sup> Percival, *An account of Ceylon*, p. 136.

in Colombo.<sup>120</sup> The numbers of non-Britons in the colonial administrations are testament to the dominance of the middle class in low-level positions beyond the governing elite.<sup>121</sup>

In these transformative settings, some among the middle classes endorsed ideas that emerged out of the revolutionary era and challenged the colonial elite. Gerrit Buyskes's home became a centre for reformers at the Cape. Buyskes himself had once worked as a bailiff in the Netherlands before being expelled for his Patriot sympathies.<sup>122</sup> After the *Patriottentijd*, he became a merchant in Flanders, during which time he addressed his customers as 'Citoyens' and worked to the dates of the French Republican Calendar.<sup>123</sup> Soon afterwards, he joined the Batavian Republic's national assembly as the representative for Texel. Buyskes departed the Netherlands for the Cape in 1803 but maintained many of his former contacts.<sup>124</sup> Frederik's fellow signatory in Gerrit's book, 'Indo-Ceilonensis', was the Patriot politician Pieter Ondaatje, who used the moniker to describe his birth in Colombo, and sailed to Batavia following the restoration of the Dutch monarchy.<sup>125</sup> Another message was left by Lieutenant-Commander Maingard, a former orator of the Mauritian masonic lodge *La Triple Espérance*, and likely a prisoner of war captured after the invasion of Mauritius in 1810.<sup>126</sup> Maingard described how Buyskes had given him 'the most pleasant memories', despite the 'cruel climate' in which they lived.<sup>127</sup> Another message was written by Conrad Copes van Hasselt, who worked as a lawyer under the Batavian regime and married the daughter of the governor, Jan Janssens.<sup>128</sup> Buyskes and his fellow freemasons had indeed cooperated with the Batavian

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<sup>120</sup> For the make-up of the School Commission in 1809, see 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 29; for details of the other people listed here, see Toussaint, 'Egbert Bletterman', p. 83.

<sup>121</sup> These figures have been listed in the introduction, but ought to be briefly restated here: eighty-four percent of positions in Cape Town were held by non-British Europeans in 1807, while in Batavia in 1815, 131 of 198 officials were non-British. The first of these figures is drawn from George Ross, ed., *The African court calendar for 1807* (Cape Town, 1807), pp. 4-22, which lists 165 of 197 posts in the Cape Town district as held by Dutchmen; the second set of figures are taken from A.H. Hubbard, ed., *The Java half-yearly almanac for 1815* (Batavia, 1815), pp. 44-51.

<sup>122</sup> Molhuysen and Blok, 'Buyskes, Gerrit', in *Nieuw Nederlands biographisch woordenboek*, I, pp. 529-30.

<sup>123</sup> 'Copies des Lettres Françaises deuxième année Républicaine', G. Buyskes', 1793, WCA, Buyskes papers, vol. 1.

<sup>124</sup> Molhuysen and Blok, 'Buyskes, Gerrit', in *Nieuw Nederlands biographisch woordenboek*, I, pp. 529-30.

<sup>125</sup> H.G.A. Hooft, *Patriot and patrician: to Holland and Ceylon in the steps of Henrik Hooft and Pieter Ondaatje* (Canton, 1999), p. 54.

<sup>126</sup> 'Maingard, ancien orateur', 'album amicorum', 12 April 1812, WCA, Buyskes papers, A462, vol. 2, p. 66.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. 66. Original text: 'Buyskes, ton manquez me rappelle, les plus aimables souvenirs, dans tous les climats la cruelle sous moi travaille des plaisirs.'

<sup>128</sup> 'C.J.G. Copes van Hasselt', 'album amicorum', 6 March 1806, WCA, Buyskes papers, A462, vol. 2, p. 57; Molhuysen and Blok, 'Copes van Hasselt, C.J.G.', in *Nieuw Nederlands biographisch woordenboek*, VII, p. 533.

government during his tenure at *De Goede Trouw*.<sup>129</sup> Jacob de Mist was greeted on arrival at the Cape by a freemason, Johan von Manger, whom he put on the School Commission.<sup>130</sup>

Even under the British, the School Commission was home to middle-class colonists with social and political ties to the Batavian Republic, such as the trader Jan Vermaak.<sup>131</sup> Jan was the founder of the Cape branch of the *Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, which met above the shop of Jan's fellow merchant, Nicolaas Coomans.<sup>132</sup> Jan's brother, Hermanus – also a trader – held even more obvious Patriot sympathies and had in fact been briefly exiled from the Cape in 1799 for (so the British claimed) planning to undermine the British regime.<sup>133</sup> Hermanus was part of a broader group of Capetonians, including the wealthy Sebastian van Reenen and the future customs officer, Andries Muller, who sent subversive letters between the Cape and the Batavian Republic through an Amsterdam resident named Frans Bremer.<sup>134</sup> In 1799, for instance, Hermanus received a copy of the constitution of the Batavian Republic and told Bremer that he wished 'that we also ... may be so happy as to partake in it'.<sup>135</sup> Many Capetonians, he said, continued 'to be attached to the mother Country' and hoped that the colony would become 'one of the Departments of that freedom loving Batavian Republic'.<sup>136</sup> Hermanus saw himself as a 'True Patriot' and, when Muller travelled to the Netherlands in 1799, requested that he 'assure the nation of our true attachment to the Fatherland'.<sup>137</sup>

Besides his more explicit expressions of support for the Dutch Batavians, Hermanus's statements were not unusual for a member of the middle class. Many Cape Dutch wrote letters to one another advocating for Dutch rule. The widow Christina la Febre told her son Johannes, a sailor, that she hoped that the Cape would 'become Dutch again ... I had not thought that we would remain under the English government for so long ... my patience is running thin'.<sup>138</sup> Another colonist, writing in French to a friend in the Netherlands shortly before the return of

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<sup>129</sup> Cooper, 'Origins of freemasonry', pp. 55-56.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>131</sup> 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 29.

<sup>132</sup> Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, 543-46; Howes, 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen school', pp. 24-26; 'N. Coomans will expose to sale', *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 18 June 1814, p. 3.

<sup>133</sup> For more information on Hermanus Vermaak, see Freund, 'The Cape under the transitional governments', p. 351; 'Enclosures: Concerning Mr. H. Vermaak', 9 January 1800, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, III, pp. 21-3; see also Margaret Whiting Spilhaus, *South Africa in the making, 1652-1806* (Juta, 1966), p. 238.

<sup>134</sup> Vermaak to Bremer, 22 February 1799, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, III, pp. 21-22.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>138</sup> Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, 'Gij kent genoeg mijn gevoelig hart': emotional life at the occupied Cape of Good Hope, 1798-1803', *Itinerario* 35 (2011), pp. 63-80, at p. 79.

the beginning of Batavian rule at the Cape in February 1803, welcomed the return of Dutch rule as a chance to reimagine the Batavian Republic in the Indian Ocean. 'The state military under the orders of Mr. Janssens gives me hope for its good organisation, and the spirit that he will introduce will be far from that of those who inspect the corps of our poor Republic', he wrote.<sup>139</sup> He maintained that the Cape Colony might one day be counted 'among the new states' of the republic, becoming less dependent on Europe and maybe even self-sufficient.<sup>140</sup> He slighted the British, whom he said had introduced trade via 'free hands', while confining other goods in the colony and thus causing prices to increase against all expectations.<sup>141</sup>

Equally, the middle classes also reworked liberal ideas to preserve their status next to the elite. C.A. Bayly has noted that Sri Lanka was exposed to liberalism early in the nineteenth century in Alexander Johnston's reforms prohibiting slavery and creating juries, of which we will see more in Chapter Two.<sup>142</sup> Yet when Johnston introduced his juries, a group of elite and middle-class burghers wrote to him to ask for accurate representation on the new bodies. They were 'honoured in participating [in] this most valuable boon heretofore only enjoyed by British subjects in other parts of the world', but claimed that 'several Burghers have been wholly exempted or passed over to ... detriment and prejudice'.<sup>143</sup> Framing their appeal in a language of rights, they suggested that Johnston had a 'well-known characteristic for justice ... and a watchful eye in guarding the Rights and Privileges of each individual ... in this colony'.<sup>144</sup> Nevertheless, they also twisted these rights to their benefit, complaining that, while every other group had been 'classed according to their respectability and rank in life', no 'line of distinction' had been drawn 'for Burghers from the Highest to the lowest class'.<sup>145</sup> All sorts of people, they claimed, 'including mechanics and artificers', and even 'Emancipated slaves', had been 'panelled together' with those of higher ranks.<sup>146</sup> Clearly, for the petitioners as most

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<sup>139</sup> 'Letter from N. Callum', 10 February 1803, TNA, HCA 32/1697, p. 2. Original text: 'L'état Militaire sous les ordres de Mr Janssens fait espérer une bonne organisation et l'espérance qu'il introduire sera loin de celui qui inspecte les corps de notre pauvre République.'

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 2. Original text: 'Nous tout Promettre de voir un jour cette colonie au nombre des nouveaux états ... La colonie deviendra moins importune à l'état et saura mieux soutenir elle même ses fraies.'

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 2. Original text: 'mains libres'.

<sup>142</sup> Bayly, *Recovering liberties*, pp. 95-6.

<sup>143</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp. 164-5; 'Petition addressed to Alexander Johnston by over 40 burghers', 15 July 1815, Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA), 25.1/27.

<sup>144</sup> 'Petition addressed to Alexander Johnston by over 40 burghers', 15 July 1815, SLNA, 25.1/27.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

of those described in this section, being middle class was as much a conscious process of distancing oneself from slaves as it was about challenging the dominance of the colonial elite.

### Reform and the colonial governments

Crucially, members of the middle class like Frederik Turr and Egbert Bletterman used low-level official posts to extend liberal ideas. Having arrived at the Cape in 1812, for instance, Frederik Turr was instructed by Governor Cradock to pursue 'the cultivation of the English language to the greatest extent' among his pupils, 'as the foundation upon which they will in their future life best make their way, not only within this Territory, but beyond its limits'.<sup>147</sup> This, Cradock said, would 'promote the prosperity' of the Cape Colony and secure its place as an 'inseparable' part of the British empire.<sup>148</sup> Yet, as we saw earlier, Frederik's curriculum was much broader than that which Cradock had envisaged. In fact, he proposed teaching not only Geography and History but also 'Reading, and Writing in the Native Language, either English or Dutch ... regularly and grammatically'.<sup>149</sup> Pupils were likewise to be instructed in 'the Principles of the Christian Religion ... to promote among them ... genuine piety'.<sup>150</sup>

Frederik's curriculum reflected the influence of the School Commission, as well as his own interpretation of the Batavian model.<sup>151</sup> Under the British, the commissioners were drawn from the Cape's governing elite as well as the middle classes and they held a mix of political opinions – besides the aforementioned Jan Vermaak and Johan von Manger, they included the DRC pastor Christiaan Fleck and the Lutheran minister, Christian Hesse.<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless, the commission persevered with Jacob de Mist's education reforms into the British period.<sup>153</sup> In one letter to Governor Caledon (r. 1806-11), for instance, they argued that the Cape Colony needed a more regular 'distribution of the common schools' to promote 'the civilization and moral improvement' of 'the future members of society'.<sup>154</sup> Most schools were in Cape Town

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<sup>147</sup> Cradock to Turr, 8 December 1812, in Theal, ed. *Records of the Cape Colony*, IX, p. 39.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>149</sup> 'Advertisement', *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 19 December 1812, p. 2.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>151</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, p. xii.

<sup>152</sup> 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 29.

<sup>153</sup> See Freund, 'The Cape under the transitional governments', pp. 324-51; Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, p. 530.

<sup>154</sup> 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 27.



and only the Latin School was known for teaching at a higher standard.<sup>155</sup> Meanwhile, those that existed at the lowest level, 'common schools', were most deplorable of all, teaching 'only ... reading, writing, common arithmetic', and 'the first principles of the Christian religion'.<sup>156</sup> The commissioners argued that the Cape needed a 'total reformation in the common schools', the posting of 'respectable' teachers as 'public masters', and better education funding.<sup>157</sup>

It is, perhaps, unsurprising that the commissioners took up these ideas with aplomb, as they had persistently been rearticulated by the middle classes between the Cape Colony, Java, and elsewhere in the time following the Batavian Republic's establishment and the period of Batavian rule at the Cape. Besides sitting as a school commissioner, the trader Jan Vermaak had established a private school alongside the Cape branch of *Tot Nut*, based on a school that he had visited in Leiden in the Netherlands.<sup>158</sup> By 1805, the School Commission had also begun to reform the Cape Colony's other schools according to *Tot Nut*'s creed: while funding for more primary schools was never forthcoming, it established an institution in Cape Town 'for young ladies ... desirous of a more distinguished education'.<sup>159</sup> This taught 'the principles of Christianity, the Dutch and French languages, geography, and history' and was managed by a headmistress recruited from the Batavian Republic, named Mrs Pahud.<sup>160</sup> The School Commission's ideas were apparently infectious: even the English Academy, run in Cape Town by the British educator William Hopley, began to teach a broad syllabus including 'Merchant's Accounts and Geography', and the 'Elements of Geometry', and advertised this not only in Cape Town but also *The Java Government Gazette*.<sup>161</sup> Meanwhile, *Tot Nut*'s language became a marker of status between the two colonies. Batavia's Society of Arts and Sciences adopted 'Tot 'nut van het Algemeen' as its motto, even though its name was changed to the 'Literary Society' under Raffles.<sup>162</sup> Arnold Jan van der Tuuk, the notary with legal troubles, invoked the motto while trying to secure approval from the governor to return to Java.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, p. x.

<sup>156</sup> 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, pp. 27-28.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>158</sup> Howes, 'Tot Nut van het Algemeen' school', pp. 24-26

<sup>159</sup> 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 23.

<sup>160</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, pp. xv.

<sup>161</sup> 'Education at the English academy, Cape of Good Hope', *Java Government Gazette*, 9 May 1813, p. 2.

<sup>162</sup> Hubbard, ed., *Java almanac for 1816*, p. 168.

<sup>163</sup> 'Memorial of Arnold Jan van der Tuuk', 28 June 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 86-7.

Some among the middle class even began to view Batavian interests like education, denominational equality, and Christian morality in a British imperial setting. During her trip to London, for instance, Dorothea Ross wrote admiringly of the city's churches, observing that men were able to go 'to any church that they wish', and were 'so religious' under their desire to 'eat' and 'play'.<sup>164</sup> She likewise claimed that London was home to a 'great abundance' of 'public schools, orphan houses, and hospitals for the poor' and at the same time admired a house for soldiers' wives, where, she said, twenty women were staying with their children, all of whom were clean, well-clothed, and given Christian instruction in a sermon.<sup>165</sup> Crucially, Dorothea also approved of the perceptible link between education and religion in London. On a 'great day', she recalled seeing one thousand children marched into St Paul's Cathedral, where she and George had gone to hear a speech.<sup>166</sup> It is likely that Dorothea was writing, here, about the annual meeting of the charity schools, an event organised at St Paul's to which children from London's numerous charity schools were invited. By 1813, the event was steeped in anti-Dissenting fervour; two years previously, Bishop Marsh had used the sermon to argue against the self-sufficient system of education proposed by Joseph Lancaster, who backed denominational equality.<sup>167</sup> Dorothea seems to have seen it as a moral endeavour.

Back at the Latin School, Frederik Turr's curriculum displayed the extension of the Batavian ideas over higher education.<sup>168</sup> At the same time, they were becoming more accepted in government. By 1812, Governor Cradock had adopted the commission's proposals and actually established regulated primary schools across the colony, particularly in rural districts such as Graaff Reinet.<sup>169</sup> In part, of course, Cradock allowed these reforms because they were a way of spreading the English language and Protestantism, both goals of the government.<sup>170</sup> Cradock's order that primary schools be built across the colony came with the conditions that the posts of church clerk and teacher be combined and instruction rendered in English where

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<sup>164</sup> 'Reis na England – D.C. Ross', 1813-14, WCA, De Beer papers, A779, p. 25. Original text: 'London is vol kerken daar men in gaan kom in welke kerk dat men wil ... zo godsdienstig is de menschen in London, onder alle hunne lust voor [?] eten en schouwburg spelen.'

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 26. Original text: 'Deeze wonderlijk stad ... . Publicke schoolen, weesen huizen en hospitalen voor den armen zijn hier in groote overvloed.'

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-7. Original text: 'Op een grooten dag is er meer als 1000 school kinderen na St Paulus gegaan om een groote redevoering te hooren.'

<sup>167</sup> Herbert Marsh, 'A sermon preached in the cathedral church of St Paul's, London', *The Pamphleteer* 1 (1813), pp. 49-80.

<sup>168</sup> Schama, *Patriots and liberators*, p. 535.

<sup>169</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, pp. xix.

<sup>170</sup> Sturgis, 'Anglicisation', p. 8.



Figure 10. The destinations of private letters sent in the tappal, according to a record of letters stolen in September 1805. See Bletterman to Arbuthnot, 1 September 1805, SLNA (map data © Google).

possible; in fact, teachers who taught in English were even to be paid a higher salary.<sup>171</sup> Yet the government's anglicising impulses were tempered by a reliance on the commissioners; it was to them that Turr was told to 'pay the utmost attention'.<sup>172</sup> Before Cradock, they stalled the introduction of English, refusing to buy a schoolhouse for Cape Town's English school and paying its master less than those at the Latin and girls' schools.<sup>173</sup> They also bargained for the adoption of their ideas as a corollary to British demands. While the commissioners were 'prepared' to promote 'the English language', they argued that they could not do so without 'extraordinary assistance' for the establishment of new primary schools and the hiring of

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-9; *Report of a commission into the educational system*, pp. xix.

<sup>172</sup> Cradock to Turr, 8 December 1812, in Theal, ed. *Records of the Cape Colony*, IX, p. 38.

<sup>173</sup> 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 25.

‘respectable’ schoolmasters.<sup>174</sup> If they were empowered to enact these changes, however, they would ‘enter with alacrity into the execution’ of the governor’s ‘beneficial designs’, the more so as they would be able to carry out reforms ‘conducive to the improvement of the rising generation’.<sup>175</sup> By the end of 1812, the School Commission was looking ahead to the creation of a training college for teachers in Cape Town and the instruction of slave children.<sup>176</sup>

Like education, the post persisted as a focus of liberal reform, in part due to the efforts of Egbert Bletterman. Egbert moved to Sri Lanka in August 1803, seemingly because his former role as a clerk in the secretary’s office at the Cape tied him too closely to the British in their occupation of the colony. On his departure from the Cape, he was given a letter from the Colonial Office addressed to Governor North, which described the ‘peculiar circumstances’ in which he was ‘placed by his adherence to the House of Orange’ and ‘services to the British Government’.<sup>177</sup> The letter told North to grant Egbert a post in government. North appointed Egbert to the secretary’s office and also made him postmaster general while conceding that he knew little about Egbert himself.<sup>178</sup> Placed in charge of the colony’s postal system (*tappal*), however, Egbert actually found himself in a position of unusual power. The system then in place across Sri Lanka’s coastal provinces was primarily a military post staffed by a mixture of recruits, civil servants, ‘coolies’, and fishermen.<sup>179</sup> *Tappal* packets, which were made of cloth and sealed with oil and wax, were carried between towns like Colombo, Trincomalee, and Galle. Some packets were also taken to and from the island of Mannar, off Sri Lanka’s northern coast, from where they would be ferried between Sri Lanka and southern India by fishing ships.<sup>180</sup> The *tappal* routes were monitored by post offices which like those on Daendels’ Great Post Road doubled-up as rest-houses where travellers could gather new supplies.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-27.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25.

<sup>176</sup> ‘Bible and School Commission report’, in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix III, p. 9.

<sup>177</sup> Hobart to North, 20 August 1803, TNA, CO 55/41, p. 4.

<sup>178</sup> Toussaint, ‘Bletterman’, p. 83.

<sup>179</sup> For a contemporary description of the *tappal* at this time, see John Whitchurch Bennett, *Ceylon and its capabilities* (London, 1843), pp. lxx-vi; on post office runners, see James Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon: an account of the island physical, historical, and topographical with notices of its natural history, antiquities, and productions* (4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2 vols., London, 1859-60), I, p. 139; on the carriage of the *tappal* by fishing boats to India, see Torpey to Arbuthnot, 22 April 1806, SLNA, 6/155; see also the documents from ‘Post master general’, 20 August 1805 to 3 October 1810, SLNA, 6/274 and ‘Agent of revenue, Mannar’, 3 December 1805 to 1 November 1808, SLNA, 6/155.

<sup>180</sup> See, for example, Orr to chief secretary, 27 November 1814, SLNA, 6/158.

<sup>181</sup> ‘Tappal station proclamation’, *Ceylon Government Gazette*, 22 March 1802, p. 1.

Egbert followed his Batavian counterparts in improving the *tappal* as a system for state communication as well as a means by which individuals could engage with government via 'petitions, applications, remonstrances, &c'.<sup>182</sup> Writing to Governor Maitland (r. 1805-1811) in August 1805, shortly after Maitland's arrival on the island, Bletterman suggested rationalising the *tappal* by introducing uniform standards for payment according to the distance that a letter was travelling.<sup>183</sup> He also argued for greater state control. Egbert proposed that letters from Europe should be sent by the postmaster to the governor's secretary before being dispatched elsewhere and also that letters sent from the presidencies of India should be delivered free of postage. He likewise consolidated the central role of the postmaster general, who would now be present at the opening of packages from India and would function as a superintendent over messengers carrying letters, recording their names and the letters they carried. This system was to be extended across the individual *tappal* stations dotted along the Sri Lankan coast. Egbert also followed the Batavians on private communications. He proposed that letters sent on any 'subject of a personal nature' between officers and soldiers should be 'considered as private', while allowing for the *tappal* to be used for individual correspondence among officials and individuals, for petitions as well as 'bills of exchange ... treasury notes, or any other description of paper'.<sup>184</sup> Egbert's reforms indeed coincided with the wide uptake of the *tappal* as a system for private correspondence. The map above (fig. 10) shows the destinations of private letters from a *tappal* packet that was stolen near Colombo in September 1805.

More than just applying Batavian ideas to Sri Lanka, Egbert's reforms were moreover designed to incorporate the island's existing forms of communication into the mechanisms of a liberal colonial state. In particular, he mandated that *olas* (palm leaf manuscripts typically sent between Lankans and aped by the British) should be subjected to the same rate of postage applied to letters, thereby defining their place in law as letters coming under the jurisdiction and oversight of the postmaster general.<sup>185</sup> Following a request from the collector of Mannar, Egbert mandated that instructions for the distribution of *tappal* packets be issued in Tamil.<sup>186</sup> Perhaps intentionally, Egbert's reforms resembled those introduced at the Cape one year later

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<sup>182</sup> Bletterman to Maitland, 20 August 1805, SLNA, 6/274.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Bletterman to Maitland, 20 August 1805, SLNA, 6/274.

<sup>186</sup> Torpey to Arbuthnot, 15 May 1806, SLNA, 6/155.

by members of his family. In particular, Egbert's brother-in-law, William Caldwell became postmaster of the Cape in May 1806, while his sister Catherina became postmistress of Stellenbosch in 1812.<sup>187</sup> Under Caldwell's oversight, a new 'General Post' was established 'throughout the whole Settlement ... not only for the conveyance of the Orders of Government ... but also for the convenience of the Inhabitants'.<sup>188</sup> The system introduced under Caldwell recalled the ideas of the Batavians even more closely than Egbert's design. It was designed specifically with the idea of conferring 'the greatest advantage' onto colonists, for whom it would be made 'as public as possible'.<sup>189</sup> Letters would be carried by African runners, who were stationed at farms and likely conscripted as a form of slave labour from local farmers.

### Loyalism and the rise of despotism

For all their liberal activities, however, the middle classes operated in a context of British control. The tribulations of war meant that the Dutch members of the middle class were reliant on British ships to travel.<sup>190</sup> Marriages and patronage agreements likewise allowed Britons to infiltrate Dutch social groups and make claims to their spaces and people.<sup>191</sup> For instance, the merchant James McTaggart was invited to a reception after he arrived in Cape Town in 1813, after which he was 'fixed in a Dutch Family'.<sup>192</sup> Even Batavia's social clubs extended British control, as many were presided over by Thomas Raffles.<sup>193</sup> Britons often articulated clichés across these connections, inhabiting a 'doubled space' in which they considered themselves parts of both a colonial milieu and a superior metropolitan culture.<sup>194</sup> One official noted that a friend had married a woman 'not of the first chop – born in the colony, and never was in Europe, which makes a great distinction among them'.<sup>195</sup> Writing from Batavia in 1812, the

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<sup>187</sup> 'Government advertisement', 3 May 1806, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, p. 25; 'Government advertisement', 24 July 1812, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, p. 203.

<sup>188</sup> 'Government advertisement', 17 September 1806, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, p. 37.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>190</sup> Dutch travellers were forced to write to the British governor as well as the representatives of the East India Company for permission. See, for example, 'Memorial of Jan de Bruyn Keizer', 14 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, p. 92.

<sup>191</sup> The use of marriages as a form of social advancement was common to middle class and elite sociability in the Anglo-Dutch world. As in Caroline Drieënhuizen, 'Social careers across imperial spaces: an empire family in the Dutch-British world, 1811-1933', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44 (2016), pp. 397-422; Taylor, *Social world of Batavia*, pp. 74-113.

<sup>192</sup> MacTaggart to Home, 30 April 1814, WCA, A578, vol. 1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>193</sup> Taylor, *Social world of Batavia*, p. 105; Jordaan, 'Nicolaus Engelhard', pp. 39-66.

<sup>194</sup> McKenzie, 'Social Mobilities', p. 278.

<sup>195</sup> 'Letter LXXVII', April 1814, in Addison, *Original familiar correspondence*, p. 373.

British captain James Bayley described Dutch stories of the 'acts of tyranny' committed by Daendels, claiming that all women 'on the Island' had been at his 'command' and that there was 'more than one instance of his sending a guard for her who did not answer his call'.<sup>196</sup>

The British occupations also saw the rise of a language of British loyalism that spread through popular discourse excoriating revolution. In June 1802, *The Ceylon Government Gazette* published an advertisement calling on 'every British subject of Ceylon ... which have (under the Blessing of Divine Providence) so peculiarly contributed to secure this Island to Great Britain' to submit donations to a fund raising money for British troops fighting in Egypt.<sup>197</sup> The British held a ball on St Andrew's Day in November 1806, which was attended by 'all the ... Fashion of Colombo' and at which calls were made to 'wrest from the Corsican Boaster, his Crown'.<sup>198</sup> Many non-Britons engaged with this culture, supporting autocracy because it was the antithesis of revolution, or because it secured their place in the governing elite.<sup>199</sup> Willem Jacob Cranssen, formerly a high-ranking VOC official who sat on the Council of Java under Raffles, celebrated his birthday in 1814 at a party during which he toasted 'the heroes who rescued Java from the Tyrant's grasp'.<sup>200</sup> The arms of Holland and Britain were hung over the door of the hall in which the party was held, next to a sign that displayed the words of Cranssen's toast.<sup>201</sup> At the Cape in 1807, the Frenchmen Jean Martin, François de Lettre, and Charles Boniface established a conservative theatre company in a Berg Street shop owned by a Dutch secretary, Johannes Brand. They staged plays such as a production of Molière's *Les précieuses ridicules*, an *ancien régime* satire which was politicised in revolutionary France as a symbol of the Bourbon past.<sup>202</sup> Boniface later wrote a poem for *The Gazette* that was dedicated to the Cape's governor and which proclaimed that victory for Britain in the Napoleonic Wars marked 'the reign of harmony, love, and fraternity' over the monstrous Napoleon.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Letter from Weltevreden by James Bayley, 25 April 1812, BL MSS Eur. D970, pp. 8-9.

<sup>197</sup> 'Government Advertisement', *Ceylon Government Gazette*, 16 June 1802, p. 1.

<sup>198</sup> 'St Andrew's Day', *Ceylon Government Gazette*, 3 December 1806, p. 1.

<sup>199</sup> For exploration of the motivations of some of those who supported the British in Java – in particular their enthusiasm for the old order or their dislike of Daendels – see Roy Jordaan, 'Nicolaus Engelhard', pp. 39-66. For an exploration of British loyalism in Java and its use against the Dutch, see Marshall, 'British assessments', pp. 1-16.

<sup>200</sup> 'We had not time before our last number was printed', *Java Government Gazette*, 3 September 1814, p. 2.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>202</sup> Mechele Leon, *Molière, the French Revolution, and the theatrical afterlife* (Iowa City, 2009), p. 152.

<sup>203</sup> 'Ode à la Paix', *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 23 July 1814, p. 2. Original text: 'Le paix que le ciel vous accorde, va faire regner la concorde, l'amour et la fraternité.'

Accordingly, many Dutch members of the middle classes also adopted loyalist rhetoric as a means of securing social and political capital, especially following the liberation of the Netherlands. Gerrit Buyskes and his fellow freemasons publicly thanked Governor Cradock for his service on his departure from the Cape.<sup>204</sup> Meanwhile, Dorothea Ross imagined herself in a sort of British world. At St Helena, she contrasted the harshness of the terrain with the houses that were 'neatly built by Englishmen'.<sup>205</sup> At Ascension, she was drawn to 'a huge flag planted on top of the highest mountain by an English captain'.<sup>206</sup> In London, she publicly displayed her attachment to Britain, visiting 'Westminster [Abbey] ... where all the kings and great people will be buried, there are also a thousand statues, among which are Lord Nelson and Mr. Pitt'.<sup>207</sup> Visiting the Tower of London, she examined the crown jewels, 'so full of diamonds ... more gold and diamonds than I would ever have thought to have seen'.<sup>208</sup> Critically, she contrasted her loyalism with the behaviour of non-Britons: Madeira was 'full of Roman priests and beggars', and home to 'brazen' dancing of the sort that 'would not be permitted in England'.<sup>209</sup> Her trip also reminded her of the Cape's place in the British empire: among the animals of the royal menagerie, a monarchical zoo, were those 'from the Cape', including an elephant that was able to open doors and could pick up a half-pence with his trunk.<sup>210</sup> George Ross repeated her observations in a poem he wrote shortly after the Rosses' return to the Cape Colony in January 1814. George III was a 'venerable KING' and 'Lord of Freedom', he wrote, who 'Upheld LIBERTY', and brought 'destruction' to the 'Tyrant'.<sup>211</sup>

The spread of loyalism was dangerous for reformers, however, as it legitimised their opponents, as well as the manipulation of their ideas for the benefit of British autocracy. This

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<sup>204</sup> 'Address to His Excellency Lt. General Sir J.F. Cradock', 29 April 1814, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, X, p. 106.

<sup>205</sup> 'Reis na England – D.C. Ross', 1813-14, WCA, De Beer papers, A779, pp. 2-3. Original text: 'Eenige van die huizen, hier zijn zeer netjes gebouwd op den Engelse manier.'

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p. 5. Original text: 'Niets aanmerkelijk als een grote vlagge stok die voor omtrent zo jaar is door een Engelsche capiteyn op de hoogste berg daar geplant.'

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-21. Original text: 'Wij zijn naar Westminster gegaan, daar alle de Konings en groote lieden worden begraven, daar zijn de duizend beelden, onder welke is Lord Nelson en de Heer Pitt.'

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., pp. 21-22. Original text: 'Alle de kroonen die vol diamanten ... zoveel gond en diamanten heb ik nooit gedacht om te zien.'

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-33. Original text: 'Dit stad van Madera is zeer aanzienlijk maar het is vol Roomsche priestes en bedelaars ... daar fraaije dansen is te zien, maar zwelke onbeschaamde dansen zonder niet in Engeland gepermitteerd worden.'

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., pp. 22-23. Original text: 'Wij hebben ook alle de wilde dieren van alle landen gezien, onderwelke zijn veel van de Kaap.'

<sup>211</sup> 'Ode for His Majesty's Birth-day', *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 4 June 1814, p. 2.



was clear in the scandal that arose over Frederik and the School Commission. Previously, the commission had cast itself as a loyal organisation, embracing the 'support' that the British had given and contrasting this with Batavian sparsity. The Batavians never provided funds for reform, they reported, and the commission's endeavours would now be 'more successful'.<sup>212</sup> Against their loyalism, Frederik was more suspect, despite his efforts to court Cradock by writing of his debt to the governor in *The Cape Town Gazette*.<sup>213</sup> Cradock had originally wished to procure 'an English gentleman' for the Latin School but was overruled by the Colonial Office, which argued that it had 'very strong representations' in Frederik's favour.<sup>214</sup> Then Frederik was denounced as a republican by a refugee, Charles d'Escury, in London. The news elicited a fierce reaction when it reached Cape Town in 1813. Cradock spoke of his 'great embarrassment', as Frederik's 'republican character' was 'a matter of conversation'.<sup>215</sup> This, he said, coupled with the 'unfavourable circumstance of his being a foreigner', rendered Frederik unsuited to teaching.<sup>216</sup> Cradock thought that he would resign to take up the law and moved to stop him, feeling that he would 'disturb the tranquillity of the settlement'.<sup>217</sup>

Already, Cradock had begun a gradual takeover of the School Commission, adding the Cape's government secretary, Henry Alexander, and a British chaplain, Robert Jones, to its board in October 1812.<sup>218</sup> Now, however, he annexed it, turning it into the 'Bible and School Commission' and styling himself as its key patron.<sup>219</sup> On 1 July 1813, the Commission was relaunched and, in a minute authored by Alexander, it was reoriented to support the spread of Christianity in 'that portion of the civilized world ... not actually engaged in war'.<sup>220</sup> While the original commissioners had advocated Christian morality amid a broad curriculum, the commission was reimagined by Cradock as a proselytising Anglican body, pursuing the 'extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures' and complementing a system of education that would enable people to 'behold the Divine light contained in those sacred writings'.<sup>221</sup> Faced

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<sup>212</sup> 'Report of School Commission, 1809', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 25.

<sup>213</sup> 'Advertisement', *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 19 December 1812, p. 2.

<sup>214</sup> Cradock to Bathurst, 8 December 1812, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, IX, pp. 37-38.

<sup>215</sup> Cradock to Bathurst, 25 January 1813, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, IX, pp. 133-34.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>217</sup> Bathurst to Cradock, 17 April 1813, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, IX, p. 163.

<sup>218</sup> 'Government Minute – Creation of Bible and School Commission in 1813', 1 July 1813, in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, pp. 39-40.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

with the humiliation of a link to Frederik Turr, the original commissioners publicly supported their board's transformation, attaching their names to a proclamation written by Jones, issued on 8 July. This argued that 'the Bible ought to be in the hands of every christian', praised Britain as the place where endeavours to educate 'less enlightened fellow-christians' had taken place, and spoke of the need to further diffuse Christianity into 'benighted Africa'.<sup>222</sup>

In practical terms, the Commission pledged to introduce 'the system of education, established in England by Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster', creating a free school in Cape Town based on Bell's principles.<sup>223</sup> Lancaster and Andrew Bell, an Episcopalian priest, had each created systems in which pupils taught each other, with an emphasis on 'discipline'.<sup>224</sup> These were far removed from the Batavian model: through these systems, one master could teach as many as one thousand pupils, writing on sand.<sup>225</sup> Nevertheless, the president of the Cape's *Tot Nut*, Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, also called for their introduction, and, in the Dutch edition of *The Cape Town Gazette*, wrote a poem praising 'Great Britain ... who works hard for freedom'.<sup>226</sup> The Cape's schools were now in the hands of its governors. The Latin School declined on their watch. Governor Somerset refused to appoint a Dutchman to the rectorship and, in 1821, the school was turned into an English grammar.<sup>227</sup> Still, something of a reforming legacy endured. The commissioners equated Lancaster's system with Andrew Bell's in their 8 July proclamation, failing to mention the former's emphasis on denominational equality and the latter's explicit attachment to Anglicanism.<sup>228</sup> While Alexander's vision for the Cape's schools was almost theocratic, then, the commissioners focused only on modes of teaching, thereby neutralising some of the more chauvinistic elements of Bell's Anglican system.<sup>229</sup>

Nevertheless, the ending of the School Commission's independence was a significant coup for Governor Cradock and his successors. Previously, the commissioners had jostled with the Cape's governors over the introduction of English teaching, cooperating only after

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., p. 42; for the debate about the Bell and Lancaster systems in a global context, see Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the godly empire: science and evangelical mission in the Pacific, 1795-1850* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 66-77.

<sup>224</sup> 'Minute of the Bible and School Commission on the circulation of the scriptures and the religious education of the poor – establishment of free schools', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, pp. 41-42.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>226</sup> 'Gelukwensching aan 't Volk van Nederland', *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 4 June 1814, p. 2.

<sup>227</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, p. xxiv.

<sup>228</sup> Marsh, 'A Sermon', p. 61.

<sup>229</sup> 'Minute of the Bible and School Commission', in *Report of a commission into the educational system*, appendix V, p. 41.

bargaining for the advancement of their own reforms. Now, governors could implement their vision of an English education system in the new common schools, promoting 'the ultimate employment of the English language in all official and judicial business'.<sup>230</sup> Somerset indeed used the state's schools to counteract the private institutions of which he disapproved, such as the school managed by the abolitionist Thomas Pringle in Cape Town, which he claimed spread 'the most disgusting principles of Republicanism'.<sup>231</sup> Somerset accordingly mandated the hiring of British masters for the state-run schools; eight such teachers were recruited from Scotland in 1822 and 1823 and were paid well by the regime. When another institution was set up in 1826 to replace the Latin School, it was managed by an Anglican clergyman who was paid £600 for the first years of his tenure. In 1826, Somerset's successor, Richard Bourke (r. 1826-28), introduced further regulations for state schools, mandating the use of the Bell or Lancaster system and the teaching of English. All teachers needed to show support for 'the King and constitution'.<sup>232</sup> The Cape's governors therefore used the School Commission's reforms to extend their own vision of colonial administration. As they exerted control over education, so they anglicised other elements of the colony. They introduced aggressive land reforms in rural areas and displaced Boer farmers in favour of settlers from Britain.<sup>233</sup>

Across the Indian Ocean in Sri Lanka, Egbert Bletterman was similarly dethroned by British fears about his true loyalties. Egbert had used the Colonial Office's letter to prove his loyalty to North. However, the more conservative Maitland became suspicious of Egbert's loyalties and removed him as postmaster soon after he became governor. Maitland suggested that it was exceptionable that a foreigner like Bletterman should be postmaster general. Egbert, he felt, must 'with all his attachment, have a natural feeling with regard to his own countrymen'.<sup>234</sup> Meanwhile, Egbert's reforms were used to consolidate the place of the *tappal* as the military post of an autocratic state. In March 1812, Maitland revised Egbert's laws and mandated postage charges for letters being sent to anyone other than the central figures of the government, including the chief justice, commissioner of revenue, military secretary, and the

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<sup>230</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from Sturgis, 'Anglicisation', p. 11.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>233</sup> See Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood ground: colonialism, missions, and the contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (McGill, 2002); for an exploration of British land policy in the Cape at this time, see also L.C. Duly, 'The failure of British land policy at the Cape, 1812-21', *Journal of African History* 6 (1965), pp. 357-71.

<sup>234</sup> Toussaint, 'Egbert Bletterman', p. 83.

governor himself.<sup>235</sup> At the same time, the members of the governor's council were granted permission to send private letters free of postage. Nevertheless, other provisions of Egbert's reforms, such as the capacity for letters from India to be delivered for free, survived and were even enlarged to include letters sent from the naval ports in Galle and Trincomalee.<sup>236</sup>

The adoption of Egbert's reforms by Maitland needs to be viewed in light of the British autocracy's efforts to exert control over the rival kingdom of Kandy and Sri Lanka as a unit of administration. Historians have already emphasised how governors like Edward Barnes (r. 1824-31) used infrastructure projects like roads and bridges as a way of developing colonial control over the island's interior after the invasion of Kandy in 1815.<sup>237</sup> In Egbert's time, Kandy remained a threat to British rule in the coastal provinces. Consequently, reforming the *tappal* was both a means of securing communications between members of government and a way of undermining the ability of the Kandyanans to communicate with the rest of the island's population. For years, the British had feared the movements of Kandyan messengers and *olas* around Sri Lanka and believed that they fomented unrest. For instance, a revolt that broke out in the town of Salpiti near Colombo in 1797 was said to have been generated by Kandyan 'correspondence with the Rioters'.<sup>238</sup> In fact, British-employed letter-carriers reported seeing 'several messengers arrive' in Kandy from Salpiti and vice versa, which was 'evidence of the Courts [of Kandy] carrying on an underhand correspondence with the rebels'.<sup>239</sup> By regulating the *olas* and maintaining central control over letter-carriers, Egbert's reforms allowed the state to monitor Lankans' correspondence. By removing Egbert from his role as postmaster and replacing him with a Briton, Maitland brought the *tappal* more closely under his watch.

## Conclusion

For all their efforts to liberalise British colonial politics, Frederik Turr, Dorothea Ross, and Egbert Bletterman set the context for the entrenchment of autocratic states across the Second

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<sup>235</sup> 'Regulation for regulating the franking of letters', in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government from 1796: distinguishing those now in force* (2 vols., Colombo, 1853-4), I, pp. 139-40.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>237</sup> See Sujit Sivasundaram, 'Tales of land: British geography and Kandyan resistance in Sri Lanka, c. 1803-1850', *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (2007), pp. 925-65.

<sup>238</sup> De Meuron to Hobart, 29 September 1797, BL, IOR/F/4/53/1149.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

Empire. However, while the legacies of this period were mostly autocratic, its liberal effects also endured. The Bible and School Commission continued its work in the Cape Colony until 1841. By 1823, it was overseeing the education of 1,115 slaves and slave children.<sup>240</sup> In 1827, it provided a survey of Cape education for the liberalising Commission of Eastern Inquiry, indicating that it ran twenty-six free schools in the colony's rural districts, in most of which Dutch continued to be taught alongside English – thus demonstrating Robert Ross's argument about anglicisation's failure in the Cape's rural areas.<sup>241</sup> The Eastern Inquiry, which became one of the most famous humanitarian commissions of the 1820s and a bane to governors like Charles Somerset, introduced reforms of the Cape's judicial system and the government's administration but saw little that needed to change about the colony's education system.<sup>242</sup>

Nor do the stories revealed in this chapter necessarily end here. The following chapter will explore the second half of Frederik Turr's life, when he travelled to Java aboard the *Scaleby Castle* and joined the anti-slavery organisation founded by Governor Thomas Raffles, the Java Benevolent Institution. The Benevolent Institution's legacy was similarly mixed and Raffles used it to both legitimise his despotism and streamline communications between officials and the central government. Nevertheless, Frederik successfully reformed many of its operations according to Dutch models of anti-slavery. For his part, Egbert continued to try to convince the British of his loyalty. In his time away from the role of postmaster, he joined the Colombo branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society and sat on its committee along with a number of leading Britons like the sitting magistrate Thomas Twistleton and the civil servant William Tolfrey, known for his oversight of the translation of the Bible into Sinhalese.<sup>243</sup> Apparently, Egbert's efforts were sufficient, as he was reappointed postmaster general in 1815 by Robert Brownrigg and held the position for another two years.<sup>244</sup> During this time he extended a comparable set of reforms for the management of the *tappal* in the newly-annexed Kandyan

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<sup>240</sup> 'Report upon the slaves and state of slavery at the Cape of Good Hope', in Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, XXXV, p. 365.

<sup>241</sup> *Report of a commission into the educational system*, p. xxvii.

<sup>242</sup> For a list of the issues covered by the Commission of Eastern Inquiry, see 'Index', in Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, XXXV, pp. 402-403; see also McKenzie, *Imperial underworld*, p. 5; for a general picture of the work of these commissions, see Laidlaw, 'Investigating empire', pp. 749-68.

<sup>243</sup> *Ninth report of the British & Foreign Bible Society*, p. 62.

<sup>244</sup> 'Egbert Bletterman', p. 83.

provinces.<sup>245</sup> However, Egbert's position became shrouded in controversy because his private trade with his Cape relatives was drawn to the attention of the colonial government.<sup>246</sup> The *tappal*, meanwhile, was gradually turned into a government post office that was accessible to the public. In 1836, one year before the creation of a general post office in India, Egbert's reforms were repealed and replaced in Sri Lanka, and a monopoly on the transmission of post was awarded to the new post office.<sup>247</sup> Egbert's contradictory legacy therefore persisted.

Ultimately, these histories demonstrate that liberal ideas and despotism in the Second Empire cannot be viewed in isolation and must be considered together as part of a reciprocal history. They were both products of a complex process – occupation – in which Dutch and British colonists were drawn together in colonies across the Indian Ocean. Although autocracy was entrenched, Britain's invasions were kept incomplete, as autocrats' powers were at least somewhat contingent on the liberal ideas that would eventually prove to be their downfall. When liberal colonists challenged central authority and British chauvinism more widely, as in the mid-nineteenth century, the autocrats almost inevitably fell from grace.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> 'Letters – what free of postage in Kandyan provinces', 1818, in *A collection of advertisements, minutes, general rules and circular letters circulated from time to time by the authority of government, and now regulating the public business of the island* (Colombo, 1824), p. 363.

<sup>246</sup> 'Egbert Bletterman', p. 83.

<sup>247</sup> 'For protecting the revenue derived from the post office, and for revising the rates of postage', in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government from 1796: distinguishing those now in force*, II, pp. 57-58.

<sup>248</sup> See McKenzie, *Imperial underworld*, pp. 103-58; Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, pp. 235-47; for a globally-oriented history of nineteenth-century liberalism, see Bayly, *Recovering liberties*, pp. 104-245.

## Two      Frederik Turr

### Anti-slavery

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Frederik Turr boarded the *Scaleby Castle* in July 1814, shortly before it sailed for Batavia from the Cape Colony. On the ship, at the time, was Juliana van de Kaap, a ‘free servant of color’ employed by Frederik’s fellow passenger, Maria Fichat. A former slave, Juliana had been set free by Maria shortly before boarding the *Castle*, on the orders of British officials who said that they could not ‘sanction any slave being received on board that ship’.<sup>1</sup> Their reasoning was simple: the slave trade had been prohibited by the British parliament seven years earlier, in 1807, and to allow a slave to travel on the *Castle* would be tantamount to allowing the slave trade to continue.<sup>2</sup> The archival record contains no traces of a meeting between Frederik and Juliana, but perhaps the presence of slaves and freed slaves like her at the Cape and on ships encouraged Frederik to consider the institution of slavery in the former Dutch colonies. He emerged as a public opponent of slavery after arriving in Java, becoming one of the first and only Dutchmen to join the Java Benevolent Institution, the anti-slavery society established by Java’s governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles (r. 1811-16), in December 1815.<sup>3</sup> Writing in *The Java Government Gazette* the following month, Frederik admitted that his Dutch ‘progenitors’ had ‘committed crimes’ by introducing an ‘eastern policy’ that encouraged slavery, and welcomed the creation of what he hoped was ‘a rational and beneficent system of general Philanthropy’.<sup>4</sup>

### Anti-slavery in the imperial meridian

Anti-slavery spread across the British empire in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was an ideology that shifted with time and context, but its advocates in this period generally

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<sup>1</sup> Pringle to Bird, 5 July 1814, British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR) G/9/20, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> See Bird to Pringle, 5 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, p. 90; ‘Memorial of Mrs Fichat’, 8 July 1814, Western Cape Archives (WCA), Colonial Office (CO) 3897.

<sup>3</sup> ‘List of subscribers to the Java Benevolent Institution’, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Letter from a liberal colonist’, 13 January 1816, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 2.

argued for ending the slave trade and sometimes slavery itself.<sup>5</sup> It is often cast as a peculiarly British ideology, while in studies of anti-slavery the Dutch are frequently absent – or worse, antagonists.<sup>6</sup> The aim of this chapter is to take issue with these narratives by using Frederik Turr's story to frame anti-slavery within a set of cross-colonial Anglo-Dutch exchanges.

In Britain, anti-slavery has been imagined as the product of a movement that brought together politicians, the public, and the evangelical network known as the Clapham Sect, led by reformers including William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay.<sup>7</sup> Historians have ascribed nuanced motives to these advocates. For some, anti-slavery was an issue of political economy, tied to Adam Smith's argument that unfree labour was inefficient.<sup>8</sup> For others, it was inspired by a desire to extend to slaves the liberal freedoms and universal rights that emerged out of the revolutionary age.<sup>9</sup> For the Claphamites, it was a Christian mission.<sup>10</sup> Historians have also revealed how British anti-slavery advocates spread themselves and their beliefs across the globe.<sup>11</sup> Macaulay became governor of Sierra Leone, the colony established in 1792 for the resettlement of freed slaves, establishing a Christian autocratic regime.<sup>12</sup> Wilberforce founded the African Institution, which monitored the slave trade and issued agricultural information in Sierra Leone in an effort to alleviate the living conditions of the colony's freed slaves.<sup>13</sup>

Conversely, studies of anti-slavery in the Dutch empire have emphasised the paucity of arguments and campaigns against bondage. Robert Ross has suggested that the rejection of anti-slavery policies by the Cape Colony's Batavian regime (1803-6) sealed the unfortunate

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<sup>5</sup> For a broad overview of the anti-slavery movement in Britain, see Mike Kaye, 'The development of the anti-slavery movement after 1807', *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007), pp. 238-57; see also Marika Sherwood, 'Britain, the slave trade, and slavery, 1808-1843', *Race & Class* 46 (2004), pp. 54-77.

<sup>6</sup> For a characteristic interpretation of the absence of Dutch anti-slavery, see Seymour Drescher, 'The long goodbye: Dutch capitalism and antislavery in comparative perspective', *American Historical Review* 99 (1994), pp. 44-69; see also the articles in Gert Oostindie, ed., *Fifty years later: antislavery, capitalism, and modernity in the Dutch orbit* (Leiden, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Kaye, 'Development of the anti-slavery movement', pp. 238-57.

<sup>8</sup> See C.A. Bayly, *Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), pp. 151-2.

<sup>9</sup> Seymour Drescher and Christian Bolt, *Capitalism and antislavery: British mobilisation in comparative perspective* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 1-25, 135.

<sup>10</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, p. 144; see also Andrea Major, *Slavery, abolitionism and empire in India, 1772-1843* (Liverpool, 2012), pp. 246-92.

<sup>11</sup> For a summary of some of these activities, see Lisa Ford, 'Anti-slavery and the reconstitution of empire', *Australian Historical Studies* 45 (2014), pp. 71-86, at p. 76; see also Zoë Laidlaw, 'Heathens, slaves, and aborigines: Thomas Hodgkin's critique of missions and anti-slavery', *History Workshop Journal* 64 (2007), pp. 133-61.

<sup>12</sup> Cassandra Pybus, 'A less favourable specimen': the abolitionist response to self-emancipated slaves in Sierra Leone, 1793-1808', *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007), pp. 97-112, at pp. 97-8.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Reynolds, 'Agricultural adjustments on the Gold Coast after the end of the slave trade, 1807-1874', *Agricultural History* 47 (1973), pp. 308-318, at p. 313.



fate of that colony's slaves for decades.<sup>14</sup> Johannes Postma, meanwhile, has argued that anti-slavery arguments in the pre-revolutionary Netherlands were merely 'isolated expressions hardly noticed by the general public'.<sup>15</sup> In an influential 1994 article on the deficiency of Dutch anti-slavery, Seymour Drescher claimed that the Dutch generally 'nurtured few anti-slavery arguments and no abolitionist movement whatever'.<sup>16</sup> He proposed that this subverted the historical contention – modelled on the British experience – that anti-slavery emerged out of the rise of industrial capitalism, as the Dutch were a capitalist power, and indicated that anti-slavery was instead drawn from 'communal expansions' of individual rights.<sup>17</sup> Yet the Dutch experience has seemed to contradict even this. Markus Vink demonstrates that notions of freedom and slavery developed by the Dutch were principally applied to Europeans.<sup>18</sup>

This chapter challenges these narratives by arguing that the rise of anti-slavery was a key theme of the imperial meridian in the Anglo-Dutch colonies, as a mutual interest of British and Dutch governing elites and middle classes motivated by liberal and pragmatic concerns. Anti-slavery in the British empire was divorced from its metropolitan counterpart and it is in this disjuncture that we can identify the influence of the Dutch. Richard Allen and Andrea Major have shown how the slave trade was banned in the East India Company (EIC) territories in India almost two decades before parliament's intervention.<sup>19</sup> Measures against the trade were originally taken by Governor Warren Hastings in Bengal, who banned the sale of slaves without a deed in 1774.<sup>20</sup> Lord Cornwallis stopped the export of slaves from Bengal in 1789, and his ban was replicated in Madras and the company territories in Sri Lanka.<sup>21</sup> Comparable measures were taken in the Crown colonies after the import of slaves was banned by the privy council in 1805.<sup>22</sup> In the Anglo-Dutch colonies, Britain's autocrats introduced laws to end the

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<sup>14</sup> Robert Ross, 'Abolitionism, the Batavian Republic, the British, and the Cape Colony', in Gert Oostindie, ed., *Fifty years later*, pp. 179-92.

<sup>15</sup> Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 286; as quoted in Seymour Drescher, 'The long goodbye', p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> Drescher, 'The long goodbye', p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>18</sup> Markus P.M. Vink, 'Freedom and slavery: the Dutch Republic, the VOC world, and the debate over the 'world's oldest trade'', *South African Historical Journal* 59 (2007), pp. 19-46.

<sup>19</sup> Richard B. Allen, 'Suppressing a nefarious traffic: Britain and the abolition of slave trading in India and the western Indian Ocean, 1770-1830', *William and Mary Quarterly* 66 (2009), pp. 873-94; Andrea Major, *Slavery, abolitionism, and empire*, pp. 49-84.

<sup>20</sup> Allen, 'Suppressing a Nefarious Traffic', p. 878.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 880-6; see also Major, *Slavery, abolitionism, and empire*, p. 59.

<sup>22</sup> Gelien Matthews, 'Trinidad: a model colony for British slave trade abolition', *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007), pp. 84-96, at p. 95.

slave trade and even made qualified moves towards the abolition of slavery. Importing slaves was controlled at the Cape after 1806.<sup>23</sup> Thomas Raffles was a critic of slavery in Java and prohibited the importation of slaves to the island in February 1813.<sup>24</sup> The Java Benevolent Institution took the African Institution as a model and, after some debate, began to argue for a very gradual end to slavery which emphasised the necessity of prior economic and social improvements.<sup>25</sup> The British in Sri Lanka seemed to make more radical moves: in July 1816, the chief justice, Alexander Johnston, declared free all slave children born after August.<sup>26</sup>

These endeavours were invariably described by their advocates in evocative terms as interventions against an evil trade and coercive institution. Warren Hastings referred to the slave trade as a 'Savage Commerce, by which Numbers of Children are conveyed out of the Country on the Dutch & especially the French Vessels'.<sup>27</sup> Raffles described the trade in Java as a 'horrid traffic'.<sup>28</sup> However, historians now view the vivid rhetoric of colonial anti-slavery advocates with caution. In *Imperial meridian*, C.A. Bayly described their efforts as superficial, or top-down, and connected to 'the continuation of a purged and reformed slave system'.<sup>29</sup> Despite the government's measures against the slave trade at the Cape, popular anti-slavery in the colony was confined to marginal figures.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, slavery persisted in most British colonies until abolition across the British empire in 1833 and other forms of slavery endured long afterwards.<sup>31</sup> Johnston's reforms in Sri Lanka were likewise limited: slave children were

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<sup>23</sup> Patrick Harries, 'Slavery, indenture, and migrant labour: maritime immigration from Mozambique to the Cape, c. 1780-1880', *African Studies* 73 (2014), pp. 323-40; Nigel Worden, 'Indian Ocean slavery and its demise in the Cape Colony', in Gwyn Campbell, ed., *Abolition and its aftermath in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London, 2005), pp. 26-45, at p. 36.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Raffles, *The history of Java* (2 vols., London, 1817-30), I, p. 77; see also Gillen d'Arcy Wood, 'The volcano lover: climate, colonialism, and the slave trade in Raffles's 'History of Java'', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8 (2008), pp. 33-55; on some of Raffles' early moves against the slave trade, see H.R.C. Wright, 'Raffles and the slave trade at Batavia in 1812', *Historical Journal* 3 (1960), pp. 184-91.

<sup>25</sup> For a statement of the Java Benevolent Institution's goals, see 'proceedings of the Java Benevolent Institution in 1816', in *Eleventh report of the directors of the African Institution* (London, 1817), pp. 69-92.

<sup>26</sup> A similar range of documents to those relating to the Java Benevolent Institution can be found for Sri Lanka, see 'Measures taken for the abolition of slavery in Ceylon', in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, pp. 93-101.

<sup>27</sup> Major, *Slavery, abolitionism, and empire*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>28</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, I, p. 77.

<sup>29</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, p. 221.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Ross, 'Abolitionism, the Batavian Republic, the British, and the Cape Colony', p. 184.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, 221-222; for the persistence of slavery in the British empire into the 1830s and 1840s, see Major, *Slavery, abolitionism, and empire*, pp. 33-4, 70-1, 189-226; for the slave trade in the western Indian Ocean and the Mascarenes, see Richard B. Allen, 'Licentious and unbridled proceedings: the illegal slave trade to Mauritius and the Seychelles during the early nineteenth century', *Journal of African History* 42 (2001), pp. 91-116; *idem.*, 'Suppressing a nefarious traffic', pp. 873-94; Marina Carter and Hubert Gerbeau, 'Covert slaves and coveted coolies in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Mascareignes', *Slavery and Abolition* 9 (1988), pp. 194-208; Anthony J. Barker, 'Distorting the record of slavery and abolition: the British anti-slavery movement and Mauritius, 1826-37', *Slavery and Abolition*

forced to stay with their owners until they reached adolescence.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, British officials had few qualms about adopting forced labour systems that looked a lot like slavery. This period saw the rise of indenture, in which people were forced into contractual labour for low pay or land. The British in Sri Lanka widely appropriated the Kandyan system of *rajakariya*, in which labour was taken in return for land tenure.<sup>33</sup> At the Cape, they introduced strict pass laws for Khoisan, known as the Caledon Code, forming an immobile source of labour.<sup>34</sup>

Yet if anti-slavery in the British colonies was something of a façade, why did it become a recurrent feature of British empire? Historians have argued that early anti-slavery policies were a pragmatic means of protecting trade and legitimising interventions against rivals. As Andrea Major suggests, the EIC was concerned in the 1780s about famine and depopulation, and saw the sale of slaves to the Dutch and French empires as a challenge to the commerce and productivity of its colonies.<sup>35</sup> It adapted the rhetoric of the metropolitan movement and turned it against its enemies, hence Warren Hastings's assertion that the Dutch were stealing children.<sup>36</sup> This allowed the EIC to create a humanitarian image for itself, which it deployed in conflicts, such as in 1793, when it invaded the French territories in India and ended the supply of slaves to the Mascarene islands.<sup>37</sup> Conversely, in the later nineteenth century period of colonial consolidation, anti-slavery was linked to the growing legislative powers of colonial autocrats, particularly those who governed under the authority of the Crown. Lisa Ford writes that the granting of certain rights to slaves by the privy council in 1824 and the appointment of slave protectors transformed slaves into 'latent, and ... wanting, legal subjects'.<sup>38</sup> Jean

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14 (1993), pp. 185-207; Marina Carter, 'The transition from slave to indentured labour in Mauritius', *Slavery and Abolition* 14 (1993), pp. 114-30.

<sup>32</sup> 'Extract of a report of Lieutenant-colonel Colebrooke, one of his majesty's commissioners of inquiry, upon the administration of the government of Ceylon', 24 December 1831, in 'Correspondence between directors of East India Company and Company's servants in India and Ceylon on slavery and slave trade; orders, regulations, and proceedings', *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51 (1837-8), pp. 597-8.

<sup>33</sup> For details on the British use of *rajakariya* in Sri Lanka, see Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 233-5; idem., 'Tales of the land: British geography and Kandyan resistance in Sri Lanka, c. 1803-1850', *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (2007), pp. 925-61; Roland Wenzlhuemer, *From coffee to tea cultivation in Ceylon, 1880-1900: an economic and social history* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 111-19, 126; idem., 'Indian labour immigration and British labour policy in nineteenth-century Ceylon', *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (2007), pp. 575-602.

<sup>34</sup> Wayne Dooling, 'The origins and aftermath of the Cape Colony's 'Hottentot Code' of 1809', *Kronos* 31 (2005), pp. 50-61.

<sup>35</sup> Major, *Slavery, abolitionism, and empire*, pp. 52-54, 70-74.

<sup>36</sup> Allen, 'Suppressing a nefarious traffic', p. 878.

<sup>37</sup> Major, *Slavery, abolitionism, and empire*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>38</sup> Ford, 'Anti-slavery and the reconstitution of empire', pp. 80-82.

Gelman Taylor argues that the Java Benevolent Institution was part of an aggressive project to reform the Dutch in a British image, implemented by a belligerent Thomas Raffles.<sup>39</sup>

This chapter uncovers another rationale behind the rise of anti-slavery in the British empire. It demonstrates that critical anti-slavery reforms were drawn from exchanges of ideas among the Anglo-Dutch governing elite and middle classes. The Dutch revised and extended British anti-slavery policies that were limited in their efficacy, amending them according to ideas of social and economic improvement derived from Dutch thinkers. This argument follows two particular developments in Dutch historiography. In a recent article, Maartje Janse has argued that the apparent paucity of anti-slavery in continental Europe in fact shows that Europeans rejected and adjusted British models of anti-slavery campaigning.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Angelie Sens has suggested that studies of Dutch anti-slavery that are informed by the British experience are frequently problematic, as the Dutch articulated different arguments linked to their concern with national decline and improvement.<sup>41</sup> This chapter proposes that we can transpose Janse's theory to the colonial setting to reveal how the Dutch modified and rejected British models across the Second Empire. In so doing, we can also see how – following Sens – Dutch colonists made different claims related to their concern with decline and renewal.

Returning to a theme of the previous chapter, this chapter concurrently shows how governing elites used Dutch models of anti-slavery to develop autocracy. Some Dutch anti-slavery advocates worked from senior posts within government, while others, like Chapter One's liberals, were drawn from the ranks of the middle class. Consequently, Dutch advocates either worked for the benefit of colonial autocrats or vocalised their ideas in unequal settings which allowed British governing elites to appropriate them for the same effect. Accordingly, this chapter uncovers a cross-colonial history of anti-slavery that also reveals the inequalities and overlaps between different models of anti-slavery campaigning. It seeks to challenge the historiographical assumptions that contrast anglocentric anti-slavery with Dutch slavery or which describe two independent metropolitan intellectual traditions concerning slavery.

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<sup>39</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor, *The social world of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in colonial Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Madison 2009), pp. 105-6.

<sup>40</sup> Maartje Janse, 'Holland as a little England? British anti-slavery missionaries and continental abolitionist movements in the mid nineteenth century', *Past & Present* 229 (2015), pp. 123-60.

<sup>41</sup> Angelie Sens, 'Dutch antislavery in a decline-ridden society, 1750-1815', in Gert Oostindie, ed., *Fifty years later*, pp. 89-101, at 90. See also idem., 'Dutch debates on overseas man and his world, 1770-1820', in Bob Moore and Henk van Hierop, eds., *Colonial empires compared: Britain and the Netherlands, 1750-1850* (Utrecht, 2003), pp. 77-93.

This chapter continues Frederik Turr's life history and contextualises his anti-slavery activities alongside those of other Dutch advocates. It begins with an overview of slavery and British and Dutch anti-slavery activities, before addressing each colony. It looks first to the Cape, where the senior official Willem van Ryneveld articulated a set of qualified anti-slavery arguments as fiscal. He adapted the ideas of the Patriots and they informed his efforts to develop a commission of inquiry that investigated clandestine slave trading and extended the Crown's jurisdiction into prosecutions over the slave trade. Van Ryneveld's contingent anti-slavery was tied to his place among the Cape's governing elite. More radical arguments were made elsewhere by the middle classes. This chapter subsequently turns to Java and Frederik Turr's role in the Java Benevolent Institution. It reveals that, while the institution began as a belligerent society, it was reformed through Frederik's interventions into a Dutch-inspired organisation focused on ideas of improvement. However, Frederik's success enabled Raffles to use the institution to collect depositions about slavers who challenged his prohibition of slave trading and extend protections for slaves in places not under his control. Finally, this chapter turns to Sri Lanka, where Johnston's efforts to introduce anti-slavery reforms were influenced by juries formed from Dutch elements of the middle classes – like the burgher Johannes Stork – and the governing elite. These jurors designed the proposal for liberating slave children and the government developed their ideas to entrench the Crown's autocracy.

### **Slavery and anti-slavery in the Anglo-Dutch empires**

In January 1797, the British soldier James Williams wrote to his sister Mary to complain of his distaste for the Cape Colony. 'I am completely tired of the southern extremity of Africa', he told her, 'and sigh again for Old England'.<sup>42</sup> James's feelings were drawn from the disgust he felt when confronted with slavery. 'I have nothing to say about the Cape', he said, 'except that at my first arrival every thing appeared strange and some things disgusting particularly being waited upon by black slaves, it is shocking to see so many fellow creatures in a state of servitude'.<sup>43</sup> James described visiting a slave auction in which three hundred and fifty slaves had been 'brought from the Coast of Guinea' to be sold.<sup>44</sup> They had been 'kidnapped, stole or

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<sup>42</sup> James Williams to Mary Williams, 5 January 1797, WCA, Kirkland papers, A1790, pp. 1-2.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

procured by means equally dishonourable & disgraceful', and at the market were 'led forth like ... Cows & made to walk throw out their arms & legs &c. to see they were perfect after which they were consigned to the best bidder'.<sup>45</sup> Williams was 'no advocate for this sale of Human Flesh' and turned fire on the Dutch.<sup>46</sup> 'The Dutch ... treat [their slaves] with great tenderness ... in their infancy, but they are soon doomed to feel the reverse of this seemingly happy state.'<sup>47</sup> Williams developed a further distaste for the Dutch when he was sent to a post in the interior. Writing to his brother, George, he complained that he had been placed in 'a desert ... without any communication with rational society except I may be allowed to call a Dutchman a rational being ... of all scoundrels, they are without exception the greatest'.<sup>48</sup>

James Williams's characterisation of the Dutch was a common trope in British thinking about their predecessors at the Cape.<sup>49</sup> Yet his writing also captures how some Britons must have felt when arriving at the Cape. In Britain, slavery was debated in the abstract, but around the Indian Ocean Britons were confronted with its reality.<sup>50</sup> Java, Ceylon, and the Cape were all slave colonies at the time that they were occupied by the British. The writer John Barrow estimated that, of the 18,152 people living around Cape Town in 1801, 11,891 were slaves.<sup>51</sup> Other slaves were spread across southern Africa: there were 964 in the district of Graaff Reinet, and 10,703 in Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.<sup>52</sup> These were chattel slaves and they were critical to the Cape's agrarian economy.<sup>53</sup> Those in Cape Town performed domestic work and formed the urban labouring class.<sup>54</sup> As Robert Ross shows, these slaves were not the passive victims of Williams's imagination but resisted oppression by refusing to work or escaping on

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> James Williams to George Williams, 30 October 1798, WCA, Kirkland papers, A1790, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> For a typical example of such writing, see John Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of southern Africa* (2 vols., London, 1801-6), I, pp. 76-7; for a brief discussion of Barrow's writings in this regard, see Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1780: a tragedy of manners* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 42-3.

<sup>50</sup> On anti-slavery debates in Britain at this time, see Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>51</sup> Barrow, *Travels into the interior*, I, 342.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 362, 377.

<sup>53</sup> Worden, 'Indian Ocean slavery and its demise', pp. 27-30; for a broader discussion of the Cape's economy at this time, see Wayne Dooling, *Slavery, emancipation, and colonial rule in South Africa* (Athens, 2007); for the development of the Cape winelands and the associated farming magnates, see Robert Ross, 'The rise of the Cape gentry', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9 (1983), pp. 193-217; see also Gavin Williams, 'Slaves, workers, and wine: the 'dop system' in the history of the Cape wine industry, 1658-1894', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42 (2016), pp. 893-909.

<sup>54</sup> Worden, 'Indian Ocean slavery and its demise', p. 27. For more on slaves in eighteenth-century Cape Town and the Indian Ocean more generally, see Nigel Worden, 'Indian Ocean slaves in Cape Town, 1695-1807', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42 (2016), pp. 389-408.

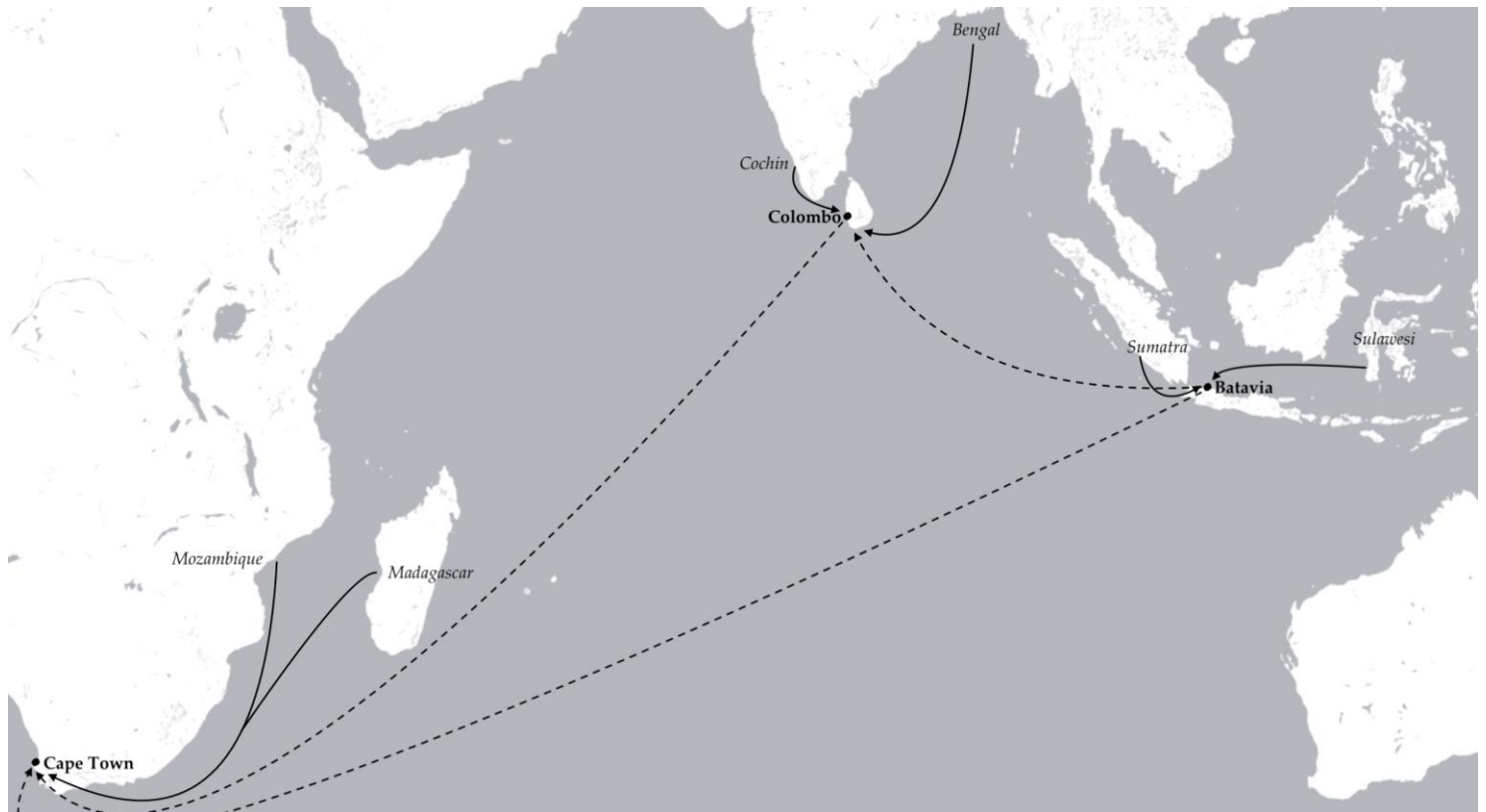


Figure 11. Common slave trading routes in the Dutch empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as described by Markus Vink and Kerry Ward (map data © Google, ORION-ME).

ships.<sup>55</sup> During the second British occupation, in 1808, the slave Louis van Mauritius even led a rebellion against slaveowners in which he seemed to model himself on the leader of the Haitian Revolution, Toussaint L'Ouverture.<sup>56</sup> Nor was slavery the only form of forced work at the Cape. Labour in the districts further away from Cape Town was often carried out by indentured (*inboekstel*) Khoisan, who, while nominally free, were subject to similar forms of control: from 1775, settlers were given control over male Khoi children until they were twenty-five years old.<sup>57</sup> Barrow estimated that, of around 14,173 people living in Graaff Reinet at the

<sup>55</sup> On slave resistance at the Cape, see Robert Ross, *Cape of torments: slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London, 1983), pp. 29-38, 73-80, 96-116; see also Markus Vink, 'The world's oldest trade': Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century', *Journal of World History* 14 (2003), pp. 131-77, especially p. 173.

<sup>56</sup> Ross, *Cape of torments*, pp. 96-116; Nigel Worden, 'Armed with swords and ostrich feathers: militarism and cultural revolution in the Cape slave uprising of 1808', in Richard Bessel, Nicholas Guyatt, and Jane Rendall, eds., *War, empire, and slavery, 1770-1830* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 121-38; Nigel Worden, 'Revolt in Cape Colony slave society', in Edward A. Alpers, Gwyn Campbell, and Michael Salman, eds., *Resisting bondage in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 10-23.

<sup>57</sup> Worden, 'Indian Ocean slavery and its demise', p. 35.

beginning of the nineteenth century, 8,947 were Khoisan.<sup>58</sup> He described how Khoisan workers were exposed to 'the most cruel and brutal punishments for every trifling fault'.<sup>59</sup>

Kerry Ward and Markus Vink have demonstrated how the Dutch colonies, until their occupation by the British, were connected by networks of forced migration maintained by the Dutch East India Company (VOC), as well as independent traders.<sup>60</sup> Slaves were sent between colonies across circuits that rose and fell in importance over the centuries (fig. 11).<sup>61</sup> Those at the Cape were generally captured by the VOC in south or southeast Asia or, with the VOC's decline at the close of the eighteenth century, private traders in Mozambique.<sup>62</sup> Sri Lanka was supplied with slaves from Java, the Malay archipelago, Bengal, and southern India. As many as 10,000 slaves were exported to Sri Lanka from India by the VOC in 1660, while 3,859 were sent there by private traders between 1694 and 1696.<sup>63</sup> Alicia Schrikker and Kate Ekama suggest that as much as half of Dutch Colombo's population may have been made up of slaves performing domestic labour, hauling goods, and carrying out public works.<sup>64</sup> Thousands of slaves were also brought to Java on ships that sailed between the island and parts of the archipelago.<sup>65</sup> Ten thousand were imported to Batavia on local ships between 1652 and 1682.<sup>66</sup> The British captain Samuel Auchmuty claimed that boats 'full [of] three thousand of both sexes' docked in Batavia every year under the VOC, 'from the coast of Malabar, Bengal, Sumatra, and other parts, as from Celebes'.<sup>67</sup> Maroon communities sprang up in these places, as slaves resisted capture.<sup>68</sup> In Sri Lanka, so many slaves fled from Colombo to the kingdom of Kandy that the VOC brokered an agreement with the Kandyan king for their return.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Barrow, *Travels into the interior*, I, p. 377.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-9, 405-6.

<sup>60</sup> Kerry Ward, *Networks of empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 82-5; Markus Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', pp. 131-177.

<sup>61</sup> Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', pp. 143-5.

<sup>62</sup> Worden, 'Indian Ocean slavery and its demise', pp. 27-30; on slaves from Sri Lanka at the Dutch Cape, see Marina Carter and Nira Wickramasinghe, 'Forcing the archive: involuntary migrants 'of Ceylon' in the Indian Ocean world of the 18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries', *South Asian History and Culture* 9 (2018), pp. 194-206.

<sup>63</sup> Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', pp. 141-2.

<sup>64</sup> Alicia Schrikker and Kate J. Ekama, 'Through the lens of slavery: Dutch Sri Lanka in the eighteenth century', in Zoltán Biedermann and Alan Strathern, *Sri Lanka at the crossroads of history* (London, 2017), pp. 178-93.

<sup>65</sup> Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', p. 143; for a broader picture of this trade, see James Warren, *The Sulu zone: 1768-1898: the dynamics of external trade, slavery, and ethnicity in the transformation of a southeast Asian maritime state* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Singapore, 2007), pp. 149-251.

<sup>66</sup> Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', pp. 143-4.

<sup>67</sup> Samuel Auchmuty, *Sketches, civil and military, of the island of Java* (London, 1812), p. 254.

<sup>68</sup> Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', p. 173; see also Richard B. Allen, 'A serious and alarming daily evil: *marronage* and its legacy in Mauritius and the colonial plantation world', *Slavery & Abolition* 25 (2004), pp. 1-17.

<sup>69</sup> Kate Ekama, 'Slavery in Dutch Colombo: a social history' (MA thesis, Leiden, 2012), p. 36.



In addition to imported chattel slaves, localised forms of slavery were common to Sri Lanka and Java. As James Warren observes, slavery across southeast Asia was not 'historically synonymous with property' and instead slaves were often prisoners taken in slaving raids.<sup>70</sup> People could likewise be forced into bonded labour as a form of payment for a debt, and this practice had much in common with the Kandyan system of *rajakariya* that was adopted by the British in Sri Lanka after the end of the slave trade.<sup>71</sup> Caste-based slaves were also common to Sri Lanka's northern provinces. Known as *nalavas*, *pallars*, and *koviyars*, they were retained as agricultural labourers by members of superior castes.<sup>72</sup> Unlike their counterparts in the chattel trade, they lived independently and were called to work when it was deemed necessary. Nevertheless, the line between chattel and caste slavery was blurred. The Dutch manumitted caste slaves and made use of their labour. There were instances in which colonists seized caste slaves from their masters as payment for debt or taxes and sold them on as chattel.<sup>73</sup>

Williams's account of Cape slavery shows that some Britons objected to the absence of freedom in colonial contexts where subjugation was the norm for many.<sup>74</sup> Yet not all Britons were opposed to slavery. The author James Cordiner wrote that Edmund Lushington, a judge who later served as Ceylon's chief justice, acquired a 'Cingalese young man ... as his butler', which 'enabled him to live at less expense than any of his neighbours in similar situations'.<sup>75</sup> Britons were also key participants in the slave trade before it was banned. At the Cape, the German trader Ernst Heckrath described how a merchant, Michael Hogan, used a privateer to capture 'large vessels from the Mauritius, very lately a slave trader, a Spanish vessel, with 450 slaves which were sold here a piece 400 rixdollars on average'.<sup>76</sup> Hogan also seized 'two small vessels ... under French colours, with cargoes of slaves for the Mauritius, [and] a French Brig on shore on the coast of Madagascar laden with slaves ... from the coast of Mozambique'.<sup>77</sup> The slave trade indeed persisted through Britain's first occupation of the

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<sup>70</sup> James Francis Warren, 'The structure of slavery in the Sulu zone in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in Gwyn Campbell, ed., *The structure of slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London, 2004), pp. 111-127, at p. 111.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 111; on Kandyan slavery, which included within its constellation *rajakariya*, see Simon Sawers, 'Memoranda and notes on the Kandyan law of inheritance, marriage, slavery etc. by Simon Sawers', in Fredric Austin Hayley, *The laws and customs of the Sinhalese or Kandyan law* (Colombo, 1923), appendix I, pp. 1-33.

<sup>72</sup> Schrikker and Ekama, 'Through the lens of slavery', pp. 190-1.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 191.

<sup>74</sup> James Williams to Mary Williams, 5 January 1797, WCA, Kirkland papers, A1790, pp. 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> James Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon: containing an account of the country, inhabitants, and natural productions* (2 vols., London, 1807), I, p. 81.

<sup>76</sup> Heckrath to Jackson, 2 April 1800, WCA, Heckrath papers, A734.

<sup>77</sup> 'Petition from Michael Hogan', 16 April 1800, WCA, British Occupation (BO) 116, pp. 81-6.

Cape, driven by Portuguese slavers from Mozambique.<sup>78</sup> Officials sometimes tried to control flows of slaves into the colony but this was due to anxieties about the growth of non-EIC trade and the Cape's increasing slave population rather than a concern for slave welfare.<sup>79</sup>

As Andrea Major argues, many Britons were driven by pragmatic rather than liberal concerns to introduce anti-slavery policies.<sup>80</sup> In this, they followed the VOC, which banned slave trading to Ceylon as early as 1685 due to a shortage of slaves in the colony and in 1767 stopped Asian slaves from using its ships after an attempt at maroonage on Table Mountain by slaves from Sulawesi.<sup>81</sup> The ban on slave trading introduced in Ceylon in 1800 by Frederick North (r. 1798-1805), for instance, was followed by a law creating punishments for slaves who showed 'a disposition to mutiny and disobedience'.<sup>82</sup> This suggests that the government banned the trade due to anxieties about resistance. Indeed, while North followed Adam Smith in arguing that people would be more productive if granted the fruits of their labour, he was no advocate of slave rights.<sup>83</sup> In 1804, he established a regiment of African slaves by directly purchasing eight hundred who had been transported from Mozambique to Portuguese Goa through the British ambassador.<sup>84</sup> North was pleased with his 'stout Caffres', and observed that they had 'made wonderful training in the art military considering how short a time they have been in training'.<sup>85</sup> One area in which North did make progress was in ending caste slavery in Jaffna, but this policy was reversed by his successor, Thomas Maitland (r. 1805-11), who argued that it had increased crime, 'destructive of ... the tranquillity of the people'.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Patrick Harries, 'Slavery, indenture and migrant labour: maritime immigration from Mozambique to the Cape, c. 1780-1880', *African Studies* 73 (2014), pp. 323-340, at p. 325.

<sup>79</sup> For examples, see 'Letter from two merchants of Cape Town to the deputy colonial secretary', 25 May 1798, WCA, BO 90; 'Letter from two English merchants Cape Town to the deputy colonial secretary', 30 May 1798, WCA, BO 90; 'Petition of an English firm in Cape Town to be allowed to import slaves from Mozambique', 26 December 1800, WCA, BO 90.

<sup>80</sup> Major, *Slavery, abolitionism and empire*, pp. 52-54, 70-74.

<sup>81</sup> Schrikker and Ekama, 'Through the lens of slavery', p. 187; Robert Ross, 'The last years of the slave trade to the Cape Colony', in William Gervase Clarence-Smith, ed., *The economics of the Indian Ocean slave trade in the nineteenth century* (London, 1989), pp. 209-19, at 212.

<sup>82</sup> 'Proclamation by the governor', 15 January 1799, in *A collection of the legislative acts of his majesty's government of Ceylon; containing proclamations and regulations issued since 15<sup>th</sup> January 1799, and wholly, or in part in force, on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1821* (Colombo, 1821), pp. 235-6.

<sup>83</sup> Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815* (Leiden, 2007), p. 186.

<sup>84</sup> North to Clarke, 25 March 1804, Sri Lanka National Archive (SLNA), 10/32; see also Arbuthnot to Taylor, 2 May 1804, 10/32, SLNA.

<sup>85</sup> North to William Clarke, 9 February 1804, 10/32, SLNA.

<sup>86</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp. 162-3, 186-9; 'Regulation No. 18', 9 December 1806, in *A collection of the legislative acts in on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1821*, p. 157.

Even where British officials described their activities in the language of liberal reform, their efforts were limited by pragmatism. When Raffles spoke of the 'horrid traffic' in slaves, for instance, he justified his failure to end slavery in terms of his constitutional weakness.<sup>87</sup> 'We could not, consistently with those rights of property ... emancipate them at once from servitude', he explained.<sup>88</sup> Instead, he said that he had focused on 'regulation ... to ameliorate [the slaves'] present lot, and lead to their ultimate freedom'.<sup>89</sup> Yet Raffles had also failed to regulate the slave trade at sea when pressed to do so.<sup>90</sup> In 1812, a Chinese slave ship called the *Guanting* was captured by a captain, William Owen, while sailing from Bali to Batavia.<sup>91</sup> Owen was a vociferous opponent of slavery and had been 'convinced by personal experience amongst the Javanese and Eastern Islanders, of the very serious evils, to which the traffic in slaves has subjected every country whence they are procured'.<sup>92</sup> Owen sold the *Guanting* in Madras and apprenticed its 116 slaves.<sup>93</sup> However, he was challenged by the ship's owner, Kam Hianko, who petitioned Raffles, arguing that he had a licence to trade 'for the purchase of slaves'.<sup>94</sup> Raffles devolved the case to a commission, who ordered the *Guanting's* return and censured Owen.<sup>95</sup> Faced with Owen's protests, Raffles argued that policing the trade across the seas would require a blockade, subjecting 'every trading prow to ... transmission to India', from which 'alarming consequences' would ensue.<sup>96</sup> This farce was repeated one year later, after Owen seized a Hadhrami trading ship as it crossed the archipelago.<sup>97</sup>

Dutch anti-slavery views were shaped by an alternative sense of pragmatism, as they were set against the broader interests of what Angelie Sens calls a 'decline-ridden society'.<sup>98</sup> In the eighteenth century, Dutch metropolitan society became introspective, as the Dutch attempted to explain their seventeenth-century success through their 'Golden Age' and their

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<sup>87</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, I, p. 77; this quotation is discussed in more detail in d'Arcy Wood, 'The volcano lover', pp. 33-55.

<sup>88</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, I, p. 77.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>90</sup> H.R.C. Wright, 'Raffles and the slave trade', pp. 184-91.

<sup>91</sup> 'Report from the committee appointed to investigate the case of certain Chinese whose vessels were returned by HMS *Cornelia*', 5 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>92</sup> Owen to Raffles, 14 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>93</sup> 'Letter from W.F.W. Owen', 18 July 1812, in 'Correspondence on state of slavery in territories under rule of East India Company, and slave trade', *House of Commons Papers* 125, vol. 24 (1828), p. 180.

<sup>94</sup> 'Petition of Kam Keon Ko', undated, in *House of Commons Papers* 125, vol. 24, p. 179.

<sup>95</sup> Owen to Raffles, 14 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>96</sup> Raffles to Bowen, 2 August 1812, in *House of Commons Papers* 125, vol. 24, p. 177.

<sup>97</sup> 'Petition of Syed Alloo', 22 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19; Owen to Raffles, 14 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>98</sup> Sens, 'Dutch antislavery attitudes', p. 92.

subsequent decline. As such, organisations like the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (Society for the General Good) worked to improve the spiritual, social, and economic standing of Dutch subjects in part as a way of reproducing the affluence and enlightenment of the Golden Age.<sup>99</sup> Slavery figured in debates about decline as a key feature of Dutch empire, which was itself seen as central to the Dutch Republic's revival.<sup>100</sup> Generally, slavery was cast as a necessary evil that was critical for the expansion of Dutch commerce, and many debates about slavery were therefore placed in a broader colonial context that also took into account the perceived needs of colonists. The minister J.G. Kals argued for the conversion of slaves to Christianity and the improvement of their living conditions, but stopped short of advocating for the abolition of slavery itself.<sup>101</sup> The VOC proposed replacing slaves at the Cape with European labourers as a cost-cutting measure as early as 1717 but the idea was rejected by colonists who argued that slaves were cheaper.<sup>102</sup> Some colonists in Sri Lanka suggested that the island's slaves should be protected from mistreatment but also conceded that slavery was critical to the colonial economy.<sup>103</sup>

With the emergence of the Patriots in the Netherlands and at the Cape during the 1780s and 1790s, notions of improvement were linked to politicised ideas of freedom and slavery. The Patriots in Europe called for renewal by way of the liberalisation of trade and political participation and linked these to what they imagined as a battle for freedom in which they were the slaves of a corrupt ruling elite.<sup>104</sup> One placard hoisted at a parade in 1796 described how the Dutch had 'lived in slavery' and now rejoiced that they would 'die in freedom'.<sup>105</sup> In this, the Patriots drew on the language of the French Revolution but also adopted a narrative from the Golden Age that had cast the Dutch as slaves during the period of Spanish rule over the Netherlands (1556-81).<sup>106</sup> As such, the Patriots had a mixed record on actual slavery. Those at the Cape mostly paid it no mind at all.<sup>107</sup> In Europe, arguments against slavery frequently competed for space with those of its proponents. The journal *Bijdragen tot het menschelyk geluk*

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., pp. 92-3.

<sup>100</sup> Sens, 'Dutch debates about overseas man', p. 9.

<sup>101</sup> Sens, 'Dutch antislavery attitudes', p. 94.

<sup>102</sup> Vink, 'Freedom and slavery', p. 43.

<sup>103</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, p. 112.

<sup>104</sup> Sens, 'Dutch antislavery attitudes', pp. 96-98.

<sup>105</sup> Simon Schama, *Patriots and liberators: revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 2005), p. 245.

<sup>106</sup> Vink, 'The world's oldest trade', p. 22.

<sup>107</sup> For a discussion of Cape Patriot political thinking with regard to labour, see André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought: analysis and documents* (2 vols., London, 1983), I, pp. 28-44.

(*Contributions to human happiness*), which was distributed by the *Maatschappij tot Nut*, printed translations of the works of British anti-slavery campaigners including Alexander Falconbridge. However, it also published articles by the Dutch merchants who defended the institution of slavery as humane and key to Dutch interests in the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>108</sup>

Some Patriots consequently adopted the capacious, cautionary arguments of Benjamin Frossard, a French activist whose works were translated into Dutch by the author Betje Wolff in 1790. Frossard argued for a gradual end to slavery that simultaneously acknowledged the costs of emancipation to the colonies and slaveowners and believed that, while governments should improve the living conditions of slaves, they should also help the manufacturers and planters who would lose out from emancipation.<sup>109</sup> Much of Frossard's writing in his 1789 pamphlet *La cause des esclaves nègres* was concerned with finding a compromise between the two groups and he recommended an initial stage for ending slavery that was focused on the protection and education of slaves and the growth of trade in alternative commodities like ivory and tobacco.<sup>110</sup> Frossard's views on slavery were quoted extensively by the Patriot and chair of the Batavian Republic's national assembly, Pieter Paulus, who in a 1793 pamphlet adopted his suggestion for gradual emancipation and the idea that slaves should be educated before being freed.<sup>111</sup> Even some Cape Dutch made the case for Frossard's ideas. Frederik Turr's erstwhile friend, Gerrit Buyskes, argued in 1812 that it was necessary to support 'the humane intentions of [the British] to assuage ... the lot of our unfortunate fellow creatures in slavery'.<sup>112</sup> Yet he also claimed that it was necessary to empathise with slaveholders and 'never lose sight of the local and other circumstances under which [they] laboured'.<sup>113</sup>

It is true that more radical anti-slavery arguments generally faltered around the Dutch empire. During the debates over the Batavian Republic's constitution between 1796 and 1798, the politician Pieter Vreede made the case for the abolition of slavery on the basis of liberal

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<sup>108</sup> Sens, 'Dutch debates on overseas man', p. 11.

<sup>109</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade*, p. 292.

<sup>110</sup> Barbara Saunderson, 'Frossard and the abolition of slavery: a moral dilemma', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 72 (1990), pp. 155-70, at p. 158.

<sup>111</sup> Pieter Paulus, *In welken zin kunen de menschen gezegt worden gelijk te zijn? En welke zijn de regten en pligten die daaruit voortvloeijen?* (Amsterdam, 1793); for more on Paulus and these sorts of views in the Dutch metropole, see Pepijn Brandon, "'Shrewd sirens of humanity': the changing shape of pro-slavery arguments in the Netherlands (1789-1814)", *Almanack* 14 (2016), pp. 3-26.

<sup>112</sup> 'Closing addresses in the case of Jacobus van Reenen', 11 September 1812, in George McCall Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* (36 vols., London, 1897-1905), X, pp. 24-5.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

ideas of freedom but was opposed in his efforts by Patriots who said that the regime needed to support 'the advance of the reputation and the wealth of the Commonwealth'.<sup>114</sup> Among Vreede's opponents at the time was J.A. de Mist, who subsequently became commissioner-general of the Cape during the Batavian interlude (1803-6), and then argued against slavery himself.<sup>115</sup> De Mist suggested that slaves could be replaced with Europeans and 'hard working young farmers and dairymaids ... from the Netherlands'.<sup>116</sup> This would allow slaves to gradually obtain their freedom, as slave children could be set free and existing slaves given an education. Yet de Mist's arguments roused the opposition of those Cape colonists who believed that slavery remained a necessity and ultimately nothing was done before the British returned in 1806.<sup>117</sup> Similarly, the liberal official Dirk van Hogendorp proposed the banning of the slave trade in Java, as well as the gradual ending of slavery, but was unable to introduce his proposals before the British arrived on the island in 1811.<sup>118</sup> Yet van Hogendorp's efforts were not completely in vain. His arguments were read and adopted by Thomas Raffles, who observed that 'Dutch commissioners and Dutch authors' had pointed out 'the folly and perfect uselessness of slavery on Java'.<sup>119</sup> By the mid-1810s, the Dutch and British had started to cooperate, introducing their alternative visions of anti-slavery into the Anglo-Dutch colonies.

### **An unnecessary evil? Willem van Ryneveld and slavery at the Cape**

The first serious legislation against the slave trade in the Cape Colony was introduced by the commander David Baird in May 1806, four months after the British had occupied the colony for the second time. The importation of slaves was banned 'without special permission', while slaves brought into the colony were subjected to special duties of between fifteen and twenty-five rixdollars.<sup>120</sup> However, this ban was more an attempt to establish control over eastern trade than anything else. Slaves were listed in the law as commodities next to other taxable

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<sup>114</sup> Brandon, 'Shrewd sirens of humanity', p. 14.

<sup>115</sup> Ross, 'Abolitionism and the Cape Colony', p. 180; see also William M. Freund, 'The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814', in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., *The shaping of South African society* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Middletown, 1989), pp. 324-57.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 180-1.

<sup>118</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, p. 97; see also Sens, 'Dutch debates on overseas man', p. 11.

<sup>119</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, I, p. 77.

<sup>120</sup> 'Extract from government advertisement dated Castle of Good Hope', 30 May 1806, WCA, CO 4437, pp. 53-4.

India goods on which merchants would thereafter have to pay import duties. Baird was unbothered by slavery itself and felt that it was important for the Cape. He gave colonists permission to import slaves from Mozambique via Portuguese slavers and allowed as many as three hundred to land in the first months of the British occupation.<sup>121</sup> He also allowed the merchant Alexander Tennant to import five hundred over two years.<sup>122</sup> Baird justified his decisions in terms of the colony's needs. In October 1806, he announced that 'the importation of ... Slaves would be highly advantageous to the Settlement' and acquiesced to a number of applications made 'to allow the Slaves from on board the Portuguese Ship *Dido* to be landed and disposed of'.<sup>123</sup> He was motivated in this case by his desire to give 'encouragement' to the colony's inhabitants 'and to contribute by every means in my power to their Welfare'.<sup>124</sup>

Baird's successor, Governor Caledon (r. 1806-11), continued to ply an uncertain course over slavery. In July 1807, he proposed transforming the government's Slave Lodge, which had housed government-owned slaves since the VOC period, into offices, because it would help 'reduce the expences of this Settlement so as to ... assist the Mother Country'.<sup>125</sup> In so doing, he suggested that the government sell its slaves and replace them with 'the occasional hire of Labourers', who would be 'infinitely cheaper', as they would not require 'constant support'.<sup>126</sup> In this, Caledon used a familiar argument: 'the Work of a slave is by no means so efficient or so rapid as that of a free person'.<sup>127</sup> Yet Caledon also argued that the emancipation of the government slaves was undesirable, as they were 'mostly of bad character', and would become a burden on the public, as only a small proportion could support themselves.<sup>128</sup> He likewise vacillated over slave trafficking. In the months after Parliament's prohibition of the trade in March 1807, he prevented a number of Portuguese ships from Mozambique from offloading their slaves at the Cape and forced them to remain in Table Bay. Writing later to the colonial secretary, Viscount Castlereagh, Caledon suggested that he had taken such action because he felt himself 'bound' to act according to the parliamentary ban.<sup>129</sup> However, he also

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<sup>121</sup> Ross, 'Last years of the slave trade', pp. 209-19.

<sup>122</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 18 May 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 328-9.

<sup>123</sup> 'Proclamation by Sir David Baird', in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, p. 49.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>125</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 26 July 1807, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 178-80.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>129</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 4 February 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 272-3.

lobbied Castlereagh to permit the slaves to disembark, telling him that 'the abolition of the slave trade ... in such a Country as this, must in the first instance be severely felt'.<sup>130</sup> Caledon suggested that the Cape was in the midst of a labour shortage driven by an increased demand for agricultural goods from ships and the garrison and argued that it could be solved by the importation of slaves from Mozambique.<sup>131</sup> He also mused that the Cape's 'Hottentot Corps' of Khoisan, formed originally by the VOC, should be disbanded, and its members disbursed among the plantations as a source of labour. In Caledon's mind, the existing regiment could subsequently be replaced by 'another [corps] composed of Negroes from Mozambique'.<sup>132</sup>

Caledon's vacillation meant that the impetus for ending the slave trade at the Cape had to come from elsewhere. From a metropolitan perspective, Castlereagh was central to this story. He invariably declined Caledon's requests, and informed him in March 1808 that 'no discretions can be permitted in interpreting the law ... under this circumstance I fear all idea of inlisting a corps of Caffres or of disbanding the Hottentot corps must be given up'.<sup>133</sup> Yet anti-slavery also found an unlikely advocate in the figure of the Dutch fiscal, Willem van Ryneveld. Born at the Cape in 1765, van Ryneveld was part of the VOC's governing elite, a slaveowner, and the son of the *landdrost* (Resident) of Swellendam and Stellenbosch, Daniel van Ryneveld.<sup>134</sup> Daniel was apparently known for his impartiality in legal cases towards master and servant and Willem largely echoed this behaviour after being appointed fiscal in 1793. When a legal case was brought to him by Jan Paerl, a leader of the Khoi who claimed that a farmer had illegally indentured his children, Willem soon ruled in Paerl's favour.<sup>135</sup>

Most frequently, Willem van Ryneveld has drawn attention for the way in which he defended the institution of Cape slavery. During the first British occupation of the Cape, he was asked by Governor Macartney (r. 1796-8) to provide information on aspects of the colony's economy and society, including slavery. Then, Willem reported that slavery was critical to the functioning of the colony, stating that while it was 'injurious ... to the morals and industry of the inhabitants ... the keeping of slaves has now become ... a necessary evil'.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 15 December 1807, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 234.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>133</sup> Castlereagh to Caledon, 4 March 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* VI, p. 303.

<sup>134</sup> Russel Stafford Viljoen, *Jan Paerl: a Khoikhoi in Cape colonial society, 1761-1851* (Leiden, 2006), p. 103.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>136</sup> 'Replies of W.S. van Ryneveld to Governor Macartney's questionnaire', 29 November 1797, in Du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought*, I, p. 47.



Anticipating Caledon's arguments to Castlereagh, Willem said that a sudden ban on the importation of slaves would 'occasion a general injury', as there were not enough 'white or free persons' at the Cape to reproduce the work done by slaves.<sup>137</sup> Slaves could not therefore be freed 'without sacrificing the Colony'.<sup>138</sup> Writing in 1805 under the Batavians, Willem repeated his previous claims but peppered them with nods to the latest arguments about slavery across the Dutch empire. There must be labour 'for the development of agriculture', he observed, and so-called free labour was proving unworkable. Khoisan would 'never do the ordinary farming work of digging the land and so on', as they preferred 'to spend their time in laziness and idleness'.<sup>139</sup> As such, while Willem said that he was 'in full agreement with all the philosophers and all reasonable people', he argued that 'one must accept things as they are'.<sup>140</sup> Yet Willem was not totally intransigent. He followed de Mist in suggesting that it would be possible to make slavery 'unnecessary for the Colony' by introducing 'measures for improvement ... with calm consideration and cautious guidance'.<sup>141</sup> Adjusting these arguments for the Cape, he argued that, if the slave trade had to be banned, it should be done absolutely rather than by degrees, so as to mitigate damage to the economy. There should be 'a fixed system concerning every important point of administration ... slaves should be imported into the Colony or not'.<sup>142</sup>

Willem was likely irritated by the vacillation over slave trading that emerged after the British returned to the Cape in January 1806. Accordingly, in his post as fiscal – in which he prosecuted slave traders on the behalf of the Crown – he became a key voice against the trade at the Cape. On 25 April 1808, he launched criminal proceedings against the Portuguese owner of a slave ship called the *Rosalia*, who was accused of offloading slaves in Table Bay.<sup>143</sup> Four days later, he emerged as the driving force behind the establishment of a commission of inquiry investigating clandestine slave trading in the colony. Caledon claimed credit for the commission's creation, suggesting that he had convened it after receiving representations 'that a considerable number of slaves' were being 'clandestinely landed and disposed of in

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>139</sup> 'W.S. van Ryneveld's *A sketch of the condition of the colony in 1805*', in Du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought*, I, p. 52.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>143</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 18 May 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 330-1.

this settlement'.<sup>144</sup> Yet the true cause was almost certainly Willem's encounter with the *Rosalia*. As it happened, the commission – which was formed of Willem, the collector of customs, Francis Dashwood, and a member of the court of justice, Clemens Matthiessen – met in Cape Town's town hall for twelve meetings between May and June. The commissioners summoned colonists who had bought slaves after January 1808, and asked them to produce evidence that they had purchased them legally, under threat of a fine of one thousand rixdollars.<sup>145</sup> Among those summoned were those who had bought slaves from the Portuguese ships the *Constantia* and the *Rosalia*.<sup>146</sup> Crucially, the commission was intended to extend Willem's powers over the slave trade in and beyond Cape Town. Under its authority, Willem ordered the *landdrosts* of the districts of Graaff Reinet and Swellendam to interrogate settlers over their purchasing of slaves.<sup>147</sup> He also extended the commission so that it sat for extraordinary meetings beyond its initial brief, in order to 'make a more full and faithful report upon the subject'.<sup>148</sup>

Ironically, Willem's expansion of the fiscal's powers over the slave trade was in part motivated by a desire to extend the jurisdiction of Caledon's Crown autocracy. In prosecuting the slave trade at the Cape, Willem frequently clashed with the vice admiralty court, which administered the prosecution of slavers for the navy. Having received intelligence about the smuggling of slaves from the *Rosalia*, for instance, Willem dispatched a sheriff to 'execute the orders of the Fiscal' and began proceedings against the ship's owners in the court of justice.<sup>149</sup> Yet the admiralty also sent a marshal to investigate the ship and began different proceedings in the vice admiralty court. Much to Caledon's 'mortification', each court claimed its own capacity 'to decide, and one (the Admiralty) the right of immediately executing its decrees'.<sup>150</sup> Embarrassingly, the court of justice and the admiralty came to different conclusions over the *Rosalia*, with the former deciding to prosecute – compelling the owner to pay three times the value of the slaves that he had landed – and the latter dropping the charges. The functioning of different legal systems at the Cape undermined the governor and contravened the terms of

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<sup>144</sup> 'Proclamation by the earl of Caledon', in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 319-20.

<sup>145</sup> 'Report of the commission of inquiry', WCA, CO 4437, p. 1. For a different take on some of these events, see M.C. Reidy, 'The admission of slaves and 'prize slaves' into the Cape Colony, 1797-1818' (MA thesis, Cape Town, 1997).

<sup>146</sup> 'Report of the commission of inquiry', WCA, CO 4437, p. 2, 42.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>149</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 18 May 1808, in Theal, ed. *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, p. 331.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

the capitulation treaty signed by the Dutch in 1806. More seriously, however, according to Caledon, it deprived the fiscal of a 'considerable' part of his income, 'the Colonial Government a branch of its revenue, and added to these the more weighty objection that substantial justice would be defeated'.<sup>151</sup> Caledon wrote to Castlereagh for a resolution but none was given: the overlapping jurisdictions of the fiscal and the admiralty remained a matter of concern for the Commission of Eastern Inquiry when it arrived in the Cape Colony in the 1820s.<sup>152</sup> Meanwhile, Willem's commission was an attempt to assert Crown authority over slave trading. It enabled the Crown to seize sixty-one slaves, forty-six of whom were from the *Rosalie*.<sup>153</sup> They were apprenticed by the state. Willem also implicated (spuriously or otherwise) the admiralty's own marshal in illegal slave-trading, discrediting his office and the navy's jurisdiction.<sup>154</sup>

Yet Willem's actions against slave trading also reveal the consolidation of Dutch anti-slavery practices at the Cape. Willem worked according to the logic that he had outlined back in 1805, having been forced to take action by parliament's prohibition of the slave trade, if not by Caledon's dithering. On the one hand, Willem felt that the colony needed a new source of labour if slavery was to become 'unnecessary'.<sup>155</sup> On the other hand, the slave trade needed to end as quickly as possible. On the first count, Willem had established a set of police laws for the interior as early as 1801. These laws were designed to restrict the movement of Khoisan, and, as Wayne Dooling has observed, they formed an effective blueprint for the Khoisan pass laws that eventually formed the Caledon Code of 1809.<sup>156</sup> Under Willem's legislation, Khoisan were prevented from entering the Cape Colony unless they were serving Dutch farmers or travelling to missionary schools.<sup>157</sup> They were registered by a district magistrate who would record the length of their stay in the colony and the terms under which they were to work, and would be given a certificate which allowed them to work. Those who failed to secure such a certificate would be declared wanderers and vagabonds and sent to Robben Island or forced

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>152</sup> J.P. van Niekerk, 'Judge John Holland and the vice admiralty court of the Cape of Good Hope, 1797-1803: some introductory and biographical notes (part 1)', *Fundamina* 23 (2017), pp. 176-210, at p. 197.

<sup>153</sup> 'Report of the commission of inquiry', WCA, CO 4437, p. 55; see also Reidy, 'Admission of slaves', p. 75; Caledon to Castlereagh, 2 October 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, p. 387.

<sup>154</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 2 October 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 387-8.

<sup>155</sup> 'W.S. van Ryneveld's *A sketch of the condition of the colony in 1805*', in Du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought*, I, p. 53.

<sup>156</sup> Dooling, 'Origins and aftermath of the Hottentot Code', pp. 50-61.

<sup>157</sup> 'A plan for amending the interior police in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope', in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, IV, p. 91.

to labour on public works. Willem's law formalised the modes of indenture used in the south African interior and in his eyes they established a new labour force for the Cape.<sup>158</sup> Against this, the commission of 1808 appears as a second element of Willem's anti-slavery strategy: a concerted effort to enforce the ban on the slave trade absolutely and bring an end to the colony's reliance on slavery without damaging the economy. While Caledon vacillated, Willem applied Dutch anti-slavery ideas to the Cape and secured Caledon's autocracy.

### **Raising the fallen: Frederik Turr and the Java Benevolent Institution**

Willem van Ryneveld worked in the interests of the government and consequently his efforts to curb slavery were dominated by the search for new forms of labour. However, more radical interventions were made in places where the middle classes became involved in debates over slavery. For his part, Frederik Turr was drawn into such debates through Batavia's European milieu. Having arrived on the *Scaleby Castle* in August 1814, Frederik became part of the city's middle class: reinventing himself as a magistrate, he moved into the European-dominated suburb of Weltevreden in 1815.<sup>159</sup> He attended branches of the Harmony Society on Outer Newport Street and in the nearby suburb of Ryswick, and would probably have attended the celebrations marking the opening of the society's new premises in the latter in January 1815.<sup>160</sup> At the time, the Harmony Society was a hub of loyalism: the Ryswick celebrations were joined by 'loyal and patriotic toasts ... given by the Commander of the Forces', while a portrait of Lord Minto, the governor-general of India who oversaw Java's invasion in 1811, was hung in the supper room.<sup>161</sup> By 1816, Frederik had been appointed to the directorial committee of the Ryswick society, alongside governing elites like the former VOC official Jan van Sevenhoven and Raffles's aide-de-camp, Thomas Travers.<sup>162</sup> Anti-slavery views filtered through this milieu. Ideas of freedom and slavery, as invoked by the Patriots in the Netherlands, appeared in the pages of *The Java Government Gazette*. In August 1815, one writer noted how 'one portion of the globe has emerged from the horrors of slavery to the delights of freedom', in a polemic

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<sup>158</sup> Dooling, 'Origins and aftermath of the Hottentot Code', pp. 50-61.

<sup>159</sup> A.H. Hubbard, ed., *The Java half-yearly almanac for 1816* (Batavia, 1816), p. 179, 245.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., pp. 179-181; see also 'A Large Portion', 21 January 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 3.

<sup>161</sup> 'A Large Portion', 21 January 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 3.

<sup>162</sup> Hubbard, ed., *Java almanac for 1816*, p. 179.

against the consumption of alcohol in Batavia.<sup>163</sup> The *Gazette* likewise printed speeches made by William Wilberforce in parliament, on topics including the Portuguese slave trade.<sup>164</sup>

Meanwhile, Raffles struggled to curb the slave trade around Java. The problems raised by the *Guanting* case had not gone away. Like Kam Hianko, the owners of the Hadhrami ship seized by William Owen in January 1813 had written to Raffles to dispute the legal basis of the seizure. They argued that Java had been captured by the British so recently that the ending of the slave trade 'could not have been in contemplation of the Legislature of England, nor could it have reference to anything ordinarily passing here'.<sup>165</sup> They framed their argument in theological terms, noting that 'in Mahometanism, and by the tenets of the Mahometan Faith ... slaves are allowed'.<sup>166</sup> In fact, they said, the seizure of their slaves constituted a 'breach and annihilation' of their religion.<sup>167</sup> Concurrently, Owen had adopted new tactics. He said that he would sail around the ocean with the ship's slaves until he could obtain 'a positive assurance by public document, that their freedom shall be secured to them', and also threatened to take the ship's owners to Britain to face trial under British law, in the absence of a vice admiralty court in Java.<sup>168</sup> Raffles was outraged. Writing to Owen, he argued that the removal of the owners to Britain would be 'fraught with evil consequences', while 'courts of competent jurisdiction exist in India where the ends of justice are equally attainable'.<sup>169</sup> Raffles arranged for another inquiry to take place in Aden and the slavers were let off with a small fine.<sup>170</sup>

Seeking to prevent further challenges to his authority, Raffles introduced his ban on the importation of slaves to Java in the following month.<sup>171</sup> However, this did little to improve the situation in practice, especially in places beyond Batavia. In November 1815, for instance, a number of Balinese slaves were found in Batavia having been imported through Surabaya.<sup>172</sup> Slave raiding also remained common: so-called 'pirates' would enter Java's ports as 'traders' before capturing people and taking them up the Sumatran coast to Riau, where they would

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<sup>163</sup> 'No. IV, to the Editor of the Gazette', 12 August 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 2.

<sup>164</sup> 'Portuguese Slave Trade', 21 May 1814, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 5.

<sup>165</sup> 'Petition of Syed Alloo', 22 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> Owen to Raffles, 14 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>169</sup> Raffles to Owen, 11 January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>170</sup> 'Interrogations', 9 February 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>171</sup> Wright, 'Raffles and the slave trade', p. 190.

<sup>172</sup> Wall to Assey, 13 November 1815, in *House of Commons Papers* 125, vol. 24, p. 263.

sell them into slavery.<sup>173</sup> In 1815, it was estimated that five hundred Javanese were abducted from Banten, a district on Java's western coast, while a further seventy were taken in the first months of 1816.<sup>174</sup> In response, Raffles strengthened the central government and its controls over the regions and islands not immediately under his control. He reissued the law banning the importation of slaves in 1815, in an order calling on 'all the public authorities acting under this government, to be vigilant and careful'.<sup>175</sup> The following month, Batavia's magistrates and the residents of Java and Madura were told to send to the central government lists 'of all slaves within their jurisdiction', with information like their names, ages, and countries of birth.<sup>176</sup>

It was in this setting that Raffles established the Java Benevolent Institution at the end of 1815. The institution was intended to extend the government's control over parts of the archipelago beyond Java and act as a vehicle for collecting legal information that could be used by Raffles against slavers who challenged his authority. Its founding was announced in a notice in the *Gazette* in December. This reported that the institution would be associated 'in plan and principle with the 'African Institution'', which had by then risen to prominence through its efforts to catch slavers and introduce a post-slavery agrarian economy in Sierra Leone. The African Institution's directors also issued a report each year publicising efforts to curb slave trading in British colonies and drawing attention to slave traders. Similarly, the Java institution would extend 'the philanthropic views of that admirable body throughout the Eastern Islands', seeking accordingly 'the promotion of agriculture and commerce, the acquirement and diffusion of knowledge, and the detection of slave traders'.<sup>177</sup> Writing to the *Gazette*, one British member, who called himself 'Anglicus', claimed that the institution's 'primary object' was to direct people in 'desolated Countries' like 'the Moluccas' and 'the Celebes', as well as Java, to the pursuit of 'agriculture and useful commerce'.<sup>178</sup> The institution would gather 'knowledge of ... [their] languages and customs, and of ... the soil'.<sup>179</sup> Yet the

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<sup>173</sup> 'Extract of a letter addressed by the committee of 'the Java Benevolent Institution', to the secretary of the African Institution', 23 March 1816, in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, p. 87. For debate on the construction of the 'pirate', see Simon Layton, 'Hydras and leviathans in the Indian Ocean world', *International Journal of Maritime History* 25 (2013), pp. 213-25. For an exploration of slave raiding in this part of the Malay archipelago, see Warren, *Sulu zone*, pp. 149-251.

<sup>174</sup> 'Extract of a letter', 23 March 1816, in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, p. 87.

<sup>175</sup> 'Proclamation', 17 November 1815, in *House of Commons Papers* 125, vol. 24, pp. 262-3.

<sup>176</sup> 'Proclamation', 20 December 1815, in *House of Commons Papers* 125, vol. 24, p. 265.

<sup>177</sup> 'Advertisement', 2 December 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 2.

<sup>178</sup> 'Letter from Anglicus', 30 December 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 2.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Java institution would also be more ambitious than its African counterpart: according to Anglicus, it would ameliorate domestic slavery.<sup>180</sup> As 'a society of liberal persons, watching over the interests of humanity', it would 'suggest amendments which escape ... Rulers' and even provide 'the sanction of citizens to the correction of their municipal regulations'.<sup>181</sup>

Such endeavours would necessarily require the support of Batavia's Europeans and at first Raffles seemed to offer them the chance to become involved. They were even able to improve their social status by doing so, as members were to be named in the *Gazette* 'for the information of the community at large'.<sup>182</sup> Frederik Turr quickly signed up and became an active participant. Within months, he was sitting on the institution's committee, alongside his contemporary from the Harmony Society, Jan van Sevenhoven.<sup>183</sup> Other members included Johan Anthonie Zwekkert, the head of Java's mint, as well as J. Rauws and J. van Nyveheim, who were assistants to the Resident of Surabaya. William Colebrooke, a captain, became the institution's secretary.<sup>184</sup> There was also a correlation between membership of the Benevolent Institution and membership of the Harmony Society: alongside Turr and Jan van Sevenhoven, a number of colonists including Thomas Travers, the British doctor Thomas Sevestre, and the Dutch surgeon of the Amboynese corps, Dirk Schaap, were members of both societies.<sup>185</sup>

Despite this promising start, the institution soon acquired a controversial reputation. Its establishment stimulated tensions between the British and the Dutch, as it was embraced by belligerent Britons who imagined it in an imperialistic vein as an organisation designed to undermine Britain's less enlightened rivals. No appeal to the Dutch was made in the founding statement.<sup>186</sup> Meanwhile, Anglicus supposed that the 'work of benevolence' would have to be done by 'Englishman, aided by a few worthy individuals', as the Dutch had lost the 'liberal feelings of a free people' amid their 'selfish' interest in mercantilism.<sup>187</sup> Anglicus also cast anti-slavery as a specifically British idea: 'to emancipate ... a man', he said, would be to expose

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>182</sup> 'Advertisement', 9 December 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 3.

<sup>183</sup> 'Report of a general meeting of subscribers to 'the Java Benevolent Institution', held at the Harmonie', 18 January 1816, in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, p. 73.

<sup>184</sup> For a general list of subscribers, see 'List of subscribers to the Java Benevolent Institution', *Java Government Gazette*, p. 5. On Zwekkert, see J. Bucknill, *The coins of the Dutch East Indies: an introduction to the study of the series* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Delhi, 2000), p. 116, 163; on Hubbard, ed., *Java almanac for 1816*, p. 68.

<sup>185</sup> Hubbard, ed., *Java almanac for 1816*, p. 84, 175, 179.

<sup>186</sup> 'Advertisement', 2 December 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 2.

<sup>187</sup> 'Letter from Anglicus', 30 December 1815, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 2.

him to 'the cares of the world', as a Dutch colonist might 'experience in the midst of an English popular election'.<sup>188</sup> Conversely, many of the Dutch were hostile to the institution. Some worried that it would abolish slavery immediately.<sup>189</sup> Others retorted that, while slavery would find 'few advocates' among them, describing them as 'illiberal, narrow-minded ... unfeeling wretches', as Anglicus had done, would hardly endear them to the anti-slavery cause.<sup>190</sup> Consequently, when the institution initially met – at the Ryswick premises of the Harmony Society – few Dutch attended.<sup>191</sup> Seeking to defuse the controversy, the institution disclaimed 'all intention whatever of interfering with the right of property in Slaves'.<sup>192</sup>

Ultimately, a solution came from Frederik Turr, who saw in the controversy a chance to seize the institution from the British and turn it into a society that advocated for an end to slavery and the slave trade along the gradual and capacious lines of Frossard's model. Turr wrote to the *Gazette* in January 1816, under the pseudonym 'A Liberal Colonist', to critique the actions of some of the institution's members.<sup>193</sup> He objected to the stereotyping of the Dutch as illiberal and contended that the 'declaration intended to calm the *prejudices*' of his 'countrymen, and satisfy their feeble minds that no intention existed of violating their property' was offensive.<sup>194</sup> The Dutch, he said, were no different to the British; it was simply the case that they had not secured 'that great engine, a *free press*', which would have rendered 'liberal ideas more familiar to the people'.<sup>195</sup> As such, the Dutch should not 'be stigmatized as the victims of unconquerable prejudice', while the institution, as an 'association of Dutch and English Philanthropists', should adhere more closely to the ultimately gradual model of the African Institution.<sup>196</sup> He called on the Dutch to dismiss the idea that 'our *weak* faculties should not be so dazzled with the full splendour of liberal ideas' and suggested that they fight for policies that guaranteed their economic and social well-being: 'the prosecution of rational, just and attainable views, the foundation of our future prosperity in these regions will be ... more likely to attract us, than a narrow scheme projected on a mortifying principle of adaptation to

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<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>189</sup> 'A meeting of subscribers', 6 January 1816, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 5.

<sup>190</sup> 'Letter from a colonist', 6 January 1816, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 2.

<sup>191</sup> 'A meeting of subscribers', 6 January 1816, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 5.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>193</sup> 'Letter from a liberal colonist', 13 January 1816, *Java Government Gazette*, pp. 2-3. The Dutch author is very likely Turr, as he references his travel, chair on the institution's committee, and quotes a Latin phrase by Horace.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.



our *inferior* and *limited* capacities'.<sup>197</sup> While Frederik's language was dramatic, he spoke in terms of loyalism and liberalism. Appealing to the British, he quoted the satirist John Gay, describing how Britain's free press had generated 'earlier advances in knowledge and wisdom than the rest of Europe'.<sup>198</sup> Yet he also cast the Netherlands as fertile ground for liberal ideas, even claiming that once the Dutch 'had the benefit of all the knowledge that has been diffused in England', they would 'profit by it, [more] than the British Legislature has done'.<sup>199</sup>

Frederik's intervention was a success. The institution adopted a gradual plan that was founded on ideas of economic and social improvement. Writing to the directors of the African Institution in 1816, the Java institution's committee anticipated that the 'liberal sentiments which actuate the public mind in England and Holland will be ... effective in relieving the sufferings of their fellow creatures' in Java.<sup>200</sup> Their charter adjusted that of the African Institution. Following their African counterparts, the Java committee called for the spread of 'useful arts of Europe' among 'the Natives' but added a clause about the promotion of the 'peace and happiness' of their 'more civilized neighbours'.<sup>201</sup> As in Sierra Leone, economic improvements were to be focused on the distribution of 'useful seeds, and plants, and implements of husbandry' but these were also intended to encourage islanders to discard the 'piratical habits' that were said to have upheld slavery and instead cultivate land.<sup>202</sup> The Java committee likewise argued for the adoption of printing, 'with a view to the diffusion of information'.<sup>203</sup> Regarding the slave trade, the institution pledged to gather information about the breaking of the law 'by daring speculators' and give it to Batavia's magistrates.<sup>204</sup> Information would be collected by a network of 'Agents and Correspondents ... established throughout these Islands'.<sup>205</sup> They promised to protect emancipated slaves and create 'a

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<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>200</sup> *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, p. 15.

<sup>201</sup> 'Extract from the fundamental laws of the African Institution, explanatory of the means whereby it proposed and has succeeded in promoting civilization and improvement in Africa and application of the same laws with such additions as local circumstances require [in Java]', 14 February 1816, in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

correspondence with England and Holland' to draw greater 'public attention both in Great Britain and the United Netherlands' to the 'Slave-traffic ... in the Eastern Archipelago'.<sup>206</sup>

Frederik's intervention reshaped the popular narrative concerning the institution. In April 1816, a correspondent calling himself 'Philo-Colonius' wrote to the *Gazette*, observing that the 'horrors attendant on the traffic ... had been pathetically depicted to the [Dutch] Colonists' and suggesting that they would have openly supported the institution from the start had they not been disparaged by British chauvinists.<sup>207</sup> 'No public proof was ... extant of their being insensible' to the institution's 'principles ... or deaf to the arguments breathed forth in almost every work published in their own Country during the last twenty years', he said.<sup>208</sup> However, Frederik's work also helped Raffles's information-gathering efforts and his attempt to establish control over Java and the Malay archipelago. The public involvement of the Dutch in the institution allowed the British to cast it as a society that brought colonists together to 'raise the fallen and succour the oppressed'.<sup>209</sup> Yet the institution itself continued to act as a vehicle through which Raffles gained legal information from slaves, slavers, and Dutch officials. William Colebrooke was enabled as its secretary to gather sworn depositions documenting the experiences of slaves and the crimes of those involved with slaving. The state's antagonists in these documents were always described as Chinese traders or Malay *rajas*; as such, these statements legitimised the growth of the British state over the archipelago and its trade routes by legitimising the government's management of slaves' bodies in these places.<sup>210</sup> Among the depositions collected was the account of Thomas de Rozario, a 'gun-room steward', who was taken by a Malay *raja* at Pulo Aura, before being sold into slavery.<sup>211</sup> De Rozario's position was unlawful, and 'he suffered much for nine months'.<sup>212</sup> It was only when he was delivered to the British that he was relieved of his suffering and apprenticed.

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<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>207</sup> 'Letter from Philo Colonius', 20 April 1816, *Java Government Gazette*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>210</sup> 'Deposition of Thomas de Rozario', February 1816, in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, p. 92.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

## Slavery and the Dutch jurors of Ceylon

Frederik Turr's role in the rise of anti-slavery in Java was in some ways paralleled by that of his counterparts in Ceylon. In general, Ceylon's chief justice, Alexander Johnston, has been recognised as the most prominent advocate against slavery in that colony. However, his efforts, and specifically his 1816 law emancipating slave children, were influenced by Dutch members of the middle classes and governing elite. This was a consequence of Johnston's jury reforms, which were introduced with a new legal charter late in 1811.<sup>213</sup> These established the practice of trial by jury, with jurors being chosen from different groups of men like burghers, Sinhalese, Malabars, or Moors.<sup>214</sup> In Johnston's mind, these juries increased the attachment of subjects to the government, 'by making them feel that they had a share in the administration of justice'.<sup>215</sup> They would also allow jurors to develop what he called 'a character for veracity, by making such a character the condition upon which they were to look for respect from their countrymen'.<sup>216</sup> On the issue of slavery, however, Johnston's juries – and a number of Dutch 'special jurymen', in particular – defined the way in which the British approached anti-slavery in Sri Lanka. The introduction of juries is sometimes cast as an attempt by Johnston to wrestle power away from the governor, Thomas Maitland, but here their legacy was despotic.<sup>217</sup>

Slavery was first linked to Alexander Johnston's jurymen in July 1816. As we saw in Chapter One, a group of forty-two Dutchmen had written to Johnston the previous year to complain about the lack of social distinctions among them. 'From the original institution of the Trial by Jury on this Island we felt ourselves highly happy and honoured in participating this most valuable boon ... only enjoyed by British subjects in other parts of the world', they wrote.<sup>218</sup> As Johnston predicted, the right to serve on a jury had become a marker of status, but the Dutchmen were unhappy with the way in which jurors had been chosen. 'Several Burghers have been wholly exempted or passed over to ... the detriment and prejudice of the

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<sup>213</sup> For an exploration of Johnston's reforms, see C.A. Bayly, *Recovering liberties: Indian thought in the age of liberalism and empire* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 95-6. For Johnston's reasoning for jury reform in his own words, see 'Minutes of evidence before committee of Lords (1830) on the affairs of the East India Company', 19 March 1830, in 'Report from the select committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company', *House of Commons Papers* 646, vol. 6 (1830), pp. 123-4.

<sup>214</sup> 'Minutes of evidence', 19 March 1830, in *House of Commons Papers* 646, vol. 6, p. 123.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>217</sup> Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, p. 120.

<sup>218</sup> 'Petition addressed to Alexander Johnston by over 40 burghers', 15 July 1815, SLNA, 25.1/27.

regular attendants.’<sup>219</sup> Moreover, among the other inhabitants of the island, ‘a discrimination has been made amongst ... [those] as qualified and fit to serve as jurors and in every such denomination they have been classed according to their respectability and rank in life’.<sup>220</sup> Among the Dutch, however, ‘no such line of distinction ... whatever has been drawn for Burghers from the Highest to the lowest class’.<sup>221</sup> Burghers had been ‘panelled together including mechanics and artificers of all descriptions, even this ... has been further acted upon by introducing the descendants of Emancipated slaves with actual Burghers’.<sup>222</sup> They proposed that Johnston create distinctions in his juries to sustain ‘this important office’.<sup>223</sup>

In response, Johnston created a group of so-called ‘special jurors’, made up of ‘persons of the Highest respectability & the best Education’.<sup>224</sup> These jurors were drawn first from the burghers of Colombo, predominantly governing elites and the middle classes. By July 1816, they numbered around 130 men, many of whom were also slaveowners.<sup>225</sup> These included Johan Lorenz, an officer of the supreme court; Francis Fretz, the magistrate of Puttalam; a commander, Dietrich Fretz; the advocate fiscal, Cornelis Prins; Johannes Stork, a burgher from Tuticorin; and Richard Morgen, a court secretary.<sup>226</sup> Johnston saw in the creation of the special jurymen a chance to advocate for an end to slavery. These men, he later reasoned to a House of Lords committee, would endorse a proposal for emancipation if they were told that their rights and statuses as jurors depended on it.<sup>227</sup> Consequently, in July 1816, Johnston wrote to the special jurymen to ask them whether they thought ‘such a measure’ would be ‘advisable’.<sup>228</sup> He told them that by ending slavery, they would demonstrate their ‘liberality’, setting ‘a bright example to their countrymen’ and showing ‘themselves to be ranked amongst

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> ‘Order on Special Jurors’, 11 August 1815, SLNA, 25.1/27.

<sup>225</sup> ‘Extract of a letter from the honourable Sir Alexander Johnston’, 22 July 1816, in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, p. 94.

<sup>226</sup> On Lorenz, see Lorenz to D’Oyly, May 1815, SLNA, 6/520b, p. 73; on Francis Fretz, see van Geyzel to Fretz, 23 June 1810, SLNA, 6/320; on Dietrich Fretz, see ‘Advertisement’, 25 February 1807, *Ceylon Government Gazette*, p. 1; on Cornelis Prins, see D.V. Allendorff, ‘Genealogy of the Family of Prins of Ceylon’, *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union* 40 (1950), pp. 7-19, at p. 7; on Johannes Stork, see Twistleton to colonial secretary, 24 June 1815, SLNA, 6/490; on Richard Morgen, see Morgen to Grenville, 23 December 1816, SLNA, 6/329.

<sup>227</sup> ‘Minutes of evidence’, 19 March 1830, in *House of Commons Papers* 646, vol. 6, p. 129.

<sup>228</sup> ‘Copy of a letter from the Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston to the Dutch gentlemen whose names are on the list of special jurymen for the province of Colombo’, 10 July 1816, in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, p. 95.

the benefactors of the human race'.<sup>229</sup> Johnston enclosed with his letter copies of the eighth and ninth reports of the African Institution. Poignantly, the institution's ninth report included an article on proceedings under the Slave Trade Act in Ceylon.<sup>230</sup> It recounted, in particular, the trial of an Arabic captain, Ahmad Kassim Patchiren, who was 'well known in all the different ports of Madagascar, and of the Eastern Coast of Africa' and who had been accused of abducting a child in Galle.<sup>231</sup> Many of the jurors would have been personally familiar with this trial, as it had played out in front of a grand jury 'composed of the Dutch gentlemen of Colombo' in 1814.<sup>232</sup> No doubt Johnston understood its significance.

If Johnston thought he needed to persuade the special jurymen to endorse his proposal to end slavery, however, he was mistaken. Some of the jurymen had personal experiences of slavery, while others argued for slave rights. In June 1815, Johannes Stork came to the aid of his niece, Carolina Stork, when she was trafficked from Tuticorin in India to Colombo by J. Matthyse, the commander of a cutter named *Tartar*.<sup>233</sup> Matthyse abducted Carolina, who was 'between 13 & 14 years', without the knowledge of her parents, and abused her during the voyage to Colombo.<sup>234</sup> Once Johannes and his wife, Mrs Armour, learnt about Carolina's arrival in Colombo, they petitioned the city's magistrate, Thomas Twistleton, asking him to arrest Matthyse. Yet while Twistleton briefly apprehended Matthyse, he erred on taking the case further: he was unsure, he said, whether the case fell within his jurisdiction, as the crime had begun in Tuticorin. Moreover, Matthyse had presented bail, which he was inclined to accept, despite Johannes's numerous protestations. Eventually, Carolina was rehoused with her aunt, while the supreme court under Alexander Johnston intervened to refuse Matthyse's bail.<sup>235</sup> As such, Johannes would have had strong motivations to support Johnston's proposal. His fellow juror Richard Morgen also favoured slave rights: when a petitioner, Louis Perera, requested that Morgen provide him with a copy of a slave deed from the Dutch period so that he might prove that someone was a slave, Morgen retorted that it was none of his business.

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>230</sup> 'Proceedings under the Slave Trade Felony Act in the island of Ceylon', in *Ninth report of the directors of the African Institution* (London, 1815), pp. 88-111.

<sup>231</sup> 'Copy of a letter from the Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston', in *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>233</sup> Twistleton to Colonial Secretary, 24 June 1815, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

He suggested that the petitioner had 'in a quarrel insulted some body who is at present a free person as a slave' and wanted the deed only in order to prove the veracity of his insult.<sup>236</sup>

When Johnston's proposal for ending slavery landed with the special jurymen, then, some supported it because they argued against slavery and others because their position as jurors seemed to depend on it. The jurors quickly assembled a meeting of thirteen jurymen, including Stork, Morgen, Prins, Lorenz, and the Freztes, in the jury-room at Hulfsdorp.<sup>237</sup> Where Johnston had vaguely proposed the ending of slavery, they agreed on 'a gradual abolition ... gradual in its progress, but in its issue certain and complete'.<sup>238</sup> In this, they claimed to be following 'the magnanimous example of those alluded to in the ... reports of the African Institution' but like Turr they also echoed the ideas of Franco-Dutch anti-slavery thinkers dating back to the Patriots and Frossard.<sup>239</sup> 'The circumstance of every individual of us does not allow a sudden and total abolition of slavery', they informed Johnston, 'without subjecting both the proprietors and the slaves themselves to material and serious injuries'.<sup>240</sup> As such, they unanimously agreed eleven resolutions to determine how slavery should gradually be ended in Ceylon. The first of these resolved that all slave children should be declared free and the fourth that 'all children ... born free shall remain in their master's house, and serve them without any wages', until adolescence.<sup>241</sup> This was supposed to be a way of providing 'tutelage' to emancipated slaves.<sup>242</sup> Like the Dutch elsewhere, the jurymen created safeguards for slaveowners: they would be allowed to retain the children even if they freed their parents, while children would pass between slaveowners if their parents were sold.<sup>243</sup> Nevertheless, the jurymen also suggested that owners should be forced to register their slaves with sitting magistrates and constables.<sup>244</sup> A bizarre resolution ordering freed slaves, 'as a

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<sup>236</sup> Morgen to Grenville, 23 December 1816, SLNA, 6/329.

<sup>237</sup> 'Meeting of the members of the special Dutch jurors', 15 July 1816, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 565.

<sup>238</sup> 'Memorial from the Dutch inhabitants', undated, in 'Correspondence between directors', *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 567.

<sup>239</sup> 'Meeting of the members of the special Dutch jurors', 15 July 1816, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 562.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 562.

<sup>241</sup> 'Resolutions of the meeting of Dutch jurors', 15 July 1816, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 565.

<sup>242</sup> 'Memorial from the Dutch inhabitants', undated, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 567.

<sup>243</sup> 'Resolutions of the meeting of Dutch jurors', 15 July 1816, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 565.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 565.

token of their freedom', to 'not wear any European dress', likely inspired by anxieties about emancipated slaves entering the ranks of burghers, received only three votes of assent.<sup>245</sup>

The success of the measures proposed by the special jurymen is debateable. Johnston used them to extract similar concessions from other jurors – Sinhalese, Malabars, Moors, and the Dutch in Jaffna and Galle – by suggesting to them that, in endorsing the ideas of the special jurors, they would become 'in the eyes of the court and in those of their countrymen, more impartial jurymen'.<sup>246</sup> Endorsements were soon forthcoming, and were also driven by the work of Cornelis Prins, the fiscal and 'proctor for paupers and slaves', who dispatched reports of the Colombo meeting to jurors elsewhere on the island.<sup>247</sup> The subscribers to an address made on the passage of the law also included representatives from caste-based groups such as the *vellalas* (Tamil landowners), the fisher and washer castes, and the Sinhalese.<sup>248</sup> Yet, in practice, the measures were less effective. A report in 1830 suggested that, while the number of slaves in the southern maritime provinces was limited to less than one thousand people, only ninety-six had been registered as free according to the terms of the 1816 law.<sup>249</sup> In the province of Jaffna, where caste-based forms of slavery persisted, there remained 15,350 slaves in 1824.<sup>250</sup> In fact, the government had trialled other measures in the northern provinces, including the purchase of children from masters, but had only freed 2,211 slaves by 1821.<sup>251</sup>

Consequently, the significant legacy of the 1816 law lay in the way that it strengthened certain figures within the British government. Alexander Johnston boasted of his success in ending slavery in later reports of the African Institution: his activities feature alongside those of the Java Benevolent Institution in the society's eleventh report.<sup>252</sup> Johnston, however, left Sri Lanka in 1819, and the cause of anti-slavery was therefore adopted by the governor, Robert Brownrigg (r. 1812-20). Brownrigg is known for his wide employment of *rajakariya* and other

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid., p. 566.

<sup>246</sup> 'Minutes of evidence', 19 March 1830, in *House of Commons Papers* 646, vol. 6, p. 129.

<sup>247</sup> 'Resolutions of the meeting of Dutch jurors', 15 July 1815, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 566, see also 'Meeting of the members of the Dutch jurors of Point de Galle', 21 July 1815, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 566.

<sup>248</sup> 'List of subscribers to the address for emancipating children of slaves after the 12<sup>th</sup> of August 1816', undated, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, pp. 573-78.

<sup>249</sup> 'Extract of a report of Lieutenant-colonel Colebrooke', 24 December 1831, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 598.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., p. 598.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., p. 598.

<sup>252</sup> *Eleventh report of the African Institution*, pp. 69-101.

forms of indentured labour.<sup>253</sup> He extended Johnston's law throughout the island and linked it to a massive expansion of slave registration, particularly in Jaffna, where he sensed an opportunity to undermine the *vellalas* who held hereditary slaves from the *nalava*, *pallar*, and *koviyar* castes.<sup>254</sup> He likewise abolished the principle of joint tenure of these castes, in which two landowners had been able to claim the work of any one slave and gave priority in ownership to those *vellalas* who had shown loyalty to the British by subscribing to the 1816 law.<sup>255</sup> This move was motivated more by the immediate need for labour than any concern for the slaves: Brownrigg suggested that disputes between landowners over joint tenure had affected the 'good order' of Jaffna, an 'extensive and valuable province'.<sup>256</sup> Brownrigg likewise introduced an addendum to the Dutch measures that allowed existing slaves to argue for their freedom in front of provincial magistrates, who reported directly to him. Those slaves who were successful were granted certificates of emancipation, thereby becoming latent subjects whose freedom was in many ways dependent on Brownrigg's executive and the judiciary.<sup>257</sup>

## Conclusion

The meetings of British and Dutch middle classes and governing elites in the Anglo-Dutch colonies thus drove anti-slavery to the forefront of colonial politics around the Indian Ocean. Yet their legacies were generally mixed and they broadly facilitated the expansion of British autocracies. At the Cape, Willem van Ryneveld's qualified approach to anti-slavery defined the, at best, half-hearted and, at worst, oppressive policies that the British Crown later applied to the colony's Khoisan. Willem continued to act as fiscal until 1809, when he was promoted to chief justice. He sat on the first circuit court established by Governor Caledon to oversee his code in the interior districts, as well as the introduction of passes for Khoisan and any allegations of their abuse at the hands of Dutch settlers.<sup>258</sup> The latter had the effect of tying the

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<sup>253</sup> On Brownrigg's use of immigrant indentured labour, see Wenzlhuemer, *From coffee to tea cultivation*, pp. 243-4.

<sup>254</sup> 'A regulation for securing to certain Children', in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, pp. 569-70, see also examples of certificates used for registration, pp. 579-86.

<sup>255</sup> 'A regulation for facilitating the division of covia, nallua, and palla slaves, in the districts of Jaffnapatam and Trincomalee', 5 August 1818, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 588.

<sup>256</sup> 'Extract of a despatch from Brownrigg to Bathurst', 16 September 1816, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 561.

<sup>257</sup> 'A regulation for securing to certain Children', 5 August 1818, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 573.

<sup>258</sup> For van Ryneveld's work at this time in his life, see Dooling, 'Origins and aftermath of the Hottentot Code', pp. 50-61.



legal rights of Khoisan to their immobility as workers, as every Khoisan making an appeal was legally required by the code to have a specific place of abode.<sup>259</sup> This institutionalised the 'servile status of the colonial Khoi and San' while underscoring the massive expansion of the rule of law at the Cape under the jurisdiction of the Crown.<sup>260</sup> Willem died unexpectedly in 1812 but the extension of Crown government that he had begun in 1808 continued to develop until the passage of Ordinance 50 in 1828 and the abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1834.<sup>261</sup> In the meantime, the anti-slavery cause was taken up by missionaries as well as Cape Town's merchants, represented by the newspaper editor John Fairbairn.<sup>262</sup> Yet their efforts only really started to gain traction after the commission of inquiry in the 1820s proposed reforms of the Cape's government and press, including the reduction of the fiscal's powers.<sup>263</sup> Ironically, Willem's vision for ending the slave trade and creating new sources of labour cemented the Cape's place as a colony of masters and servants until well into the nineteenth century.

Similarly, while the expansion of Raffles's centralised state in Java was cut short by the return of the colony to the Dutch in 1816, the importance of the Benevolent Institution as an instrument of autocracy cannot be understated. Through his tenure as governor, Thomas Raffles had explored disruptive and violent ways of extending his control and the institution was a progression of these ideas.<sup>264</sup> The institution's discourse of 'piracy', and Raffles's access to legal depositions and information would have facilitated the introduction of interventionist policies across the Malay archipelago. In fact, the institution's 1816 proceedings already contained a document describing the beneficial effects of the introduction of British law in Makassar and the need to disrupt 'pirate settlements' in Sulawesi and Borneo.<sup>265</sup> As it was, the Java institution served largely to improve Raffles's personal cachet and encourage British chauvinism.<sup>266</sup> An 1819 edition of Bryan Edwards's history of the Caribbean used it as a stick

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid., pp. 50-61; see also Worden, 'Indian Ocean slavery and its demise', pp. 34-41.

<sup>260</sup> Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order* (Cape Town, 1996), p. 35.

<sup>261</sup> Worden, 'Indian Ocean slavery and its demise', p. 36.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>264</sup> On Raffles's more violent inclinations, see Peter Carey, 'Revolutionary Europe and the destruction of Java's old order, 1808-1830', in David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *The age of revolutions in global context, c. 1760-1840* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 167-88.

<sup>265</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, II, p. cxvii.

<sup>266</sup> On Raffles's reputation in London, see 'Raffles and the slave trade', pp. 184-91.

with which to beat the Dutch.<sup>267</sup> Raffles himself invoked the memory of the institution while attempting to build a 'native' college during his brief tenure as governor of Bencoolen.<sup>268</sup>

Nevertheless, the efforts of Frederik Turr, Johannes Stork, and their ilk were not totally in vain, and, in many ways, they developed liberal politics in the British empire. William Colebrooke, the institution's secretary, went on to become a central figure in the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission in Sri Lanka, a branch of the Commission of Eastern Inquiry, in the 1830s.<sup>269</sup> In 1831, Colebrooke equated *rajakariya*, the Kandyan service tenure employed by successive British governors, with slavery, and sought to replicate Johnston's efforts to end slavery fifteen years earlier. Any recognition of the Dutch jurors was gone but their legacy endured. 'Personal slavery ... is nearly extinct in the Cingalese provinces', Colebrooke observed.<sup>270</sup> Consequently, he supposed that the 'gradual extinction of slavery in Ceylon' had been achieved with 'so little sacrifice' that it should be 'extended to the Kandyan provinces, where personal slavery ... prevails'.<sup>271</sup> Despite the strong opposition of the Ceylon regime, Colebrooke's proposal was endorsed by London and *rajakariya* was abolished in 1831.<sup>272</sup>

In light of these events, it seems misleading to characterise anti-slavery in the British empire as a metropolitan or British endeavour devoted entirely to the expansion of colonial power. Similarly, it would be misleading to characterise Dutch anti-slavery as absent from debates about bondage in the Indian Ocean world and to deny that it had an impact on the substance of anti-slavery in the British empire. By appraising anti-slavery as an Anglo-Dutch phenomenon, indeed, we can see how many anti-slavery policies were derived from cross-colonial exchanges of ideas and the reimagining of Dutch and Patriot arguments in the Anglo-Dutch colonies. At times, this history even gestures to the entanglement of other empires in the story of anti-slavery: the Sri Lankan burghers not only included Dutch colonists but also

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<sup>267</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, II, p. cii.

<sup>268</sup> Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the life and public services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (2 vols., London, 1830-5), II, p. 52.

<sup>269</sup> For Colebrooke's later work in Sri Lanka in particular and some of the historical debate surrounding his work, see K.M. de Silva, *A history of Sri Lanka* (London, 1981), pp. 247-50; David Scott, 'Colonial governmentality', *Social Text* 43 (1995), pp. 191-220; Niranjin Casinader, Roshan de Silva Wijeyaratne, and Lee Godden, 'From sovereignty to modernity: revisiting the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms – transforming the Buddhist and colonial imaginary in nineteenth-century Ceylon', *Comparative Legal History* 6 (2018), pp. 34-64.

<sup>270</sup> 'Extract of a report of Lieutenant-colonel Colebrooke', 24 December 1831, in *House of Commons Papers* 697, vol. 51, p. 598.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 598.

<sup>272</sup> On the abolition of *rajakariya* by Colebrooke and Cameron, see Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, pp. 233-4.

Portuguese.<sup>273</sup> Their contribution lies beyond the scope of this chapter but their presence suggests that the history of cross-colonial anti-slavery might be extended further again. For now, in the British empire, Anglo-Dutch anti-slavery can be seen to have led to development of autocracy in some places and reform in others. It also exacerbated the schisms that lay at the heart of the Second Empire's garrison states. Evidently, Frederik Turr's political life did not end with the scandal over his rectorship at the Cape. The way in which he remade himself and his politics in Java anticipated and succeeded moves for reform across the British empire.

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<sup>273</sup> For more on the Dutch and Portuguese history of the burghers in Sri Lanka, see Michael Roberts, Ismeth Raheem, and Percy Colin-Thomé, *People in-between: the burghers and the middle class in the transformations within Sri Lanka, 1790s-1960s* (Ratmalana, 1989).

## Three      Maria Fichat

### Colonial hierarchies

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Contrary to what we might sometimes imagine, travel between colonies was not always a smooth process. Most of the *Scaleby Castle*'s passengers were forced to acquire permission from authorities before they were allowed to board the ship. This was a long and drawn out procedure that involved petitioning the governor, his subordinates, or the agents of the East India Company (EIC) for their approval. One frequently had to invoke social and cultural attachments in order to convince them of one's right to travel. It was also probable that one would have to repeat the procedure on arrival in one's destination in order to secure the right to stay there. The Capetonian Maria Fichat, who was moving to Batavia on the *Scaleby Castle* to reunite with her British husband, James – a customs official in Raffles's government – had several attachments at her fingertips. In a petition to the Cape's governor, Charles Somerset (r. 1814-26), she drew attention to her British marriage and her Dutch family. She adopted the moniker 'Mrs. James Fischatt' and noted that James was 'in the Service of Government', while signing her petition as 'Fischatt, born Styney'.<sup>1</sup> She also suggested that she and her daughter (also Maria) be permitted to 'proceed on the H.C. Ship *Scaleby Castle* ... to join her Husband'.<sup>2</sup> Maria's choice of attachments were shrewd. When her petition was received by officials, they commented that they had 'no objection to her proceeding with her child to Batavia', so long as the governor was completely 'satisfied of the truth of the statement made by Mrs. Fichatt'.<sup>3</sup>

### Dutch orders and the colonial state

Maria's experiences are testament to the influence that particular hierarchies held over the middle classes and ruling elite in the Anglo-Dutch colonies. Maria's presentation of herself as both Anglo-Dutch and married indeed allowed her to secure permission to travel across the

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<sup>1</sup> See Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Mrs Fichat', 5 July 1814, British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR) G/9/13, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Pringle to Bird, 5 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/20, p. 64.

ocean more easily than many of her contemporaries. Conversely, unmarried Capetonian women could be subject to investigations of their behaviour by the colony's fiscal when they attempted to travel elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Migrants who were neither British nor Dutch likewise drew the attention of British and Dutch officials and in most of the colonies were subject to peculiar regulations circumscribing their movements.<sup>5</sup> Such practices were par for the course with the Second British Empire, which is known for its hierarchical and regulatory systems of social and racial subordination.<sup>6</sup> Yet in this case they also reveal the enduring influence of the Dutch and their East India Company (VOC) over incipient forms of colonial governance.

The aim of this chapter is to show how the administration of the Anglo-Dutch colonies was characterised by normative legal hierarchies derived from the Dutch.<sup>7</sup> In particular, this chapter argues that legal categories codified by Dutch regimes and associated with stratified rights were extended under the British through controls on migration. These controls were designed by governing elites during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) due to their anxieties about revolution, but were also influenced by the continued use of certain Dutch-era categories as social markers among the colonial middle class. While the British were bound to uphold Roman-Dutch law in the Anglo-Dutch colonies by the terms under which the Dutch capitulated, these controls frequently went above and beyond the conditions of those agreements and even persisted beyond the formal cession of the Anglo-Dutch colonies to Britain.<sup>8</sup> As such, this chapter makes an argument for legal pluralism –

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<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, the case described in Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Mary Pinnock', 29 December 1810, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 185; and the accompanying documents, Truter to Pringle, 8 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 201; Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Captain Covell', 15 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 208; Caledon to Covell, 15 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, pp. 208-9.

<sup>5</sup> As this chapter will show, this sort of discrimination was most prevalent in Java and Sri Lanka. For the investigation of non-European subjects at the Cape, see the debates that occurred over a Bengali servant: Pringle to Towers Smith, 31 January 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/20, p. 17; Borchers to Pringle, 29 January 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 22-3. See also the case of the Bengalis who became stuck at the Cape after their ship was captured as a prize: 'Memorial of Bechou Brahmin, Nectea Hayor, and Shunatun', 7 February 1809, BL, IOR/G/9/25, pp. 63-4.

<sup>6</sup> See C.A. Bayly, *Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), pp. 11-12, 133-63.

<sup>7</sup> This claim picks up on attention in Dutch historiography to the persistence of the Dutch East India Company's legal categories. See Kees Briët, *Het proces van Rijck van Prehn en Johannes Wilhelmus Winter: een bijzondere zaak voor het hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië in 1820* (Hilversum, 2012); see also Alicia Schrikker, 'Restoration in Java: a review', *Low Countries Historical Review* 130 (2015), pp. 132-44; idem., 'Conflict resolution, social control, and law-making in eighteenth-century Dutch Sri Lanka', in Catia Antunes and Jos Gommans, *Exploring the Dutch empire: agents, networks, and institutions, 1600-2000* (London, 2015), pp. 227-44; Remco Raben and Ulbe Bosma, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: a history of creolisation and empire, 1500-1920* (trans. Wendie Shaffer, Singapore, 2008), pp. 26-103.

<sup>8</sup> For the terms of the capitulation of the Cape in 1795, for instance, see Clarke to Sluysken, 14 September 1795, in George McCall Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* (36 vols., London, 1897-1905), I, pp. 127-30.

which describes British and Dutch legal regimes working alongside one another – but also a wider claim about the remaking of Dutch legal categories through British legislation.<sup>9</sup>

This picture of the emergence of the stratified colonial state diverges from that of C.A. Bayly's *Imperial meridian*, in which orders are created and confirmed locally and on land as a consequence of broader ideological transitions. Bayly emphasises that Britain's regimes were distinguished by 'a well-developed imperial style', in which racial and social orders were 'increasingly embodied in institutions and codes'.<sup>10</sup> In Bayly's view, ruling elites consolidated 'the formation of classes in indigenous societies' through the liberation of private property and the use in law of racial stereotypes linked to nationalism and evangelicalism.<sup>11</sup> This was visible in the attempts made by Lord Cornwallis in India to exclude Indians and Eurasians from branches of the legislature such as the executive and judiciary, while agreeing the Bengal land revenues to the benefit of the Bengali elite known as the *zamindars*.<sup>12</sup> For Bayly, these actions were driven by metropolitan attitudes and a ruling elite worried 'by the dissolution of social order at home and a fearsome military and ideological challenge abroad'.<sup>13</sup>

By contrast, colonial hierarchies in this chapter are confirmed through migrations between colonies and in the Anglo-Dutch controls that arose for their regulation. Migration here describes a process of relocation predicated on travel and the acquisition of residency, which one might secure by gaining permission to stay in the colony or – more assuredly – by purchasing land. This was a period when migration was a rising concern of governing elites.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The operation of cross-colonial legal pluralism in the Anglo-Dutch world has been studied in the case of the Cape Colony, if not so much in the other Anglo-Dutch colonies. See Kirsten McKenzie, *Imperial underworld: an escaped convict and the transformation of the British colonial order* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 159-212; Lauren Benton, *Law and colonial cultures: legal regimes in world history, 1400-1900* (Cambridge, 2004), in particular the chapter on the Cape Colony, pp. 167-209; on legal pluralism more broadly, see Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford, 'Magistrates in empire: convicts, slaves, and the remaking of the plural legal order in the British empire', in Richard J. Ross and Lisa Ford, eds., *Legal pluralism and empires, 1500-1850* (London, 2013), pp. 173-98.

<sup>10</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, p. 147.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, 147-55, 155-63. Bayly also discusses the consolidation of Anglo-Roman-Dutch legal hierarchies relating to labour and slavery, see pp. 220-3. The hierarchies most obviously missing from Bayly's analysis relate to gender. See, for example, work on *sati* and the regulation of Hindu women: Lata Mani, *Contentious traditions: the debate on sati in colonial India* (London, 1998), pp. 11-41, 83-120, 158-190; Daniel J.R. Grey, 'Creating the 'problem Hindu': *sati*, thuggee, and female infanticide in India, 1800-60', *Gender & History* 25 (2013), pp. 498-510.

<sup>12</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, p. 149, 156.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>14</sup> This claim derives from Renaud Morieux, *The channel: England, France, and the construction of a maritime border in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 283-324, especially p. 296; see also John Torpey, 'Coming and going: on the state monopolisation of the legitimate 'means of movement'', *Sociological Theory* 16 (1997), pp. 239-59; Philip Harling, 'Assisted emigration and the moral dilemmas of the mid-Victorian imperial state', *Historical Journal* 59 (2016), pp. 1027-49; Tristan Stein, 'Passes and protection in the making of a British Mediterranean', *Journal of British*

The British EIC prevented British-born subjects from purchasing land in India from 1766 out of fears that they would undermine its monopolies on trade.<sup>15</sup> During the wars with France, the company became increasingly suspicious about European migration in general, causing extensive limitations on individual travel to India to be introduced with the company's new charter in July 1813.<sup>16</sup> Some of these anxieties were replayed in Britain. Renaud Morieux has revealed how officials took an interest in migration across the English Channel in the 1790s due to suspicions about 'partisans of the Revolution'.<sup>17</sup> They introduced expansive legislation discouraging travel, and established systems of political surveillance that were managed through the Alien Office.<sup>18</sup> In Britain and India alike, then, the dominant question for the ruling elite was how to exclude revolutionaries and so-called adventurers – Europeans – from their territories, in order to preserve the extant hierarchy. Similar controls were introduced in the Cape, Java, and Ceylon after occupation, yet there they bore the imprint of the Dutch.

Historically, Dutch officials were not concerned with prohibiting migration so much as managing individuals once they arrived in their colonies. The VOC introduced legislation for determining the rights of company employees and would-be subjects in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> These rights were often restricted amid periods of official anxiety, in particular after the VOC's defeat in the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-4), and in the build-up to the conflicts with France and later Britain. They were connected to the emergence of two categories that were ensconced in Dutch law before being taken up by the British. The first of these was the status of the stranger (*vreemde*), which was used by Dutch governments to govern those imagined as non-indigenous and non-Dutch.<sup>20</sup> This status originally appeared as a way of describing people who were neither VOC employees, burghers, their servants, nor

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*Studies* 54 (2015), pp. 602-31; see also the articles in Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter, eds., *Registration and recognition: documenting the person in world history* (Oxford, 2012), which concentrate on the nineteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> David Arnold, 'White colonisation and labour in 19<sup>th</sup> century India', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11 (1983), pp. 133-58, at p. 135.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>17</sup> Morieux, *The channel*, p. 296.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Sparrow, 'The Alien Office, 1792-1806', *Historical Journal* 36 (1990), pp. 361-84.

<sup>19</sup> For an exploration of such legislation in the Dutch empire, and also the disconnection between Dutch and British policies concerning migration, see Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 16-17, 26-65.

<sup>20</sup> 'Vreemde' was often used interchangeably in Dutch to mean either stranger or foreigner, and to refer to foreign ships and ports. In British documents it is often – though not always – translated directly as stranger. See the discussion of 'strangeness' in Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, pp. 119-24. Ultimately, the translation of 'vreemde' had little impact on the way the status was used under the British.

so-called natives (*inlanders*).<sup>21</sup> Its definition varied across time and space, but towards the close of the eighteenth century it was being used to refer to Europeans like the British and French, Chinese, Malays, Moors, and some Malabars, as well as unidentified seafarers who arrived in the colonies. Codifying the category of the stranger allowed the company to make laws for those whom it did not always control, and extend its jurisdiction so that it could determine their legal rights across a range of issues – to work, purchase land, and travel in the colony.

This chapter shows how the status of the stranger was extended under the British and used to prohibit the migration of non-Anglo-Dutch ethnic groups who were cast as foreign to the colonies. It was targeted at particular peoples, with Malabars being subject to harsher controls than Europeans like the French. In making this claim in terms of ethnicities, this chapter casts ethnicity as a relational identity that emerged out of connections between and among people, but which was also a critical interest of the ruling elite as a form of social classification.<sup>22</sup> In recent decades, scholars have reclaimed ethnicities from the state – which was understood as their purveyor if not necessarily their progenitor – by describing them as identities wrought through processes of self-examination relative to the people whom one encountered on an everyday basis. This has allowed ethnicities to be imagined not as fixed categories but as shifting constructs evoked through social and cultural attachments that developed over time and with equations of power. Nevertheless, vague notions of ethnicity were deployed by governing elites in discriminatory policies that tried to manipulate ethnic groups. Increasingly, particular social and cultural attachments, like those associated with Malabars, were seen to overlap with notions of strangeness, while others – specifically those linked to the British and the Dutch – allowed one to distance oneself from the category.

The second status that was important here was that of being married according to the Roman-Dutch legal system. Roman-Dutch marriage was invariably Protestant and linked to the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and occasionally Lutherans. It was regulated to prevent strangers as well as servants and soldiers from establishing familial ties with burghers and

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<sup>21</sup> For the early usage of the category in Java, see Peter Carey, 'Changing Javanese perceptions of the Chinese communities in central Java, 1755-1825', *Indonesia* 37 (1984), pp. 1-47, at p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> These claims follow John L. Comaroff, 'Ethnicity, nationalism, and the politics of difference in an age of revolution', in Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The politics of difference: ethnic premises in a world of power* (London, 1996), pp. 162-85; see also Sujit Sivasundaram, 'Ethnicity, indigeneity, and migration in the advent of British rule to Sri Lanka', *American Historical Review* 115 (2010), pp. 428-52.



higher-ranking colonists and assuming their legal rights.<sup>23</sup> Partly this was a corollary of the Protestant leanings of the VOC's leadership, who felt that marriage should be a protected Christian status derived from the authority of the DRC – which in the revolutionary age seemed to be in decline. Yet the regulations were also driven by a wider concern about the threat posed to Dutch colonialism by the influence of strangers and servants.<sup>24</sup> The process of becoming married in the Dutch colonies was accordingly elaborate. If one wanted to marry across lines of ethnicity or class it became even more complicated. This chapter shows how governing elites in the Anglo-Dutch colonies continued to view Roman-Dutch marriage as an important status even under the British. It shows that the VOC's regulations were kept alive during this period and that such marriages were linked closely to the right to migrate. This consolidated a hierarchy that prioritised the migration of the middle classes and ruling elite and sanctified Roman-Dutch marriage over other relationships – diverging from British India, where the distinction between marriage and concubinage was increasingly blurred.<sup>25</sup>

Judging by her petition, Maria Fichat was well aware of the importance of a legal Dutch marriage and Anglo-Dutch ethnicity for negotiating controls on migration. This chapter uses her story, among others, to follow the history of Dutch hierarchies under the British. It begins with an overview of the policies towards migrants introduced by the British and Dutch at the time of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. It reveals that British and Dutch ruling elites had different concerns: those in Britain and India stressed prohibition and the surveillance of Europeans, while the Dutch perfected laws regulating marriage and strangers. Nevertheless, ruling elites in the Anglo-Dutch colonies channelled the Dutch categories when creating their own migration controls. This chapter uncovers this overlap first by exploring the use of strangeness. It shows that the ruling elite applied notions of strangeness in law that also held significance for the middle class. The status was deployed against non-Anglo-Dutch ethnic groups to prevent their migration and negate their rights to

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<sup>23</sup> There was a longstanding historical relationship in the Dutch empire between marriage, citizenship rights, and colonial settlement. See Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 33-8; Schrikker, 'Conflict resolution in Dutch Sri Lanka', pp. 227-44. On the regulation of marriage and sexual relations across empires more generally, see Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Moving subjects: gender, mobility, and intimacy in an age of global empire* (Urbana, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 27-8, 33-8.

<sup>25</sup> In India, rights associated with marriage were by the end of the eighteenth century being accorded to people in unmarried relationships if they were cohabiting, despite social pressure to marry. See Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the family in colonial India: the making of empire* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 35-68, 170-205, especially pp. 171-2.

travel and residency. This chapter then explores the significance of Roman-Dutch marriage. It uses the lives of the servant Sarah Batt and Maria Fichat to show how such marriages were used to expel certain migrants – upholding Dutch hierarchies within a British colonial state.

### **Migration and colonial hierarchies in the Anglo-Dutch empires**

With revolution rearing its head across the globe towards the end of the eighteenth century, the threat posed to India by European migration became a crucial interest of the British ruling elite.<sup>26</sup> They feared that a concentration of Europeans in India would foment revolution there as it had done in North America. European residency in India had in reality been problematic ever since British-born subjects were banned from owning land there in 1766.<sup>27</sup> Yet anxieties now rose to fever-pitch. Writing in 1785 – two years after the American Revolutionary War (1775-83) – one company official claimed that the increased residency of Europeans in India would stimulate discontent among Indians. In fact, he said, ‘a considerable alteration’ had already taken place ‘in the manners of the people’ in ‘the last 10 or 12 years’, because they had discovered that Europeans were not ‘wholly destitute of weaknesses and vices, and ... like all others ... open to temptation’.<sup>28</sup> An 1818 report on the potential for European migration in India likewise advised against it because there was already a strong tendency ‘among the British residents in India ... to assert what they conceive to be their constitutional and indefeasible rights’.<sup>29</sup> It also suggested that the ‘unrestrained ingress’ of Europeans into the interior would ‘be productive of the most baneful effects upon ... the inhabitants’.<sup>30</sup>

Motivated by such fears, the East India Company began to constrain the travel and residency of Europeans in and around its territories. For instance, Indian rulers were pressed by the EIC to limit their employment of Europeans.<sup>31</sup> The regulations on migration that were

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<sup>26</sup> On political alignments in India during the revolutionary age, see C.A. Bayly, ‘Ireland, India and the empire: 1780-1914’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10 (2000), pp. 377-97; on the spread of revolutionary ideas during this period, see idem., ‘The ‘revolutionary age’ in the wider world, c. 1790-1830’, in Richard Bessel, Nicholas Guyatt, and Jane Rendall, eds., *War, empire and slavery, 1770-1830* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 21-43.

<sup>27</sup> On the prohibition of European settlement in India in the mid-eighteenth century, see Arnold, ‘White colonisation’, pp. 136-7; see also the writings by company officials in ‘Extract Bengal revenue consultations’, 12 May 1775, in ‘Select committee on state of affairs of East India Company report, minutes of evidence, general appendix, index’, *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8 (1832), p. 260.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Extract Bengal revenue consultations’, 12 May 1775 in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 260.

<sup>29</sup> Jebb and Pattison to Canning, 27 February 1818, in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 257.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>31</sup> Arnold, ‘White colonisation’, pp. 136-7.

introduced with charter of July 1813 were also extremely proscriptive. They determined that no one would be allowed to 'sail to, visit, haunt, frequent, trade, or adventure', let alone live, in India from anywhere beyond the 'Limits of the ... Company's charter' without the approval of the leadership.<sup>32</sup> These regulations were targeted at independent travellers from Europe or other European empires rather than Asian traders or sailors and soldiers – although the latter could be prosecuted if they overstayed their welcome. Thus the process through which one sought approval in Europe was especially rigorous: one had to apply for a licence through the court of directors in London, who would send the necessary papers to the company's Indian authorities, who might then permit the traveller to proceed only 'so long as they ... properly conduct themselves, to the Countenance and Protection' of the East India Company.<sup>33</sup> This limited the number of Europeans who were able to travel to or stay in India: between 1814 and 1831, for example, only 1,253 applications were approved by the directors in London.<sup>34</sup> The majority of successful applications were indeed made in later years: in 1815, only thirty-eight licences were granted from London, followed by another thirty-eight the next year (excluding those given to women).<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, Europeans discovered in India without a licence were deemed to be vagrants and deported. By contrast, the EIC was relatively relaxed about the movement of non-Europeans into its territories. For instance, a 'native of Ceylon' would not be required to secure a licence to travel or remain in the Madras presidency.<sup>36</sup>

One corollary of the company's approach to migration in India was that it upheld an extant hierarchical society in which Europeans formed a small ruling elite made up largely of EIC officials and missionaries. The company's 1818 report on European settlement indeed noted that the sorts of migrants who had most frequently been allowed to proceed to India were missionaries who had the 'proper testimonials from persons of repute'.<sup>37</sup> Others that were permitted included lawyers, who could staff the courts that had been established across the presidencies.<sup>38</sup> If one did not practise either of these professions, then one would have to rely on familial or professional connections – something that was particularly important for

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<sup>32</sup> A.H. Hubbard, ed., *The Java half-yearly almanac for 1815* (Batavia, 1815), pp. 131-2.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>34</sup> Arnold, 'White colonisation', p. 136.

<sup>35</sup> 'Statement of the number of licences to proceed to India', in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 268-9.

<sup>36</sup> *Third report from the select committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company* (London, 1831), p. 60.

<sup>37</sup> Jebb and Pattison to Canning, 27 February 1818, in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, pp. 253-4.

<sup>38</sup> 'Statement of the number of licences to proceed to India', in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 268-9.

women who hoped to travel to India. Women were supposed to be of 'fair reputation', and have 'received invitations ... from friends or relations' residing in India.<sup>39</sup> As such, of the thirty-eight men permitted to travel to India in 1815, seven were missionaries, two lawyers, ten concerned with 'private affairs', and four proceeding 'to their Friends and Relatives'.<sup>40</sup> By contrast, a maximum of eight so-called 'free merchants' were allowed to travel to India each year, 'because a ... compliance with them would afford a wide opening for the indiscriminate resort of Europeans to India'.<sup>41</sup> Comparably, European servants were frequently prohibited from travelling because they were said to 'rank far below the native servants' in 'usefulness'.<sup>42</sup> Those who were deported from India were generally sailors and soldiers who had resigned to become servants. Thus in July 1790 and October 1792, proclamations were issued for the deportation of deserters from ships.<sup>43</sup> Officials maintained that such policies upheld 'order and subordination', as a more 'numerous European community' would progressively enlarge 'its views with its importance' and stimulate toxic 'combinations of Indian politics'.<sup>44</sup>

Migration became an issue in Britain due to similar fears about the politics of European migrants who might pose a threat to the ruling elite.<sup>45</sup> As such, officials in Britain were much more concerned by Europeans who crossed the English Channel than they were by the lascars or Chinese sailors who arrived in the country's ports on the East India Company's ships.<sup>46</sup> The British government began to monitor Europeans crossing the channel following the outbreak of revolution in 1789, and introduced new limitations on migration and infrastructure for the surveillance of migrants with the passing of the Alien Act in 1793.<sup>47</sup> This act permitted an unprecedented expansion of state power, and like the EIC's 1813 controls it was premised on

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<sup>39</sup> Jebb and Pattison to Canning, 27 February 1818, in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 254.

<sup>40</sup> 'Statement of the number of licences to proceed to India', in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 268.

<sup>41</sup> Jebb and Pattison to Canning, 27 February 1818, in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 254.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>43</sup> Arnold, 'White colonisation', p. 136.

<sup>44</sup> 'Extract first report of the special committee of the court of directors', 27 January 1801, in *House of Commons Papers* 734, vol. 8, p. 263.

<sup>45</sup> Morieux, *The channel*, p. 297.

<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of some of the Europeans who crossed at this time, see Morieux, *The channel*, 283-324; see also Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: émigrés in London, 1789-1802* (Basingstoke, 1999); on the Asians who arrived in Britain on board East India Company ships, see Iona Man-Cheong, "'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company: racialisation and labour practices, 1803-15', *Journal for Maritime Research* 16 (2014), pp. 167-81; Isaac Land, 'Customs of the sea: flogging, empire, and the 'true British seaman', 1770 to 1870', *Interventions* 3 (2001), pp. 169-85; Yu Po-ching, 'Chinese seamen in London and St Helena in the early nineteenth century', in Maria Fusaro et al, eds., *Law, labour, and empire: comparative perspectives on seafarers, c. 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 287-303.

<sup>47</sup> Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution*, p. 41.

the investigation and deportation of anyone politically undesirable.<sup>48</sup> Customs officials were appointed to Britain's ports, where they recorded the names, occupations, and residential histories of travellers. Travellers were then issued with a certificate that they were supposed to show to local authorities when settling in a town. As with the company, certain people were given an easier time than others: these included merchants and – until 1798 – those who had resided in Britain for more than a year. Unlike the company, however, lawmakers in Britain also made a clear distinction between Britons and so-called 'foreigners', a term that was applied to everyone non-British, irrespective of their country of origin.<sup>49</sup> As such, these rules would have affected non-Europeans, even though they were not their principal target. By 1814, nuances were being made between Europeans and other foreigners: in July of that year, any ships that arrived with 'Asiatic sailors' were ordered to pay a bond for each sailor to ensure that they returned to Asia. These laws were strengthened over later decades.<sup>50</sup>

The British controls had a knock-on effect for any Europeans hoping to travel onwards to the colonies, because one's politics and country of origin were conflated. This was especially the case if the colonies were administered by the Crown, as one had to apply for permission from the Colonial Office. While it was generally easier for Britons to travel to the Crown colonies, other Europeans were compelled to prove that their political beliefs lay in the right places. In 1812, the under-secretary of state for the colonies, Robert Peel, suggested to one would-be traveller that 'no person' arriving in Britain 'from France or from Countries under the controul of France' was 'allowed to proceed to the colonial possessions of His Majesty'.<sup>51</sup> This was despite the traveller marshalling an array of Britons to speak in his favour, and also suggesting that he was a refugee from tyranny in the Netherlands who felt 'more Indian than Dutch'.<sup>52</sup> Later in the same year, however, a woman, L. Bolres, was allowed to travel to the Cape Colony because 'her connections are good and ... with affection to the British government, some of them employed by it'.<sup>53</sup> A merchant, Mr. Pelligrini, was likewise allowed to travel to the Cape despite once serving in the French army because 'he has left the French

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<sup>48</sup> This paragraph draws on information from Morieux, *The channel*, pp. 296-300.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>50</sup> Land, 'Customs of the sea', pp. 181-2.

<sup>51</sup> Peel to de Nys, 19 February 1812, BL, IOR/G/21/65.

<sup>52</sup> De Nys to Peel, 17 February 1812, BL, IOR/G/21/65.

<sup>53</sup> Caledon to Colonial Office (quoting Bathurst), July 1812, The National Archives UK (TNA), Colonial Office (CO) 48/16, pp. 26-7.

Service as He says in disgust'.<sup>54</sup> Apparently the feelings of the Colonial Office towards these sorts of travellers nevertheless changed over time. In 1814, one year after the liberation of the Netherlands, even Frederik Turr – whose political beliefs were not exactly aligned with those of the British governing elite – was allowed to travel to the Cape after he lectured Peel about the children who had been entrusted to his instruction at the Cape's Latin School.<sup>55</sup>

In contrast to the British, the Dutch emphasised procedures that regulated individual rights on arrival. This does not mean that the VOC did not introduce legislation prohibiting migration around its empire. On the contrary, the majority of Europeans who travelled to or settled in the Dutch colonies had originally gained some sort of employment with the VOC, and even burghers were mostly former company servants who had been employed when they reached the colonies.<sup>56</sup> The status of the stranger sometimes allowed Europeans and Asians to be thrown out of the colonies. In Ceylon in July 1743, for instance, all 'illegal strangers' – described as 'Europeans, especially also ... Malabars and Moors' – were given three months to leave the VOC's colony.<sup>57</sup> Yet such legislation was rarely enforceable and the VOC was ultimately more concerned with extending control over people to ensure that they could be used for its interests – and to neutralise any threat they posed.<sup>58</sup> Thus the VOC concerned itself with creating and administering new statuses, such as burghership, which in all of the Dutch colonies was linked to the right to trade independently of the company – and at the Cape to the right to buy land, take up a profession, and participate in municipal governance.<sup>59</sup> The VOC admitted non-Dutch as burghers on social factors such as their country of origin and

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<sup>54</sup> Alexander to Peel, 28 October 1812, TNA, CO 48/16, pp. 186-93.

<sup>55</sup> Turr to Peel, 11 July 1812, TNA, CO 48/16, p. 24.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of migration in the Dutch colonial world, see Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 1-65.

<sup>57</sup> 'Plakkaat gebiedende alle illegale vreemdelingen binnen drie maanden het grondgebied van de compagnie te verlaten, verbiedende de opvarenden van buitlandse schepen om zonder toestemming aan land te gaan', 12 July 1743, in L. Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek: plakaten en andere wetten uitgevaardigd door het Nederalndse bestuur op Ceylon, 1638-1796* (2 vols., Hilversum, 1991), II, pp. 481-2. Original text: 'Vreemdelingen .... al waren 't zelfs Europeën, inzonderheit ook alle Cannarijns, Mallabaaren en Moren.'

<sup>58</sup> Remco Raben has shown that the VOC's attempts to expel Moors from its territories – or keep them without the walls of Colombo – were only partially successful. See Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo: the ethnic and spatial order of two colonial cities, 1600-1800', (D. Phil thesis, Leiden, 1996), pp. 188-90.

<sup>59</sup> On the colonial history of burghership, see Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 29-30; Gerald Groenewald, 'Entrepreneurs and the making of a free burgher society', in Nigel Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west: social identities in a Dutch colonial town* (Hilversum, 2012), pp. 45-64; Teun Baartman, 'Protest and Dutch burgher society', in Worden, ed. *Cape Town between east and west*, pp. 65-83; idem., 'The politics of burgher honour in the Cape', in Penny Russell and Nigel Worden, eds., *Honourable intentions? Violence and virtue in Australian and Cape colonies, c. 1750-1850* (London, 2016), pp. 94-107; on female burgher society, see Liza-Mari Olberholzer, 'Free burgher women in the eighteenth century and the quest for status', *Historia* 62 (2017), pp. 1-18.

connection to an existing burgher family.<sup>60</sup> These practices echoed those in the Netherlands, where burghership was managed by government and linked to town privileges.<sup>61</sup> Migrants would also be subject to questioning from the church and the magistracy on arrival in a new town, and sureties would be required from similar authorities in their place of origin.<sup>62</sup>

The status of the stranger developed along these lines as a way of extending the VOC's authority while creating a set of latent subjects. In Java, the status appeared amid efforts by the company to introduce legal protections for Chinese and Muslims who lived in other kingdoms around the Malay archipelago during the seventeenth century.<sup>63</sup> When the sultan of Mataram signed a contract with the VOC in 1677, he agreed to acknowledge Chinese, Malays, and Moors as 'strangers' who fell under the VOC's jurisdiction.<sup>64</sup> Later the category was extended to include people 'of whatever description', besides Dutch and Javanese, and linked to different legal regimes: strangers who travelled in Java's interior without a passport would be fined not by the interior *landdrosts* (Residents) but by the courts of justice based in the coastal cities of Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya.<sup>65</sup> The category was also used in Ceylon, where it was defined as including people like Moors, non-Dutch Europeans, and otherwise unidentified migrants. In the southern parts of the island, which was increasingly framed by the Dutch government as ethnically Sinhalese, the category could also include Malabars.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> One generally had to apply to company officials for burghership, and would be given a certificate on a successful application. For a discussion of the process of application at the Cape and the considerations involved, see Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, pp. 119-24. See also Groenewald, 'Entrepreneurs and the making of a free burgher society', pp. 65-83; Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>61</sup> On burghership in the Netherlands, see Simon Schama, *The embarrassment of riches: an interpretation of Dutch culture in the golden age* (London, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> Henk Looijestein and Marco van Leeuwen, 'Registering Identity in the Dutch Republic', in Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter, *Registration and recognition*, pp. 211-52, at p. 213.

<sup>63</sup> Carey, 'Changing Javanese perceptions', p. 6; 'strangers' were also banned from certain parts of Java early on, see Jan Breman, *Mobilising labour for the global coffee market: profits from an unfree work regime in colonial Java* (Amsterdam, 2015), pp. 91-2.

<sup>64</sup> Carey, 'Changing Javanese perceptions', p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> This is the status quo as described in 'Regulation for the more effectual administration of justice in the provincial courts of Java', 11 February 1814, in *Proclamations, regulations, advertisements, and orders, printed and published in the island of Java by the British government and under its authority* (3 vols., Batavia, 1816), II, p. 91. For laws leveraged against 'strangers' such as the Chinese, see Leonard Blussé, 'John Chinaman abroad: Chinese sailors in the service of the VOC', in Alicia Schrikker and Jeroen Touwen, eds., *Promises and predicaments: trade and entrepreneurship in colonial and independent Indonesia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Singapore, 2015), pp. 101-12, at p. 105.

<sup>66</sup> As in 'Plakkaat gebiedende alle illegaal vreemdelingen binnen drie maanden het grondgebied van de compagnie te verlaten, verbiedende de opvarenden van buitlandse schepen om zonder toestemming aan land te gaan', 12 July 1743, in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, pp. 481-2. See also 'Biljet waarbij de (verpachte) van rechten van vreemdelingen die langer dan een jaar en zonder speciale vergunning op Ceylon verblijven en geen oeliamdienst willen verrichten, geregeld wordt', 12 August 1751, in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, pp. 563-5; 'Biljet verbiedende de Moslims, Chittys en anderen die aan de oeliamdienst onderworpen zijn, om zonder borgstelling

Generally, those deemed strangers were registered and given rights to live in certain spaces if they carried out labour for the company or paid certain taxes. For instance, a law was introduced in 1707 that forced those 'coming to Colombo' to report their names to officials, on pain of being declared a 'suspicious person' and thrown in prison.<sup>67</sup> In 1659, all Moors and Hindus in the south of the island were required to live 'in the gravettes [suburbs] of Galle, Matura, & Belligam', all coastal towns, 'on pain of correction'.<sup>68</sup> In 1744, 'strangers – so Moors ... of the coast and elsewhere' were told to register so that they could be marshalled for 'oeliam service', a form of customary labour service typically associated with caste.<sup>69</sup>

At the Cape, the status of being a stranger in many ways functioned as a precursor to burghership. The Dutch fiscal Johannes Truter suggested that the status referred to 'all ... persons who successively arrived here, not then or previously in the service of the East India Company, or not having specially obtained Burgher right', although he conceded that it described most 'persons of foreign nations'.<sup>70</sup> Strangers had 'only precarious residence', were not allowed to purchase land, 'and were obliged on the first order of the Government to leave the Colony'.<sup>71</sup> The Swedish botanist Carl Pieter Thunberg suggested that strangers were also generally charged more to purchase goods and foodstuffs than VOC servants or burghers.<sup>72</sup> However, the government also allowed strangers to become burghers if they obeyed the law or married into a burgher family, and there was likewise some slippage between the rights conferred on burghers and certain strangers. This was a key point of contention between the company and the burghers who protested as the Cape Patriots during the 1780s. The original petition that the Cape Patriots sent to the company's directors in the Netherlands – the Herren XVII – demanded that 'neither English, French or other foreigners should be allowed to settle at the Cape or possess in property or ... hire houses to exercise Burgher trades ... or be allowed

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en zonder aantekening hiervan in hun passen hun woonplaatsen te verlaten', 14 April 1745, in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, pp. 514-15.

<sup>67</sup> 'Statement of the placats which the late Dutch government made for the regulation of their settlements', TNA, CO 54/27, p. 24.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>69</sup> 'Advertissement gelastende de illegaal op Ceylon verblijvende vreemdelingen om zich bij de secretaris van politie te laten registreren en oeliamsdienst te verrichten', in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, p. 505. Original text: 'Vreemdelingen – zoo Mooren, heydenen als anderen – van de overcuste en elders.'

<sup>70</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 120.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>72</sup> V.S. Forbes, ed., *Carl Peter Thunberg: travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-1775* (trans. J. Rudner and I. Rudner, Cape Town, 1986), p. 167.



to become Burghers if they had not previously been in the Company's service'.<sup>73</sup> Oddly, some French colonists have been suggested as central figures in the Cape Patriot movement.<sup>74</sup>

During the revolutionary era, the status of the stranger was confirmed by the VOC and its successors. In response to the Cape Patriots' petition, the VOC directors ordered that no stranger be admitted as a burgher without their 'special consent'.<sup>75</sup> Two years later, the new Cape governor C.J. van der Graaf ordered that no strangers were to remain in the colony without official permission, and from 1789 they were banned from travelling into the interior without approval.<sup>76</sup> Apparently this had previously been a common practice, as the Patriots had complained of strangers who, 'under pretext of seeking for plants, take journeys into the interior'.<sup>77</sup> This probably referred to the treks made into the interior by the Scottish botanist William Paterson with the company commander and nemesis of the Patriots, Robert Jacob Gordon.<sup>78</sup> Following the Patriots, the definition of the stranger also became a key concern of the Batavian government that arrived in the Cape Colony in 1803. The Batavian governor Jan Janssens imagined strangers as 'persons not born in the Batavian Republic or their Colonies', and prohibited them from assuming burghership unless they were 'fully evinced to have deserved it by his good conduct during a residence of three years'.<sup>79</sup> Truter suggested that the Batavians had used 'great caution' in granting burghership to those strangers who were 'of nations at War' with the Dutch, like Britons, but also 'those who might eventually be engaged in War with the Batavian Republic', which included French.<sup>80</sup> A corollary of these changes was that the Batavians extended burgher privileges. They established the Burgher Senate, which allowed burghers to assume a critical role in administering municipal affairs such as

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<sup>73</sup> See Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 120.

<sup>74</sup> In particular, the author of the Patriot pamphlet *Nederlandsch Afrika* is supposed to have been a Frenchman named B.J. Artoys – and the pamphlet itself was published in Leiden. See André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought: analysis and documents* (2 vols., London, 1983), I, p. 256.

<sup>75</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, pp. 120-1.

<sup>76</sup> *Statute law of the Cape of Good Hope comprising the placats, proclamations, and ordinances, enacted before the establishment of the colonial parliament and still wholly or in part in force* (Cape Town, 1862), p. xxxix.

<sup>77</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 120.

<sup>78</sup> For details of Gordon's treks with Paterson, see William Paterson, *A narrative of four journeys into the country of the Hottentots and Caffraria in the years 1787, 1788, and 1789* (London, 1789); see also Duncan Bull, 'Robert Jacob Gordon: a 'philosophe' on the veld', in Martine Gosselink, Maria Holtrop, and Robert Ross, eds., *Good hope: South Africa and the Netherlands from 1600* (Nijmegen, 2016), pp. 159-70; Dan Sleight, 'Gordon and the end of Company rule', in Gosselink, Holtrop, and Ross, eds., *Good hope*, pp. 171-6.

<sup>79</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 121.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

licensing, building infrastructure, and overseeing new applications for burghership.<sup>81</sup> Some of these developments were writ large across other Dutch colonies. In December 1786, residents of Colombo Fort, where the VOC kept its military and administrative offices, were prohibited from hosting 'strange serfs' whose presence seemed to cause 'debauchery'.<sup>82</sup>

Relatedly, the VOC also increasingly regulated marriage during this period. For some this was a response to growing anxieties about the decline of religiosity in the late eighteenth century, but for others it was about consolidating the distinction between Dutch burghers and company officials on the one hand and strangers, servants, and soldiers on the other. The regulation of marriage therefore transcended politics. Historically, the process of becoming married in Roman-Dutch law had always involved a degree of circumspection. Prospective couples would be questioned by marital commissioners, and only after the granting of a certificate would the ceremony be allowed to take place.<sup>83</sup> Banns would then need to be published on three successive Sundays.<sup>84</sup> Additional stipulations were made for interracial marriages: from July 1664, in Ceylon, all 'native' women who hoped to marry a Dutch colonist were required to obtain a further certificate stating that they had confessed, while all those who married soldiers were required to attend church at least once a week.<sup>85</sup> Distinguishing Roman-Dutch marriage as a legal status allowed the VOC to proscribe concubinage, which it cast as un-Christian. Thus the Dutch in Ceylon introduced punishments for 'whoredom and

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<sup>81</sup> For the origins of the Burgher Senate, see 'Secretary of the Burgher Senate (Raad der Gemeente)', Western Cape Archives (WCA), 1/83, pp. 1-7.

<sup>82</sup> 'Plakkaat: politieverordening voor stad en kasteel van Colombo', 28 December 1786, in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, p. 869. Original text: 'Maar degeene die daarenbooven aan vreemde lijfeygenen in zijn huys geleegentheid mogt geeven tot dobbelen en speelen, dan wel tot zuypen en andere debauches, zal een boete van vijftig rijxdaalders aan den fiscaal ... verbeuren.'

<sup>83</sup> On the process of marriage in the Cape Colony, as in the Netherlands and Dutch empire more generally, and its connection to legal rights and colonial settlement, see Gerald Groenewald, 'A mother makes no bastard': family law, sexual relations and illegitimacy in Dutch colonial Cape Town, c. 1652-1795', *African Historical Review* 39 (2007), pp. 58-90, at pp. 63-4; see also Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 33-8; for the VOC's restrictions on marriage among people of lower social classes, see Marion Peters, 'VOC-vrouwen op de kust van Coromandel', *Jaarboek van het centraal bureau voor genealogie* 58 (2004), pp. 68-104; for the connection between marriage, colonialism, and rights elsewhere in the early modern Dutch colonial world, see Susanah Shaw Romney, 'With & alongside his housewife': claiming ground in New Netherland and the early modern Dutch empire', *William and Mary Quarterly* 73 (2016), pp. 187-224; Laura J. Mitchell, 'Belonging: family formation and settler identity in the VOC Cape', *South African Historical Journal* 69 (2007), pp. 103-25.

<sup>84</sup> This was typical of marriages across the Dutch empire. For the practice at the Cape, see 'Provisional orders respecting the celebration of marriages of the inhabitants of the country districts of the Batavian colony the Cape of Good Hope', 20 September 1804, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 504.

<sup>85</sup> 'Resolutie dat inlandse vrouwen slechts op vertoek van een bewijsbriefje van de kerkeraad dat zij belijdenis doen, zullen mogen trouwen met Nederlanders', 18 July 1664, in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, I, p. 115.

concubinage', which were a 'foul and filthy indecency'.<sup>86</sup> From 1761, any 'Gentooes or Mahometans' discovered 'in concubinage with Christian women' were imprisoned.<sup>87</sup>

Anxieties about migrants in the revolutionary age gave rise to stronger regulations on the process of marriage. Cape Town became a site of anxiety because it was flooded with French mercenaries during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. Extramarital relations apparently flourished, persuading the DRC – led by the young evangelical ministers Christiaan Fleck and Helperus van Lier – to censure women who became pregnant outside wedlock.<sup>88</sup> In Ceylon in 1788, the VOC likewise legislated on marriages between Protestants and Catholics, requiring officials to inform the company in advance if they desired to marry a Catholic. This would have targeted Portuguese burghers but also the soldiers who had been stationed there in the Anglo-Dutch War.<sup>89</sup> Regulations on marriage were also a key feature of Batavian rule at the Cape. Superficially, the Batavians democratised marriage. They introduced denominational equality while increasing the number of matrimonial courts beyond Cape Town. In 1804, Jacob de Mist allowed marriages to be solemnised by municipal officials such as *landdrosts*, 'without the Ceremony being performed in a Church'.<sup>90</sup> However, in accordance with their worries about strangers, the Batavians also made it more difficult for marriages to take place with and among such people. Janssens ordered that 'total strangers ... not natives of this Colony ... or passengers who have been here a short time' would 'on no occasion be noted for marriage unless by a written permission from the Governor', who would investigate the 'civil state and situation of such stranger'. Marital commissioners were told to act 'with the greatest circumspection, especially towards strangers' in cases where one party had previously been married.<sup>91</sup> Crucially, the Batavians introduced in law a provision denying strangers the right

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<sup>86</sup> Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, p. 28; see also Markus P.M. Vink, *Encounters on the opposite coast: the Dutch East India Company and the Nayaka state of Madurai in the seventeenth century* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 114-15.

<sup>87</sup> 'Index to the legislative acts of the Dutch government of the island of Ceylon', in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government from 1796: distinguishing those now in force* (2 vols., Colombo, 1853-4), I, p. 412.

<sup>88</sup> Gerald Groenewald, 'Een spoorloos vrouwspersoon: unmarried mothers, moral regulation, and the church at the Cape of Good Hope', *Historia* 53 (2008), pp. 5-32.

<sup>89</sup> 'Reglement op het trouwen van Protestantent met Katholieken', in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, p. 894; on the troops stationed in Ceylon during and after the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, see Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 59-60.

<sup>90</sup> 'Proclamation', 26 April 1806, in Richard Plaskett and T. Miller, eds., *Proclamations, advertisements and other official notices published by the government of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1827), p. 23.

<sup>91</sup> 'Provisional orders respecting the celebration of marriages of the inhabitants of the country districts of the Batavian colony the Cape of Good Hope', 20 September 1804, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 501.

to become an 'Inhabitant or Burgher' if they 'married during their stay in this Colony'.<sup>92</sup> They would need to receive the 'permission of the Governor' regardless of their status.<sup>93</sup>

Amid their efforts to draw out the distinction between burghers and strangers, the Batavians also denied access to Roman-Dutch marriage to those sections of society who were less socially respectable, like soldiers, servants, and slaves. As we saw in previous chapters, burghers frequently distinguished themselves from these groups.<sup>94</sup> Thus, according to a law introduced by the commissioner-general, J.A. de Mist, in 1804, no soldiers under the rank of officer were permitted to marry 'without their producing a written permission from the Commander of the Corps to which they belong'.<sup>95</sup> Equally, the marital commissioners were told 'not to note ... for matrimony' any marriages among 'Christians with heathens, slaves with free people, nor slaves among themselves'.<sup>96</sup> The previous year, the government had also introduced a law binding servants to their employers for eighteen months after their arrival. This law empowered the Batavian government to imprison and even expel 'without ... process' anyone defined as a 'Labourer, Coachman, or Servant, House Keeper, Ladies Maid [or] Servant Maid' who departed the service of their employer.<sup>97</sup> Crucially, one corollary of this law was that it prevented such people from being married, as it became an offence to 'harbour the said serviceable People' – even if they had been discharged by their employer – without official approval.<sup>98</sup> Clearly, the Dutch practice of managing individuals was one of the few political compromises of the revolutionary era – unlike Britain's partisan prohibitions.

### Stranger things

Writing to Governor Somerset in 1818, Johannes Truter suggested that the distinction between strangers and burghers at the Cape had become muddled in the first years of British rule in

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 505.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 505.

<sup>94</sup> See the memorial sent by burghers in Sri Lanka to Alexander Johnston complaining over the social composition of his juries. 'Petition addressed to Alexander Johnston by over 40 burghers', 15 July 1815, SLNA, 25.1/27.

<sup>95</sup> 'Statement of the laws, ordinances, and regulation at present in force in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope with respect to the form and manner in which marriages should be celebrated in order to secure their validity', 22 April 1818, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* XI, p. 494.

<sup>96</sup> 'Provisional orders respecting the celebration of marriages of the inhabitants of the country districts of the Batavian colony the Cape of Good Hope', 20 September 1804, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 502.

<sup>97</sup> 'Extract of a proclamation issued by the governor & council of the Cape of Good Hope', 30 June 1803, TNA, CO 48/2, pp. 335-8, at p. 336.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 337-8.

the colony. The British had necessarily retained the status of burgher but there had arisen an 'unavoidable confusion' between burghers and strangers.<sup>99</sup> In fact, many of the disbanded Dutch troops – who were typically German mercenaries – had 'contracted connections' in the Cape 'both by marriage and long residence in the Colony ... which their interest would not allow them to give up without necessity'.<sup>100</sup> This confusion had been further exacerbated by the 'Revolution in France and Holland, and the uncertain state of things all over Europe', as people had taken refuge at the Cape, and 'a concourse of seafaring strangers' were brought in from the enemy ships captured by privateers and brought before the Cape's vice admiralty court.<sup>101</sup> In turn, the status of the Cape's burghers had seemed almost to diminish, because so many strangers were able to 'get into so many Burgher connections, real and personal, that not only the exercise of trades was not longer considered as an actual grievance, but even the existing distinction between Burghers and other inhabitants seemed to have vanished'.<sup>102</sup>

During the Cape's first occupation by the British (1795-1803), the British government had indeed blurred the distinction between strangers, burghers, and other colonists. Initially, Governor Macartney's (r. 1796-8) regime had compelled Cape inhabitants receiving 'foreign lodgers' into their homes to report them to authorities, and these records were categorised by officials as 'reports on strangers'.<sup>103</sup> Yet this law was quickly extended to include all travellers arriving 'at the Cape from any part of the World & of whatever Nation'.<sup>104</sup> This meant that Dutch and British travellers as well as anyone else could be categorised as a stranger.<sup>105</sup> Thus the Blankenbergs – a wealthy slave-owning family – reported hosting strangers from Britain and from India, while Hendrik de Wet, a prominent burgher, also gave information on Engelbert de Moor, 'a prisoner' from Colombo, who was staying in his home.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, while travellers were supposed to secure permission to remain in or depart from the colony,

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<sup>99</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 121.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 121; on the nationality of the Dutch troops stationed at the Cape at this time, see John McAleer, *Britain's maritime empire: southern Africa, the south Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, 1763-1820* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 210-11. Curiously, many of the German mercenaries were recruited by the East India Company in India.

<sup>101</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 121.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>103</sup> 'Proclamation by George, earl of Macartney', 20 May 1797, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, II, p. 90.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>106</sup> 'Report of foreigners who remain here and are according to the proclamation, reported at the fiscal's office, this day', 16 July 1797, WCA, 'Reports on strangers', British Occupation (BO) 195, pp. 39-40; 'Report of foreigners who remain here and are, according to the Proclamation, reported at the fiscal's office this day', 21 October 1797, WCA, 'Reports on strangers', BO 195, p. 116.

this was decided at the discretion of the authorities. Johannes Truter observed that, so long as people came with 'good recommendations', and gave 'security for their good behaviour', they would be allowed to remain.<sup>107</sup> Leaving was determined by similar factors, unless one was travelling to British-ruled India.<sup>108</sup> Thus the Dutch garrison's cooks, including the Frenchman George Henri Denet, were granted permission to remain in 1795 after Robert Gordon sent British officials a 'certificate' in French describing them as 'good, honest, and peaceful'.<sup>109</sup>

Apparently the interventions made by the Batavians during their rule persuaded the ruling elite under the British to think differently about strangers. One of the first pieces of legislation proclaimed by the acting governor, David Baird, following Britain's return to the Cape in 1806, was a series of regulations entrenching the status of the stranger in migration controls.<sup>110</sup> These went beyond anything attempted by the Dutch and combined notions of strangeness with the controlling logic of the EIC. Baird observed that there were 'a considerable number of Strangers residing in this settlement, without any regular Pass or Permission to remain here', and suggested that their 'improper introduction ... into this Colony' had given rise to many 'evils'.<sup>111</sup> Consequently, he ordered that all strangers report to the town major, 'specifying in writing the Stranger's Name and Country', on pain of a fine.<sup>112</sup> Those harbouring strangers – in Cape Town as in the interior districts – would be fined if they failed to report the same to the authorities. Ship's captains were supposed to make sure that anyone they brought to the colony had left by the time that they were leaving. A commission was also established in Cape Town, to inquire 'into the Names, Business, and Country, of all Foreigners who may present themselves'.<sup>113</sup> Necessarily, the changes made by the Batavian regime to the requirements for burghership were likewise confirmed at the same time, and burghers were incorporated into the municipal law-making process.<sup>114</sup> Like the VOC and the

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<sup>107</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 121.

<sup>108</sup> In terms of leaving, the East India Company's rules applied for travel to India. Regulation of migration to, say, Java was generally more lax. See, for instance, the permission granted to Arnold van der Tuuk to travel to Java but not India: 'Memorial of Arnold Jan van der Tuuk', 28 June 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 86-7; see also Pringle to Bird, 30 June 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/20, p. 6

<sup>109</sup> 'Petition of three cooks of the late garrison to remain at the Cape and the certificate of Colonel Gordon', 3 October 1795, WCA, BO 232, pp. 11-12.

<sup>110</sup> 'Proclamation', 25 February 1806, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>114</sup> In particular, the British government confirmed the role of the Burgher Senate in municipal law-making. See 'Secretary of the Burgher Senate (Raad der Gemeente)', WCA, 1/83, pp. 1-7.

Batavians before it, the British government began to oversee applications for burghership, requiring would-be burghers to take the oath of allegiance to the British monarch and be vetted before being admitted.<sup>115</sup> Generally, Britons did not apply for burghership and were granted their rights after having secured permission to remain in the Cape Colony.<sup>116</sup>

Growing interest in strangers and their migration was likewise a feature of British rule in Ceylon and Java, although the less prominent history of burghership in these places meant that strangeness stood more as a singular category. During the EIC's administration of Ceylon (1795-1802), governing elites followed the lead of the company by prohibiting European migration.<sup>117</sup> Yet a contemporaneous engagement with the way that the Dutch had run the colony drew attention to strangeness. During the early nineteenth century, the chief justice Alexander Johnston copied the Dutch laws on strangers as part of a general effort to reproduce 'the Placats which the late Dutch government made for the regulation of their Settlements'.<sup>118</sup> He transcribed those described above, as well as laws prohibiting 'seafaring' strangers from departing on ships without the consent of government.<sup>119</sup> He likewise copied laws regulating certain sorts of strangers, such as 'Maurmen' and Chetties, who (as per the law of 1744 cited above) were given 'a chit for proof of their being Registered in the Oolyam list'.<sup>120</sup> In time, versions of these laws appeared under British authority. After 1806, harbouring a 'Stranger' in Colombo without reporting them to a constable became illegal.<sup>121</sup> Strangeness was also associated with certain groups. Already, travelling Malays were forced to obtain a passport that recorded their name and the time that their journey would take.<sup>122</sup> From 1806, Malays and

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<sup>115</sup> See the requirements listed on 'Burgher certificate', 24 April 1818, WCA, CO 6068.

<sup>116</sup> See, for example, the example of Samuel Eusebius Hudson, who arrived at the Cape as a servant but acquired permission to remain after leaving his employer and established a business. Kirsten McKenzie, 'Social mobilities at the Cape of Good Hope: Lady Anne Barnard, Samuel Hudson, and the opportunities of empire, c. 1797-1824', in Ballantyne and Burton, eds., *Moving subjects*, pp. 274-95; idem., *The making of an English slave-owner: Samuel Eusebius Hudson at the Cape of Good Hope 1796-1807* (Rondebosch, 1993). Hudson was also granted permission to leave the Cape in September 1807 after presenting certificates from the court of justice and fiscal. See 'Certification for Samuel Eusebius Hudson', 10 September 1807, WCA, CO 6059.

<sup>117</sup> Europeans were prohibited from settling in Sri Lanka at this time. See *Third report from the select committee*, p. 60.

<sup>118</sup> 'Statement of the placats which the late Dutch government made for the regulation of their settlements', TNA, CO 54/27, p. 13.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>121</sup> 'Regulation for the better police of the pettah and of the country within the four gravets of Colombo', 12 August 1806, in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government*, I, p. 92.

<sup>122</sup> 'Proclamation', 13 March 1799, in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government*, I, pp. 4-5.

'coolies', who would at this time have originated from South Asia and the southern parts of India, were equated with strangers and prevented from staying overnight in Colombo.<sup>123</sup>

In East India Company-ruled Java, the status of the stranger functioned alongside EIC-inspired controls on European migration. In 1815 – acting explicitly on the EIC's orders – Thomas Raffles ordered that all British-born and European subjects should secure a licence formalising their right to stay on the island, on pain of arrest.<sup>124</sup> Such licences gave Europeans the right to reside in Batavia but forced them to make another application to the *landdrosts* if they wanted to move elsewhere.<sup>125</sup> Diverging from the EIC in India, however, these licences used markers of ethnicity to distinguish between Europeans, namely those who already lived in Java as Dutch subjects and those who had more recently come from Europe.<sup>126</sup> The newest arrivals were told to surrender more information, such as occupations, ages, names, and their countries of origin.<sup>127</sup> This attention to ethnicity reflects the centrality of strangeness to Java's colonial law, and the controls that were applied to those perceived to be Anglo-Dutch relative to those who were not. The previous year, strangers had been redefined in law as 'foreigners', a category that encompassed 'Europeans, Chinese, Arabs, Mussulmen from the various parts of India, or in short the natives of any Country that is without the limits of the Malayan Archipelago', as distinct from the 'actual Natives of Java'.<sup>128</sup> They were also distinguished from British and Dutch colonists, with most laws applied to Europeans referring to distinct categories of 'British, Dutch or Foreigners ... who are at present residing on this Island'.<sup>129</sup>

In Java, the extension of the status of the stranger in colonial law allowed the British to manage migration around the island, in particular between the littoral provinces and the interior. Whereas in India such limitations were applied principally to Europeans, in Java the British followed the Dutch in confining all foreigners to the coast.<sup>130</sup> Those who moved into

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<sup>123</sup> 'Regulation for the better police of the pettah and of the country within the four gravets of Colombo', 12 August 1806, in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government*, I, p. 92.

<sup>124</sup> Hubbard, ed., *Java almanac for 1815*, pp. 126-9.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-9.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-9.

<sup>128</sup> This was part of a wider attempt by Raffles to codify a legal constitution for Java. See 'Regulation for the more effectual administration of justice in the provincial courts of Java', 11 February 1814, in *Proclamations printed and published in the island of Java*, II, p. 81, 92.

<sup>129</sup> 'Orders by government', 1 November 1813, in *Proclamations printed and published in the island of Java*, II, p. 11.

<sup>130</sup> Arnold, 'White colonisation', p. 137.



Photograph of burgher certificate removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Western Cape Archives, Cape Town.

Figure 12. A burgher certificate submitted as a surety for leaving the Cape Colony. From WCA, CO 6068.

Java's interior were told to register again with the *landdrosts*.<sup>131</sup> When applying to *landdrosts*, foreigners would be asked to enter into a bond of five-hundred rupees. If a foreigner refused to comply with the decision of a *landdrost*, they would be expelled from the interior and a report on their conduct sent to the government. The reasoning behind these laws lay in the fear of the governing elite of the potential for revolution in the interior, which in their minds was linked to the actions of foreigners who had gone there during regime change. In 1811, the government secretary, Hugh Hope, claimed that a 'number of men ... belonging to the French Army who have no means of subsistence' were scattered across the island, and their activities

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<sup>131</sup> 'Regulation for the more effectual administration of justice in the provincial courts of Java', 11 February 1814, in *Proclamations printed and published in the island of Java*, II, pp. 91-2.

were linked to the 'depredations committed by the Banditties in the Mountains'.<sup>132</sup> After conferring with Batavia's court of justice, he argued for the seizure of strangers in the interior, and the Council of Java sent letters to the *landdrosts* telling them to imprison such people. The 1814 laws indicate that such fears persisted through the British occupation.<sup>133</sup>

The persistence of the stranger as a category was also connected to the participation of the middle classes in bureaucratic procedures surrounding migration. They invoked Anglo-Dutch attachments as markers of familiarity (fig. 12), while also distancing themselves from attachments that were indicative of strangeness. This is evident in Maria Fichat's story, but it was also a tactic used by other travellers, including her contemporary on the *Scaleby Castle*, Jan Keizer. Jan highlighted his family connections and origins in Java; writing to the Cape's governor, he asked for permission 'to proceed to Batavia, together with Mrs. Faure his mother-in-law, his wife, child, and two servants', and emphasised that he was 'desirous of returning to his ... native Country'.<sup>134</sup> He described how he had been sent to Europe for his education, recalling the convention through which Dutch colonists sent their children there to be taught.<sup>135</sup> Jan's petition – like Maria's – was well-received by the Cape's officials, and Thomas Harington was told to make space for him onboard the ship.<sup>136</sup> Jan's was no isolated story. When the officer Joseph Geyger arrived at the Cape from Ceylon in 1798 – after a roundabout journey as a prisoner of war via Madras – he enlisted his father-in-law, 'twenty-eight years since ... a burgher ... in this place', to apply for permission to remain.<sup>137</sup> In November 1814, a teacher named Robert Puzey was found on a ship in Colombo's port having boarded without the captain's permission. Puzey applied to Governor Brownrigg to request permission to remain in Ceylon, noting that he had 'Family Connexions' in Madras.<sup>138</sup> Ultimately Puzey was allowed to remain in the colony after his employer, a Dutch officer named A. Giels, vouched for him, regardless of 'his unsettled state of mind, and unfortunate propensity to liquor'.<sup>139</sup>

Like Maria, many members of the middle classes cast themselves not only as Dutch or British but also Anglo-Dutch – although the onus for this principally fell on the Dutch and

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<sup>132</sup> Hope to Raffles, 8 November 1811, BL, IOR/G/21/15.

<sup>133</sup> 'Circular letter to the different *landdrosts*', 7 December 1811, BL, IOR/G/21/15.

<sup>134</sup> 'Memorial of Jan Harm de Bruyn Keizer', 14 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, p. 92.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92. For more detail on this practice, see Bosma and Raben, p. xix.

<sup>136</sup> Lusón to Harington, 20 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/20, p. 67.

<sup>137</sup> 'Petition of August Ferdiant Keuler', 3 July 1798, WCA, BO 93, pp. 104-7.

<sup>138</sup> Puzey to Brownrigg, 29 November 1814, SLNA, 6/326.

<sup>139</sup> Giels to Brownrigg, 4 December 1814, SLNA, 6/326.

other Europeans rather than the British. In 1813, a man describing himself as Stepson Baron van Lynden – a junior merchant who had worked in Colombo at the time of its capitulation to the British – asked the governor of Ceylon for a pension that would allow him to remain on the island because he was bankrupt.<sup>140</sup> Van Lynden cast himself as ‘a Native of Holland where his grandfather Count Aspermont-Lijnden was a general officer of Cavalry’, but also described how his grandfather had ‘died on the side of the English in the Battle of Fontenay, where a cannon bullet carried away his left shoulder’.<sup>141</sup> Having received his pension, van Lynden later applied for permission to leave Ceylon while speaking of the ‘painful necessity of leaving my wife and children behind’.<sup>142</sup> In 1807, a court secretary from Ceylon named Hendrik Martheze sailed to Batavia to visit his stepfather, and went on his return to Madras to secure a passport that described him as British rather than Dutch. Thus Hendrik Martheze became Henry Matthews. When Martheze aroused suspicion on his arrival in Galle, he sent a letter enclosing his British passport to officials, and was permitted to stay indefinitely.<sup>143</sup>

These interventions meant that the category of the stranger was often at the forefront of debates around colonial migration and was used by governing elites to make travel and residency more difficult for certain ethnic groups. This is evident in the experiences of the French migrant Charles Villet, who arrived at the Cape in 1797 (fig. 13) and became heavily involved in the promotion of French culture in Cape Town. A botanist by trade, Villet was also a key member of the Cape’s French theatre company, which, as we saw in Chapter One, was loyalist and staged productions that evoked nostalgia for Bourbon France.<sup>144</sup> During his time at the head of the French company, Villet oversaw many enlightenment-era productions, including Rousseau’s *Les prisonniers de guerre* as well as plays by Voltaire.<sup>145</sup> At the same time, he founded a school that taught French alongside Dutch and English.<sup>146</sup> Apparently Villet managed to circumvent some of the restrictions that were generally applied to strangers at the Cape. In 1806, for instance, he married a Dutchwoman, Johanna de Groot, and by 1810 he

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<sup>140</sup> ‘Memorial of Stepson Baron van Lynden’, 19 July 1811, SLNA, 6/321; ‘Memorial of van Lynden’, 18 May 1813, SLNA, 6/323; see also van Lynden to Gay, 26 June 1812, SLNA, 6/322.

<sup>141</sup> ‘Memorial of van Lynden’, 18 May 1813, SLNA, 6/323.

<sup>142</sup> Van Lynden to colonial secretary, 16 January 1816, SLNA, 6/329.

<sup>143</sup> Collector of Galle to Rodney, 18 April 1808, SLNA, 6/70.

<sup>144</sup> F.C.L. Bosman, ‘South Africa’s theatre has gone through exciting times’, WCA, Diverse papers, A1414, p. 4.

<sup>145</sup> Adele Seeff, *South Africa’s Shakespeare and the drama of language and identity* (Cham, 2018), p. 25.

<sup>146</sup> Mary Gunn and L.E.W. Codd, *Botanical exploration of Southern Africa: an illustrated history of early botanical literature on the Cape flora; biographical accounts of the leading plant collectors and their activities in southern Africa from the days of the East India Company until modern times* (Cape Town, 1981), p. 363.

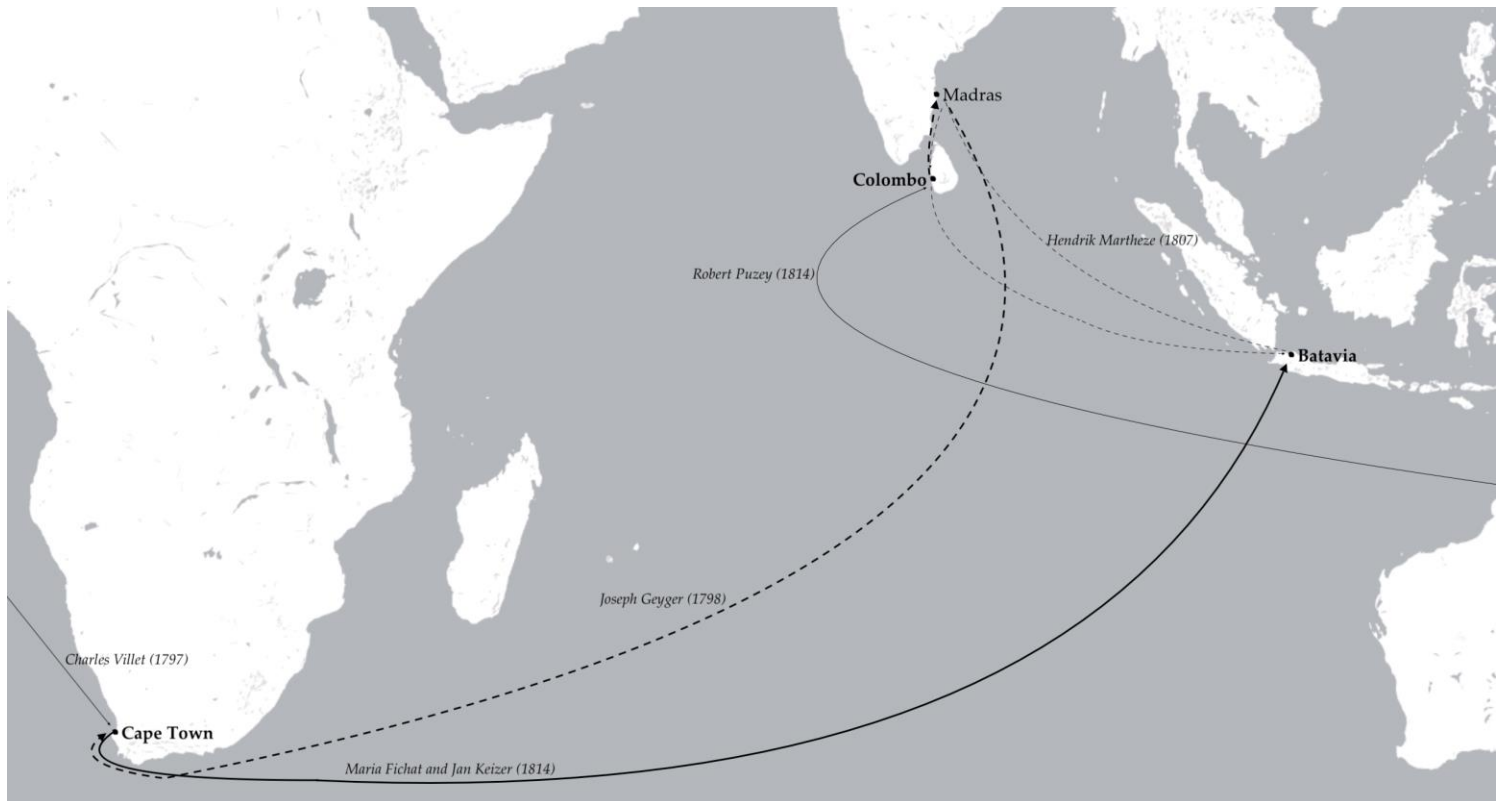


Figure 13. The journeys of the middle classes described in this chapter (map data © Google, ORION-ME).

had set up a shop for botanical specimens which included ‘objects of natural history, such as birds, insects, seeds and bulbs, [and] the produce of the Colony’.<sup>147</sup> Villet was known in his trade as ‘an ingenious Frenchman’, and provided varieties of Cape seeds for the Ceylon government.<sup>148</sup> In 1819, he established a botanic garden called Aux Champs des Fleurs.

Villet’s attachments to French culture marked him out as a Frenchman at the Cape, and created problems when he applied to be allowed to purchase land in 1816 in order to establish his botanic garden.<sup>149</sup> Remarking on the case, the colonial secretary Earl Bathurst explicitly linked strangers and migrants, and noted how Villet’s application threw into the open ‘the general question of the Admission of Foreigners to the Rights of Burghers and to the Possession of Lands in the Colony’.<sup>150</sup> The Cape’s governing elite sought inspiration in precedent. It was the Villet case that encouraged Somerset to seek out Johannes Truter for an explanation of the colony’s laws. Truter described Villet as a stranger who, ‘considered as a

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 363.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 363.

<sup>149</sup> Bathurst to Somerset, 27 November 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, pp. 214-15.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., pp. 214-15.

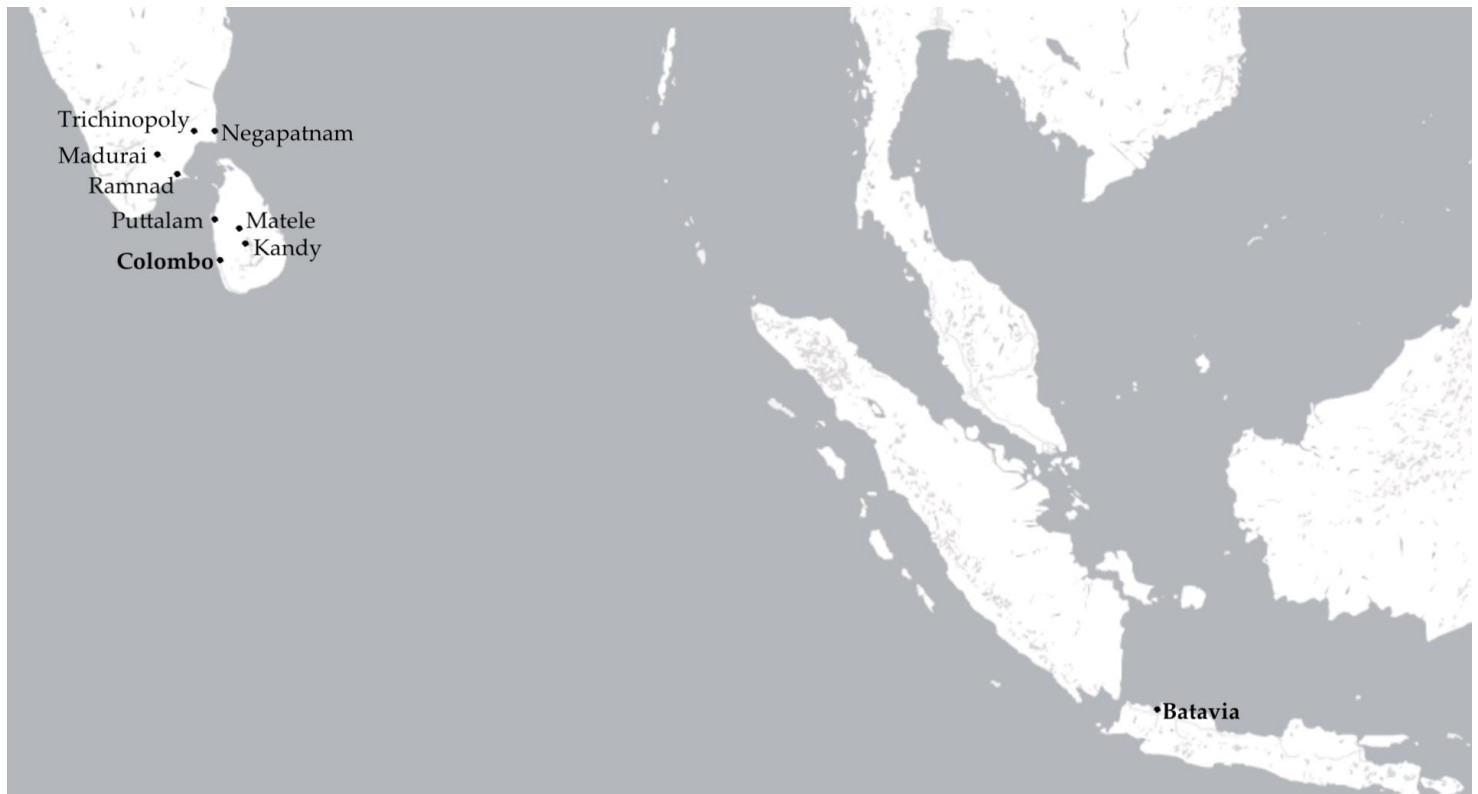


Figure 14. Places identified by officials as points of origin for Malabars found in Kandy in 1816. See 'List of Malabars residing at Kandy', 31 July 1816, SLNA, 10/130 (map data © Google).

Frenchman', would have been unlikely to obtain 'from the Batavian Government anything further than the rights of inhabitant'.<sup>151</sup> He also reproduced a series of letters written by the Batavian governor, Jan Janssens (r. 1803-6) and the attorney Beelaerts van Blokland, in which both suggested a ban – never implemented – on granting land or burgher rights to strangers. 'The relative situation of a stranger once granted the actual rights', van Blokland wrote, 'might prove incompatible with the interest of the Colony or of the mother country'.<sup>152</sup> Somerset sent this information to the Colonial Office, which recommended making strangeness a more precarious form of residency by extending the time that one had to live in the colony before being able to purchase land or become a burgher – from the three years introduced by the Batavians to five.<sup>153</sup> Charles Villet, who had lived at the Cape for almost a decade by this point, was granted his land. Yet other Europeans would now be subject to harsher regulation.

<sup>151</sup> Truter to Bird, 7 June 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 122.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>153</sup> Bathurst to Somerset, 27 November 1816, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, pp. 215.

In Ceylon, ruling elites used the category of the stranger to prohibit the migration of Malabars, who would become known as Tamils. The focus on Malabars was due in part to their relationship to the kingdom of Kandy's Nayakkar kings – who were said to maintain strong connections with the monarchs of southern India – amid a growing rivalry with Kandy in the run-up to its invasion in 1815.<sup>154</sup> Yet it also picked up on Dutch efforts to frame Sri Lanka as ethnically divided, wherein Malabars were understood as indigenous to the island's north and strangers in the supposedly Sinhalese south. For instance, the British extended Dutch laws distinguishing between forms of Sinhalese and Malabar dress. Alexander Johnston copied one law from 1686 that compelled 'the Chingalese in General & ... the low castes in particular to observe in their Cloathing the Customs ... of the Country'.<sup>155</sup> In 1809, Thomas Maitland issued a schedule outlining the outfits that Sinhalese headmen should wear.<sup>156</sup> British officials used these laws to distinguish between Sinhalese and people whom they imagined were from India, although their expectations were often confounded. When the collector of Mannar, William Orr, detained 'mendicants' from India, he subjected them to investigations focusing on their clothing.<sup>157</sup> He was bemused by one 'dressed and decorated as a woman, probably in the hope of ... creating less suspicion', and mused that, while these people cast themselves as 'mendicants', their 'appearance and the value of the ornaments' they wore belied their claim.<sup>158</sup> He used interrogations to uncover details of their 'native country', families, occupations, and journeys – linking them, as desired, to India.<sup>159</sup>

The link between Malabars and the category of the stranger was consolidated amid the invasion of Kandy in 1815. A proclamation issued in February 1815 by Robert Brownrigg in Kandy called on 'Collectors, Commandants ... Magistrates, and Headmen' to search for 'a number of Malabars' who had fled the kingdom.<sup>160</sup> Although these 'Malabars' were 'Relations of the King of Kandy or Dependants upon Him', they were referred to as 'Strangers', who, if found, were to be 'secured and kept in Custody'.<sup>161</sup> At the same time Brownrigg explicitly

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<sup>154</sup> For an exploration of the development of Malabar ethnicity, see Sivasundaram, 'Ethnicity', pp. 428-52.

<sup>155</sup> 'Statement of the placats which the late Dutch government made for the regulation of their settlements', TNA, CO 54/27, p. 20.

<sup>156</sup> 'Regulation for ascertaining the persons holding the employs or titles of native headmen in the Cingalese districts', 19 August 1809, in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government*, I, pp. 119-20.

<sup>157</sup> Orr to government secretary, 15 November 1814, 6/158, SLNA.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Orr to Sutherland, 30 November 1814, 6/158, SLNA.

<sup>160</sup> 'Proclamation', 19 February 1815, in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government*, I, p. 178.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

connected Malabars to India – and echoed the Dutch in doing so. ‘The Malabars from the Coast of Coromandel, as well as the Moors from the same quarter, are by their birth and parentage the natural subjects ... of the Hon. The East India Company’, he proclaimed.<sup>162</sup> As Sujit Sivasundaram shows, Malabars soon found themselves subject to new restrictions on their migration as well as forms of surveillance.<sup>163</sup> ‘All Malabars going to or from Kandy should be obliged to take a pass’, wrote Colombo’s magistrate, Thomas Twistleton, in July 1816.<sup>164</sup> He suggested that these passes should be signed by himself and his constable, Charles Carr, who would ‘have personal communication’ with the applicant. Twistleton’s writings again draw attention to the clothing worn by Malabars, and British frustrations that many travelled ‘in disguise’.<sup>165</sup> Other Malabars were singled out from the inhabitants of Kandy – as originally from India – for repatriation. In July 1816, Twistleton compiled a list of Malabars residing at Kandy and taken to Colombo, with details of their places of origin and occupations (fig. 14). Many were said to have come from places like Negapatnam and Trichinopoly and even Batavia.<sup>166</sup> These controls were likely less than effective in practice. One magistrate admitted that he could not tell whether a man that he arrested in 1816 named Kohilan Pillai was a Malabar, as per ‘the description’ in Brownrigg’s proclamation describing Malabars as strangers.<sup>167</sup> Nevertheless, these controls reveal that the status of the stranger was used by governing elites under the British to regulate migration between the Anglo-Dutch colonies.

### Marriage and migration

The same governing elites followed their Dutch predecessors in regulating Roman-Dutch Protestant marriage in the Anglo-Dutch colonies. David Baird’s law constraining strangers at the Cape was followed two months later by another reinstating controls on such marriages that had been removed by the Batavians. Apparently annoyed by the Batavian attempts to secularise Roman-Dutch marriage, Baird declared it a ‘Holy Institution, connected with the Sacred Principles of Religion’, and ordered that it should be performed ‘by an ordained

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<sup>162</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony* (Chicago, 2013), p. 46.

<sup>163</sup> For a wider exploration of Brownrigg’s programme of repatriations, see *ibid.*, pp. 46-54.

<sup>164</sup> Twistleton to government secretary, 18 July 1816, SLNA, 10/130.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> ‘List of Malabars residing at Kandy’, 31 July 1816, SLNA, 10/130.

<sup>167</sup> Sitting magistrate Belligam to secretary for Kandyan department, 5 August 1816, SLNA, 10/130.

Clergyman'.<sup>168</sup> This effectively required any ceremony to be carried out in a Reformed or Lutheran church, as there were no other official churches in the Cape Colony at this time. It also meant reinstating the VOC's regulation that all marriages be preceded by three readings of the banns.<sup>169</sup> Baird likewise prohibited 'the Court for Matrimonial and Civil Affairs, as also the Landdrosts and Heemraden ... from performing the Marriage Ceremony in the future'.<sup>170</sup> In districts beyond Cape Town, couples were therefore required to seek the aid of a clergyman 'to perform the ... Ceremony in their respective Cures or Parishes', and if there were no clergy in their vicinity they would have to apply to the nearest parish – often at a distance.<sup>171</sup>

For Baird, these reforms were in part a way of restoring a pre-revolutionary society as well as religious and spiritual authorities that had been dismantled in the revolutionary era. As such, he actually diverged from the existing corpus of Roman-Dutch law by emphasising the importance of the church relative to the colonial government, drawing the Cape's laws into line with those in Anglican England even in the absence of an official Anglican church. Marriage, he claimed, was 'not (as these [Batavian] Regulations would infer) a mere Civil Contract', but a religious ceremony, as it was 'in all civilized Countries where the Christian Religion is professed and respected'.<sup>172</sup> Baird suggested that he was restoring a past in which all marriages were performed 'in the former manner by an ordained Clergyman ... as was the case before the Regulations before mentioned were issued'.<sup>173</sup> By following these regulations, Baird said, one respected the link between Christian marriage, 'the Sacred Principles of religion', and 'civilization'.<sup>174</sup> Yet for Baird marriage was also about managing potential subjects. Crucially, several elements of the Batavian reforms relating to the regulation of marriage remained intact, and were still in force in the Cape Colony as late as 1818.<sup>175</sup> These included the proscriptions on strangers and servants, which prevented them establishing ties with burghers. Paraphrasing the original Batavian law, the fiscal in 1818, Daniel Denyssen,

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<sup>168</sup> 'Proclamation', 26 April 1806, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, p. 23.

<sup>169</sup> 'Statement of the marriage laws', 22 April 1818, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* XI, p. 494.

<sup>170</sup> 'Proclamation', 26 April 1806, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, p. 23.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>175</sup> 'Statement of the marriage laws', 22 April 1818, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* XI, p. 494.



observed that no marriage could 'take place of strangers who have not obtained any permission to remain in this Colony, unless by written permission from the Governor'.<sup>176</sup>

Roman-Dutch marriage was likewise heavily regulated in Java and Ceylon, and in the latter in particular its control was encouraged by the British – for whom it became an instrument of autocratic power.<sup>177</sup> In 1799, Frederick North assumed the functions of the office of ordinary, which allowed him and his subordinates to exercise an 'ecclesiastical jurisdiction ... as relates to the collation of benefices, the granting of licenses for marriages and probates of will', and also gave them powers formerly linked to the Dutch marital commissioners.<sup>178</sup> This meant that questions of marital impropriety and licensing could be referred to the governor, allowing him to determine the interpretation of the Dutch statutes. Some authority was ceded over marriages among Europeans to the new supreme court that was established under the oversight of Alexander Johnston in 1801, yet the governor generally remained sovereign over such questions – and was also the recipient of inquiries over marriages made by his subordinates in the executive branch like the magistrates and collectors.<sup>179</sup> These officials began to work in the place of marital commissioners – reporting to the governor, who had the ultimate decision over whether or not a couple would be able to marry.

North's key intervention was to uphold the distinction – like the VOC before him – between marriage and concubinage, and thus between the higher-ranking and respectable Anglo-Dutch colonists on the one hand and soldiers, strangers, slaves, and servants on the other. For instance, in June 1805, the magistrate of Trincomalee, John Franchelly, wrote to North to ask whether he would issue a licence to a woman 'who seems determined to enter into a second marriage, although her Husband may happen to be still living'.<sup>180</sup> This woman, Anna Steemers, was living 'in concubinage', having claimed that her first husband had left her, 'taking with him all what he was possessed of'.<sup>181</sup> She asked to be permitted 'to remarry ... she being otherwise not able at all to maintain herself and her Daughter'.<sup>182</sup> Steemers was

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 494.

<sup>177</sup> On the historic regulation of marriage in the Dutch empire, including Java, see Bosma and Raben, *Being 'Dutch'*, pp. 33-8.

<sup>178</sup> 'Proclamation by the governor', 23 September 1799, in *A collection of the legislative acts of his majesty's government of Ceylon; containing proclamations and regulations issued since 15<sup>th</sup> January 1799, and wholly, or in part in force, on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1821* (Colombo, 1821), p. 117.

<sup>179</sup> 'Legal charter', 18 April 1801, *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government*, I, p. 41.

<sup>180</sup> Franchelly to Arbuthnot, 25 June 1805, SLNA, 10/38.

<sup>181</sup> 'Petition of Anna Catherina Steemers', 25 June 1805, SLNA, 10/38.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

allowed to wed because – in Franchelly’s words – concubinage was not a fit state for such a woman who had ‘a decent appearance’.<sup>183</sup> Conversely, licences were denied in cases where hierarchies were called into question. Thus North barred the marriage of a burgher named Frans Janszen because he – according to his brother – was a child ‘of a respectable European family’, while his betrothed was ‘the daughter of a slave woman of a Dutch Lieutenant’.<sup>184</sup> Such a woman was ‘not only a Disgrace to himself, to his poor ... children’ but also ‘imprudent to the highest degree’.<sup>185</sup> In 1805, Thomas Twistleton refused to allow a Lankan woman named Madalina Silman to be recognised as the widow of Dutch lieutenant after he heard testimonies from Dutch witnesses – an overseer and an officer – calling her a slave and concubine.<sup>186</sup>

A legitimate Roman-Dutch marriage soon became an important way for ruling elites to determine rights for migrants, as it allowed them to discourage the migration of strangers as well as the lower-ranking soldiers, servants, and labourers – all of whom were historically excluded from marital practices. This echoed the proscriptions introduced by the East India Company in India, but more immediately upheld the distinctions between burghers and servants confirmed by the Batavians in the early nineteenth-century Cape Colony. It also confirmed the divergence of the process of marriage in the Anglo-Dutch colonies from British-controlled India. There, the East India Company’s judges extended the notion of coverture, in which married women were considered to be under their husband’s authority, to unmarried cohabiting women. This blurred the division between married and unmarried couples.<sup>187</sup>

The use of marriage against particular migrants in the Anglo-Dutch colonies can be seen in the case of the servant, Sarah Batt. Sarah arrived at the Cape in 1806 as an employee of Sara Murray, whose husband, John, had recently been appointed to the position of deputy commissary general, but left their service less than a year afterwards.<sup>188</sup> It soon emerged that Sarah intended to marry a sailor named Henry Batt and live with him in Cape Town.<sup>189</sup> Her flight was perceived as a threat by the Cape’s governing elites. The fiscal, then Willem van Ryneveld, observed that ‘many of the English servants’ that were employed by wealthy

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> ‘Petition of Jurgen Janszen’, 24 June 1811, SLNA, 6/70.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> ‘Petition of Madalina Silman’, 19 April 1805, SLNA, 10/38.

<sup>187</sup> Ghosh, *Sex and the family*, pp. 170-205.

<sup>188</sup> Peter Philip, *British residents at the Cape 1795-1819: biographical records of 4,800 pioneers* (Cape Town, 1981), p. 298.

<sup>189</sup> ‘Statement of P.J. Keere, sexton of the Reformed Congregation’, 16 June 1808, TNA, CO 48/2, pp. 339-40.

Capetonian families 'were looking up to her', hoping that her example would afford them a Precedent to leave their service and do as they thought proper'.<sup>190</sup> Van Ryneveld summoned Sarah to his office and proposed that she return to the Murrays' 'only for a few days for the sake of example', in which case 'she should have her Discharge and could then apply to government for a Pass'.<sup>191</sup> Yet Sarah refused, insisting that her marriage meant that she was no longer a servant and therefore 'free to go and come where she pleased'.<sup>192</sup> Van Ryneveld had Sarah arrested under the Batavian law and deported to Britain in October 1807.

In Britain, Sarah attempted to use her marriage to challenge van Ryneveld's decision to deport her, suggesting that it gave her a valid connection to the Cape. In January 1808, she delivered a petition to the Board of Trade, stressing her claim to being middle class while construing the facts of the case so that it appeared that she had been sent away for marrying Henry – whom she described as a merchant rather than a sailor – before the expiration of her service to Mrs. Murray.<sup>193</sup> She said that she had gone 'out of the Cape of Good Hope as Ladies waiting Woman to Mrs. Murray', to whom she had given 'ten months service'.<sup>194</sup> It was then that she had received 'an advantagious offer of marriage from Mr. Batt', for which she gained the 'approbation of Mrs. Murray, expressly and repeatedly given'.<sup>195</sup> 'Only a short time after her Marriage', however, Mr. Murray 'carried' her before van Ryneveld.<sup>196</sup> Sarah claimed that she was told that she had broken 'the Law of the Cape', according to which she was to be 'committed to Prison till the expiration of the Period ... or sent out of the Colony'.<sup>197</sup> Having been removed to Britain, a move 'greatly to her prejudice and very hurtful to her feelings', Sarah argued that she had carried out her sentence, and should consequently be allowed to return to the colony as a married figure.<sup>198</sup> Seeking to overrule the Cape's officials, she asked for the approval of the board 'to return to the Cape to the Protection of her Husband'.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Van Ryneveld to Bird, 20 June 1808, TNA, CO 48/2, p. 332.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>193</sup> 'Petition of Sarah Batt', 22 January 1808, TNA, BT 1/38.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Sarah's appeal was read to the board and they quickly determined that there were few reasons to keep her in Britain.<sup>200</sup> Critically, her case had been bolstered by a pair of references from two former employers, who testified as to her character and decorum and reinforced her claims about the impropriety of her deportation to Britain. These were written by Lady Charlotte Wentworth – the sister of the former Whig Prime Minister, Lord Rockingham – and Viscountess Fauconberg. Wentworth followed Sarah's account, arguing that Mrs. Murray had offered her 'entire consent' for Sarah's marriage, and that, as a result, her banishment ought to be looked on as a 'very hard treatment'.<sup>201</sup> She added that Sarah should be granted 'the protection necessary to secure her from any further molestation', which would allow her to 'go back by the first opportunity to her Husband who is anxiously expecting her return'.<sup>202</sup> The board agreed that this was most advisable. Bemused by Sarah's appearance in London, however, they also wrote to the author John Barrow, now at the admiralty, and famed for his work on the Cape, and asked him to comment on her punishment.<sup>203</sup> Barrow admitted that the case was unusual. He observed that, in his time at the Cape, 'many British subjects were married and given in marriage without receiving any pains or penalties for the breach of any real or supposed law'.<sup>204</sup> Historically, he said, the state had interfered only to ask a couple to answer questions before a commissarial court, a tradition drawn from the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>205</sup> Consequently, Sarah's removal from the Cape was 'so outrageous an act for so trifling a cause' that he could not see why the government had felt it necessary.<sup>206</sup>

When the Cape's officials were notified of Sarah Batt's challenge to their decision in June 1808, they quickly claimed that marriage had nothing to do with their decision, while attempting to discredit her claim to a legitimate union by deploying Dutch laws and evidence from the DRC. In a letter subsequently sent to London by the governor, Willem van Ryneveld argued that Sarah's claim that she was 'sent out of the colony for marrying within a limited time' was 'totally unfounded; the only reason being, that she had left the service of her

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<sup>200</sup> Fawkenner to Cooke, 23 January 1808, TNA, BT 3/9, pp. 352-4.

<sup>201</sup> Wentworth to Board of Trade, 14 January 1808, TNA, BT 1/38, p. 47.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>203</sup> For John Barrow's work on the Cape Colony, see John Barrow, *An account of travels into the interior of southern Africa* (2 vols., London, 1801-6).

<sup>204</sup> Barrow to Board of Trade, 22 January 1808, TNA, BT 1/38, pp. 49-50.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Mistress abruptly'.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless, he pointed out that Sarah's marriage had taken place in the home of an English parson, without the banns having been read in the DRC, and this rendered it illegal.<sup>208</sup> Van Ryneveld reproduced a letter from the sexton of the church, P.J. Keere, who certified that 'no Banns of Marriage' had been 'published of Mr Batt in the Reformed Church which is the place where the Banns are always published of such Persons as marry in Town'.<sup>209</sup> Keere related that Henry Batt had come to him 'on a Saturday seemingly in a hurry and requested that he might be married in Church by our Clergyman to a servant maid of Mr Murray'.<sup>210</sup> When Keere refused, Henry 'went away saying that he had haste and that he would go to the English Clergyman'.<sup>211</sup> These claims were rearticulated by Governor Caledon (r. 1806-11), in his response to London, in which he laid out three tests for 'a legal marriage by the colonial law'.<sup>212</sup> First, it was necessary 'for the parties to appear in the matrimonial court ... to answer ... such interrogations as may be put to them'.<sup>213</sup> Second, they had to have the banns 'published on three successive Sundays'.<sup>214</sup> Third, they had to obtain the governor's permission before the service.<sup>215</sup> Sarah had satisfied only the first of these. Caledon therefore doubted that 'any clergyman' would actually have 'performed the ceremony under such circumstances' and suggested that Sarah was therefore an 'outcast and dissolute' adventurer – adopting, it should be noted, the same language as the East India Company.<sup>216</sup> The Cape's government therefore opposed her repatriation to the colony.

The persistence of Roman-Dutch marriage as a legal status under the British and its use in migration controls consolidated a hierarchy that distinguished between higher-ranking people like burghers and the middle classes on the one hand and strangers, soldiers, and servants on the other. Yet it also ensured that – of those prohibited – women were most frequently targeted by colonial officials. According to Roman-Dutch law, unmarried women were legally separate and able to make decisions like applying for a permit in an individual

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<sup>207</sup> Van Ryneveld to Bird, 20 June 1808, TNA, CO 48/2, p. 333.

<sup>208</sup> 'Statement of P.J. Keere, sexton of the Reformed Congregation', 16 June 1808, TNA, CO 48/2, pp. 339-40.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40.

<sup>212</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 1 July 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 367-70, at p. 368.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 368-70.

capacity.<sup>217</sup> Married women could partake in some commercial activities, but were expected to be represented by their husbands in public life and legal matters.<sup>218</sup> Female migrants therefore occupied a disadvantaged position vis-à-vis colonial hierarchies: either they were legally independent but unmarried and therefore unrespectable, or married and travelling without their husband's representation, and therefore suspicious. By contrast, the English notion of coverture could sometimes be manipulated so that a woman could invoke her husband's authority in his absence: this occurred in Sarah Batt's case in Britain.<sup>219</sup> Thus in the Anglo-Dutch colonies lone women often attracted inordinate suspicion. For instance, when a British woman, Mary Pinnock, requested to be allowed to go to Ceylon to claim a promise of marriage made to her by a British soldier, the fiscal Johannes Truter investigated her personal life.<sup>220</sup> When it was revealed that she had been living with another man outside wedlock, her fiancé was forced to petition Truter on her behalf.<sup>221</sup> By contrast, Maria Fichat had no such trouble, as she could claim Anglo-Dutch ethnicity and middle-class respectability.

A series of court cases held in front of Thomas Twistleton in March 1816 show how magistrates in Ceylon used marriage to target poorer female migrants. These court cases concerned a set of women from New South Wales – Margaret Hazley, her daughter, Elizabeth, and a soldier's wife, Mary James – who were accused of prostitution in Colombo Fort.<sup>222</sup> Charles Carr claimed that he had seen Margaret and Elizabeth walking up and down the street 'at ten or eleven at night ... in a very suspicious manner'.<sup>223</sup> Elizabeth would enter the homes of officers, 'while the said mother remain'd out in the street ... accompanied by an elderly woman'. Carr claimed that an 'offer of prostitution' was made, as the Hazleys approached a man sitting on a veranda and were rejected 'in an angry voice, 'Go away, be off, are you bringing a child to me''.<sup>224</sup> Elizabeth Hazley was said to have gone 'alone to officers' houses

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<sup>217</sup> For this and a more exploration of women's legal rights in the early modern Netherlands, see Danielle van den Heuvel, *Women and entrepreneurship: female traders in the northern Netherlands, c. 1580-1815* (Amsterdam, 2007), p. 56-69; see also Ariadne Schmidt and Manon van der Heijden, 'Women alone in early modern Dutch towns: opportunities and strategies to survive', *Journal of Urban History* 42 (2016), pp. 21-38.

<sup>218</sup> Van den Heuvel, *Women and entrepreneurship*, p. 57.

<sup>219</sup> On the application of coverture in a British colonial setting, see Ghosh, *Sex and the family*, pp. 170-205.

<sup>220</sup> This case is described in Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Mary Pinnock', 29 December 1810, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 185; and the accompanying documents, Truter to Pringle, 8 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 201; Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Captain Covell', 15 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 208; Caledon to Covell, 15 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, pp. 208-9.

<sup>221</sup> Bird to Pringle, enclosing 'Memorial of Captain Covell', 15 January 1811, BL, IOR/G/9/11, p. 208.

<sup>222</sup> The details of these cases are enclosed in Twistleton to Brownrigg, 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>223</sup> 'Deposition of Charles Carr', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*

in the day time', while boarding ships that were docked in the bay to the north of the fort.<sup>225</sup> Mary James was accused after a British corporal said he had seen her in the barracks 'lying down on a Cot, with no covering but a comboy round her waist, not even a shift'.<sup>226</sup>

In a letter to the Governor's Office, Twistleton recommended removing these women from the island. He justified his decision by showing how they had fallen afoul of colonial hierarchies and Roman-Dutch law. Regarding Mary James, he suggested that the governor bypass Johnston's supreme court – which might insist on different forms of evidence – and argued that 'Your Excellency would ... be glad if she were off the Island'.<sup>227</sup> Twistleton cited the evidence of James's own husband, who claimed that they were estranged, and said that he wished 'earnestly that she might be sent to England by the ship now in the roads'.<sup>228</sup> In the case of the latter, Twistleton dismissed representations by Margaret's husband, George, by publicly undermining the relationship between Elizabeth Hazley and her parents. At the opening of their hearing, George Hazley petitioned Twistleton to claim that the allegations made against 'my wife and Elizabeth Hazley my daughter is ... scandalous false and unfounded malicious piece of prejudice urged against this woman and girl of mine'.<sup>229</sup> Yet Charles Carr quickly claimed that Elizabeth was 'not his daughter, nor ever his wife's daughter, but ... an Orphan, [as] can be prov'd by an hundred persons here'.<sup>230</sup> Instead, he said, she was the daughter of a soldier and a convict from Australia. Carr produced a slip of paper from Elizabeth's baptism at a parish church in Sydney seemingly proving this claim. While George then claimed that he had 'been more than a father to the girl' and that 'he is in no want of money', Twistleton sided with Carr.<sup>231</sup> He counselled that Elizabeth be confined 'to something like the Magdalen institutions' – workhouses for alleged prostitutes – because she was 'too much addicted to iniquity for ... amendment while at large in this garrison'.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> 'Oath of John Barry in the case of Mary James', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>227</sup> Twistleton to Brownrigg, 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> 'Memorial of George Hazley', undated, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>230</sup> 'Deposition of Charles Carr', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>231</sup> 'Deposition of George Hazley', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>232</sup> Twistleton to Brownrigg, 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

## Conclusion

Anglo-Dutch governing elites were not always successful at consolidating their hierarchies. Having employed her marriage to secure a passage back to the Cape Colony from Britain against the wishes of the colonial state, Sarah Batt returned to the colony in 1808 and was allowed to stay because Henry himself had by now been permitted to do so.<sup>233</sup> In fact, Sarah Batt's success presaged a general movement away from Roman-Dutch marriage in the Cape's legal codes. In 1814, all marriages that were to be solemnised 'according to the forms of the Established Church of England' were ordered to be published 'in an English Church in this Colony'.<sup>234</sup> This neutered the privileged role played by the DRC in the early years of the colony's occupation. It was followed in March 1818 by a law allowing couples to 'dispense with the Banns of Marriage being called'.<sup>235</sup> Rather than have the banns read, couples could apply for a 'resolution to grant Special Licenses for Marriage without Banns', for the admittedly high price of two hundred rix dollars.<sup>236</sup> Likewise in Sri Lanka, the executive seemed to take a step back from its close control of Roman-Dutch marriage. In August 1815, Robert Brownrigg admitted that there were 'insufficient' people 'authorised to perform the ceremony of marriage in this Colony'.<sup>237</sup> In a law proclaimed in Colombo, the government authorised 'all marriages of persons known by the description of natives and professing the Protestant Religion', if performed by an individual of whom the governor approved.<sup>238</sup>

Some of these reforms were driven by shifts in the priorities of the Second Empire's rulers, as well as the turmoil created by people like Sarah Batt. In 1814, the Cape was officially ceded to Britain, allowing the British to advance an aggressive set of anglicising reforms that were designed to bring the colony's laws in line with Britain.<sup>239</sup> Yet some of the lessons of this period remained critical to the functioning of colonial states in the Second British Empire. In

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<sup>233</sup> Caledon to Castlereagh, 7 July 1809, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VII, p. 17.

<sup>234</sup> 'Government advertisement', 26 February 1814, Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, p. 280.

<sup>235</sup> 'Government advertisement', 20 March 1816, in Plaskett and Miller, eds., *Proclamations*, pp. 415-16.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 415-16.

<sup>237</sup> 'Regulation for facilitating the marriages of native Protestants', in *A Collection of the legislative acts* (1821 edn), p. 173.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>239</sup> On anglicisation at the Cape, see James Sturgis, 'Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11 (1982), pp. 5-32; Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting anglicisation in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31 (2003), pp. 82-95.



particular, the status of the stranger remained a powerful category that persisted in Cape marriage law – so that even as marriage was anglicised the legacy of the strangers excluded by the Dutch remained.<sup>240</sup> Most of the regulations applied to marriage in Sri Lanka also notably came after the colony's cession, and were not therefore dictated by the provisions of the Dutch capitulation. Of course, in Sri Lanka, the later history of those described as strangers – Malabars – was one of systematic discrimination by the state.<sup>241</sup> In this way, one's place relative to older Dutch colonial hierarchies remained a key determinant of one's ability to travel and secure rights across the Anglo-Dutch colonies of the Second British Empire.

The lessons of this period also seemed to stay with its protagonists. Maria Fichat did not spend long in Java after arriving there in 1814. Reunited with James, she returned to the Cape aboard the *Woodbridge* in 1815, and travelled onwards to England at the start of the following year, taking up residence in Vauxhall in south London.<sup>242</sup> The Fichats decided to return to the Cape once more in October 1818, and this time tried to secure a respectable living before their departure, by purchasing a plot of land with the agreement of the Colonial Office. James Fichat wrote to Earl Bathurst describing himself in terms of Anglo-Dutch connections, noting that he intended to travel to the colony with his 'wife and family', with the permission of 'the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty'.<sup>243</sup> He claimed that 'Subaltern Officers' had been granted up to five hundred acres of land in the colony, and contrasted this with his own twenty years of service, which he felt would entitle him to a sizeable piece of land.<sup>244</sup> In the end, the Fichats settled on a 210-acre farm, called 'The Grove', at Wynberg, near Cape Town.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> 'Provisional orders respecting the celebration of marriages of the inhabitants of the country districts of the Batavian colony the Cape of Good Hope', 20 September 1804, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XI, p. 505.

<sup>241</sup> For the development of Malabar ethnicity, see Sivasundaram, 'Ethnicity', pp. 428-52.

<sup>242</sup> Philip, *British residents*, p. 125.

<sup>243</sup> Fichat to Bathurst, 10 October 1818, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XII, p. 48.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>245</sup> Philip, *British residents*, p. 126.

## Four            Ani

### Land and labour

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On 21 September 1814, a Chinese man named Ani walked down the gangway of the *Scaleby Castle* onto the docks that ran alongside the Batavia roads and left the ship. He is recorded in the *Scaleby Castle's* logbook as having run, suggesting that he disembarked without seeking permission.<sup>1</sup> Ani was likely a sailor being taken to China, and as such this may have been a moment of escape.<sup>2</sup> He had first boarded the ship in Portsmouth, alongside forty-nine other Chinese who would have travelled to Britain working on East India Company (EIC) ships, having been enlisted at Canton.<sup>3</sup> No doubt Ani's experience aboard the *Scaleby Castle* would have been fundamentally different to those of Frederik Turr and Maria Fichat. The ship's Chinese were subjected to surveillance and punishment when on board. The *Scaleby Castle's* captain, Thomas Harington, exposed them to searches by mustering them on the deck and allowing overseers to comb through their ranks looking for stowaways.<sup>4</sup> Not long after Ani left the ship, another Chinese man, Ashin, was whipped two hundred times and confined in chains after he was accused of taking 'improper liberties' with the gunner's boy.<sup>5</sup> Ani probably hoped to leave this life behind with the *Scaleby Castle*. Yet while Java's Chinese pursued more prosperous occupations than their shipboard counterparts – becoming traders, sugar-refiners,

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<sup>1</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR) L/MAR/B/34J, fo. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Generally Chinese sailors worked on the journey from Canton to Britain. However, due to British labour laws, they were prevented from working the other way: ships had to recruit British sailors in their stead. Thus the majority of Chinese travelling on British ships in the direction of travel were not – at least officially – working. See Leonard Blussé, 'John Chinaman abroad: Chinese sailors in the service of the VOC', in Alicia Schrikker and Jeroen Touwen, eds., *Promises and predicaments: trade and entrepreneurship in colonial and independent Indonesia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Singapore, 2015), pp. 101-12, at p. 109; for more on the Chinese experiences of working on British ships, see Iona Man-Cheong, 'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company: racialisation and labour practices, 1803-15', *Journal for Maritime Research* 16 (2014), pp. 167-81; Isaac Land, 'Customs of the sea: flogging, empire, and the 'true British seaman', 1770 to 1870', *Interventions* 3 (2001), pp. 169-85; Yu Po-ching, 'Chinese seamen in London and St Helena in the early nineteenth century', in Maria Fusaro et al, eds., *Law, labour, and empire: comparative perspectives on seafarers, c. 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 287-303.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, BL, IOR/L/MAR/B/34J, fo. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Harington to Pringle, 25 May 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 73-4.

<sup>5</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, British Library (BL), India Office records (IOR) L/MAR/B/34J, fo. 28.

carpenters, farmers, and tollgate keepers – they too were subject to considerable repression originally under the Dutch and then the British.<sup>6</sup> It is unclear how Ani experienced Batavia, as his archival trail runs cold. One thing is for certain: he never returned to the *Scaleby Castle*.

### Chinese migration and the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian

Ani's escape from the *Scaleby Castle* to Batavia brings into view the significance of Chinese migration for British as well as Dutch colonialism in Southeast Asia. On the one hand, the location of Ani's flight – Batavia – highlights the persistence of Java's largest city as a site of Chinese migration. It gestures to Batavia's storied history as 'basically a Chinese colonial town' as well as a Dutch outpost for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and suggests that it continued to lure Chinese in search of work and family – and perhaps even wealth – into the British period.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Ani's story reminds us of the role that Chinese played as 'Asiatic Seamen' aboard East India Company (EIC) ships.<sup>8</sup> One House of Commons report observed that 'a great number' of Chinese arrived in London each year with the EIC ships from Canton, having worked during the journey from China to Britain.<sup>9</sup> The dreadful conditions in which they were forced to live in London even drew the attention of anti-slavery reformers.<sup>10</sup> Certainly some of these Chinese would have joined the East India Company's ships in Batavia as they had done those of the Dutch.<sup>11</sup> Ani's personal thoughts and motivations are absent from his narrative, as they are the colonial archive, and are in all likelihood lost to history. Yet his is also a story with wider implications for the Anglo-Dutch history of the Second British Empire. Revealing Chinese migration to be a connective thread

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<sup>6</sup> For an overview of Chinese life in Batavia during the eighteenth century, see Leonard Blussé and Nie Dening, eds., *The Chinese annals of Batavia, the Kai ba lidai shiji and other stories (1610-1795)* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 3-24; for engagements between the British and Chinese in Java, see Ulrike Hillemann, *Asian empire and British knowledge: China and the networks of British imperial expansion* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 130-5.

<sup>7</sup> Leonard Blussé, 'Batavia, 1619-1740: the rise and fall of a Chinese colonial town', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12 (1981), pp. 159-78, at p. 160; for the rise of the Chinese junk trade to Batavia, see idem., *Strange company: Chinese settlers, mestizo women, and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), pp. 97-155.

<sup>8</sup> See Man-Cheong, 'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company', pp. 167-81.

<sup>9</sup> 'Select committee on regulations with respect to lascar and other Asiatic seamen in England: report', *House of Commons Papers* 471, vol. 3 (1814-15), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Blussé, 'John Chinaman', pp. 109-10; the poor conditions in which the Chinese and others lived were also the focus of the 1814-15 select committee report cited above, see *House of Commons Papers* 471, vol. 3 (1814-15), p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> For the employment of Chinese sailors from Batavia on VOC ships, see Blussé, 'John Chinaman', pp. 101-12.

between the British and Dutch empires, it suggests that Chinese who had once worked as the engine of Dutch colonialism in Batavia now played a crucial role in Britain's rise.

The aim of this chapter is to uncover the continued significance of Chinese migration into the Anglo-Dutch colonies for the making of British colonial policies during the imperial meridian. Specifically, it argues that the Chinese who travelled to and resided in Java and Sri Lanka during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a critical influence on policies of land and labour introduced by British officials in those places. Indeed, Chinese migrants persuaded those officials to appraise and adjust the policies of their Dutch predecessors. In the context of the Second British Empire, these developments informed a broader transition towards the widespread use of coercive policies that underpinned the rise of autocracy and even determined colonial attitudes towards Chinese sailors such as Ani. Another aim of this chapter is to reposition scholarship on the Chinese in the Second Empire so that it takes into account the legacy of Sino-Dutch engagement in southeast Asia that preceded the growth of the British empire in that region of the Indian Ocean world. Studies of Anglo-Chinese engagement at this time have generally focused on exchanges of knowledge in China or on Chinese who came to British colonies such as Penang and worked on board ships as sailors from the 1780s. Such narratives chart Anglo-Chinese interaction through a series of well-known events and exchanges, starting with the Macartney Embassy that visited the Qianlong emperor in 1793 and charting the ascent of the tea and opium trades and the coercion of Chinese migrants into indenture.<sup>12</sup> This chapter shows how some of these developments were connected to a longer history of Chinese migration between the former Dutch colonies.

This chapter consequently highlights the importance of sites of Chinese migration for British colonialism in southeast Asia, and makes a special argument for the particularity of those based in former Dutch colonies including Java and Ceylon. In so doing, it draws on Ulrike Hillemann's suggestion that Chinese migrant settlements should be brought more closely into narratives of British imperial history, as contact zones where colonial thinking

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<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, Ulrike Hillemann, *Asian empire and British knowledge*, pp. 106-87; Henrietta Harrison, 'Chinese and British diplomatic gifts in the Macartney Embassy of 1793', *English Historical Review* 123 (2018), pp. 65-97; Fa-ti Fan, *British naturalists in Qing China: science, empire, and cultural encounter* (London, 2004), pp. 11-39; Man-Cheong, 'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company', pp. 167-81. On the rise and fall of the Anglo-Chinese opium trade, see Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and empire: Chinese society in colonial Singapore, 1800-1910* (London, 1990); for indenture and the use of Chinese labour more generally, see Richard B. Allen, 'Slaves, convicts, abolitionism and the global origins of the post-emancipation indentured labour system', *Slavery & Abolition* 35 (2014), pp. 328-48; Stan Neal, 'Jardine Matheson and Chinese migration in the British empire, 1833-53' (D. Phil thesis, Northumbria, 2015).

about knowledge, identity, politics, and orientalism was crystallised through engagements with perspicacious and peripatetic Chinese populations. For Hillemann, this is partly about emphasising the importance of colonies such as Java, Singapore, and Melaka in studies of Britain's empire, in place of the more well-recognised European settler colonies such as the Cape and New South Wales.<sup>13</sup> It also allows sites of Chinese migration in the Second Empire to be understood as places that evolved with shifting patterns of movement and the growth of the Nanyang ('Southern Ocean') networks that sustained commerce between southeast Asia and China.<sup>14</sup> For our purposes, Hillemann's model also demonstrates how sites of Chinese migration could function as prisms through which the British reassessed themselves and their policies against the examples set by other colonial empires. In this chapter, they compare themselves to the Dutch when engaging with Chinese in Java and Sri Lanka.<sup>15</sup>

In terms of the Second British Empire, this chapter reveals how Chinese migration in the Anglo-Dutch colonies influenced official thinking on land and labour.<sup>16</sup> The first of these subjects is usually understood in distinctly ideological terms during the imperial meridian. C.A. Bayly has argued that this was the period in which agrarian patriotism and liberalism intertwined and gave rise to policies promoting freeholding in land and forms of ecological imperialism.<sup>17</sup> Bayly describes agrarian patriotism as an ideology of agrarian improvement that was premised on the notion that the more productive and proficient cultivation of land was a precondition for the moral and economic awakening of Britain and its colonies. It therefore entwined in part with liberal ideas drawn from Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham,

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<sup>13</sup> Hillemann, *Asian empire and British knowledge*, p. 123.

<sup>14</sup> Studies that decentre empire often see sites of Chinese migration in this nuanced fashion. See Eric Tagliacozzo and Wen-Chin Chang, eds., *Chinese circulations: capital, commodities, and networks in southeast Asia* (London 2011); Mark Ravinder Frost, 'Emporium in imperio: Nanyang networks and the Straits Chinese in Singapore, 1819-1914', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36 (2005), pp. 29-66; Leonard Blussé, 'Chinese century: the eighteenth century in the China Sea region', *Archipel* 58 (1999), pp. 107-29; Carl A. Trocki, 'Chinese pioneering in eighteenth-century southeast Asia', in Anthony Reid, ed., *The last stand of Asian autonomies: responses to modernity in the diverse states of southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 83-102; James K. Chin, 'Junk trade, business networks, and sojourning communities: Hokkien merchants in early maritime Asia', *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 6 (2010), pp. 157-215.

<sup>15</sup> Hillemann, *Asian empire and British knowledge*, pp. 190-92.

<sup>16</sup> In addressing ethnicity, this chapter follows the approach used in Chapter Three, which is to see ethnicity as a relational identity. See also John L. Comaroff, 'Ethnicity, nationalism, and the politics of difference in an age of revolution', in Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister, eds., *The politics of difference: ethnic premises in a world of power* (London, 1996), pp. 162-85.

<sup>17</sup> On the rise of agrarian patriotism and freeholding practices at this time, see C.A. Bayly, *Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), pp. 133-63, especially pp. 155-60; see also Maura Capps, 'Fleets of fodder: the ecological orchestration of agrarian improvement in New South Wales and the Cape of Good Hope, 1780-1830', *Journal of British Studies* 56 (2017), pp. 532-56.

who suggested that people worked more productively when granted the fruits of their own labour. Bayly imagined agrarian patriotism as the ‘dominant discourse of the Second British Empire’ and argued that it generated forms of control in colonial contexts.<sup>18</sup> For instance, agrarian patriots in India attempted to grant freeholding in land in ways that confirmed or disrupted existing hierarchies: in Bengal, British officials confirmed the land owned by the elite *zamindars*, while around Madras they awarded ownership to yeoman peasants, and thereby excised the influence of local headmen.<sup>19</sup> This chapter reveals the inconsistency of British attitudes to land. Their promotion of freeholding is characterised by perceptions of the relationship between the Dutch and the Chinese in Java. Yet colonists are also seen to move away from freeholding towards land seizures and limitations after the invasion of Java in September 1811 brought negative Dutch stereotypes about the Chinese to their notice.

In addressing labour, this chapter revisits some of the earlier themes of this thesis. In Chapter Two, we saw how, despite British claims that they brought freedom to slaves, forms of slavery, indenture, and forced labour persisted across the British empire. Most infamously, these included the Cape Colony’s Caledon Code or *rajakariya* in Sri Lanka, but elsewhere – in, say, Java – land tenure was generally paid for in terms of involuntary labour.<sup>20</sup> These forms of work are frequently seen to have presaged the forms of contracted indentured labour that became widespread later in the nineteenth century, and which saw the massive exploitation and exportation of Indian and Chinese labourers from south and southeast Asia to places as varied as Sri Lanka and the Caribbean.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Chinese migrants of the early nineteenth century are often cast as antecedents to their contracted counterparts in the 1840s and beyond. Richard Allen has described Chinese migrants who arrived in Sri Lanka during the 1810s as indentured workers who were coerced into work on the agreement of verbal contracts with the British government. He likens them to Chinese contract labourers who were recruited to

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<sup>18</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, pp. 80-1, 156.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>20</sup> On the use of *rajakariya*, see Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 233-5; *idem.*, ‘Tales of the land: British geography and Kandyan resistance in Sri Lanka, c. 1803-1850’, *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (2007), pp. 925-61; Roland Wenzlhuemer, *From coffee to tea cultivation in Ceylon, 1880-1900: an economic and social history* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 111-19, 126; *idem.*, ‘Indian labour immigration and British labour policy in nineteenth-century Ceylon’, *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (2007), pp. 575-602. See also Wayne Dooling, ‘The origins and aftermath of the Cape Colony’s ‘Hottentot Code’ of 1809’, *Kronos* 31 (2005), pp. 50-61.

<sup>21</sup> Neal, ‘Jardine Matheson’, pp. 146-76; on Indian and south Asian indenture in Ceylon, see Patrick Peebles, *The plantation Tamils of Ceylon* (London, 2001).

work in Trinidad in 1806.<sup>22</sup> Encounters between Britons and Chinese aboard the East India Company's ships – where Chinese sailors were employed through similar agreements – are likewise seen to have encouraged the racialisation of the Chinese and their work prior to indenture's mid-nineteenth century moment.<sup>23</sup> Yet this chapter argues that modes of work shifted unevenly between freedom and coercion through this period, with the character of Chinese work in particular fluctuating with the twists and turns of the Anglo-Dutch rivalry. The Lankan migrants were part of a scheme that promoted freeholding and freer modes of work. It was their scheme's failure amid Java's invasion that gave rise to more sinister forms of labour and informed the wider appropriation of systems like *rajakariya* in Sri Lanka.

This chapter begins with a broad overview of these themes. It examines the longer history of Chinese migration to southeast Asia and the peculiarity of the relationship between the Chinese and the Dutch in Java – as well as the shifting fortunes of Chinese migrants that accompanied the emergence of the British empire. It demonstrates that the British adopted inconsistent policies towards land and labour across their Indian Ocean empire, creating a space for interventions from the Dutch and the Chinese. Afterwards, it shows how British engagements with Chinese in Java in the late eighteenth century gave rise to specific visions of how labour and landholding might operate in the British empire. In particular, it follows the statesman and author John Barrow, who visited Java with the Macartney Embassy in 1793 and proposed on the basis of his experiences that Chinese migrants might be induced to become freeholders who would cultivate new crops for the empire. Barrow's ideas were put in practice in Ceylon after the British took the colony from the Dutch – a marker, no doubt, of Britain's rising interest in southeast Asia. Finally, this chapter demonstrates that the failure of the Sri Lanka schemes coincided with a shift in Anglo-Dutch relations following the invasion of Java that encouraged British officials to entrench coercive policies. It shows how officials like Thomas Raffles (r. 1811-16) appropriated negative Dutch stereotypes about the Chinese and replicated the sorts of policies that the Dutch East India Company (VOC) had used against them. These had broader repercussions across the British empire, in particular in Singapore.

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<sup>22</sup> Allen, 'Slaves, convicts, abolitionism', pp. 328-48.

<sup>23</sup> Man-Cheong, 'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company', pp. 167-81.

## The Chinese in maritime southeast Asia

Chinese migrants were a common sight in southeast Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The expansion of the Qing empire after 1644 drove migrants into the Philippines and Siam from southern China and in particular Fujian.<sup>24</sup> Although Chinese commerce with southeast Asia was prohibited by the Kangxi emperor while he tried to annex Formosa, it was permitted again after 1684, and this gave rise to another movement of migrants south on junks.<sup>25</sup> They were recruited by early colonists like the Spanish as well as sultanates in Banka and Borneo as miners and sugar-refiners.<sup>26</sup> Chinese migrants continued to be employed as miners in Banka even after it fell to the British in the nineteenth century, with the Resident paying for their passage to the island.<sup>27</sup> Such ventures were attractive to poorer migrants, as they could form *kongsi*, ritual organisations promoting collective shareholding in ventures like mines and farms.<sup>28</sup> Yet migrants invariably attracted hostility from European colonists, and in some ways even the forms of coercion used against them were uniform across the European empires. In sixteenth-century Manila, in the Spanish-ruled Philippines, colonists established a segregated Chinese town called the Parián, and in 1686 ordered that all non-Christian Chinese leave Manila altogether.<sup>29</sup> The city's Chinese were likewise granted their own forms of devolved governance, which were concentrated in the figure of the *gobernadorcillo* (little governor).<sup>30</sup> Spanish policies segregating the Chinese remained in place into the Seven Years' War (1756-63), and were retained by the British when they occupied the city in 1762.<sup>31</sup>

It was against this backdrop that Chinese migrants arrived in Java and traversed the Dutch empire under the Dutch East India Company. Like the Spanish, the Dutch adopted a repressive attitude towards Chinese migrants. As we saw in the preceding chapter, Chinese

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<sup>24</sup> Trocki, 'Chinese pioneering', p. 85.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 87; see also Blussé, 'Batavia, 1619-1740', p. 170.

<sup>26</sup> Trocki, 'Chinese pioneering', p. 87, 93.

<sup>27</sup> Hope to Raffles, 31 March 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/20.

<sup>28</sup> Trocki, 'Chinese pioneering', p. 87, 93.

<sup>29</sup> Elliott C. Arensmeyer, 'Foreign accounts of the Chinese in the Philippines: 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Philippine Studies* 18 (1970), pp. 82-102, at p. 88; Lucille Chia, 'The butcher, the baker, and the carpenter: Chinese sojourners in the Spanish Philippines and their impact on southern Fujian (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries)', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49 (2006), pp. 509-34, at p. 517.

<sup>30</sup> Kristie Patricia Flannery, 'The Seven Years' War and the globalisation of Anglo-Iberian imperial entanglement': the view from Manila', in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled empires: the Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830* (Philadelphia, 2018), pp. 236-55, at p. 243.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 243.



were considered strangers, but they were also subject to controls targeted at their community in particular. From the 1690s, for instance, Chinese arriving in Batavia were forced to carry a token showing that they had been allowed to stay in Java by the VOC.<sup>32</sup> The VOC also banned Javanese courts from employing Chinese and barred migrants from beyond southern Fujian from landing in Batavia.<sup>33</sup> The Chinese who landed successfully were ruled and represented by their own leaders – as in Manila – such as *kapiteins Chinees* (Chinese captains), *wijkmeesters* (supervisors), and the Kongkoan, or Chinese council. However, they were also forced to pay poll taxes and levies extracted by the VOC over which they had no say.<sup>34</sup> After the massacre in Batavia in 1740, they were also forced into their own *kampungs* (villages). In Batavia itself, the Chinese part of the city was known as the Chinese camp.<sup>35</sup> As Remco Raben has shown, some of these controls were less than effective, and in reality the Chinese returned to much of Batavia's inner city in the decades following the massacre.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, the Dutch colonial regime remained suspicious of its Chinese subjects into the nineteenth century. Java's executive council argued that, while Chinese were 'industrious settlers,' they had become 'a pest to the country; for which evil ... there appears to be no radical cure but their expulsion from the interior'.<sup>37</sup> The liberal official Dirk van Hogendorp agreed that Chinese were 'complete masters of all trade ... enabled to make monopolies in everything'.<sup>38</sup>

These sorts of controls were replicated when Chinese sailed across the Dutch empire with the VOC. As Leonard Blussé has shown, sailors would be recruited in gangs of around twenty-six men, with their employment becoming common during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, when the Dutch company suffered from shortages of European sailors.<sup>39</sup> During their time with the VOC, Chinese sailors would be subject to a host of regulations: they would be administered by a *mandor* (boss), mustered on their arrival and departure from Batavia, and

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<sup>32</sup> Kerry Ward, *Networks of empire: forced migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 98-9.

<sup>33</sup> Jan Breman, *Mobilising labour for the global coffee market: profits from an unfree work regime in colonial Java* (Amsterdam, 2015), p. 62; Leonard Blussé, 'Chinese in Batavia', in Max de Bruijn and Remco Raben, eds., *The world of Jan Brandes, 1743-1808: drawings of a Dutch traveller in Batavia, Ceylon, and southern Africa* (Amsterdam, 2004), pp. 199-202.

<sup>34</sup> Alexander Claver, *Dutch commerce and Chinese merchants in Java: colonial relationships in trade and finance, 1800-1942* (Leiden, 2014), p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> Blussé, 'Chinese in Batavia', p. 200.

<sup>36</sup> Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo: the ethnic and spatial order of two colonial cities, 1600-1800', (D. Phil thesis, Leiden, 1996), pp. 174-6.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Raffles, *The history of Java* (2 vols., London, 1817-30), I, p. 225.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6.

<sup>39</sup> Blussé, 'John Chinaman', p. 104, 106.

would have any expenses incurred during the voyage deducted from their salary.<sup>40</sup> Sailors were exempt from the poll tax that was levied on other Chinese in Batavia, but had to pay a temporary tax of twelve *stuivers* a month during their time there.<sup>41</sup> A sailor might nevertheless experience greater degrees of freedom the further afield they travelled from Batavia. James C. Armstrong observes that life at the Cape for Chinese – whether sailors, convicts, or exiles – was generally freer than in Batavia, as Cape authorities did not try to ban forms of Chinese sociability, such as gambling houses, which were heavily regulated in Java.<sup>42</sup> Yet in Europe the company's grip tightened once again: Chinese sailors were confined to the VOC's wharfs. Blussé suggests that their living conditions were probably 'relaxed but ... very boring'.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the preponderance of regulations in Batavia, some Chinese were able to amass wealth and land, especially the overseers and devolved officials like captains. The Chinese author Wang Dahai described how the wealthiest Chinese owned sumptuous gardens and plantations with varieties of fruit and crops. He recorded that the captain at Pekalongan, a city in central Java, maintained one 'about an acre in extent, beautifully shaded with trees', with 'all kinds of flowers and plants', a half-acre grove of orange trees, a lattice covered in vines, a *sirih* (betel leaf) 'plantation', and numerous coconut trees.<sup>44</sup> Chinese likewise rented gardens and plantations from Dutch landowners or Javanese nobility and turned them into sugar plantations that were farmed by Javanese labourers or slaves. These were particularly common in the *ommelanden*, which were the locus of the Chinese rebellion in 1740.<sup>45</sup> Writing in the 1730s, the author Cheng Xunwo – who travelled from Fujian to Batavia to work as a teacher – described how sugar mills had been built across the *ommelanden*, and were staffed by 'the *budie* millers, who run the mill; *caifu*, who take care of the books and the apparatus; and the *manlu*, who supervise the workers'.<sup>46</sup> In the eastern provinces of Besuki, Panarukan, and Probolinggo, the Han family from Fujian became prominent landowners after Herman

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>42</sup> James C. Armstrong, 'The Chinese exiles', in Nigel Worden, ed., *Cape Town between east and west: social identities in a Dutch colonial town* (Hilversum, 2012), pp. 101-27.

<sup>43</sup> Blussé, 'John Chinaman', p. 109.

<sup>44</sup> Ong Tae Hae (Wang Dahai), *The Chinaman abroad, or, a desultory account of the Malayan archipelago, particularly of Java* (trans. W.H. Medhurst, Shanghai, 1849), pp. 11-12. For a brief biographical description of Wang Dahai, see Blussé and Denning, eds., *Chinese annals*, p. xii. Blussé and Denning record that Wang Dahai's work was originally published under the title *Haido Yizhi* in 1806.

<sup>45</sup> Blussé and Denning, eds., *Chinese annals*, p. 11.

<sup>46</sup> Cheng Xunwo, 'Brief account of galaba', c. 1740, in Blussé and Denning, eds., *Chinese annals*, p. 209, for a brief biography of Xunwo, see p. 47.

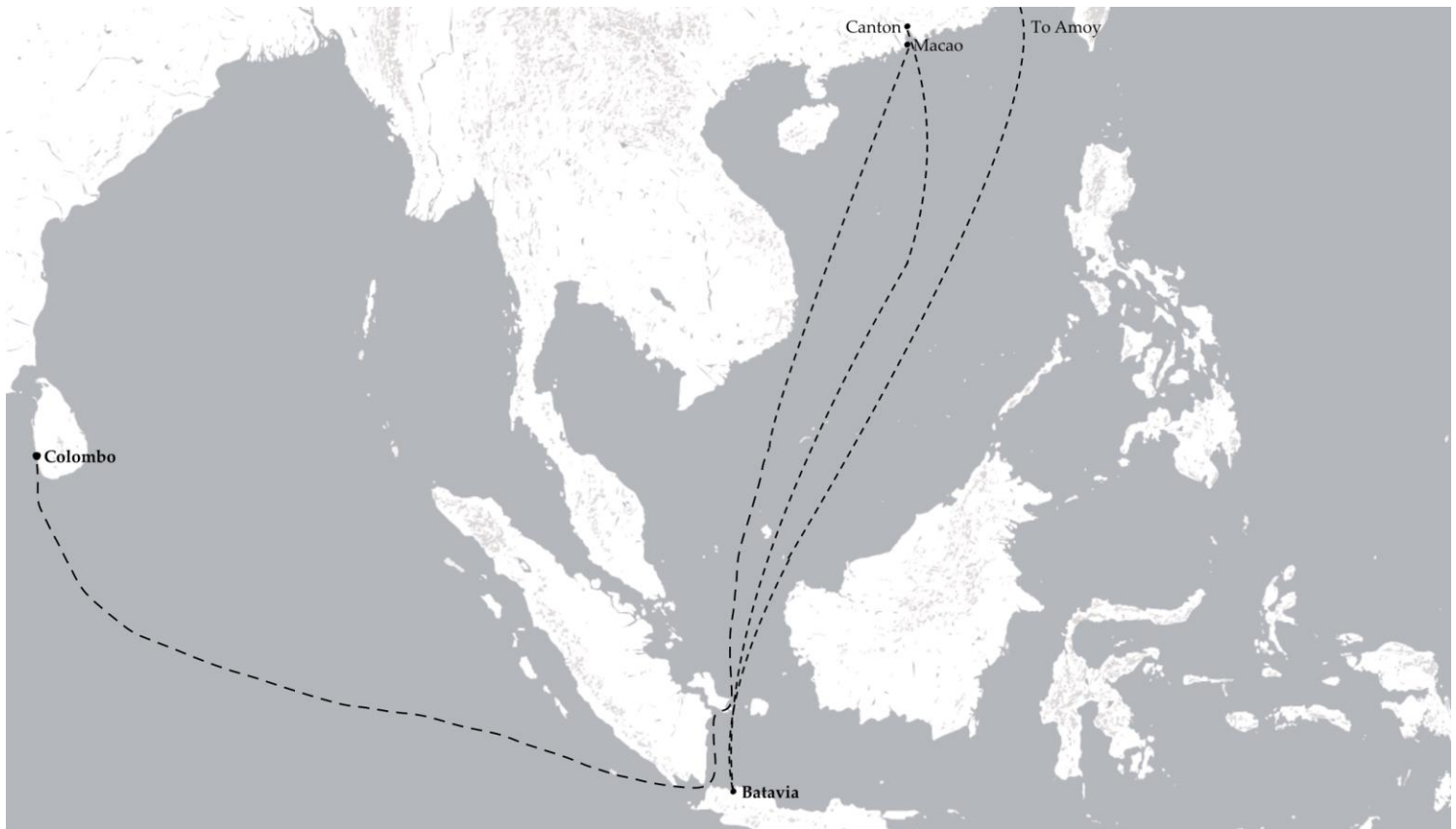


Figure 15. Chinese junk routes to the Anglo-Dutch colonies in the early nineteenth century. Data from *The Java Government Gazette*; A.H. Hubbard, ed., *The Java half-yearly Almanac for 1815* (Batavia, 1815); and Robert Percival, *An account of the island of Ceylon* (1805), p. 138 (map data © Google).

Daendels sold government-owned land to them in the 1810s.<sup>47</sup> Visiting the Chinese-owned land in Panarukan, the French traveller Ch. F. Tombe described entering an ‘immense plain, dotted with groves and rice fields’, and contrasted it to other places that were ‘deserts’.<sup>48</sup>

The rise of the British empire in southeast Asia augured some changes in patterns of Chinese migration. The re-founding of Penang as a colonial port city in 1786 created a base for Chinese trade out of the kingdoms of Siam and Burma.<sup>49</sup> Chinese migrants moved from these kingdoms into Penang to manage the revenue farms and crop plantations established

<sup>47</sup> John Bastin, ‘The Chinese estates in east Java during the British administration’, *Indonesie* 7 (1954), pp. 433-9; for details on the Han family in eastern Java, see Claudine Lombard-Salmon, ‘The Han family of east Java: entrepreneurship and politics (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries)’, *Archipel* 41 (1991), pp. 53-87; see also idem., ‘The Chinese community of Surabaya, from its origins to the 1930s crisis’, *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 3 (2009), pp. 22-60.

<sup>48</sup> Salmon, ‘The Han family of Java’, p. 82. Original text, as quoted by Salmon from Tombe: ‘Enfin à 3 heures de l’après midi nous sortimes du desert. Nous entrâmes dans une plaine immense, parsemée de bosquets et de champs de riz. Quel contraste avec la solitude que nous quitions!’

<sup>49</sup> Nordin Hussin, *Trade and society in the straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780-1830* (Singapore, 2007), pp. 294-5.

there, increasing the colony's Chinese population from 537 (41.85%) in 1788 to 5,088 (36%) in 1810.<sup>50</sup> Like the Spanish and Dutch before them, the British also trialled forms of autonomous governance and coercive control, appointing Chinese captains to Penang in 1794.<sup>51</sup> In Canton, they marshalled sailors through compradors, who offered small payments in exchange for several months' service.<sup>52</sup> The British also attempted to exploit Chinese commerce, although they were frustrated in their early efforts by the failure of the Macartney Embassy. This visited the Qianlong emperor in 1793 in an attempt to secure 'privileges and advantages' for the East India Company. However, the British demands were resisted by the emperor.<sup>53</sup>

Chinese migration to the Anglo-Dutch colonies nevertheless remained important into the early nineteenth century. The growth of the EIC's trade through Canton allowed migrants to board ships like the *Scaleby Castle* in China or elsewhere and travel to Java or Sri Lanka. In 1812, for instance, a Chinese sailor returning to China from Britain visited Colombo, and decided to stay there after meeting 'with a relation amongst the Chinese residing there'.<sup>54</sup> He was described by the captain as having 'conducted himself very well during the voyage', and was therefore permitted to stay – unlike Ani, who may have disembarked from the *Castle* for similar reasons.<sup>55</sup> Chinese migrants also continued to travel to Java on the junks from Fujian, in part to take up posts in the tollgates that were drastically increased in number by the British after 1812. Estimates of Java's Chinese population indeed suggest that as many as one thousand Chinese migrants arrived on the island every year.<sup>56</sup> They would have travelled aboard the junks that continued to dock in Java's port cities during the British occupation (fig. 15). In 1812, traders in Semarang were reported to have established a new junk route with China that allowed them to import bread at a low cost and sell it to sailors departing on British ships.<sup>57</sup> Thomas Raffles suggested that around eight to ten such junks arrived in Java each

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 185, 187, 309.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 245-6, 310.

<sup>52</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in 'Select committee on practicability and expediency of supplying W. India colonies with free labourers from East: report', *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1 (1810-11), p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Harrison, 'Gifts in the Macartney Embassy,' p. 68.

<sup>54</sup> Pattison to Gay, 26 October 1812, Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA), 6/322.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Peter Carey, 'Revolutionary Europe and the destruction of Java's old order, 1808-1830', in David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *The age of revolutions in global context, c. 1760-1840* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 167-88; idem., 'Changing Javanese perceptions of the Chinese communities in central Java, 1755-1825', *Indonesia* 37 (1984), pp. 1-47, at p. 16; Breman, *Mobilising labour*, p. 135.

<sup>57</sup> 'Petition from Jan Jiantjing', January 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

year, with 'teas, raw silk ... coarse china-ware, sweetmeats, nankeen, [and] paper'.<sup>58</sup> Some of these junks even sailed onwards to Sri Lanka. The British captain Robert Percival observed that 'every year ... a Portuguese or Chinese ship' arrived in Colombo 'from Macao with teas, sugar, candied sweet-meats ... these articles meet with a very speedy sale'.<sup>59</sup> He suggested that the junk's arrival caused 'a great deal of gold and silver to be carried out of the island'.<sup>60</sup>

### Land and labour in the early Second British Empire

In the context of the Second British Empire, Chinese migration became significant for the way in which it shaped British policies towards land and labour. Broadly, these policies oscillated during this period between approaches that were liberal or coercive in character. For instance, reforms of landowning aimed to induce local landowners or yeoman peasants into cultivating land. Yet these reforms were intended to extend British control by generating support for the colonial regimes among landowning groups like Bengal's *zamindars*, while also allowing land to be brought under cultivation and registered by government. Thus in 1793, the East India Company in Bengal agreed with *zamindars* to both fix the revenues raised by the state from their land and establish for them permanent security of tenure, in an agreement known as the 'Permanent Settlement'.<sup>61</sup> The effects of the settlement were mixed, as some *zamindars* could not afford the taxes, but it generally guaranteed their position as a loyal local elite.<sup>62</sup>

The *zamindari* system is habitually compared with the *ryotwari* system implemented in southern India by the administrator Thomas Munro, initially during his management of the ceded districts around Madras between 1800 and 1807.<sup>63</sup> Drawing on Scottish agrarian patriotism as well as the system of land revenue used by the former ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan, Munro commanded that lands should be assessed for taxation on an individual basis at the level of each independent peasant.<sup>64</sup> Assessments were carried out by a collector and local subordinates, and the collector was granted the judicial authority to punish any abuses

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<sup>58</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, I, p. 228.

<sup>59</sup> Robert Percival, *An account of the island of Ceylon* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 1805), pp. 138.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>61</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, p. 156.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157; see also Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka: expansion and reform* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 191-2.

<sup>64</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, p. 192; Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, p. 157.

of power. Munro believed that this encouraged farmers to cultivate land, while fostering a key connection between government and peasant. In fact, advocates of the *ryotwari* and *zamindari* systems alike were motivated by the idea – advanced by Jeremy Bentham in his 1787 work *Defence of usury* – that land was productive when unfettered.<sup>65</sup> This contrasted with the government-controlled lands and sharecropping tenancies that were frequently hallmarks of Dutch empire, at least before Daendels sold the Dutch regime's lands in eastern Java.<sup>66</sup>

Incongruously, *ryotwari* was habitually used to justify the extension of colonial power and the removal of indigenous headmen. In India, the extension of the *ryotwari* system drove colonists to disband the *poligars* who had formerly managed the distribution of land. In Sri Lanka, Governor Thomas Maitland (r. 1805-11) likewise used the rhetoric of *ryotwari* when he tried to degrade the powers of the island's headmen.<sup>67</sup> Writing to the colonial secretary, Lord Castlereagh, in January 1809, Maitland complained that crop yields were rapidly improving in districts like Mannar and Trincomalee but not in 'the Cingalese part of the Island, where Government is alone able to get at the Native through the Medium of a Head Man [*mudaliyars*]'.<sup>68</sup> Maitland's dislike of the *mudaliyars* was already well-established: on another occasion, he had blamed the 'uncivilized state of the island' on 'their authority subversive of every amelioration and improvement and acting in the strongest sense of ... imperium in imperior'.<sup>69</sup> In fact, the headmen had long acted as tax collectors and administrators of land and work, organising the distribution of tenancies and the extraction of labour services.<sup>70</sup> Yet Maitland began a policy of 'diminishing the Power of the Modeliars'.<sup>71</sup> First, he dispatched his subordinates to conduct land surveys of Sri Lanka as well as Madras, where the *ryotwari* system was now in full swing. Second, he tried to undermine the headmen by granting greater powers to colonial officials that allowed them to control taxes in place of the headmen.<sup>72</sup>

British colonial labour policies likewise bridged ideas of freedom and coercion. Thus despite Frederick North's abolition of service tenures in Ceylon, slavery remained common. North's own use of enslaved Mozambicans as soldiers, for instance, drew the attention of

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<sup>65</sup> Bayly, *Imperial meridian*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>67</sup> The argument here references Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp. 193-4.

<sup>68</sup> Maitland to Castlereagh, 10 January 1809, The National Archives UK (TNA), Colonial Office (CO) 54/31.

<sup>69</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, p. 190.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>71</sup> Maitland to Castlereagh, 10 January 1809, TNA, CO 54/31.

<sup>72</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp.190-4.

British observers, such as the writer James Cordiner, who noted that they were stationed just outside Colombo Fort, 'lodged in a temporary barracks between the western walls of the fort and the sea' along with their 'wives and children'.<sup>73</sup> Even the service tenure policy was applied inconsistently. In September 1804, North was compelled to write to a lieutenant in Galle who had procured 'Fifty Moor Men' via the uliyam service – a form of caste-based servile labour – to remind him that although his 'idea of employing Fifty Moor Men ... is a very good one ... all gratuitous Labour has been abolished by me'.<sup>74</sup> Of course, the service tenures were later reinstated by Thomas Maitland, who was considerably more conservative than North.<sup>75</sup>

Colonists did at times look beyond slavery to forms of labour that they considered free. At the Cape, work was often performed by apprentices and the Khoisan labour force created by the Caledon Code.<sup>76</sup> In Sri Lanka, colonists began to employ large numbers of indentured labourers, or 'coolies'. Coolies were used to carry out tasks from preparing ships to carrying supplies for colonists or transporting the post (*tappal*), and were generally south Asian. Sometimes they were sailors recruited from ships docked in Sri Lanka's ports; at other times they could be islanders employed for low wages; most often they were Indian labourers forced into work in Sri Lanka via some form of coercive contract or agreement.<sup>77</sup> In 1804, the government stationed three thousand 'coolies' at Nellawille, Batticaloa, and Tangalle to prepare these districts for cultivation. The lands were then distributed among the 'coolies', and 'held in ... common soccage on the Payment of [a] ... share of grain'.<sup>78</sup> 'Soccage', here, refers to a form of feudal landownership in which land tenure was paid for through labour service – suggesting that the employment of coolies was little different to slavery.<sup>79</sup> Such practices were common through the early nineteenth century. In 1812, twenty 'coolies' were employed to repair the Galle docks and were paid four fanams (0.3 rupees) per day.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> James Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon: containing an account of the country, inhabitants, and natural productions* (2 vols., London, 1807), I, p. 66.

<sup>74</sup> North to Maddison, 3 September 1804, SLNA, 10/32.

<sup>75</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, p. 188.

<sup>76</sup> Patrick Harries, 'Slavery, indenture and migrant labour: maritime immigration from Mozambique to the Cape, c. 1780-1880', *African Studies* 73 (2014), pp. 323-340, at p. 326.

<sup>77</sup> For an example of 'coolies' being used for the *tappal*, see Orr to Eden, 30 August 1809, SLNA, 6/47a; Gibson to Rodney, 26 March 1808, SLNA, 6/298; Jan Breman and E. Valentine Daniel, 'Conclusion: the making of a coolie', *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 19 (1992), pp. 268-95.

<sup>78</sup> North to Wemys, 6 October 1804, SLNA, 7/59.

<sup>79</sup> A similar relationship formed the basis of *rajakariya* in Sri Lanka. See Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, pp. 233-5.

<sup>80</sup> 'Receipt for repairs done at the watering place of Galle', 12 May 1812, SLNA, 6/299.

Generally, coolie labour practices incorporated forms of regulation and punishment. Thus in 1802, the Ceylon government gave superintendents the right to 'inflict ... moderate Correction', described as 'twenty five strokes with a Rattan', on 'persons employed under Him, when they disobey or neglect his Orders'.<sup>81</sup> Frederick North also experimented with drawing together coolies from different regions of South Asia – Sri Lanka's coastal provinces and Bengal – in one army regiment, in an attempt to restrict desertions. He envisaged the coolies as martial labourers, supposing that the Bengalis were 'a superior Race, and accustomed to attend on armies' who would force the Lankan troops to behave.<sup>82</sup> Yet officials nevertheless believed coolie labour to be a step above slavery and introduced laws for its amelioration. They ordered that coolies who were hired to carry bags should be paid for each day of their employment, as colonists had otherwise developed a habit of paying them only to transport their luggage one way and neglecting to finance their return.<sup>83</sup> When North challenged the Galle lieutenant who had tried to conscript Moors through uliyam service in 1804, he proposed that coolies might be used in their stead as a form of regulated free labour. 'I think that they will not make any great opposition, if an European who is accustomed to the Country ... be sent with them, to see that they are not oppressed', he suggested.<sup>84</sup>

Historically, certain groups were separated in colonial minds from coolies or slaves, and these included Malays and Javanese. They were conflated as a servile people who could be employed in the army in Malay regiments. One colonial recruiter noted that Malays were 'the most profitable sort of People to make soldiers of', a stereotype based on centuries of Malay participation in the armies of the Dutch and kings of Kandy.<sup>85</sup> Like coolies, Malay and Javanese troops were raised through a combination of compulsory and voluntary practices. In Java, Thomas Raffles abolished the apparently 'extremely coercive' Dutch practice of recruiting troops in return for land tenure through local headmen.<sup>86</sup> Yet recruitment under the British was still secured through headmen, and troops were forced into contracts with low

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<sup>81</sup> 'Government advertisement', 28 April 1802, SLNA, 6/509.

<sup>82</sup> North to Wemys, 1 July 1804, SLNA, 7/59.

<sup>83</sup> Plaskett to D'Oyly, 16 August 1804, SLNA, 10/32.

<sup>84</sup> North to Wymiss, 1 July 1804, SLNA, 7/59.

<sup>85</sup> Rossi to Arbuthnot, April 1805, SLNA, 6/316a; M.M.M. Mahroof, 'The Malays of Sri Lanka,' *Asian Affairs* 21 (1990), pp. 55-65; for a wider discussion of the use of Malay racial stereotypes by the British, see Martin Müller, 'Manufacturing Malayness: British debates on the Malay nation, civilisation, race and language in the early nineteenth century,' *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42 (2014), pp. 170-96.

<sup>86</sup> Raffles to Brownrigg, 5 July 1813, SLNA, 6/463; anonymous to Brownrigg, 7 July 1813, SLNA, 6/463.



pay: one official noted that they were 'as ill paid & ill clothed as they were with the Dutch, & such is their condition as to render the Men weary of their profession & the Population reluctant to engage in it'.<sup>87</sup> Some colonists did propose seemingly less coercive forms of recruitment: a captain of the Ceylon regiment, Lewis de Bussche, suggested a 'voluntary' scheme for Malay recruitment, whereby recruits would be encouraged to enlist for 'better advantages'.<sup>88</sup> In the setting of the Second Empire, however, this was yet another fluctuation between liberal and coercive approaches to labour. Ultimately, it was the unevenness of such policies that created fertile ground for interventions from the Dutch and Chinese migrants.

### **Java and the Chinese in the British imagination**

In this context, the Chinese were cast by British colonists as industrious and accomplished subjects. Writing about Penang in 1799, the naval commander Home Popham described Chinese as 'good mechanics' and claimed that he had seen 'some excellent white bricks made by them of a clay resembling pipe clay, peculiar to Prince of Wales Island'.<sup>89</sup> Notions of Chinese industry like these had emerged over years of colonialism in Southeast Asia, before coming into their own at the beginning of the nineteenth century. For instance, they had persuaded the EIC to endorse a scheme encouraging Chinese to settle at Bencoolen in 1710, granting them 'all fitting protection' to 'improve Plantations and Gardens'.<sup>90</sup> Earlier, the Dutch governor of Ceylon, Joan Maetsuyker (r. 1646-50), claimed that 'twenty-five good Chinamen' would 'better promote agriculture ... than fifty of our present lazy ... agriculturalists'.<sup>91</sup>

These ideas were set in a specific Anglo-Dutch context at the end of the eighteenth century after the Macartney Embassy's diplomats were hosted in Batavia in 1793. John Barrow accompanied the embassy to China and wrote about his experiences in *Travels in China* and *A voyage to Cochinchina*. He described how the diplomats were received in Batavia 'with great ceremony' by the governor, Willem Alting (r. 1780-97), 'accompanied with the *wel edele heeren* [noble gentlemen], composing the Council of India'.<sup>92</sup> They were taken to a rural estate

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<sup>87</sup> Anonymous to Brownrigg, 7 July 1813, SLNA, 6/463.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Home Popham, *A description of Prince of Wales Island* (London, 1799), p. 29.

<sup>90</sup> Richard B. Allen, *European slave trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850* (Athens, 2014), p. 149.

<sup>91</sup> Donovan Moldrich, *Bitter berry bondage: the nineteenth century coffee workers of Sri Lanka* (Colombo, 1989), p. 22.

<sup>92</sup> John Barrow, *A voyage to Cochinchina in the years 1792 and 1793* (London, 1806), p. 204.

belonging to one of the Council's members and treated to a large dinner.<sup>93</sup> Barrow's early experiences of Java were therefore mediated through a Dutch colonial palate: he was fed a collection of Javanese foods, 'fowls in *curries* and *pillaws* [pilau],' and 'an elegant desert ... of Chinese pastry'.<sup>94</sup> The diplomats were later taken to festivities at Alting's residence, as part of Java's celebrations for the *stadtholder's* birthday. Barrow saw the governor's garden lit up by 'thousands of Chinese painted lanterns, hanging in festoons from the branches of the trees', while guests were treated to an 'exhibition of fire-works, partly European and partly Chinese'.<sup>95</sup> Standing front of the house were many 'theatres', where 'Chinese comedians were entertaining the crowd ... they continued to act without intermission the whole night'.<sup>96</sup>

Barrow used his time in Java to investigate and romanticise the forms of cultivation and landholding practised by the Chinese under the Dutch in Java. He observed that the Chinese owned or rented landholdings, on which they cultivated gardens and plantations. In Batavia itself, they were 'horticulturalists rather than agriculturalists', as they administered smaller plots of land that were dedicated to the growth of 'every species of vegetable for trade ... in all seasons of the year, and at times when the most indefatigable attention [is] required'.<sup>97</sup> Later speaking in front of a House of Commons select committee investigating Chinese migration to the Caribbean, he observed that 'all the gardens in the ... town are cultivated by the Chinese', as well as 'pepper plantations, coffee plantations, and all the rice grounds'.<sup>98</sup>

Central to Barrow's narrative was a sense of Chinese expertise, picking up on the particular industries in which they were involved in Java. He remarked, for example, that they cultivated sugar cane – which was also boiled as a form of purification – and planted *catjang* (cowpea) in pods resting on the earth. *Catjang* was, in Barrow's eyes, especially valuable for 'the oil expressed from the seed, which is ... also exported to China'.<sup>99</sup> Barrow reported that the Chinese used unique modes of fertilisation to help with the growth of crops, sinking 'large tubs or earthen vessels' into their 'gardens', to collect 'animal and vegetable

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>97</sup> Barrow, *A voyage to Cochinchina*, pp. 217-218.

<sup>98</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 13.

<sup>99</sup> Barrow, *A voyage to Cochinchina*, p. 190.

matter', which could then 'be converted by putrefactive fermentation into manure'.<sup>100</sup> Java's Dutch and Chinese were therefore supposed to have developed a mutual connection, of sorts, in the disposal of food waste: discarded food would be placed in jars until the evening, when the Chinese *sampans* (flat-bottomed boats) traversed Batavia's canals; at the 'well known cry of these industrious collectors of dirt', slaves would throw the jars into the *sampans* and the waste would be gathered by the Chinese for use as a fertiliser.<sup>101</sup> Barrow was disgusted by this practice, but noted that the Dutch colonists, if exposed to a 'breeze charged with the perfume of these jars', would observe that 'the nine o'clock flower is just in blossom'.<sup>102</sup>

Perhaps Barrow's observations were influenced by Wang Dahai, who detailed for a Chinese audience the sorts of farming practices that might be attempted in Java, as well as the fruits and vegetables that could be grown there.<sup>103</sup> Either way, Barrow imagined Chinese migration as bringing many benefits to Java. The Chinese were a 'temperate' people, he said, as they had 'no sovereign ... nor did the separate interests of any chiefs allow [the Dutch] ... to put in execution ... *divide et imperia*'.<sup>104</sup> They instead distinguished themselves as 'the petty traders of the place', exporting goods like nard, sandalwood, and agarwood to China, and using their profits to construct buildings for the wider benefit of the public.<sup>105</sup> Barrow travelled between Batavia's Chinese hospital and one of its many Chinese temples, wondering at their perceptible openness and apparent ability to improve the lives of residents. 'The Chinese hospital', he suggested, 'was erected by voluntary contributions from their own community, yet was 'open for the benefit and reception of those who have not contributed towards the establishment, and who do not belong to their society'.<sup>106</sup> This was an 'admirable institution', along with the Chinese temple, which the Chinese community in Batavia had built at their own expense'.<sup>107</sup> Barrow claimed that the Chinese had been forced by the Dutch to 'consent to the Mahomedan Malays and Javanese exercising their devotions in the same temple', but, for Barrow, this showed Chinese gregariousness in the face of Dutch oppression.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 180-1.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., pp. 213-14.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>103</sup> Tae Hae, *The Chinaman abroad*, pp. 69-75.

<sup>104</sup> Barrow, *A voyage to Cochinchina*, p. 218.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., pp. 216-17.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., pp. 216-17.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 216-17.

In fact, the Anglo-Dutch rivalry of the late eighteenth century was critical to Barrow's imagination of Chinese migration. He saw the Chinese as the antithesis of his Dutch hosts, arguing that they were open and inclusive where the Dutch were repressive and cruel. On the one hand, the 'abstemious' Chinese settlers 'indiscriminately admitted' into their hospital 'the infirm and the aged, the friendless and the indigent, of all nations'.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, the Dutch ruled over the Chinese by force, and even 'put them to the sword' during the 1740 massacre, which was itself predicated on a set of 'ridiculous surmises'.<sup>110</sup> Even now, 'the restrictions and extortions under which [the Chinese] ... labour seem to be as unnecessary and impolitic as they are unjust'.<sup>111</sup> Chinese were subjected to superfluous controls: festivals and trades were taxed; permission was required for goods to be sold; and they were 'obliged to pay for a licence to wear their hair in a long plaited tail, according to the custom of their country'.<sup>112</sup> Barrow accordingly believed that Chinese 'industry' was being 'severely taxed by the Dutch government'.<sup>113</sup> Speaking to the select committee in the House of Commons, he argued that the benefits of Chinese migration could only be gained by giving migrants a degree of autonomy in landholding and their modes of work. Migrants would never engage in 'day-labour'.<sup>114</sup> Rather, they preferred to manage cultivation on their land carried out by 'Javanese labourers'.<sup>115</sup> Indeed it was 'almost peculiar to the Chinese nation ... that every person should work upon his own bottom, and participate in the produce of his labour'.<sup>116</sup> They expected to collect 'the fruits of that labour; that ... is a universal feeling'.<sup>117</sup>

Barrow's *Voyage to CochinChina* only became publicly available in 1806, but his ideas about Chinese migration gained currency among colonists years before, and found a home in the admiralty and its naval networks in the Indian and Atlantic oceans. Much like Barrow, Home Popham imagined the Chinese through the lens of Anglo-Dutch rivalry – this time as free traders hamstrung by the Dutch. 'The Chinese ... have carried on a very considerable Trade in the Streights of Malacca', he wrote, 'even while liable to the arbitrary laws of the

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 216.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>114</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 13.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

Dutch'.<sup>118</sup> While the Dutch had forced the Chinese 'to dispose of their Commodities at the Town of Malacca', the re-founding of Penang would grant them 'free access to a free Mart', to which 'a much greater number of ships would naturally come from China to a fair and open competition'.<sup>119</sup> Barrow himself joined the admiralty as second secretary in 1804, after an edifying career as Earl Macartney's private secretary at the Cape.<sup>120</sup> Already an 'ill-fated experiment', to use Barrow's phrase, was being carried out by the navy with the idea of importing Chinese to Trinidad in south America.<sup>121</sup> This 'experiment' was designed in 1802 by the naval lieutenant William Layman, and undertaken in 1806 with the support of Penang's governor, Robert Farquhar (r. 1804-5) as well as the British admiral Samuel Hood.<sup>122</sup> Layman argued that the 'indefatigable industry and habits of frugality' of the Chinese would enable them to transform 'the woody wastes and drowned parts of Trinidad into rich fertile and productive land'.<sup>123</sup> He looked to Java, where the Dutch were 'in great measure indebted to [Chinese] industry for the superior production of sugar, Indigo, Cotton, Coffee &c'.<sup>124</sup>

Yet where Barrow suggested that the Chinese would be receptive to freer forms of landholding and cultivation, Layman's scheme channelled notions of Chinese 'industry' and ideas of coercive labour to force them to work directly as contract labourers. Two hundred migrants were procured for this scheme from China in 1805, through a comprador enlisted by Farquhar. In Penang, they were presented with contracts for Trinidad that saw them paid six Spanish dollars per month.<sup>125</sup> After having sailed to south America, they were 'disposed of among the Planters ... as day-labourers, with the exception of a few'.<sup>126</sup> They were observed among the plantations by police, recalling the forms of control and coercion used over Sri

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<sup>118</sup> Popham, *Prince of Wales Island*, p. 25; for an exploration of this sort of rhetoric in Java, see P.J. Marshall, 'British assessments of the Dutch in Asia in the age of Raffles', *Itinerario* 12 (1988), pp. 1-16.

<sup>119</sup> Popham, *Prince of Wales Island*, p. 26.

<sup>120</sup> J.M.R. Cameron, 'Barrow, Sir John, First Baronet', *ODNB*.

<sup>121</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 13.

<sup>122</sup> For a detailed discussion of this experiment in the Atlantic context, see James Epstein, *Scandal of colonial rule: power and subversion in the British Atlantic during the age of revolution* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 184-221; B.W. Higman, 'The Chinese in Trinidad, 1806-1838', *Caribbean Studies* 12 (1972), pp. 21-44; Gelien Matthews, 'Trinidad: a model colony for British slave trade abolition', *Parliamentary History* 26 (2007), pp. 84-96; see also 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 29 April – 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, pp. 2-3, 13.

<sup>123</sup> Allen, 'Slaves, convicts, abolitionism', p. 332.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 332-3.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>126</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 13.

Lanka's 'coolies' or indeed Malay soldiers.<sup>127</sup> Ultimately the Trinidad project was a failure. The Chinese migrants refused to accept the conditions under which they were supposed to work, and the majority eventually returned home.<sup>128</sup> John Barrow suggested – seemingly smugly – that the scheme's failure was due to 'the ill treatment which the Chinese met with on their arrival ... and the very improper mode in which they were ... disposed of'.<sup>129</sup>

Concurrently, an image emerged of Chinese migrants as idealised freeholders. Such images cast Chinese migrants in the context of Anglo-Dutch competition as people poised to benefit from British ideas of agrarian improvement. In 1804, a British captain named John Taylor proposed the mass repatriation of the Chinese from Java to Sri Lanka. He said that the British should attack Batavia and 'remove from tyrannical masters ... 15 or 20,000 of the most ... industrious Chinese to settle themselves on the uncultivated lands of Ceylon'.<sup>130</sup> Taylor echoed John Barrow in many particular ways: he claimed that the Chinese might cultivate in Sri Lanka crops like 'sugar, coffee ... cotton, indigo, cardamoms & rice, and practice 'the distillation of rum & arrack and the refining of sugar'.<sup>131</sup> More specifically, he argued that these industries could be generated through the promotion of freeholding rather than contract labour, in a plan that recalled *ryotwari* as well as Barrow's ideas: settlers should be allowed to acquire 'private property', and be granted 'a Percent in the soil', through policies marked 'by the most positive scale of Moderation & justice ... attached by wise and liberal regulations'.<sup>132</sup> The Chinese should be allowed to travel with 'their families, their slaves, with all their implements of agriculture and whatever ingenious contrivance, in mechanic they may have to assist their labours or to bring to Perfection'.<sup>133</sup> Thus, they would 'occupy and cultivate, reconcile the interior of the government with that of the cultivator, and cement the bonds of union between both'.<sup>134</sup> Sri Lanka would become both 'the magazine and Arsenal of India'.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Allen, 'Slaves, convicts, abolitionism', p. 333.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>129</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 13.

<sup>130</sup> Taylor to North, 20 January 1804, SLNA, 10/39.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

### Chinese migration to Sri Lanka in the early nineteenth century

Sites of Chinese migration in Sri Lanka soon emerged as experimental zones in which the Chinese were positioned as freeholders, with the idea that this would induce them to bring land under cultivation. While Taylor's ultimately hare-brained scheme was never put in practice, Chinese migrants were positioned at the centre of two different attempts to create communities of yeoman farmers on the island. These efforts were focused on the southern city of Galle and the northern port of Trincomalee between 1809 and 1813 (fig. 16).<sup>136</sup> They were run by Thomas Maitland's regime in the former, and the colonial government as well as prominent members of the admiralty in the latter, in particular Admiral William Drury but also John Barrow. These schemes brought together Maitland's efforts to 'improve' agriculture, and the admiralty's attempts to turn Trincomalee into a critical waystation for the British navy. The official overseeing the settlement in Galle, the customs master, William Gibson, noted that the government primarily sought 'cultivators of the ground' to bring so-called wasteland into cultivation near the fort in Galle.<sup>137</sup> Referring to Trincomalee, Maitland told Castlereagh that Chinese 'settlers' were a 'valuable class of men', who would 'be the means of supplying His Majesty's Navy in the amplest manner with all kinds of vegetables'.<sup>138</sup> It was key, he said, in light of recent disturbances in company-ruled India, that Ceylon be able to provide India with immediate provisions.<sup>139</sup> Meanwhile, Drury's intention was to turn Trincomalee into 'the finest Port in ... India, and ... the most commanding position'.<sup>140</sup>

Officials in Sri Lanka attempted to replicate elements of the Sino-Dutch system by establishing the Chinese as landowners. The Trincomalee scheme was relatively cautious: the migrants were to be granted a collective allotment of land (rent free on a lease of up to nine years), a 'temporary building', and an 'allowance of Provisions'.<sup>141</sup> In Galle, migrants were to

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<sup>136</sup> These efforts have been discussed in brief in the context of labour in Allen, *European slave trading*, pp. 148-9.

<sup>137</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 2 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 29.

<sup>138</sup> Maitland to Castlereagh, 1809, TNA, CO 54/37, p. 90.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>140</sup> Gerald Sandford Graham, *Great Britain in the Indian Ocean: a study of maritime enterprise, 1810-1850* (London, 1967), p. 316.

<sup>141</sup> Brownrigg to King, 7 October 1816, TNA, CO 54/61, pp. 117-19.



Figure 16. A map of Sri Lanka showing the locations of Trincomalee and Galle (map data © Google).

be given an individual 'choice of lands, and grants of them' on terms intentionally resembling those given 'to the first settlers at Prince of Wales's Island'.<sup>142</sup> These terms were (relatively) generous: the earliest forms of land ownership in Penang had placed few limits on how much land settlers – European or otherwise – could own, and Chinese settlers had established smallholdings in the colony.<sup>143</sup> Back in Galle, the land was to be 'given to [the settlers] as property'.<sup>144</sup> Chinese landowning would likewise be supported by 'every assistance from Government,' inducing migrants to bring their lands under cultivation. Assistance included 'implements in agriculture ... provisions, and even advances of cash ... and the respective

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<sup>142</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 2 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 29.

<sup>143</sup> Christina Skott, 'Climate, ecology, and cultivation in early Penang', in Loh Wei Leng, T.N. Harper, and Sunil S. Amrith, *Proceedings of the Penang and the Indian Ocean conference 2011* (Penang, 2012), pp. 78-89, at p. 80.

<sup>144</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 2 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 29.





Figure 17. The area of land where the Chinese migrants lived in Galle. It became known as the 'China Gardens', and was photographed here by the German photographer Frederick Fiebig in 1852. © British Library Board, Photo 249/(14), item number 24914. Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

head men supported in their authority'.<sup>145</sup> Finally, officials proposed to pay for migrants' travel to Galle, 'but send them back again free of expence, should they be disappointed'.<sup>146</sup>

Officials were dispatched to Canton to recruit men via the compradors.<sup>147</sup> The first Chinese migrants arrived under these schemes from May 1809, provided with ten dollars for

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., pp. 28-9.

their passage and the purchase of property in Sri Lanka.<sup>148</sup> Twenty-five arrived in Galle aboard the *Bombay Anna*, chartered from the Indian merchant company Bruce, Fawcett & Co., while sixty travelled to Trincomalee under the stewardship of naval recruiters.<sup>149</sup> These were followed by a number of others over the next two years: William Gibson estimated that as many as several hundred had travelled to Sri Lanka by mid-1811.<sup>150</sup> In the same year, Barrow described receiving a report from Drury stating that the cultivation of land by the settlers had 'fully answered his expectations', and suggesting that he intended 'to augment their number ... in doing this he makes not the least allusion to any difficulties that are likely occur'.<sup>151</sup>

Those migrants arriving in Galle were placed under Gibson's supervision, suggesting that there did exist an element of coercion over their cultivational practices.<sup>152</sup> Gibson was told by Maitland to send them all the 'money and provisions' that they considered necessary for up to a year, while directing them towards the 'portion of land on the Esplanade & a part of the adjoining valley' (fig. 17).<sup>153</sup> Gibson also oversaw the sorts of crops that were planted by the Chinese, and implied that he developed a working relationship with them over the foods they would cultivate: 'we had formerly no sugar upon the Island, and they had begun with sugar', he said, 'that was their first object; they would afterwards turn to coffee and pepper, and the different things of the Island'.<sup>154</sup> Gibson noted that the land in Galle was divided into twenty-five shares so that 'each man got his lot, and cultivated it in his own way'.<sup>155</sup> Each man would be rewarded with a larger share of land after he brought his plot under cultivation.

For their part, however, the Galle migrants turned their lands into smallholdings worked by local labourers, with early trading routes and forms of authority that resembled the *kongsi*. Initially, the migrants had been provided with two central buildings intended as houses (therefore saving the fields for cultivation), but each landowner subsequently built their own homes on the land allotted to them.<sup>156</sup> According to one British observer, Maria

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>149</sup> 'Despatch summary', 26 January 1810, TNA, CO 55/9, pp. 203-4.

<sup>150</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 2 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 29.

<sup>151</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 13.

<sup>152</sup> Plaskett to Gibson, 6 May 1809, SLNA, 7/110.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 2 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 29.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

Graham, the migrants put in their homes tablets with 'Chinese characters', upon which were written 'the names of the forefathers of the families', and which were hung over high tables adorned with lamps.<sup>157</sup> Such objects – which represented a connection with the migrants' birthplaces, and likewise underscored the importance of migration to the survival of the patriline – were a common feature of Chinese homes in southeast Asia.<sup>158</sup> As Mark Frost has written, they indicate that Chinese migrants envisaged their lands as key parts of a wider Chinese region of '*haibang*' (maritime states) connected by the trading networks that spanned the Nanyang and even reached to the Qing empire itself.<sup>159</sup> They were often complemented by the construction of temples, administrative buildings, and fraternal *kongsi* which acted as regional centres for dispersed clans.<sup>160</sup> In Galle, they suggest that the Chinese viewed their lands as settlements rather than spaces of cultivation, and their fields as homes rather than farmland. They also suggest that the buildings intended by colonists as homes may have been repurposed by the migrants as administrative or organisational structures. In fact, Gibson observed that the migrants had even appointed two men, 'who seemed to be held in some estimation among themselves' as headmen, who perhaps needed a headquarters.<sup>161</sup> Through the headmen, Gibson observed, 'all grievances were made known to the Government'.<sup>162</sup>

The headmen were almost certainly more than intermediaries. The migrants also began to organise trade and labour, and would likely have managed community groups to distribute the rewards of cultivation among themselves. Gibson noted that they had solicited trade in several ways. Initially, they had had grown 'onions, pompions [pumpkins], yams, and those sort of things' by themselves, and sold these goods in nearby markets. Then, they had married local women and dispatched them 'to attend and sell the things in the market'. Finally, they sent letters to China requesting certain foodstuffs, which Gibson naively believed were only 'for culinary purposes', rather than commerce.<sup>163</sup> These included 'productions ... introduced from the East', specifically 'different kinds of vegetables' and black pepper

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<sup>157</sup> Maria Graham, *Journal of a residence in India* (Edinburgh, 1813), p. 94.

<sup>158</sup> Adam McKeown, 'The social life of Chinese labour', in Tagliacozzo and Chang, eds., *Chinese circulations*, pp. 37-61; see also Frost, 'Emporium in imperio', pp. 29-66.

<sup>159</sup> Frost, 'Emporium in imperio', pp. 46-47.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>161</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 2 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 31.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

seeds.<sup>164</sup> Unlike the commerce of their counterparts in Java, these exchanges were not taxed; instead, the migrants used their profits to hire 'people of the country to clear the remainder of their ground'.<sup>165</sup> The use of such labourers recalls the employment of local Javanese labour and even slaves in the mills and plantations that stretched across the outskirts of Batavia.

The initial success of the scheme encouraged the Chinese migrants to send petitions to the government asking for more land, in which they adopted the colonists' terminology. In 1810, Gibson received a petition asking for land that might be brought 'under a state of cultivation'.<sup>166</sup> The collector of Galle, James Gay, reported that five migrants had applied to him for 'a piece of Government ground to cultivate as paddy fields'.<sup>167</sup> They claimed that they had spent some 'time in examining the different Government Grounds', before deciding on 'a piece of dry ground ... which has [the] advantage of a runlet running by the side of it'.<sup>168</sup>

The British felt that they had created a set of migrants who resembled their Javanese counterparts, free from the oppressions of the Dutch. Maria Graham observed that the Chinese in Galle had cultivated 'esculent' vegetables and 'thriving sugar canes', where 'none of the Europeans who ... possessed Ceylon [had] yet been able to raise vegetables in the island'.<sup>169</sup> Likewise in Trincomalee, she noted that through 'the exertions of Admiral Drury', the Chinese had established 'a large garden, whose products are already such as to promise the fairest success'.<sup>170</sup> John Barrow directly contrasted the Trincomalee scheme's success with the failure of that in Trinidad, stressing the fact that land was given to the Chinese 'rent-free', as 'cultivators', rather than 'day-labourers'.<sup>171</sup> James Gay suggested that the Lankan migrants might, as such, be used to spread new farming methods to the Sinhalese. The extra land that the Galle Chinese requested from him was 'of that kind which the Cingalese are only able to cultivate every 10 or 15 years, & then only in a dry season, as a dry field', he said.<sup>172</sup> He recommended that the land be given to them, as it had been one of the government's 'Great

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>166</sup> Gibson to Rodney, 13 January 1810, SLNA, 6/298.

<sup>167</sup> Gay to Rodney, 21 September 1810, SLNA, 6/71a.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Graham, *Journal of a residence*, p. 94.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 121.

<sup>171</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 1 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, p. 13.

<sup>172</sup> Gay to Rodney, 21 September 1810, 6/71a, SLNA.

leading objects ... to induce the Cingalese to cultivate' this sort of land.<sup>173</sup> 'The better informed class of Cingalese', he said, might consequently be 'induced to try the same methods'.<sup>174</sup>

The apparent success of the Sri Lanka schemes prompted a metropolitan examination of the uses of Chinese migrants for cultivation in other parts of the British empire. Yet this also conflated Sri Lanka's freeholders with contract labourers. The Committee on West India Labourers was established in 1811 after Joseph Barham, a wealthy member of parliament (MP) who owned plantations in Jamaica, moved in the House of Commons for an inquiry into using 'free labourers from the east' instead of slaves.<sup>175</sup> Although the committee was opposed by numerous MPs, who cited the failure of the Trinidad scheme, it secured interviews with a number of key figures involved in the establishment of Chinese settlements in Sri Lanka and Penang, namely William Gibson and John Barrow. Through their testimonies, the presiding MPs mistook the Sri Lanka freeholders for the sorts of labourers used elsewhere. William Gibson was asked to describe the Chinese relative to other types of labourers, including Sri Lanka's 'natives', English commoners, and African slaves. He reported that a Chinese migrant would perform as much labour as 'at least, as four Cingalese', or an amount equal 'to that of any common labouring man in England' as well as North's slaves from Mozambique.<sup>176</sup>

Ultimately, the Committee on West India Labourers was inconsequential: it decided against using Chinese labour for the Caribbean because it would be associated with some considerable difficulties, such as 'procuring Females to accompany the Male emigrants'.<sup>177</sup> Several years later, however, the schemes in Sri Lanka seemed to 'fail', as plans for cultivation did not work out. This called into question the future of comparable schemes promoting freeholding as opposed to contract labour and other such coercive measures. In October 1816, Admiral Richard King proposed to Governor Brownrigg (r. 1812-20) that Chinese freeholders might be introduced into Sri Lanka once again.<sup>178</sup> While he did not entirely reject the idea, Brownrigg observed that it did not appear that the benefits 'contemplated from inviting to the Island a body of People so generally noted for industrious habits' were realised 'even so far

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Epstein, *Scandal of colonial rule*, pp. 216-17.

<sup>176</sup> 'Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on west-India labourers', 2 May 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, appendix 1, pp. 28-34, 32.

<sup>177</sup> 'Report', 12 June 1811, in *House of Commons Papers* 225, vol. 2, p. 2.

<sup>178</sup> Brownrigg to King, 7 October 1816, TNA, CO 54/61, p. 117.

as to encourage another Trial'.<sup>179</sup> Critically, he suggested that freer forms of landholding had undermined the scheme: there had been 'some error in the mode of managing People', which had led to their becoming 'a burthen to Government without benefit ... from their Industry their Knowledge or their Example'.<sup>180</sup> Indeed the migrants had taken up 'gambling and profligate Persuits or idleness', subversive behaviours associated with the Chinese in Java.<sup>181</sup>

### **Java's invasion and the rise of coercion**

The failure of the Sri Lanka schemes coincided with the invasion of Java in 1811, which skewed British perceptions of Chinese migration away from the sorts of views held by John Barrow and towards the negative stereotypes spread by the latter's Dutch regime. Prior to Java's invasion, the British and the Dutch had been at loggerheads – not least in their rhetoric – and the promotion of an oppressed migrant community who might be rendered free like the Chinese appealed to the former's sense of superiority. Yet, with the invasion, British colonists no longer needed to rely on Barrow's now twenty-year-old observations of Java's Chinese, and adopted more immediate Dutch sources to inform their policies and perspectives. Equally, the threat of the Dutch was extinguished in southeast Asia, allowing more cordial relations to flourish between the Europeans in place of the Anglo-Chinese connection.

British colonists in Java quickly turned on the Chinese. Citing the Dutch executive council, Thomas Raffles suggested that Chinese only 'acquired opulence' by forcing the Javanese peasantry to become 'slaves of the soil ... all the public markets are farmed by them and the degeneracy and poverty of the lower orders are proverbial'.<sup>182</sup> In the first volume of his *History of Java*, Raffles indeed quoted from Dirk van Hogendorp's report on the island – which we might recall was given to him by a Dutch member of the Council, Herman Muntighe – in which he cast the Chinese as both monopolistic and oppressive. 'They have exclusively all the farms of the government taxes and revenues, both in the Company's districts and in the dominions of the native princes', van Hogendorp claimed, 'the burthens they have to bear are, on the contrary, very trifling ... they are exempt from all feudal and personal services,

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>182</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, I, p. 225.

which are so oppressive to the Javans'.<sup>183</sup> The naval surgeon Joseph Arnold, a close friend of Raffles's, repeated these ideas while visiting the Chinese-owned bazaar in Bogor. Echoing Dutch reports which claimed that the Chinese ran a monopoly over the local sugar trade, Arnold suggested that Javanese 'for twenty miles round' were also travelling 'barefoot', with articles 'consisting of vegetables, fruits &c for sale'.<sup>184</sup> Meanwhile, in Sri Lanka, Anthony Bertolacci, the controller of customs and a member of Frederick North's inner circle, suggested like Brownrigg that Chinese migration had given rise to unsavoury practices. Although the colonists had 'taken some pains to encourage Chinese settlers', they had become 'greatly addicted to gambling, and all sorts of dissipation'.<sup>185</sup> Many of them had established 'gaming-houses and cock-fighting pits', instead of cultivating the land as the British desired.<sup>186</sup>

In time, proposals for more coercive policies towards the Chinese appeared in the colonies. One of these came from the Malay recruiter Lewis de Bussche, who was also an aide to Robert Brownrigg.<sup>187</sup> De Bussche arrived in Java in 1813 on a mission to promote trade between Ceylon and Java and raise soldiers from Madura.<sup>188</sup> Yet he soon set his sights on the Chinese, whom he argued should be brought to Ceylon and employed as contract labourers for cultivating land. De Bussche had stayed with the Chinese captain of Grisee, a town on Java's north-eastern coast – only one day's walk from the Chinese-run provinces of Besuki and Probolinggo (fig. 18). There, de Bussche claimed to have seen 'Chinese ... hard at work in the smith's or carpenter's work sheds', and admired the Han, as they had managed to cultivate 'the richest rice fields and sugar plantations' on the 'almost barren' lands sold to them by Daendels.<sup>189</sup> In de Bussche's eyes, however, Chinese were best equipped not for freeholding but contract labour. He suggested that migrants should be brought from junks arriving at Solo, and 'ruled by similar laws to those in force in Java'.<sup>190</sup> This meant forcing migrants into 'a contract' to cultivate rice, coffee, indigo, and cotton, and using 'coercion to

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<sup>183</sup> Raffles, *History of Java*, I, pp. 226-7.

<sup>184</sup> John Bastin and Joseph Arnold, 'The Java journal of Dr Joseph Arnold', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 46 (1973), pp. i-v, 1-92, at p. 26.

<sup>185</sup> Anthony Bertolacci, *A view of the agricultural, commercial, and financial interests of Ceylon* (London, 1817), p. 44.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>187</sup> See Lewis de Bussche, *Letters on Ceylon: particularly relative to the kingdom of Kandy* (London, 1817), pp. iii-iv.

<sup>188</sup> For details of de Bussche's mission, see Raffles to Brownrigg, 5 July 1813, SLNA, 6/463; anonymous to Brownrigg, 7 July 1813, SLNA, 6/463.

<sup>189</sup> De Bussche, *Letters on Ceylon*, pp. 96-7, 104-5.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.



Figure 18. Eastern Java, showing the movements of Lewis de Bussche and Kyai Mas in 1813, as well as the sites of Chinese-owned land: Probolinngo, Besuki, and Panarukan (map data © Google).

keep them to their labour'.<sup>191</sup> In de Bussche's proposal, the migrants would be separated in from other islanders, and overseen by their own 'respectable' Chinese superintendents.<sup>192</sup>

De Bussche's plans suggest a number of inspirations from Java and Sri Lanka alike. His plan for autonomous settlements with devolved administration recalls Java's segregated *kampungs*. The notion that Chinese migrants might be employed as labourers was also not unfamiliar: a rumoured cause of the massacre in 1740 that was frequently repeated by British colonists – themselves quoting earlier Dutch sources – was the notion that Chinese migrants were being seized to work on cinnamon plantations and in mines in Ceylon.<sup>193</sup> De Bussche may also have mistaken Javanese for Chinese labourers, and indeed Chinese were employed

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., pp. 100-1.

<sup>193</sup> Samuel Auchmuty, *Sketches, civil and military, of the island of Java* (London, 1812), p. 67.



as miners and artificers on the islands around Java itself.<sup>194</sup> His ideas were likewise informed by the failure of the migration schemes in Trincomalee and Galle. Echoing Bertolacci, de Bussche singled out the forms of freeholding used in Sri Lanka as the reason for the 'failure'. The Chinese, he said, had become 'depraved' and 'when landed' had been 'left to themselves', enabling 'idleness and all the vices in its train' to become 'prevalent amongst them'.<sup>195</sup> He therefore framed his coercive proposal as a particular response to the Lankan schemes. 'Are we never to make the experiment again', he wondered, 'because it has once failed?'<sup>196</sup>

At the time that de Bussche was writing, the British regime in Java was also hardening its own approach to Chinese migration and in particular seeking to limit their influence as landholders. Necessarily, they began by circumscribing Chinese trade. All merchants were required to pay extra tax to the East India Company when importing goods from China. For *nankin*, or Nanjing cloth, the tax amounted to £2 per bale in 1814.<sup>197</sup> From 1812, Chinese junks were prohibited from docking anywhere other than Batavia and all Chinese goods were subjected to import duties of twelve percent.<sup>198</sup> This had particularly adverse effects for the traders in Semarang who had recently opened up a new junk route – and for whom the junk trade had proven profitable. Writing to Thomas Raffles in January 1813, the Chinese captain at Semarang, Jan Jiantjing, described how he was 'seized with fear that he will be brought to suffer an enormous loss' after reading about the new proscriptions in *The Java Government Gazette*.<sup>199</sup> Jiantjing's protests were in vain, however. Further restrictions on Chinese trade and land followed. A tax on Chinese homes was introduced at a new bazaar that was established at Cianjur in May 1812. Opportunities for Chinese trading in other nearby markets were also limited: no Chinese were allowed to travel beyond the Cianjur bazaar, while the farmer in charge of the bazaar was told to keep a register of those Chinese living nearby.<sup>200</sup> Officials began to regulate social and commercial spaces connected to the Chinese. They announced

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<sup>194</sup> For details of some of the Chinese artificers employed by the British in Bangka, see Hope to Raffles, 31 March 1813, BL, IOR/G/21/20.

<sup>195</sup> De Bussche, *Letters on Ceylon*, p. 96.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>197</sup> 'Schedule of rates charged by the East India Company, for the management of goods imported by private merchants', 6 July 1814, in *Proclamations, regulations, advertisements, and orders, printed and published in the island of Java by the British government and under its authority* (3 vols., Batavia, 1816), II, p. 35.

<sup>198</sup> On the tax against junks, see 'Java: custom house regulations', 29 February 1812, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 3; on the ban and its effects, see 'Memorial of Jan Jiantjing, captain of the Chinese at Samarang', 1 December 1812, BL, IOR/G/21/19.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> 'Conditions of the new bazaar at Tjanjour', 13 May 1812, BL, IOR/G/21/17.

'the abolition of cock-fighting & of the gaming-houses ... much frequented by the Chinese', and in February 1814 introduced mandatory 'cleaning' of Chinese-owned buildings.<sup>201</sup>

The outbreak of a rebellion in the eastern Javanese provinces of Besuki, Panarukan, and Probolinggo in 1813 seemed to legitimise renewed coercion. These were the provinces where government-owned land had been sold by Herman Daendels to the Han family. When the British arrived in Java in 1811, Thomas Raffles had initially confirmed the sale, partly because his hand was forced by financial constraints, and partly because reports from the provinces described them as 'highly productive', with 'the appearance of active industry'.<sup>202</sup> Raffles even suggested to the East India Company's government in Calcutta that the sale might be seen as 'an experiment of Private Industry, against the feudal system'.<sup>203</sup> Crucially, Raffles acted against the advice of the Dutch Resident of Surabaya, Arnold Goldbach, who argued that the Han were 'stranger[s] of the island', whose oppressions would inevitably generate unrest.<sup>204</sup> Goldbach claimed that it could never be a 'sound policy' for 'a Chinaman' to 'actually possess such a District of Land', as 'what took place with that nation in 1740 at Batavia ... shews of what they are capable, whenever they imagine themselves powerful enough'.<sup>205</sup> He wrote that oppression was 'a quality, particularly distinguishing the Chinese throughout the Island', and it had given rise to 'rebellion' on previous occasions.<sup>206</sup> It was Goldbach rather than Raffles who seemed to be proved right. In May 1813, a rebellion broke out in Probolinggo, led by an Islamic priest named Kyai Mas, who raised the flag of the sultanate of Surakarta and led Javanese from nearby villages against Probolinggo's landowner (fig. 18).<sup>207</sup> The rebels stormed the landowner's estate and killed him, as well as the British guests he was hosting. Eventually the rebellion was put down by a British regiment.<sup>208</sup>

Raffles and his ilk quickly changed their tune in the aftermath of the rebellion. Sent east, John Crawfurd copied Goldbach in arguing that the Han were 'petty tyrants' who had

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<sup>201</sup> 'Batavia, Saturday, March 14, 1812', 14 March 1812, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 1; 'Advertisement', 5 February 1814, *Java Government Gazette*, p. 1.

<sup>202</sup> Bastin, 'Chinese estates in east Java', p. 435.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434.

<sup>204</sup> Goldbach to Hope, 7 March 1812, BL, IOR/G/21/16; Bastin, 'Chinese estates in east Java', p. 434.

<sup>205</sup> Goldbach to Hope, 7 March 1812, BL, IOR/G/21/16.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> For a contemporary British description of the rebellion, see Robert Rollo Gillespie and William Thorn, *A memoir of Major-General Sir R.R. Gillespie* (London, 1816), pp. 194-202; see also Sri Margana, 'Java's last frontier: the struggle for hegemony of Blambangan, c. 1763-1813' (D. Phil thesis, Leiden, 2007), pp. 210-37.

<sup>208</sup> Gillespie and Thorn, *A memoir*, pp. 194-202.

starved the districts of any real value through their oppressive acts.<sup>209</sup> He also suggested that they were foreigners whose grandiose construction of new roads across the provinces had made travel difficult for the Javanese and misunderstood the needs of the local people.<sup>210</sup> This was quite a contrast to earlier reports which had cast the provinces in such a positive light. Yet it prepared the ground for the wider dispossession of Chinese land in Java. Initially the Han lands in Probolinggo were seized for the government, 'with the mutual concurrence of the parties concerned'.<sup>211</sup> Subsequently, Raffles began to introduce his new system of land tenure, which as we saw earlier resembled proposals made by Dirk van Hogendorp in the 1790s as well as India's *ryotwari* system, in that it focused tenure on individual Javanese peasants rather than local magnates. Yet while Raffles professed to be motivated by liberal principles, his proposals were also driven by a desire to eliminate the influence of Chinese landowners like the Han family.<sup>212</sup> The actual reforms were only partially implemented at the point that Raffles was removed as governor in 1816 following allegations of corruption.<sup>213</sup>

### Wider transformations

Raffles's removal as governor of Java and the colony's return to the Dutch in 1816 cut short the introduction of the new system of land tenure. Yet the developments in Java and Sri Lanka entrenched coercive policies of land and labour across the Second Empire. For instance, the perceived failure of the Galle and Trincomalee migration schemes, together with de Bussche's proposal, pushed Brownrigg and his successor Edward Barnes (r. 1824-31) to expand the use of contracted and forced labour in the place of freeholding Chinese. While Brownrigg voiced cautious support for King's proposal to bring Chinese to Sri Lanka in 1816, the scheme never came to fruition.<sup>214</sup> Later, Edward Barnes rejected a new scheme for the importation of five thousand Chinese labourers proposed by de Bussche on the grounds that it would increase Sri Lanka's population.<sup>215</sup> Instead, Brownrigg and Barnes alike employed larger numbers of

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<sup>209</sup> Crawford to Raffles, 21 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.

<sup>210</sup> Crawford to Raffles, 25 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.

<sup>211</sup> Raffles to Minto, 11 July 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.

<sup>212</sup> John Bastin, *Raffles's ideas on the land rent system in Java and the Mackenzie land tenure commission* ('s Gravenhage, 1954), p. 177.

<sup>213</sup> Hillemann, *Asian empire and British knowledge*, pp. 134-5.

<sup>214</sup> Brownrigg to King, 7 October 1816, TNA, CO 54/61, p. 117.

<sup>215</sup> Moldrich, *Bitter berry bondage*, p. 23.

migrants from south India through restrictive contracts, as well as Lankans coerced through *rajakariya*. They forced them to carry out cultivational labour and placed them under the superintendence of colonists and *mudaliyars*.<sup>216</sup> European planters likewise used *rajakariya* to engage unpaid labourers from villages near to their plantations to clear forests and prepare fields for cultivation.<sup>217</sup> Such practices were linked to a wider shift towards coercive labour in place of anything else: the Barnes regime is infamous for its indiscriminate use of *rajakariya* to construct roads and bridges across Sri Lanka's Kandyan provinces in the 1820s. Under Barnes, no distinctions were made between people according to the plots of land that they rented, and as such Kandyans from richest to poorest were forced to work for periods of two weeks at a time under taxing conditions.<sup>218</sup> The officer Augustus de Butts noted that they were 'dragged from their homes to toil in a service for which they received no sort of remuneration'.<sup>219</sup>

Further attempts by the Ceylon government to procure Chinese freeholders were nevertheless rebuffed before they could begin. In 1822, the government proposed another introduction of Chinese to Trincomalee with the cooperation of British merchants in Canton. Yet this time the merchants declined, citing the Chinese government's prohibition on the migration of its subjects. The merchants even produced a copy of an edict issued by the Qianlong emperor to Earl Macartney, proclaiming that 'the established Laws do not suffer the subjects of China to go abroad'.<sup>220</sup> Some Chinese were eventually brought to work in Sri Lanka by the trading company Jardine Matheson & Co. in the 1830s and 1840s, but their numbers paled in comparison to those of the South Asian labourers who were employed by the regime at the same time.<sup>221</sup> Only later in the 1850s did Chinese migrants once more become heavily involved in the British labour trade, this time explicitly as indentured labourers.<sup>222</sup>

Meanwhile, Raffles took his Dutch-inspired perceptions of the Chinese with him when he moved beyond Java. He wrote his *History of Java* – in which he repeatedly cited Dirk van Hogendorp and Dutch council – during his time as governor of Bencoolen (r. 1817-22) and later channelled their ideas when overseeing the establishment of the port of Singapore.

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<sup>216</sup> Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, pp. 233-34; see also idem., 'Tales of the land', pp. 925-61.

<sup>217</sup> Wenzlhuemer, *From coffee to tea cultivation*, p. 111.

<sup>218</sup> Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, p. 234.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>220</sup> Winston to Paget, 29 September 1822, TNA, CO 54/84.

<sup>221</sup> Neal, 'Jardine Matheson', pp. 146-76; see also Peebles, *Plantation Tamils*, pp. 53-79.

<sup>222</sup> Walton Look Lai, *The Chinese in the west Indies, 1806-1995: a documentary history* (Kingston, 1998), pp. 1-191; see also idem. and Tan Chee-Beng, eds., *The Chinese in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Leiden, 2010).

Raffles served as Resident (governor) of Singapore for nine months in 1822 and reproduced many of the policies that he had introduced for the first time in Java. In particular, Raffles forced Chinese inhabitants into a part of the city which became known as the Chinese *kampung* and banned 'Chinese' practices like gambling.<sup>223</sup> When prohibiting gambling, Raffles cited a section of China's own penal code that outlawed the practice, suggesting that such a law was targeted primarily at the Chinese.<sup>224</sup> Yet he more broadly resisted the implementation of any legal pluralism, supposing that 'it would be impracticable for any judicial authority to become perfectly acquainted with the laws ... acknowledged in their own countries', particularly as related to the Chinese and Malays.<sup>225</sup> In fact, he argued, 'there could be no security of person or property in a settlement like Singapore, were the administration of the laws to remain in the hands of the native authorities'.<sup>226</sup> Raffles therefore placed the administration of justice directly in the hands of the Resident.<sup>227</sup> Crucially, Raffles also attempted to bring land ownership more closely under the control of the Resident, establishing a central office that registered all lands and required all applications for more land to be made through him.<sup>228</sup>

Ironically, Singapore was also a key locale for the repetition of the sorts of language that was deployed in early nineteenth century Sri Lanka. Raffles was replaced in his rule in 1823 by his long-time colleague John Crawfurd, who was a more vociferous free trader and less of an autocrat than Raffles. Some of Raffles's repressive reforms in Singapore – such as his land policy and his ban on gambling – were abolished by Crawfurd. Crawfurd also opened up restrictions on trade, and revised tariffs and anchoring fees.<sup>229</sup> In so doing, he repeated many of Barrow's ideas about the Chinese, in particular when arguing against the East India Company's monopoly over the China trade in the late 1820s. In *A view of the present state and future prospects of the free trade & colonisation of India*, Crawfurd suggests that the Chinese could be beneficial colonists and traders if restrictions linked to the EIC and Chinese rulers were

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<sup>223</sup> Hillemann, *Asian empire and British knowledge*, p. 138; see also C.M. Turnbull, *History of modern Singapore, 1819-2005* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Singapore, 2009), pp. 19-52.

<sup>224</sup> Hillemann, *Asian empire and British knowledge*, p. 138; see also 'Extract from the penal code of China concerning gambling', 1823, in *Singapore: local laws and institutions, 1823* (London, 1824), pp. 11-12.

<sup>225</sup> 'Report on the administration of justice', 6 June 1823, in *Singapore: local laws and institutions*, p. 36.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>227</sup> 'A regulation for the establishment of a provisional magistracy and the enforcement of a due and efficient police at Singapore, with certain provisions for the administration of justice in cases of emergency', 20 January 1823, in *Singapore: local laws and institutions*, pp. 8-10.

<sup>228</sup> 'A regulation for the registry of land at Singapore', 1 January 1823, in *Singapore: local laws and institutions*, p. 3.

<sup>229</sup> For Crawfurd's reforms in Singapore, see Turnbull, *History of modern Singapore*, pp. 19-52; see also Stan, 'Jardine Matheson', p. 51.

removed.<sup>230</sup> Later in the nineteenth century, he even argued that Chinese subjects were as 'concerned in the tranquillity ... of the settlement as the English settlers themselves.'<sup>231</sup>

Across the Second British Empire, Sino-Anglo-Dutch entanglement in Java and Sri Lanka therefore entrenched coercive colonial land and labour policies that in Singapore, at least, began to falter as the years progressed. Returning to Ani, it is also possible to see how shifts in labour policies in Java and Sri Lanka entwined with notions of work spread across the ships that plied the trade route between China and Britain. It is clear that the position of Chinese sailors on Company ships was in many ways mediated by notions of Chinese industriousness and the difficult conditions under which sailors were recruited.<sup>232</sup> Yet these sailors were also caught up in the move towards more coercive forms of labour in Sri Lanka and Java as their ships moved between these places. On the *Scaleby Castle*'s return from Canton in 1815, Thomas Harington engaged twenty-five Chinese as masons and carpenters on the behalf of the Cape Colony's government.<sup>233</sup> They were given contracts in which they were committed to work for eight Spanish dollars per month, and apparently granted 'wholesome food and suitable lodging'.<sup>234</sup> These contracts recall the schemes run out of the admiralty by John Barrow's rivals, and coincided with the resurgence of contract labour practices in Java and Sri Lanka. They indicate that shipboard forms of labour were caught up in a broader story of Chinese migration and cross-colonial entanglement between the Anglo-Dutch empires.

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<sup>230</sup> John Crawford, *A view of the present state and future prospects of the free trade & colonisation of India* (London, 1829), p. 70.

<sup>231</sup> Gareth Knapman, *Race and British colonialism in southeast Asia, 1770-1870: John Crawford and the politics of equality* (London, 2016), p. 130.

<sup>232</sup> Man-Cheong, 'Asiatic' sailors and the East India Company', pp. 167-181.

<sup>233</sup> Melanie Yap and Dianne Leong Man, *Colour, confusion, and concessions: the history of the Chinese in South Africa* (Hong Kong, 1996), pp. 10-12.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

## Five Thomas Harington

### Company and state

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The *Scaleby Castle*'s captain, Thomas Harington, had sailed East India Company (EIC) ships through many a disaster.<sup>1</sup> He had been at the helm of the *Ganges* when it sank off the Cape of Good Hope in 1807, and later published an account of the sinking, in which he wrote of his own daring and pluck.<sup>2</sup> Yet he developed a more controversial reputation during the *Scaleby Castle*'s voyage to Canton, after using the ship to carry goods for his own private trade – a fact that did not fail to come to the attention of the EIC's directors.<sup>3</sup> Thomas was forced from the company for his misdemeanour, but this was only the beginning of his troubles.<sup>4</sup> In 1814, he recruited Chinese artisans to build a home and stores for him in Cape Town, apparently as payment for their travel to Canton.<sup>5</sup> This drew the attention of colonial officials, who became suspicious after Thomas claimed to have discovered forty-two Chinese hidden on the *Scaleby Castle* after leaving St Helena.<sup>6</sup> Believing that Thomas had secretly allowed these Chinese to board the ship, and feeling that they might be left behind in Cape Town, unable 'to earn their permanent subsistence', officials considered preventing the Chinese artisans from landing in the colony.<sup>7</sup> Thomas later attempted to rebuild his reputation, investing in buildings in Cape Town and joining the colony's Commercial Exchange.<sup>8</sup> Yet this did little to assure officials. In

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<sup>1</sup> For a brief summary of Thomas Harington's career with the East India Company, see 'Document on EIC officials at the Cape', British Library (BL), MSS Eur. C442; see also Peter Philip, *British residents at the Cape 1795-1819: biographical records of 4,800 pioneers* (Cape Town, 1981), pp. 166-7.

<sup>2</sup> T. Harington, *Remarkable account of the loss of the ship Ganges, east Indiaman, off the Cape of Good Hope, May 29, 1807: and of the general and miraculous preservation of the crew, consisting of upwards of two hundred persons, authenticated by extracts from the log book* (London, 1808).

<sup>3</sup> 'Minutes of the Court of Directors', 22 March 1816, BL, IOR/B/162.

<sup>4</sup> 'Minutes of the Court of Directors', 15 March 1816, BL, IOR/B/162.

<sup>5</sup> Harington to Pringle, 24 May 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/18; Marcus Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape: a history of the agency under Pringle, 1794-1815, based on a study of the Cape of Good Hope factory records', *Archives Yearbook for South African History* 23 (1960), pp. 179-344; see also Melanie Yap and Dianne Leong Man, *Colour, confusion, and concessions: the history of the Chinese in South Africa* (Hong Kong, 1996), pp. 10-12.

<sup>6</sup> Harington to Pringle, 25 May 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/13, pp. 73-4.

<sup>7</sup> Pringle to Alexander, 16 July 1814, BL, IOR/G/9/20; see also Arkin, 'John Company', pp. 179-344.

<sup>8</sup> Philip, *British residents*, pp. 166-7; see also Somerset to Goulburn, 26 September 1819, in George McCall Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* (36 vols., London, 1897-1905), XII, pp. 324-5; for Harington's later participation in the mercantile community, see 'The manufacture of Cape wine', in Theal, ed. *Records of the Cape Colony*, XXV, pp. 374-5. see also Arkin, 'John Company', pp. 179-344.

1819, it was rumoured, falsely, that a carriage sent by Thomas to St. Helena for Napoleon Bonaparte had letters for the emperor concealed in its lining. This shows that colonial officials had become increasingly concerned by Thomas's mercantile activities – and now his politics.<sup>9</sup>

### Imagining company and state

Thomas Harington's story feeds into a broader narrative about the transition from company to state rule that, as we saw at the opening of this thesis, is well-established for the British and Dutch empires during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Briefly, this period saw the decline of company governments, whose key concern had been with the extraction of revenue through trade, and the emergence of modern colonial states with broader interests in controlling colonial society and its subversive inhabitants.<sup>11</sup> States were characterised by a dependence on bureaucratic procedures and a desire to become knowledgeable through the collection of information across expanding territorial units.<sup>12</sup> Thomas Harington negotiated the transition from company to state as he established himself as a new resident of Cape Town, grappling with a state that was increasingly interested in his politics and behaviour.

The aim of this chapter is to use Thomas Harington's story to interrogate the linearity of the company-state transition across the Anglo-Dutch colonies. It is now accepted that this transition took longer than is often imagined. In the British empire, the ascent of the colonial state is most commonly located in nineteenth-century India, where the transition might be said to have begun amid the EIC's development from company to military-fiscal state.<sup>13</sup> For the Dutch, the same narrative has long been attached to the monarchy's assumption of rule over Java in 1816, as it was at this point that the bureaucratic machinery of the modern state was formed, but historians now recognise the eighteenth century as a critical interval across which the Dutch East India Company (VOC) reassessed its ambitions and designed reforms

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<sup>9</sup> Theodore Edward Hook, *Facts illustrative of the treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte in Saint Helena* (London, 1819), pp. 47-49.

<sup>10</sup> For the transition between company and state as a focus of Dutch historiography, see Jurrien van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism: the Dutch in Asia* (Hilversum, 2004), pp. 83-98.

<sup>11</sup> Alicia Schrikker, 'Restoration in Java 1815-1830: a review', *Low Countries Historical Review* 130 (2015), pp. 132-144, at 141.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, the rise of the British colonial state in India. As in C.A. Bayly, *Empire and information: intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 142-211.

<sup>13</sup> This is a theme of C.A. Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state and indigenous resistance: India, 1750-1820', in Lawrence Stone, ed., *An imperial state at war: Britain from 1689-1815* (London, 1993), pp. 322-54.





Figure 19. Detail from 'Colombo and environs in the island of Ceylon, 1806', © The National Archives, UK, MPH 1/398. The Old Town or pettah can be seen to the right of the fort, with the suburbs beyond the pettah. The suburbs are – misleadingly – labelled as 'Black Town'. The *buffelsveld* can be seen between the fort and town flooded with water. This and the other images in this chapter are reproduced with the permission of the National Archives Image Library.

inspired by Britain.<sup>14</sup> Most recently, however, historians have taken issue with the linearity of the shift between company and state, arguing that it was uneven, and driven by the use of knowledge both old and new. Sujit Sivasundaram has shown that the consolidation of British colonialism in Sri Lanka was characterised by the redeployment of knowledge from Kandy spanning decades of Lankan history, while Alicia Schrikker's work on regime change reveals that VOC practices were appropriated by the British.<sup>15</sup> For Java, Kees Briët has demonstrated that the application of VOC legislation persisted into the 1820s, when the modern state is seen

<sup>14</sup> Schrikker, 'Restoration in Java', p. 141.

<sup>15</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony* (Chicago, 2013); Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815* (Leiden, 2007).



Figure 20. Detail from 'Plan of the town and fortifications at the Cape of Good Hope', 1812, © The National Archives, UK, MR 1/1044. The castle can be seen in the middle of the bay. The Company's Gardens can be seen in the middle of Cape Town.

to have arisen, upholding an old legal order amid a new bureaucracy.<sup>16</sup> This chapter makes a materialist argument for the entanglement of British and Dutch knowledge in a key company space – the maritime fort – and its re-use by colonial states in the governance of the city.

In the Anglo-Dutch empires, the transition from company to state manifested itself in a shift to the city from the maritime fort as the principal object of colonial government. As contained sites of defence, settlement, and commerce, maritime forts had formed key spaces of company administration, reflecting, for the Dutch, the VOC's interests in capturing and

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<sup>16</sup> Kees Briët, *Het proces van Rijck van Prehn en Johannes Wilhelmus Winter: een bijzondere zaak voor het hooggerechtshof van Nederlands-Indië in 1820* (Hilversum, 2012); for a discussion of Briët's work in a historiographical context, see Schrikker 'Restoration in Java', p. 143.

protecting Indian Ocean trade.<sup>17</sup> These were the original constituent structures of the outposts established by the Dutch and the British and other commercial powers like the French and Spanish between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>18</sup> Constructed at the intersection of flows of colonial officers, commodities, and capital, they contained trading factories while providing for the accommodation of officials and merchants and the defence of colonial trade. Sometimes these forts were constructed as seemingly impregnable, solitary bastions; at other times, they would be placed at the centre of a network of batteries, ditches, and blockhouses. For instance, Colombo Fort in Ceylon was captured by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1656 as a large structure and shrunk into a walled compound with houses, offices, and canals that were linked to Beira Lake, surrounding the fort like a moat (fig. 19).<sup>19</sup> It was the key Dutch military base along Sri Lanka's western shore, although the island's defence was underscored by similar forts in Trincomalee and Jaffna in the north and Galle in the south. Conversely, the Castle of Good Hope at the Cape was a smaller structure built by the Dutch in the seventeenth century, on land seized from Khoi farmers on the shores of Table Bay to the east of the then-emergent Cape Town (fig. 20).<sup>20</sup> It was surrounded by minor fortifications that stretched along the coast.<sup>21</sup> While most forts in the British empire were described by the British as forts, these

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<sup>17</sup> This idea has been invoked in many of the Dutch colonies. See Anjana Singh, 'Fort Cochin in Kerala 1750-1830: the social condition of a Dutch community in an Indian milieu' (D. Phil thesis, Leiden, 2007), pp. 17-152; Nigel Worden, 'Space and identity in VOC Cape Town', *Kronos* 25 (1998-9), pp. 72-87, at p. 74; Susan Abeyasekera, *Jakarta: a history* (Oxford, 1987), p. 15. On the interests of the VOC, see Chris Nierstrasz, *In the shadow of the company: the Dutch East India Company and its servants in the period of its decline (1740-1796)* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 13-46, 73-88; Arthur Weststeijn, 'The VOC as a company-state: debating seventeenth-century Dutch colonial expansion', *Itinerario* 28 (2014), pp. 13-34.

<sup>18</sup> On the role of the fort in the British empire as a space of colonial settlement, see Carl H. Nightingale, 'Before race mattered: geographies of the colour line in early colonial Madras and New York', *American Historical Review* 113 (2008), pp. 48-71; on the defensive purposes of British forts, see I. Bruce Watson, 'Fortifications and the 'idea' of force in early English East India Company relations with India', *Past & Present* 88 (1980), pp. 70-87. On forts as points of cross-colonial contact, see Oscar F. Hefting, 'High versus low: Portuguese and Dutch fortification traditions meet in colonial Brazil (1500-1654)', in Eric Klingelhofer, ed., *First forts: essays on the archaeology of proto-colonial fortifications* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 189-208; on engagement between the British and Spanish in terms of fort engineering, see Kristie Patricia Flannery, 'The Seven Years' War and the globalization of Anglo-Iberian imperial entanglement': the view from Manila', in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ed., *Entangled empires: the Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500-1830* (Philadelphia, 2018), pp. 236-55.

<sup>19</sup> On the development of Colombo Fort under the Dutch, particularly in relation to the city, see Ron van Oers, *Dutch town planning overseas during VOC and WIC rule (1600-1800)* (Zutphen, 2000), pp. 91-108; Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo: the ethnic and spatial order of two colonial cities, 1600-1800', (D. Phil thesis, Leiden, 1996), pp. 20-40; for a plan of Colombo fort taken during the British period, see 'Five plans of the fort of Colombo brought home by Col. Evalt', 1819, The National Archives UK (TNA), MPH 1/40.

<sup>20</sup> On the construction of the Castle of Good Hope under the Dutch, see van Oers, *Dutch town planning*, pp. 109-37; see also Gabeba Abrahams, 'The grand parade, Cape Town: archaeological excavations of the seventeenth century Fort de Goede Hoop', *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 48 (1993), pp. 3-15.

<sup>21</sup> See 'Plan of the town and fortifications at the Cape of Good Hope', 1812, TNA, MR 1/1044.



networked forts were described with the Dutch word, as castles (*kastelen*). Thus the Castle of Good Hope was comparable in its morphology to Batavia Castle, the first proper structure built by the VOC in Java in 1619. The former, to follow Nigel Worden, 'was the Company' in Africa, hosting the VOC's military and government, while the latter became the home of the VOC's High Government until its demolition under Herman Daendels (r. 1808-11).<sup>22</sup>

By the late eighteenth century, cities were emerging in the place of colonial forts as the chief objects of bureaucratic empire.<sup>23</sup> This was a form of colonial expansion, and it signalled a movement from company to state administration. Generally, forts had been constructed as safe spaces near to or within pre-existing towns, and these grew around forts as comparatively uncontrolled urban spaces through the early modern period. In the Spanish Philippines, the distinction between the fort and the town was reflected in the terms used to describe them – *intramuros* ('within the walls') and *extramuros* ('outside the walls') – and these acquired racial connotations as forts were reserved for Europeans while Chinese and Filipinos were forced into the town.<sup>24</sup> The equivalent spaces in British India were likewise named 'White Town' and 'Black Town'.<sup>25</sup> During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, officials turned towards the town as well as the fort as a space of governance, and began thinking in terms of a larger unit encompassing both that we can describe as the city (fig. 21). This was tied to the rise of colonial power and a broadening of the interests of government beyond commerce, as well as official anxieties about the growth of towns. These were becoming filled with new people, 'meeting for the first time, negotiating space, developing services, [and] forging a degree of trust'.<sup>26</sup> The population of Cape Town, for instance, grew to 18,422 in 1821.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, the suburbs and city of Colombo, the latter consisting of the fort and Old Town, supported 31,188 people in

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<sup>22</sup> Worden, 'Space and identity', p. 74; on the construction of Batavia Castle and the city, see Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', pp. 9-20; Jean Gelman Taylor, *Indonesia: peoples and histories* (London, 2003), pp. 151-4.

<sup>23</sup> On the regulation of and planning of colonial cities, see Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', pp. 161-236; Marsely L. Kehoe, 'Dutch Batavia: exposing the hierarchy of the Dutch colonial city', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7 (2015), pp. 1-35; Meera Kosambi and John E. Brush, 'Three colonial port cities in India', *Geographical Review* 78 (1988), pp. 32-47; Susan J. Lewandowski, 'Changing form and function in the ceremonial and the colonial port city in India: an historical analysis of Madurai and Madras', *Modern Asian Studies* 11 (1977), pp. 183-212.

<sup>24</sup> Nightingale, 'Before race mattered', p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48-71; see also Kosambi and Brush, 'Three colonial port cities', pp. 32-47.

<sup>26</sup> Tim Harper and Sunil S. Amrith, 'Sites of Asian interaction: an introduction', *Modern Asian Studies* 46 (2012), pp. 249-57, at p. 254. More generally, the literature on port cities in the Indian Ocean world is extensive. See, for instance, Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C.A. Bayly, eds., *Modernity and culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, 1890-1920* (New York, 2002); see also Frank Broeze, ed., *Brides of the sea: port cities of Asia from the 16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Kensington, 1989).

<sup>27</sup> William Wilberforce Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London, 1823), p. 338.

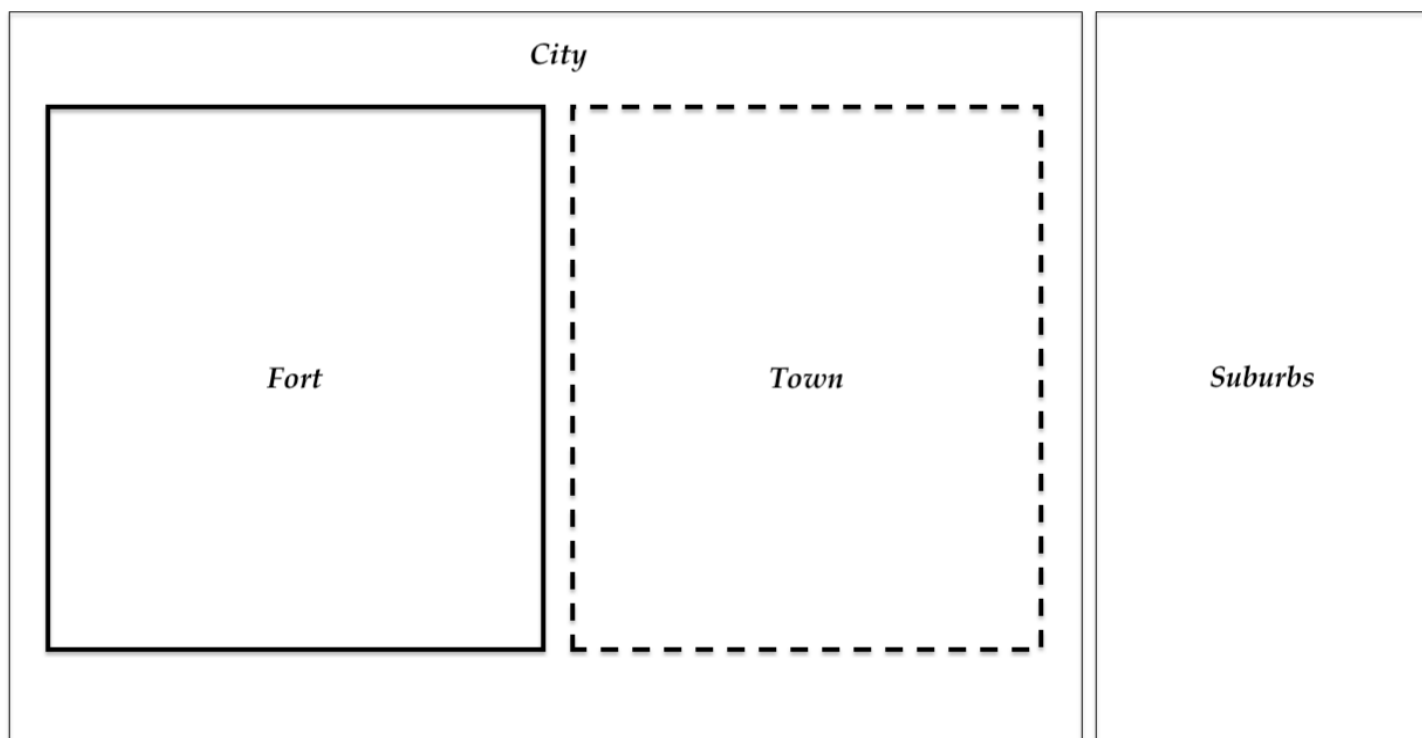


Figure 21. A diagram of the physical and administrative structure of colonial cities in the early nineteenth century. Towns sometimes had walls of their own – but these rarely compared to those of the fort.

1824.<sup>28</sup> As Remco Raben has shown, Dutch officials in eighteenth-century Batavia accordingly put together laws that were designed to keep certain people out of the fort and in the town, or beyond the city entirely.<sup>29</sup> However, as officials worked across cities, the importance of forts declined, and many now fell into ruin with the companies that they had once embodied.<sup>30</sup>

This chapter draws together the histories of the city and the maritime fort in Ceylon and the Cape Colony by arguing that the administration of the former by the British colonial state was characterised by the VOC's continued territorialisation and settlement of the latter during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815). In brief, shared political and strategic concerns persuaded British and Dutch officials and military men to exchange policies for the defence and habitation of maritime forts. These policies followed the VOC, which insisted on delimiting the fort as a unit of protected colonial settlement even as forts

<sup>28</sup> Michael Roberts, 'The two faces of the port city: Colombo in modern times', in Broeze, ed., *Brides of the sea*, pp. 173-87, at p. 175.

<sup>29</sup> Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', pp. 161-236.

<sup>30</sup> The most prominent example of this was Batavia. On the demolition of Batavia Castle, see Jean Gelman Taylor, *Global Indonesia* (Abingdon, 2013), p. 63.

elsewhere – in, say, the British or French empires – were neglected or demilitarised. These principles were upheld in bureaucratic procedures that were overlaid first onto the fort and later transposed over the city, where they were combined with further attempts to define and defend spaces of colonial settlement. Accordingly, this chapter makes the argument that forms of territorialisation and settlement endured across the period encompassing the decline of company governance and the emergence of the modern colonial state. Territorialisation, as a process through which a particular geographical space is categorised and arranged under authority, was manifested in the construction of military defences around a certain space; the introduction of new rules and regulations attached to that space; and its observation and surveillance.<sup>31</sup> Historically, territoriality has been linked with stasis, but this chapter follows recent historiographical and theoretical interventions in suggesting that it was an important consequence of the intersection of different people and strands of knowledge across the Indian Ocean world.<sup>32</sup> Settlement refers to a form of colonisation premised on the establishment of a community via the exclusion of others.<sup>33</sup> In the context of the British empire, this generally meant white colonisation, which was realised through violence and the disenfranchisement of non-whites. Its analysis has been a primary concern of historians of southern Africa and other settler colonies, like Australia, but it has been neglected in the Sri Lankan setting.<sup>34</sup>

This chapter begins by examining the different military strategies and policies of the French, British, and Dutch during the revolutionary wars, which, for the latter, underscored the place of the fort as a key site of territorialisation and settlement. It argues that VOC officials panicked about the growth of revolutionary forces across the globe and the threat of invasion. Unlike the French or British, they attempted to improve the defensive capabilities of their forts in the strategic locations of Ceylon and the Cape, while underscoring their function as protected sites of settlement. Certain colonists, such as the Capetonian architect Louis Michel

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<sup>31</sup> For a narrative of territorialisation in relation to the island, see Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, especially pp. 92-3 on the importance of 'fixity' at this moment for colonial governance.

<sup>32</sup> On the theoretical link between deterritorialization and globalization, see Arjun Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy', *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 (1990), pp. 295-310; conversely, on territorialization in the context of globalization, see Josiah McC. Heyman and Howard Campbell, 'The anthropology of global flows: a critical reading of Appadurai's 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy'', *Anthropological Theory* 9 (2009), pp. 131-48. On inequalities formed at the intersection of global connections, see Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: an ethnography of global connection* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 1-20.

<sup>33</sup> On colonial settlement in the context of the Second British Empire, see Lisa Ford, *Settler sovereignty: jurisdiction and indigenous people in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Harvard, 2010), especially pp. 26-9.

<sup>34</sup> See, for instance, Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood ground: colonialism, missions, and the contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (Montreal, 2002);

Thibault, were central to the implementation of these policies. This chapter reveals that the British were struck by the same anxieties to continue the VOC's policies in the Cape Colony and Ceylon. First, it examines the improvement of forts by the British. It follows the engineer George Bridges, who worked with Thibault at the Cape on the upkeep of the Dutch fortifications, before moving to Ceylon and applying similar plans to the fort in Trincomalee. Bridges' contemporaries in Colombo Fort also worked with the Dutch to strengthen its defences. Second, this chapter reveals the persistence of Anglo-Dutch forts as protected spaces for settlement, and the ways in which this was reflected in the bureaucratic procedures that emerged around them. It follows one of the more famous residents of the Cape's castle, the diarist Anne Barnard, and the magistrate Thomas Twistleton in Colombo Fort, and argues that they attempted to consolidate the fort as a site of colonisation secure from the threat of subversive politics and people. Finally, it returns to Thomas Harington, to show how the regulations applied to the fort were exported to city. As a new resident of Cape Town and a source of official anxiety, Thomas reveals this transition. This chapter shows how he subverted and followed emergent regulations when building his new home in Cape Town, called Harington House, which was designed after the style of none other than Louis Thibault.

### **Defence and the maritime fort in the Napoleonic Wars**

As with the news of revolution that preceded it in 1789, the announcement of war between France and its European rivals – Austria and Prussia from 1792, and Britain, Portugal, and Spain from 1793 – ricocheted around the Indian Ocean world, prompting different responses from colonists.<sup>35</sup> The French persisted with a strategy perfected during the eighteenth century of cutting the British out of the Indian Ocean through Mauritius, while neglecting their forts in Pondicherry and Chandernagore in India. French strategists had long imagined Mauritius, small and fort-less, as the 'Gibraltar of the East', and 'the Key to the Indian Ocean', and had overseen an extensive programme of battery-construction along the island's coastline with

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<sup>35</sup> On the movement of revolutionary ideas around the Indian Ocean during this period, see C.A. Bayly, 'The 'revolutionary age' in the wider world, c. 1790-1830', in Richard Bessel, Nicholas Guyatt, and Jane Rendall, eds., *War, empire and slavery, 1770-1830* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 21-43.

the help of engineers from Europe.<sup>36</sup> Mauritius was also positioned as a base for the French navy and privateers.<sup>37</sup> Many Britons felt that this made the island impenetrable, and, as late as 1800, the Cape Colony's governor George Yonge (r. 1799-1803) wrote that an invasion of Mauritius would not be possible 'without an armament of 10,000 men and a strong naval force for their support'.<sup>38</sup> Reports of war between Britain and France first reached Mauritius with the French ship *Prudente* in June 1793.<sup>39</sup> At the time, the island was in the midst of its own revolutionary turmoil, with a colonial assembly having been established only the year before, while its population weathered a smallpox epidemic.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, enduring investment in Mauritius meant that the island was well-prepared for war. The assembly quickly convened a committee to advise on the colony's defence, while most domestic servants along with all government slaves were ordered to work on the preparation of the batteries.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile, thirteen naval vessels were armed and sent to India to capture British merchant ships.<sup>42</sup>

Conversely, the French forts in India had, by this point, fallen into ruins. One French observer wrote in 1790 that 'the air of neglect' appeared 'everywhere' along the walls of the fort in Chandernagore.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, while the city of Pondicherry had once been the site of one of the most formidable forts in India, its fortifications were razed to the ground by the British in 1761 during the Seven Years' War and never reclaimed their former grandeur. An attempt was made to rebuild Pondicherry's Fort Louis in 1769, but it remained unfinished when the British re-occupied the city in October 1778.<sup>44</sup> By the time that the news of war in 1792 reached French India, by way of Mauritius, it was too late to prepare for any defence. An engineer, M. de Phelines, began inspecting what was left of the public buildings in Pondicherry, and the

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<sup>36</sup> On 'Gibraltar of the East', and Mauritius's strategic importance, see John McAleer, *Britain's maritime empire: southern Africa, the south Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, 1763-1820* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 90.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92-4.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup> Henri Pretout, *L'Île de France sous Decaen, 1803-1810: essai sur la politique coloniale du premier empire* (Paris, 1901), p. 82.

<sup>40</sup> For the Mauritian view on revolution, see Megan Vaughan, 'Slavery, smallpox, and revolution: 1792 in Île de France (Mauritius)', *Society for the Social History of Medicine* 13 (2000), pp. 411-28, at p. 413.

<sup>41</sup> Pretout, *L'Île de France sous Decaen*, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>43</sup> 'Notes on Chandernagore', *The British Friend of India Magazine and India Review* 7 (1845), pp. 56-60, at p. 59.

<sup>44</sup> For an account of Pondicherry's capture in 1778, see Munro to Weymouth, 27 October 1778, in *The field of Mars: being an alphabetical digestion of the principal naval and military engagements, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, particularly of Great Britain and her allies, from the ninth century to the peace of 1801* (2 vols., London, 1801), II, pp. 392-3.



ruins of Fort Louis' dungeon were torn down and the stones used for repairs.<sup>45</sup> In December 1792, the colonial assembly issued a decree on the 'closing of the grounds', on the basis that there were places in the city where 'black domestic servants and strangers' gathered, 'contrary to the security of property and people'.<sup>46</sup> Yet these measures were ineffective. The assembly's order left large numbers homeless, and slums clustered around the city gates.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, the British arrived outside Pondicherry in August 1793 and took it in a rapid manoeuvre that also saw them take the French forts in Chandernagore in Bengal and Mahé in the south.<sup>48</sup>

The British decision to rapidly move troops to French India was a consequence of the East India Company's drive for territorial expansion and recruitment during the eighteenth century. As C.A. Bayly has shown, the EIC in India had by this point adopted an aggressive approach to governance 'in the name of the English nation', which focused on the invasion and occupation of Indian land.<sup>49</sup> As such, the company was always in need of manpower, and focused its efforts on building an army.<sup>50</sup> After the invasion of Bengal in 1757, the EIC committed to the recruitment of local troops, so that it commanded as many as 23,000 sepoys by 1761.<sup>51</sup> These were joined by a core of European troops, who numbered around 18,000 in 1790. These were often prisoners of war, as few people actually made it from Britain prior to the taking of the Cape.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, the EIC transformed its forts, which eventually proved too small for its troops, into centres of colonial administration, and spread the offices and institutions of government across its cities and territories. In Calcutta, Fort William shed most of its functions as a barracks, as soldiers were moved eight miles away to the cantonment of Barrackpore, while others were stationed in the southern suburb of Alipore. Meanwhile, a new government house was constructed immediately in front of the esplanade, symbolising, perhaps, the fall of the military fort amid the rise of a bureaucracy.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, Fort St. George in Madras, which had been built at the site of a cloth-industry town named Madrasapatam,

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<sup>45</sup> Marguerite V. Labernadie, *La révolution et les établissements Français dans l'Inde, 1790-1793: d'après les archives de Pondichéry, des notes et des correspondances inédites* (Paris, 1930), pp. 133-4.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>48</sup> Singh, 'Fort Cochin in Kerala', p. 158.

<sup>49</sup> Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state', p. 326; on older company tactics, see Bruce Watson, 'Fortifications and the 'idea' of force', pp. 70-87.

<sup>50</sup> McAleer, *Britain's maritime empire*, pp. 191-236.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196; see also Bayly, 'The British military-fiscal state', p. 327.

<sup>52</sup> McAleer, *Britain's maritime empire*, p. 206.

<sup>53</sup> Kosambi and Brush, 'Three colonial port cities', p. 43.

became the headquarters of the government of the Madras presidency.<sup>54</sup> Previously, Madras had been divided into a 'White Town' centred on the fort and a 'Black Town' focused on the town; from the 1750s, however, most Europeans settled outside the city, in the suburbs.<sup>55</sup>

By the late eighteenth century, the EIC's investments were paying dividends – at least for the company. The EIC was able to wage wars against the Maratha empire (1775-82 and 1803-5), as well the kingdom of Mysore, which was ruled for a time by an ally of revolutionary France, Tipu Sultan.<sup>56</sup> The mobilisation of British troops after the news of war between Britain and France reached India in 1793 fits into this chronology. Yet, as John McAleer has shown, the company's ability to mobilise only became more pronounced after the capture of the Cape in 1795, as this allowed more troops to travel between Europe and the Indian Ocean without falling sick.<sup>57</sup> In turn, Fort St. George became a headquarters for British operations stretching across the Malay archipelago. It was the first place to receive news of the capitulation of the Dutch islands of Amboyna and Banda to the British in June 1796, and collected information on the considerable export goods held on those islands, such as cloves and nutmegs.<sup>58</sup> Fort St. George would later play a key role in the administration of the invasion of Java in 1811.<sup>59</sup>

Before the British took most of their colonies between 1795 and 1796, the Dutch made a different set of calculations about defence. Fearing an attack from a rival power, and aspiring to reform and restore the VOC amid the rise of republicanism, they tried to improve forts in strategic locations like the Cape, and Cochin and Sri Lanka in Asia.<sup>60</sup> Work had already been undertaken at the Cape earlier in the century, so that the castle now formed the centrepiece of a set of fortifications that spread out across Table Bay and Table Mountain (fig. 22).<sup>61</sup> Yet by

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>55</sup> Lewandowski, 'Changing form and function', p. 206.

<sup>56</sup> C.A. Bayly, 'Ireland, India and the empire: 1780-1914', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10 (2000), pp. 377-97.

<sup>57</sup> McAleer, *Britain's maritime empire*, pp. 191-236.

<sup>58</sup> Hobart to Fort St. George, 22 June 1796, in *The field of Mars*, p. 116.

<sup>59</sup> For a contemporary description of the invasion of Java, see William Thorn, *Memoir of the conquest of Java; with the subsequent operations of the British forces in the oriental archipelago* (London, 1815).

<sup>60</sup> Singh, 'Fort Cochin in Kerala', pp. 162-3.

<sup>61</sup> On these works, see Ute A. Seemann, 'Forts and fortifications at the Cape peninsula, 1781-1829' (MSc thesis, Cape Town, 1993); see also idem., *Fortifications of the Cape peninsula, 1647-1829* (Cape Town, 1997), p. 51.



Figure 22. Some of the Dutch fortifications constructed in the eighteenth century. H is a smaller fort known as Fort Knokke, I is the Hollands Redoubt, K is the Centre Redoubt, and L is the Burghers Redoubt. Detail from 'Plan of the town and fortifications at the Cape of Good Hope', 1812, © The National Archives, UK, MR 1/1044.

the 1780s, these defences were in poor condition, and Dutch colonists worried that they put the Cape at risk of attack. When he arrived at the Cape in 1785, Governor C.J. van de Graaff recorded that 'the Castle ... [was] in a bad condition', and opined that 'the soldiers who are there to defend it are not sufficient to put it in a state of strong resistance'.<sup>62</sup> Van de Graaff's fears were shared by the artillery commander, Phillipus Gilquin, who repeatedly warned the Cape's council of the risk of invasion.<sup>63</sup> Here, Gilquin and van de Graaff were following the lead of a military commission that was sent to the VOC's colonies by the Herren XVI in the aftermath of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-4). This commission made a series of detailed

<sup>62</sup> Seemann, 'Fort and fortifications', p. 172.

<sup>63</sup> Seemann, *Fortifications of the Cape*, p. 9.

recommendations for the improvement of colonial defences. While its recommendations were generally opposed by the cash-strapped government in Batavia, the commission drove men such as Gilquin and the military-educated van de Graaff to agitate for what they understood as essential work. More broadly, it set the scene for local efforts to improve VOC forts.<sup>64</sup>

Agitations for improvements in the Cape Colony were often linked to republicanism, which arose there and in Europe in the 1780s.<sup>65</sup> In 1787, the Utrecht agriculturalist and son of a former Cape governor, Hendrik Swellengrebel, Jr., wrote to Gilquin to suggest that the end of the *Patriottentijd* (c. 1781-7) underscored the need for the VOC's restoration and reformation. 'After the restoration of the stadtholder', Swellengrebel suggested, 'some believe that the Company is strong enough fully to restore its position within 25 years'.<sup>66</sup> He argued that the Cape needed to be strengthened for this to happen, and proposed that it become a base for 'a garrison of about 5,000 men'.<sup>67</sup> Sometimes the fear of invasion even transcended politics. In 1783, the Patriot pamphlet *Nederlandsch Afrika*, which argued for the reform of the Cape, highlighted the vulnerability of the colony's defences, and in particular the 'decaying state of the Castle'.<sup>68</sup> It contended that these needed to be improved, because the 'English' would not always have 'a *Hyder Ali* [of Mysore] or a Marathas' to keep them from Africa.<sup>69</sup>

Gilquin might not have been able to recruit five thousand men, but he could improve the Cape's defences – which he did with the engineer Louis Michel Thibault. Thibault had arrived in the Cape in 1783 with the mercenary regiment of the Swiss officer Charles Frederick de Meuron, having trained in Paris in the adaptable defensive tactics of the French strategist

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<sup>64</sup> See Singh, 'Fort Cochin in Kerala', pp. 162-3. For the work of some of these commissioners at the Cape, see Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen, and Vivian Bickford-Smith, eds., *Cape Town: the making of a city: an illustrated social history* (Cape Town, 1998), p. 83.

<sup>65</sup> On the rise of Cape Patriotism, see André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought: analysis and documents* (2 vols., London, 1983), I, pp. 39-44, 252-6.

<sup>66</sup> Swellengrebel, Jr. to P.H. Gilquin, 29 December 1787, in G.J. Schutte, ed., *Briefwisseling oor Kaapse sake 1778-1792* (Cape Town, 1982), p. 393; on Swellengrebel, Jr., see G.J. Schutte, ed., *Hendrik Cloete, Groot Constantia and the VOC 1778-1799: documents from the Swellengrebel archive* (Cape Town, 2003), p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Swellengrebel, Jr., to Gilquin, in Schutte, ed., *Briefwisseling*, p. 393.

<sup>68</sup> *Nederlandsch Afrika, of historisch en staatkundig tafereel van den oorsprongelyken staat der volkplantinge aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop* (Holland, 1783), pp. 151-2. Original text: 'Het Kasteel aan de Kaap, het eenige Bolwerk, 't welk deze Bezitting tegen een' onverhoedschen aanval beschermt, is in een zeer vervallen staat, dit is eene k, welke ieder, die in staat is om die sterkte te bezichtigen, terstond in de oogenvalt.'

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 152. Original text: 'De Engelschen zullen niet altyd een' *Hyder Ali* en de Maratten op den hals hebben, gelyk zy die in dezen oorlog op den hals gehad hebben; het is dan te vreezen, dat de Engelschen onderneemend zullen worden.'

Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban.<sup>70</sup> By contrast, Gilquin had learnt his trade according to an old Dutch school that advocated for the sorts of inflexible, straight-flanked defences commonly in evidence at the Cape.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, Thibault and Gilquin worked together to reform and restore the Cape's defences, building new structures while repairing those which remained. Gilquin convened a group of engineers who kept 'perfect supervision over all fortifications', and recorded drawings and specifications of each structure.<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, Thibault began work on coastal defences, constructing fortifications around Table Bay, as well as in Simon's Bay on the southern side of the Cape. Their works were overseen by officials in the castle, including Robert Gordon, with whom Thibault was unimpressed.<sup>73</sup> The castle nevertheless formed the heart of Thibault and Gilquin's defence network. It provided accommodation for the officers and troops stationed at the batteries, and held the VOC's stores, armouries, and arsenals.<sup>74</sup> It was to the castle that Thibault and Gilquin first turned in 1792, the year that war was declared, to conduct a survey that demonstrated that it was now well-maintained.<sup>75</sup>

By all accounts, the castle was almost as important to the defence of the Cape on the outbreak of war in 1792 as it had been in the early eighteenth century. Then, it was described by a VOC soldier, Otto Mentzel, as filled with 'cannon balls and mortar bombs'.<sup>76</sup> Yet another reason for maintaining the castle was that it provided a safe space for VOC officers at a time when they were being critiqued in the town. According to Mentzel, the castle was separated into two courts, one of which contained shops and stores, and the other of which was the site of government offices and residences, including the government house, the court of justice, and the departments of the fiscal and the colonial secretary.<sup>77</sup> This second court was cut off

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<sup>70</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Thibault's early life, see Huguette Roy de Puyfontaine, *Louis Michel Thibault, 1750-1815: his official life at the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1972). Much of the interest in Thibault over the generations has been due to his presentation as one of the 'great men' of Cape architecture. This is in part a consequence of the politics of the apartheid era, in which white historians strove to establish the school of 'Cape Dutch' architecture as a national style. See the discussion in Nicholas Coetzer, *Building apartheid: on architecture and order in imperial Cape Town* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 55-9.

<sup>71</sup> Seemann, 'Forts and fortifications', p. 355.

<sup>72</sup> 'Instructions for engineers', 10 October 1786, in H.C.V. Leibbrandt, ed., *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope: requesten (memorials), 1715-1806*, vol. 1 (2 vols., Cape Town, 1905-6), I, pp. 433-4.

<sup>73</sup> Seemann, 'Forts and fortifications', p. 41.

<sup>74</sup> 'Extract from the books kept by the commercial book-keeper at the Cape of Good Hope', 31 August 1793, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XX, p. 111.

<sup>75</sup> T.D. Potgieter, *The first British occupation of the Cape* (Cape Town, 1995), p. 19.

<sup>76</sup> Otto F. Mentzel, *A geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope* (trans. Harry J. Mandelbrote, 3 vols., Cape Town, 1921) I, pp. 100-102; Wayne Dooling, 'The castle: its place in the history of Cape Town in the VOC period', in Elizabeth van Heyningen, ed., *Studies in the history of Cape Town* 7 (1994), pp. 9-31, at pp. 14-15.

<sup>77</sup> Mentzel, *Geographical and topographical description*, I, 104-5.

from the rest of the fort and certainly the town. Later, Anne Barnard described how it was sealed by an 'outer Gate at the wet ditch', which was guarded by a sentinel, and then an 'inner [gate], and the porch', which reminded her 'of the Gates of Calais from the Sea'.<sup>78</sup> When visiting the Cape in the 1770s, the Swedish naturalist Carl Pieter Thunberg thus felt that the castle was designed 'to protect ... as well against internal as foreign enemies'.<sup>79</sup> By the time that Gilquin and Thibault were working, the VOC had many internal enemies. The author of *Nederlandsch Afrika* singled out the castle as a site of VOC intransigence, admonishing its commander, Robert Gordon, for frustrating the Burgher Council.<sup>80</sup> Soon after, this agitation apparently reached fever-pitch. The British captain Robert Percival suggested that 'the Cape Town was on the point of having all the horrors of civil war carried on in the midst of it'.<sup>81</sup>

Similar developments played out in Asia, where VOC officials focused on improving forts in Cochin and Colombo. The VOC's military commission was sent to Cochin shortly following the defeat of the European Patriots and was placed under the leadership of the captain J.O. Vaillant.<sup>82</sup> Charged with examining the colony's security, the commission advised that the Dutch, in light of rising British power in India, focus on repairing their forts rather than intervening in Britain's wars.<sup>83</sup> This policy spread to Ceylon after the governor of Dutch India, Johan van Angelbeek, was made governor of that island in 1794. He committed to the improvement of Colombo Fort – even in the face of opposition from Batavia. Crucially, Colombo Fort had long been identified by the VOC as a protected space for white settlement and trade. As Remco Raben has shown, the company repeatedly tried to force non-Europeans out of the fort during the seventeenth century, while largely ignoring the residents of the Old Town, which was set at a distance from the fort beyond a plain called the *buffelsveld* (fig. 19).<sup>84</sup> As early as 1681, the soldier Christoph Schweitzer observed that 'all the Merchants, Officers, and Soldiers' resided in the fort, while Old Town's inhabitants included 'a mixture of Officers,

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<sup>78</sup> A.M. Lewin Robinson, Margaret Lenta, and Dorothea Driver, eds., *The Cape journals of Lady Anne Barnard, 1797-1798* (Cape Town, 1994), p. 172.

<sup>79</sup> V.S. Forbes, ed., *Carl Peter Thunberg: travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772-1775* (trans. J. Rudner and I. Rudner, Cape Town, 1986), p. 39.

<sup>80</sup> *Nederlandsch Afrika*, p. 52.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Percival, *An account of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1804), p. 307.

<sup>82</sup> Singh, 'Fort Cochin in Kerala', p. 153.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>84</sup> Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', pp. 182-90.

Soldiers, Burghers, Tradesmen, Blacks and Whites, and others'.<sup>85</sup> The most recent attempt to segregate the fort was made in 1786 by Governor Willem van de Graaff (r. 1785-94). Ostensibly fearing the 'eradication of good customs' and 'sinfulness', van de Graaff's regime ordered all 'blacks or free slaves' out of the fort, and banned anyone from living there 'except for the Company's servants, their widows and children, and those with burgher status that have [a] particular tradecraft ... making them useful and necessary to the residents of the Fort'.<sup>86</sup>

After arriving in Ceylon, van Angelbeek quickly positioned Colombo Fort as a critical redoubt for the Dutch company in Asia. Thus, VOC servants, their families, and trade goods were brought from Dutch-ruled cities in India such as Tuticorin to Colombo Fort, along with spices from across Ceylon.<sup>87</sup> The fort was maintained as a shelter for colonists: while 'private persons' were allowed to take refuge in the fort, it was determined that they would only be permitted to remain inside if they had enough provisions to last them for six months. Van Angelbeek also oversaw the construction of defences around the fort, which, as at the Cape, took on a Franco-Dutch character. The engineer M. Duperon was placed in charge of the fort's exterior defences, and erected a fleche – a sort of round spiral turret that was a favourite of Vauban – at the Galle Face.<sup>88</sup> Equipped with four cannons, this looked out over Beira Lake to the south, and across one of the narrow roads that led into the fort along the southern coastline from Galle. Other fortifications, including *chevaux de frise*, or horse barricades – another Vauban trademark – were then constructed outside the fort's gates by men from the European and Malay regiments, who were paid in extra rations of arrack and bread. Some of these additional fortifications were disguised with elements of Lankan coastal terrain, such as rows of coconut trees positioned on raised sand barricades. Concurrently, any houses that had encroached from Old Town onto Beira Lake and the *buffelsveld* were torn down, on the advice of a French engineer, M. de Cipierre, who had travelled to Colombo from Pondicherry.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Christoph Fryke and Christoph Schweitzer, *A relation of two voyages made into the east Indies* (trans. D. Brown, London, 1700), pp. 343-4.

<sup>86</sup> 'Plakkaat: politieverordening voor stad en kasteel van Colombo', 28 December 1786, in L. Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek: plakkaten en andere wetten uitgevaardigd door het Nederlndse bestuur op Ceylon, 1638-1796* (2 vols., Hilversum, 1991), II, pp. 867-8. Original text: 'Dat bij ons in aamerking genoomen zijnde, hoe verschijdene plakkaten en ordonantiën tot handhaaving van rust en zeekerheid voor de inwoonders, tot uytbrijding van goede zeeden onder dezelve en tot bevordering van zindelijkheid en reinigheid der stad.'

<sup>87</sup> A.B. Fyers, 'A collection of notes on the attack and defence of Colombo, in the island of Ceylon', *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10 (1888), p. 367-9.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366; on Vauban, see Jean-Denis G.G. Lepage, *Vauban and the French Military under Louis XIV: An Illustrated History of Fortifications and Strategies* (Jefferson, 2010), p. 113.

<sup>89</sup> Fyers, 'A collection of notes', p. 366-85.

Ultimately, the defence of Colombo Fort was insignificant. When the British arrived, they fired on the governor's house and soon forced van Angelbeek to surrender. The loss was so rapid that were rumours that van Angelbeek wanted to surrender, as he was said to sympathise with the British more than the French.<sup>90</sup> The Cape shared Ceylon's fate, falling into British hands almost immediately in 1795 and again in 1806.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, what is significant here is the fact that VOC officials saw their forts as the key to the defence of their colonies – from the British, but also from republicans and other enemies who posed a threat to the VOC's resurgence. Correspondingly, it is significant that the only Dutch fort that was demolished was Batavia Castle, which stayed in Dutch hands until after the VOC's collapse in 1800. The reasons for Batavia Castle's demolition were many, but most were linked to the VOC's decline. Silt built up around the castle in the eighteenth century so that the sea was pushed further and further away from its walls, and the bankrupt VOC could do little to stop the march of the land.<sup>92</sup> As Jean Gelman Taylor has written, Daendels, a Patriot schooled in more recent military strategies than the VOC's leaders, saw Batavia Castle as a symbol of 'the defunct VOC and its narrow goals of buying and selling in Asian markets'.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, even VOC officials had turned away from the castle in the eighteenth century due to their growing interest in the Batavia's town.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, the Dutch at the Cape did little to improve the colony's defences between 1803 and 1806, preferring to focus on troop movements.<sup>95</sup> By contrast, the persistence of forts as a unit of governance in Sri Lanka and the Cape Colony shows that the VOC remained bullish in these places even in the French Revolutionary Wars.

### **The Castle of Good Hope and Colombo Fort under the British**

After the British took the Cape Colony in September 1795 and Ceylon in February 1796, they quickly made the same strategic calculations as the VOC, picking up on the republican threat and the importance of the colonies for the maintenance of an empire in the Indian Ocean. On the former, the writings of the British military captain Robert Percival, who formed part of the

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<sup>90</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, pp. 133-4.

<sup>91</sup> For a contemporary account of the invasion of the Cape, see Percival, *Account of the Cape*, pp. 65-74.

<sup>92</sup> Samuel Auchmuty, *Sketches, civil and military, of the island of Java* (London, 1812), p. 247.

<sup>93</sup> Taylor, *Global Indonesia*, p. 63.

<sup>94</sup> Remco Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', pp. 162-82.

<sup>95</sup> Ingeborg Blom, 'Defence of the Cape Colony Under Batavian Rule, 1803-1806', *Kronos* 17 (1990), pp. 19-35.



invading force at the Cape and travelled to Ceylon in 1797, suggest that Britons heard claims of 'Jacobinism' in both colonies, and ascribed them more significance than they were probably due.<sup>96</sup> In *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*, Percival makes the claim that 'Jacobinism was ready to involve [the Cape] in destruction, and the cloud was on the eve of bursting' when the British invaded.<sup>97</sup> He writes that the republicans among Cape Town's population were conspiring to revolt against the VOC, and enlisted the slaves in their cause by promising them their freedom. This 'party of the most violent jacobins' denounced those who supported the *stadtholder*, and insulted the VOC 'with impunity', while the equality that they advocated persuaded the garrison to enter into 'a state of insubordination and licentiousness'.<sup>98</sup> Percival transposed his account of the Cape onto Ceylon a few years later. There, he said, Johan van Angelbeek was a 'respectable old officer, of moderate principles', who had been undermined by 'violent republicans of the Jacobin party'.<sup>99</sup> Percival suggested that there was a conspiracy among the Dutch ranks to replace van Angelbeek with his son, 'whom they had gained over to their own principles'.<sup>100</sup> Predictably, the British in Percival's narrative arrive once again at the 'critical moment' to rescue the remaining 'respectable gentlemen' from their 'impending destruction' at the hands of the revolutionaries.<sup>101</sup> Again, they discover the garrison in a state of 'drunkenness and mutiny', and save van Angelbeek, who was in 'danger of his life'.<sup>102</sup>

Percival's accounts were likely based on half-truths. At the Cape, rumours of revolt had been spread by a Dutch spy who worked for the British, F. Kersteins. Writing to the British commanders after their invasion, Kersteins suggested that the Cape was 'rapidly approaching its annihilation', as a result of the VOC's monopolies and 'the Jacobine Mania'.<sup>103</sup> He claimed that the VOC 'had lost its respect ... every body would command here, and nobody would obey'.<sup>104</sup> This was clear, he related, in the revolt that had broken out just before the British invasion in the eastern province of Graaff Reinet, after a group of farmers refused to accept

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<sup>96</sup> Percival, *Account of the Cape*, p. 307.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>99</sup> Robert Percival, *An account of the island of Ceylon* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 1805), p. 116.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>103</sup> Kersteins to the British commanders, 1795, TNA, War Office (WO) 1/323, p. 717.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 718-19.

the appointment of a *landdrost* (Resident) by the VOC.<sup>105</sup> The British seem to have accepted Kerstein's ideas, because an annotation to one of his letters notes that the Graaff Reinet revolt was a consequence of 'a dislike to the Dutch Company's Monopolies, as well as ... a ridiculous notion, that like America, [Graaff Reinet] could exist as an independent state'.<sup>106</sup> Such claims frequently reappeared in British military intelligence. The directors of the East India Company suggested in 1795 that the Cape colonists were 'very much tinged with Jacobin principles', and 'ripe for revolt'.<sup>107</sup> General James Craig, who oversaw the command of the Cape after its occupation, observed that 'the number at present possessing these abominable principles, is not inconsiderable ... they will certainly require a watchful eye to be kept over them'.<sup>108</sup>

The dangers of Jacobinism notwithstanding, Ceylon and the Cape were as strategically significant to the British as they had been to the VOC. Like the Dutch, they understood that the Cape was critical for the control of the Indian Ocean, while Ceylon was a redoubt for India. We have already noted how the Cape was key to the movements of British troops following its capture. Yet the Cape was also seen as somewhere worth defending in and of itself. Much has been made of the suggestion by the EIC director William James that the Cape 'has the Key to and from the East Indies ... one must consider the Cape of Good Hope as the Gibraltar of India'.<sup>109</sup> This suggestion was echoed by another director, Francis Baring, who argued that the Cape served as an 'effectual check' on the island of Mauritius.<sup>110</sup> Whoever was 'Master of the Cape', he said, could protect British ships from French privateering out of Mauritius.<sup>111</sup> These claims were rearticulated by the Cape's governors, such as George Yonge. Yonge argued that 'the value and importance of this Colony increases every Hour, and well deserves support and Protection', as the Cape was 'the Key to the East'.<sup>112</sup> Meanwhile, Ceylon was seen as integral to the defence of India. Debating the downsides of surrendering either colony in the Treaty of Amiens, the Cape's governor, Earl Macartney (r. 1796-8), mused that Ceylon, 'being situated at the extremity of the Peninsula of India', was a check against an invasion of 'the

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., pp. 718-19. On the revolt at Graaff Reinet, see Susan Newton-King, *Masters and servants on the Cape eastern frontier, 1760-1803* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 210-31.

<sup>106</sup> Kersteins to the British commanders, 1795, TNA, WO 1/323, p. 718.

<sup>107</sup> Baring to Dundas, 4 January 1795, TNA, WO 1/323, p. 17.

<sup>108</sup> Craig to Dundas, 27 December 1795, TNA, WO 1/324, pp. 552-3.

<sup>109</sup> McAleer, *Britain's maritime empire*, p. 61.

<sup>110</sup> Baring to Dundas, 4 January 1795, TNA, WO 1/323, pp. 1-2.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>112</sup> McAleer, *Britain's maritime empire*, p. 69.

coasts of Malabar and Coromandel'.<sup>113</sup> Macartney suggested that 'to a maritime power the excellent harbour of Trincomalee is a Jewel of inestimable value', which held 'the Bay of Bengal at its mercy', and opened up the possibility of 'controlling ... the streights of Sunda and Malacca'.<sup>114</sup> These ideas were repeated by various governor of Ceylon, such as Thomas Maitland (r. 1805-11), who argued that the colony was essential to the security of the EIC in the aftermath of the mutiny in Vellore in 1806 and the rebellion in Travancore in 1808.<sup>115</sup>

These considerations persuaded the British to follow the policies of the Dutch in terms of repairing the VOC's forts. One of the first actions taken by the British at the Cape after the invasion was to collect an inventory of the Cape's defences, put together by Thibault and the then-commander of the artillery, George Kuchler.<sup>116</sup> Soon afterwards, they started following Thibault and Gilquin in improving the defences linked to the castle around Table Bay. One of the first structures that they constructed was a new tower on the eastern side of the bay called Craig's Tower, and this was followed by the building of blockhouses that extended the lines built by the Dutch in the 1780s up Table Mountain (fig. 23).<sup>117</sup> They also rebuilt structures focused on the Castle of Good Hope. In 1795, General James Craig proposed using the Dutch hospital just beyond the castle walls as a barracks. Subsequently, the hospital housed three regiments, while the hospital itself was rebuilt 'some way from the town'.<sup>118</sup> Under George Yonge, further works were undertaken on the castle, as well as the barracks, at the significant cost of 58,000 rixdollars.<sup>119</sup> This plan of works apparently earned Yonge the admonishment of the War and Colonial Office, which reminded him that his was a civilian rather than a military position. 'You appear to have mistaken the nature of your situation and of your Commission, and the extent to which the Power you derive from them is limited', he was cautioned.<sup>120</sup>

Critically, many of these defensive works were carried out by a regiment of royal engineers, including their commander George Bridges, who arrived in the Cape Colony with

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<sup>113</sup> Macartney to Dundas, 4 February 1798, TNA, WO 1/327, p. 14.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>115</sup> Maitland to Castlereagh, November 1809, TNA, CO 54/37, pp. 88-90.

<sup>116</sup> 'Inventory of all such company's buildings, fortifications and estates', TNA, WO 1/324, p. 13.

<sup>117</sup> Seemann, 'Forts and fortifications', pp. 44-5.

<sup>118</sup> Percival, *Account of the Cape*, p. 320; Craig to Dundas, 27 December 1795, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, I, p. 273.

<sup>119</sup> 'Report of the commissioners appointed to investigate certain charges against Sir George Yonge', 16 March 1802, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, IV, p. 255.

<sup>120</sup> War Office to Yonge, 28 July 1800, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, III, p. 202.



Figure 23. The location of Craig's Tower (M) relative to Fort Knokke (H). Detail from 'Plan of the town and fortifications at the Cape of Good Hope', 1812, © The National Archives, UK, MR 1/1044.

the original British invasion force in 1795.<sup>121</sup> In putting the works together, Bridges developed a close relationship with Thibault, who had taken the oath of allegiance to the British and who kept his 'very pretty' plans of the Cape's existing defences among his personal possessions.<sup>122</sup> Thibault was a key influence on British thinking about the Cape. For instance, Craig ordered Thibault to give Bridges 'all the details that he needed' to put together 'a faithful picture' of the places that the British had crossed during their march from False Bay to Cape Town.<sup>123</sup> Thibault also shared with Bridges plans for the defence of Cape Town and False Bay, drawn up not long before the British invasion, which, he said, would allow for the establishment of a 'general project of defence' at the Cape.<sup>124</sup> This plan seemed to follow Thibault's training, in

<sup>121</sup> Philip, *British residents*, p. 38.

<sup>122</sup> Dundas to Huskisson, 15 October 1800, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, III, pp. 313-14.

<sup>123</sup> Thibault to Huskisson, 13 October 1800, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, III, p. 307. Original text: 'Le Général Craig me fit demander par l'ingénieur en chef monsieur Bridges si je ne pourrais pas lui communiquer les details dont il avoit besoin, pour pouvoir envoyer a la Cour D'angleterre, un tableau fidel des lieux que son armée avoit parcourue ou occupée dans sa marche de baiefalse au Cap.'

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 312. Original text: 'Je rend ici justice á monsieur le Capitaine Bridges, qui, Durant cette guerre, a fortifié le cap de maniere á lui faire soutenir un Siege mais il convient avec moi, que tous ces efforts doivent á la paix, ceder á un Systeme en grand.'

that it focused on the supply of centralised resources between the castle and the Cape's many fortifications.<sup>125</sup> Writing in October 1800, while George Yonge was ruling the colony, Thibault mused that his plans would allow the Cape to become 'a Gibraltar', while a failure to follow them would leave the colony exposed to attack in the wars that would succeed 'this frightful revolution'.<sup>126</sup> Thibault claimed that Bridges agreed with his plans, and felt that a resourceful system of defence should be established at the Cape. Thibault's suggestions were probably the inspiration for George Yonge's own beliefs about the Cape's importance and the necessity of improving the Castle of Good Hope. Yonge had apparently wanted to seize Thibault's plans but had been persuaded against taking such an action by his *aide-de-camp*, Cockburn.<sup>127</sup>

Thibault's project perhaps also shaped British plans to turn Trincomalee in Sri Lanka into a base for the navy. Situated on Lanka's north-eastern coast, on a rocky promontory that curved around a large bay, Trincomalee was a natural base for a harbour.<sup>128</sup> At the time that the British arrived, it was ordered, like Colombo, around a fort, called Fort Frederick, which surmounted 'a huge rock to the seaward', and was built over a Hindu religious site.<sup>129</sup> The writer James Tennant later claimed that the Portuguese demolished a Hindu temple, and used the stonework to build the fort; some of the stones therefore bore 'inscriptions in ancient characters', which could be seen 'in the walls of the fort, and on the platforms for the guns'.<sup>130</sup> Like Colombo Fort, Fort Frederick was a site of settlement, with houses, a church, bungalows, and a barracks that ran along the summit of the rock.<sup>131</sup> At the base of the rock, the fort met with a town, called the pettah, while a naval fort, Ostenburg, stood three miles away, over Trincomalee's natural harbour. Writing in 1807, the British author and colonial official James Cordiner described Fort Frederick as almost 'impregnable', with its fortifications forming 'a

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 312.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 312. Original text: 'Je pourrais reprendre dans le cas ou le cap resterait a l'angleterre, on peut faire du Cap un Gibraltar, et si on néglige de la fortifier d'après un Système raisonné et Général, il pourroit essuyer un coup de main á la premiere Guerre qui aura lieux après cette affreuse révolution.'

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp. 311-12.

<sup>128</sup> For a nineteenth-century description of Trincomalee and its fort, see James Emerson Tennant, *Ceylon: an account of the island physical, historical, and topographical with notices of its natural history, antiquities, and productions* (4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2 vols., London, 1859-60), II, pp. 482-5.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 483.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 485.

<sup>131</sup> James Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon: containing an account of the country, inhabitants, and natural productions* (2 vols., London, 1807), I, pp. 268-9.

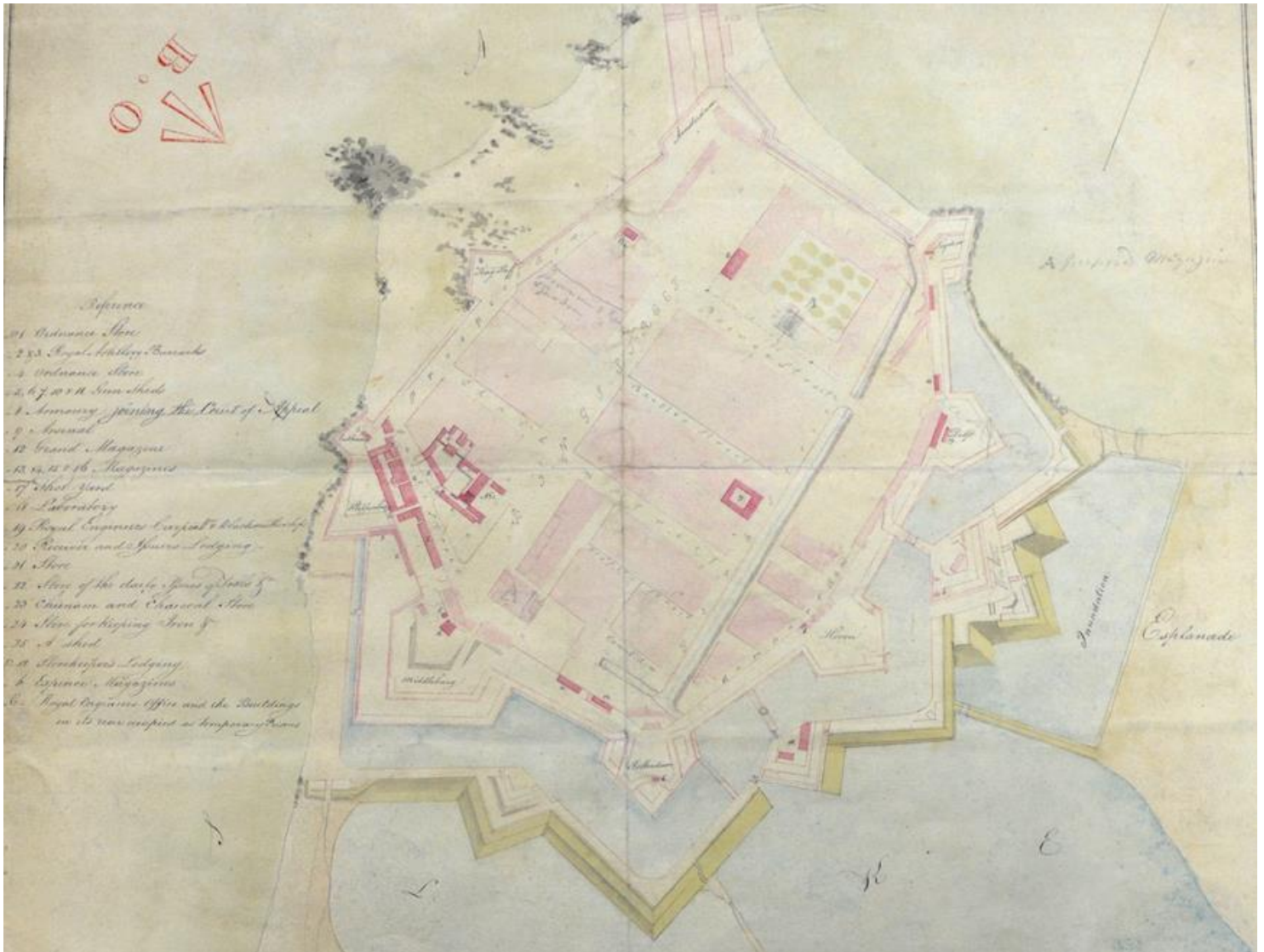


Figure 24. Detail from a plan of Colombo Fort drawn by Colonel Evalt. See 'Five plans of the fort of Colombo brought home by Col. Evalt', 1819, © The National Archives, UK, MPH 1/40. The governor's house can be seen at the top enclosing a garden. The sluices feature on the easternmost canal.

sweep ... of one mile in length'.<sup>132</sup> Cordiner suggested that 'no communication' could be made with the people on the promontory 'but through the gates of the fort'.<sup>133</sup>

Crucially, much of the work on Trincomalee's fort was overseen by George Bridges, after he was sent there in 1801 after his work with Thibault. Already, the British had tried to improve Fort Frederick, tearing down the coconut trees between the fort and the sea in an

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 272.



effort to reduce the mortality of their troops.<sup>134</sup> During Bridges's time in Trincomalee, however, further efforts were made to strengthen the fort as a distinct space. In particular, the barracks were moved into the fort itself, and the garrison's officers brought into the new structure from the town where they had been living. New guns were also imported from Bengal, and extant fortifications were repaired under Bridges's oversight after he became garrison commander.<sup>135</sup> Bridges employed Chinese artisans from Madras to carry out these works; one of these was a carpenter named Tanka, whom Bridges sent to India to find recruits, and who returned with seven men.<sup>136</sup> This presaged the Chinese settlement that formed at Trincomalee in the 1810s, as we saw in the previous chapter. Like Thibault, Bridges also thought about supplies. In 1805, he complained to the government secretary about the difficulty of travelling from Colombo to Trincomalee over land through Kandy. Perhaps this anticipated the royal engineers' close involvement with the laying of roads across the Kandyan provinces during the 1820s.<sup>137</sup>

Bridges would later be appointed commandant of Colombo in 1810, before leaving Sri Lanka in 1812 with Governor Maitland.<sup>138</sup> In Colombo, British officers were already concerned with the security of Colombo Fort. They had continued de Cipierre's work, proposing the demolition of houses that had encroached on the *buffelsveld* between the fort and Old Town, which, like its counterpart in Trincomalee, now became known as the pettah. After the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, a committee was convened to investigate the viability of pulling down the houses on the *buffelsveld*, and, in 1807, James Cordiner observed that the process of demolition had begun.<sup>139</sup> The royal engineers in Colombo were also particularly interested in the methodology behind the Dutch canals that surrounded Colombo Fort and cut it off from the town. These canals had probably been constructed in the early eighteenth century by an engineer, Anthony de Beer.<sup>140</sup> Flowing from the Leiden bastion in the north-east to the

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<sup>134</sup> L.J.B. Turner, 'The military establishment in the maritime provinces of Ceylon, 1798-1805', *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* 5 (1919), p. 66.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

<sup>136</sup> Arbuthnot to Bridges, 9 March 1805, Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA), 10/38.

<sup>137</sup> Arbuthnot to Bridges, 16 April 1804, SLNA, 10/32. On the construction of roads through Kandy, see Sujit Sivasundaram 'Tales of the land: British geography and Kandyan resistance in Sri Lanka, c. 1803-1850', *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (2007), pp. 925-61.

<sup>138</sup> 'General orders, Ceylon occurrences', January 1809, in E. Samuel, ed., *The Asiatic Annual Register* 11 (1811), p. 177.

<sup>139</sup> Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon*, I, p. 38.

<sup>140</sup> R.K. de Silva and W.G.M. Beumer, *Illustrations and views of Dutch Ceylon, 1602-1796* (Leiden, 1988), p. 221.

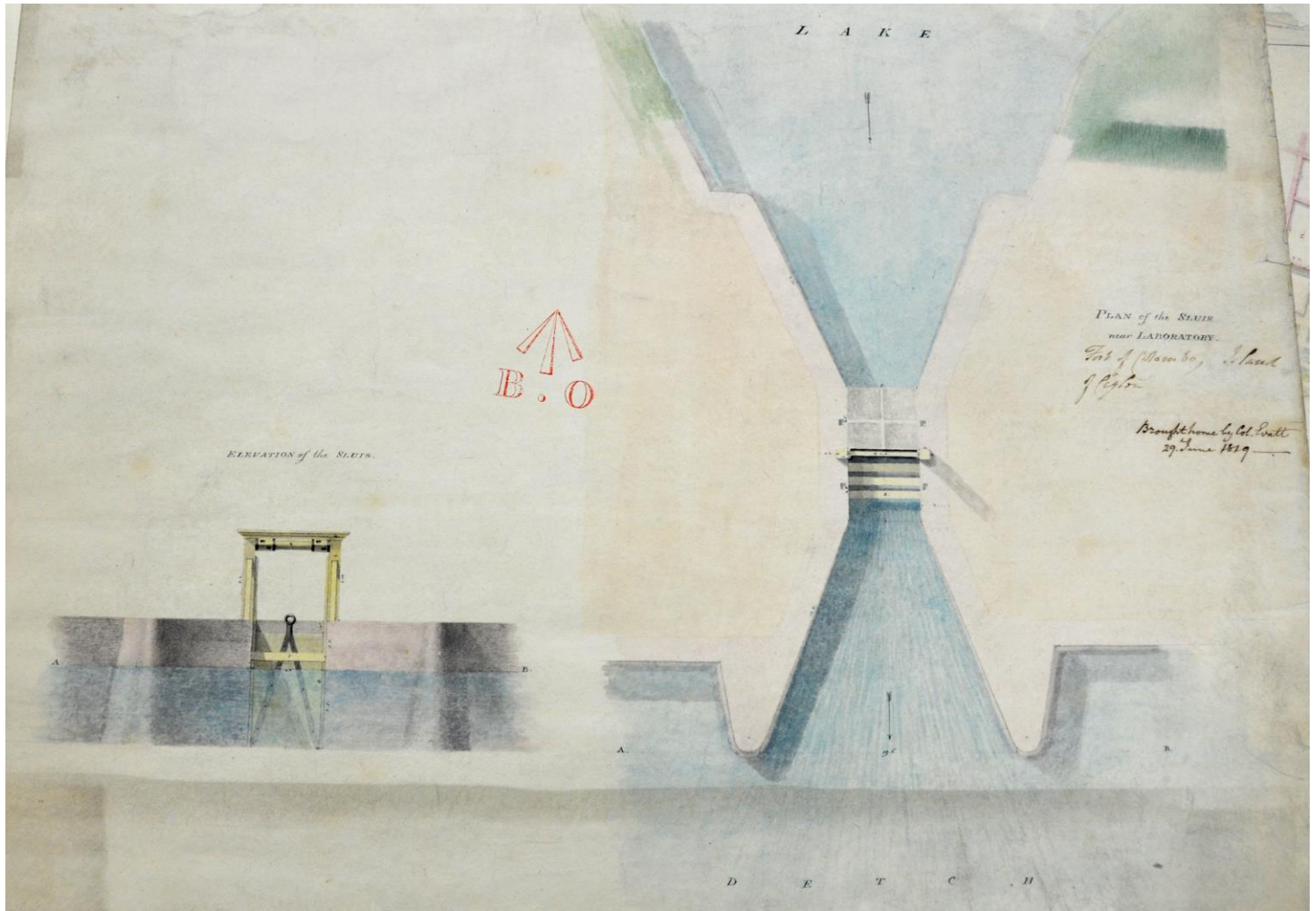


Figure 25. The diagrams of the Dutch sluices produced by Evatt. See 'Five plans of the fort of Colombo brought home by Col. Evatt', 1819, © The National Archives, UK, MPH 1/40.

Kleppenburgh bastion in the south-west, they were controlled by two lock-gates placed at the main entrance to the fort and by the laboratory in the south (fig. 24). Led by the colonel Henry Evatt, the engineering office, which also consisted of the engineers Lourensz and J.C. de Neys, recorded the functioning of the lock-gates during the rebellion in Kandy in the 1810s (fig. 25). They demonstrated that the *buffelsveld* stored floodwater, and showed how water passed from Beira Lake into the canals.<sup>141</sup> Accordingly, accounts of Colombo Fort from the time describe its 'insulated' position, linking its 'considerable strength' to its island-like nature.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Nicholas Bergman, ed., *The Ceylon calendar for the year of our lord 1818* (Colombo, 1818), p. 110.

<sup>142</sup> Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon*, I, pp. 27-8.



### Settling the fort

The continued significance of forts as territorialised spaces at the Cape and in Sri Lanka under the British meant that these structures also persisted as important sites of protected colonial settlement. Under the Dutch, the Castle of Good Hope, Colombo Fort, and Fort Frederick hosted VOC employees. Otto Mentzel reported that there were two hundred soldiers and four hundred such people living and working in the Castle of Good Hope during the 1730s.<sup>143</sup> There were, of course, distinctions between the housing provided to, say, a soldier, compared to high-ranking officials, but to some extent this was a corollary of the process of settlement, which involved a working-out of hierarchies among colonists, and between colonists and colonised. Mentzel recalled how one bastion in the Castle of Good Hope held fifty soldiers 'crowded into two moderately sized rooms', undoubtedly less comfortable than the splendour of the government house.<sup>144</sup> Ranked beneath the soldiers were the slaves and labourers who were brought into the castle to work on the defences or in homes. Archaeological evidence suggests that they made a shelter under one of the balconies in the castle's inner courtyard.<sup>145</sup> Those who were considered most subversive were excluded from the castle entirely, as they would be refused entry or (in something of a contradiction) confined to the dungeon. In 1795, those in the dungeon included the Italian Patriot Louis Pisani, who in 1795 styled himself as leader of the Swellendam burghers and led them into a rebellion against the company.<sup>146</sup>

Colombo Fort was also secured through settlement. Besides VOC officials, it was filled with a great many people: one might find slaves, carpenters, masons, smiths, and tailors, not to mention soldiers.<sup>147</sup> Yet the fort was also arranged around sites of VOC power, while most houses were reserved for officials and merchants. The government houses stood at the north end next to the most luxurious houses, which were large and spacious, and fronted by wide verandas that looked out onto 'pretty Walks of Nut-trees, set in a uniform order', with 'red and white flowers'.<sup>148</sup> James Cordiner described the government house as 'handsome' and 'spacious', and recalled how successive governors gave audiences and received ambassadors

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<sup>143</sup> Dooling, 'The castle', pp. 14-15.

<sup>144</sup> Mentzel, *Geographical and topographical description*, I, p. 66.

<sup>145</sup> Dooling, 'The castle', p. 12.

<sup>146</sup> George McCall Theal, *Compendium of South African history and geography* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Lovedale, 1877), pp. 143-4.

<sup>147</sup> De Silva and Beumer, *Illustrations*, p. 221.

<sup>148</sup> Fryke and Schweitzer, *A relation of two voyages*, p. 343.

in the building.<sup>149</sup> In the early eighteenth century, it contained the council of policy and the court of justice, as well as trade and audit offices and the provincial court.<sup>150</sup> Conversely, more functional structures, including the barracks, hospital, and weapons stores, were boxed into the southern end of the fort, out of sight.<sup>151</sup> Concurrently, the VOC's efforts to exclude non-Europeans from the fort were predicated on laws that blocked them from buying homes within its walls.<sup>152</sup> In March 1684, the sale of houses to so-called 'natives' inside the fort was banned, while the owners of all dwellings within the fort were required to register their homes with the authorities.<sup>153</sup> Van de Graaff's 1786 law was likewise one of many efforts by the VOC to force 'in one word all blacks and those who accompany them' to 'clear out' of the fort.<sup>154</sup>

The British picked up on these histories after capturing the Cape and Ceylon. During the first British occupation of the Cape, the castle became the seat of government and military and home to high-ranking colonists, such as the diarist and the wife of the Cape's government secretary, Lady Anne Barnard. Anne and her husband, Andrew, moved into the government house during the initial months of their stay at the Cape, during which time Anne pictured herself inheriting a space characterised by the VOC. She described the inner court as 'spacious and airy', with 'every convenience which the heart of Woman, or of Man, can desire'.<sup>155</sup> In the council chamber, she noticed 'a picture of the Prince and Princess of Orange, both them very unfavourable copy's of a bad German Master'.<sup>156</sup> In the bedroom of the governor Abraham Josias Sluysken (r. 1793-5), she discovered a secret room 'in which all the important papers of the Cape had been kept, and still were to be found', and imagined that there might even be a secret passage to the dungeons.<sup>157</sup> In the VOC's absence, Anne repurposed parts of the castle,

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<sup>149</sup> Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon*, I, p. 34.

<sup>150</sup> R.L. Brohier, 'Ceylon, in maps', *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* 31 (1942), pp. 153-76, at p. 168.

<sup>151</sup> Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon*, I, p. 37.

<sup>152</sup> Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', p. 187.

<sup>153</sup> 'Plakkaat betreffende de registratie van de opstallen in het kasteel Colombo en de verificatie der eigendomsbewijzen; verbod op de verkoop van huizen in het kasteel aan inlanders', 13 March 1684, in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, I, p. 225.

<sup>154</sup> 'Resolutie om bij een nieuw plakkaat de oude bepalingen betreffende de exclusieve bewoning van het kasteel', in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, pp. 713-4. Original text: 'Dat alle Portugeesche vrijburgers, zoo roomsgezinde als hervormde christenen, alle vrijgegevene slaeven, item Singaleesen, Mallabaeren, Mooren, chittys en met één word alle swarten of die van hen afkomstig zijn, zoo mans als vrouwen, niet alleen in zelve voegen hunne gehuurde of eigene huysen in het Kasteel binnen het voorschreven termijn van drie maenden uiterlijk zullen moeten ruimen.'

<sup>155</sup> Robinson, Lenta, and Driver, eds., *Journals of Anne Barnard, 1797-1798*, pp. 171-2.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

moving the *stadtholder's* picture and repainting its rooms.<sup>158</sup> She also recast the castle as a social space, in which she might be a 'binding Cement, such ... as the Castles of Antiquity were formerly made of ... towards the associating together the scattered atoms of Society'.<sup>159</sup> Anne soon became famous for hosting parties, which brought together the Cape's colonists.<sup>160</sup>

Yet Anne's perception of the castle was stratified and racialised, and owed much to that of her Dutch predecessors. Her parties, which were held on the first day of every month, were open only to a select audience, namely those Europeans who had taken 'the Oath of Allegiance to the English Government and are of sufficient respectability to visit the Castle'.<sup>161</sup> Invitations were dispatched to those deemed deserving by Andrew Barnard, who 'threw in objections to every person who was as he called it disaffected'.<sup>162</sup> The parties also served as a means of making people respectable. Invitations were sent to the army through officers to 'those ... who are best behaved and most Gentlemanlike ... so good discipline is preserved'.<sup>163</sup> Ultimately, those who featured in Anne's castle society were a handful of the Cape's official elite, including familiar faces linked to the territorialisation of the castle. Andrew Barnard received advice from Thibault on how to protect the government house from wind and rain.<sup>164</sup> Anne recounted a complaint from George Bridges that one officer had dismissed his plan for the Cape's defence.<sup>165</sup> This officer built a blockhouse in a useless place after ignoring Bridges, and it was turned into a flour mill.<sup>166</sup> Meanwhile, Anne kept herself separate from republicans in the town. These included Bastiaan van Reenen, whose beliefs Anne said were 'of the tough democratic sort', and the commissioner Jan Horak, who was called the 'Hottentots Landdrost'

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>160</sup> For a contemporary account of one of Anne's parties by the elite Indian scholar and traveller Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, see Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa, and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803* (trans. Charles Steward, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 3 vols., London, 1814), I, pp. 88-9. For a contemporary reference to Anne's parties as a mark of respectability, see 'Letter from Heckrath to Cavendish Square', 20 December 1799, Western Cape Archives (WCA), Heckrath papers, A734.

<sup>161</sup> Robinson, Lenta, and Driver, eds., *Journals of Anne Barnard, 1797-1798*, pp. 211-12.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>164</sup> Margaret Lenta and Basil le Cordeur, eds., *The Cape diaries of Lady Anne Barnard, 1799-1800* (2 vols., Cape Town, 1999), I, p. 106.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 314.

for his efforts to ensure equitable treatment of Khoi.<sup>167</sup> Anne described how her niece had found in Horak 'a rooted dissatisfaction', and imagined that he might soon be banished.<sup>168</sup>

In time, the perception of the castle as an exclusive, respectable space was rendered in bureaucratic procedures that were overlaid onto it by the emergent state. For instance, anyone bringing wine into the castle was told to acquire a certificate, and guards were placed outside the walls to check their validity.<sup>169</sup> This process was perhaps more visible in Colombo, where Governor Thomas Maitland reissued the laws made by van de Graaff in 1810. There, Maitland suggested that it was necessary to 'revive the salutary Regulations established by the Dutch Government', because there had recently been many 'thefts and abuses ... committed in the fort of Colombo'.<sup>170</sup> This meant limiting those who were allowed to live in the fort to 'persons in His Majesty's Service of employ', civil or military; those 'born in Europe', and registered by the government secretary; and anyone who had been in the service of the VOC above the rank of bookkeeper.<sup>171</sup> Maitland also limited home ownership to people who were licenced by the government, while anyone who was unable to get a licence was told to leave within three months.<sup>172</sup> No one living in the fort was allowed to admit lodgers without the magistrate's written permission, and even then their lodgers were only allowed to be 'licensed persons'.<sup>173</sup> License to reside in the fort could be revoked on the receipt of an unfavourable report.<sup>174</sup>

Maitland's laws were strict, but they were not the only procedures applied to the fort. For instance, the fort also acquired its own constable, Charles Carr, whose role was to report to the magistrate on any subversions by its residents.<sup>175</sup> The population and practices of the fort accordingly resembled those which had existed under the VOC, interspersed with British attachments to create a sort of Anglo-Dutch milieu that apparently ignored the island around it. In the pages of *The Ceylon Government Gazette*, one finds notices for the sorts of high-brow

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 157; for more detail on Horak's political leanings, see Leonard Guelke, 'The making of two frontier communities: Cape Colony in the eighteenth century', *Historical Reflections* 12 (1985), pp. 419-448, at p. 442.

<sup>168</sup> Lenta and le Cordeur, eds., *Cape diaries of Anne Barnard*, I, p. 169.

<sup>169</sup> 'Petition of Jacob van Reenen', 16 October 1809, WCA, CO 4313.

<sup>170</sup> 'To prevent loose and suspicious persons from residing in the fort of Colombo', 19 August 1810, in *A collection of the legislative acts of his majesty's government of Ceylon; containing proclamations and regulations issued since 15<sup>th</sup> January 1799, and wholly, or in part in force, on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1821* (Colombo, 1821), pp. 301-2.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., pp. 302-3.

<sup>175</sup> As in the case of the Hazleys, highlighted in Chapter Three. See Twistleton to Brownrigg, 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

socialising in the fort that Anne Barnard had sponsored in the Cape's castle. By 1816, the Colombo theatre was regularly staging productions of Shakespeare's historical plays, such as *Henry IV*, while the Colombo library, run by Mr. de Neys (perhaps a relation of the engineer) put together a collection of English and French literature.<sup>176</sup> In June 1816, residents of the fort would likewise have been able to see – at number four, York Street – an exhibition of '*two surprising animals*' from the Cape: the '*zebra, or tyger-horse* and the gnu, or unicorn'.<sup>177</sup> Many continued to comment on the division between the fort and the pettah. When the soldier George Calladine arrived in Colombo in 1815, he used the phrases 'Black Town' and 'White Town', as had been applied to Madras, to describe the two spaces. There were, he said, 'two towns proper, one within the garrison walls, called White Town, in which live all persons that are in any government situation, besides merchants and people who carry on ... trade'.<sup>178</sup> The other was the 'Black Town or the Petty', and it contained the 'inhabitants of the country'.<sup>179</sup>

Meanwhile, those less-desirable residents of the fort, like soldiers and their families, were monitored by Charles Carr and his employer, the magistrate Thomas Twistleton. The latter passed much of his time observing the comings and goings of the fort's residents and excluding those people he thought undesirable, following van de Graaff.<sup>180</sup> In 1815, Twistleton seized three convict stowaways from the *General Brown* transport, which had just arrived from Australia, and announced his intention to bring them onshore and 'take the informations' from them.<sup>181</sup> Twistleton likewise used his powers to investigate the smuggling of arrack, but expressed frustration that the people he interrogated were 'very frequently ... the mere tools of persons who keep in the back ground'.<sup>182</sup> Twistleton and his colleagues in the British regime even kept certain people confined to particular areas of the fort where they could be observed. In March 1814, for instance, women arriving with the 73<sup>rd</sup> regiment were kept in 'comfortable Huts to be constructed for married Soldiers' in the fort.<sup>183</sup> This was not for their hospitality, but, in the words of the governor Robert Brownrigg (r. 1812-20), because it was necessary 'to

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<sup>176</sup> 'Colombo private theatre', 2 October 1816, *Ceylon Government Gazette*; 'Any person', 28 December 1816, *Ceylon Government Gazette*.

<sup>177</sup> 'For Public Exhibition', 5 June 1816, *Ceylon Government Gazette*.

<sup>178</sup> M.L. Ferrar, ed., *The diary of colour-sergeant George Calladine, 19<sup>th</sup> Foot, 1793-1837* (London, 1922), pp. 37-8.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>180</sup> See, for instance, Twistleton to Rodney, 11 April 1807, SLNA, 6/384.

<sup>181</sup> Twistleton to Gay, 5 March 1815, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>182</sup> Twistleton to Gay, 30 August 1815, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>183</sup> Brownrigg to Bathurst, 31 March 1814, SLNA, 5/7, pp. 85-6.

control the vicious habits of European Soldiers Wives in this Climate and preserve the health of their Children – the causes of the former are the want of a lower order of European society with which they can associate'.<sup>184</sup> It is unclear where these huts were constructed, but it seems probable that they would have been built in the south near the residence of the garrison, and apart from the government offices and homes of the fort's rich residents in the north.

These women quickly presented a challenge to the fort space by moving beyond their designated area, yet Charles Carr was watching them when they did. Two of these women, Margaret and Elizabeth Hazley, featured in Chapter Three, as they were arrested by Carr and taken to Twistleton accused of prostitution. Here, it is worth noting how Carr watched their movements around the fort before arresting them. We might recall that he reported seeing them walking up the street 'at ten or eleven at night ... in a very suspicious manner'.<sup>185</sup> He also suggested that Elizabeth met officers and made offers of prostitution. Likewise Carr was suspicious of the fact that Elizabeth had gone 'alone to officers' houses in the day time', and boarded ships docked beyond the fort's northern wall.<sup>186</sup> A number of witnesses were called by Carr in his effort to prove his claims. Don Justinius, a *vellala* (a high-ranking Tamil caste), claimed that he had seen 'the girl Elizabeth Hazley in an upstairs room of Mrs. Nell in which two ship officers were'.<sup>187</sup> A servant named Patra 'saw the girl Elizabeth Hazley accompanied by the mother, go up stairs into the room where a naval person lodged'.<sup>188</sup> A police peon, Ramlan, claimed that 'he saw [Elizabeth] Aislie & her mother go into a Dhoney, which went in the direction of a three masted ship'.<sup>189</sup> For her part, Margaret said that she wandered the streets at night, and boarded a ship 'to wish her son farewell'.<sup>190</sup> Whatever the case, it is clear that forms of bureaucracy and information-gathering – the earliest manifestations of the colonial state – upheld a way of thinking about the fort as a key unit that had originated with the VOC.

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid., pp. 85-6.

<sup>185</sup> 'Deposition of Charles Carr', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> 'Deposition of Don Justinius, a Vellala & Protestant', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>188</sup> 'Deposition of Patra, female servant of Mrs Nell, a Roman Catholic', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>189</sup> 'Evidence of Ramlan, police peon, a Mahomedan', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>190</sup> 'Deposition of mother of Mary Aislie', 9 March 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

## Controlling the city

Historically, the town had never generated as much interest for colonial officials as the fort. As Remco Raben has shown, VOC officials in Ceylon sometimes tried to regulate Colombo's Old Town, but only with varying degrees of success, and largely as a result of concerns about the threat posed by rival traders – specifically Moors – to company commerce. During the seventeenth century, for instance, it was illegal for Moors to own houses and land in the vicinity of Colombo. This law was repealed in 1746, although Muslims remained unable to purchase land 'in the Fort; in the Old Town some few prominent Moors but only with the knowledge and permission of the government'.<sup>191</sup> While Moors were effectively sealed out of the gates of the Old Town, other people were generally allowed to come and go as they pleased (no doubt undermining the extent to which Moors actually were forced outside the city).<sup>192</sup> Only with van de Graaff's proclamations in 1786 were stringent regulations created for the town, and these sought to replicate the forms of respectability – if not racialisation – kept in the fort across the whole city. Those deemed 'leftovers without means of breadwinning or subsistence' and 'unmarried women of unruly conduct' were ordered to leave Old Town.<sup>193</sup> Registration was mandated: inhabitants of Old Town were told 'to give a faithful statement of their families and of the free people required to live with them and of their own origin and breadwinning'.<sup>194</sup> Anyone found to have 'kept silent about something' would be fined.<sup>195</sup>

Meanwhile, the Cape's town was largely of passing interest to the VOC in Africa, as it was generally understood as a space given over to the burghers.<sup>196</sup> The VOC's concerns were limited to dispersed sites of company power like the Company's Gardens (fig. 20), which were used for growing botanical specimens and as a summer residence for the governor, and which were treated much like the castle, as a contained space.<sup>197</sup> Thus, in 1752, the VOC issued a proclamation prohibiting soldiers from entering the gardens before sunrise and after sunset,

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<sup>191</sup> Raben, 'Batavia and Colombo', p. 188.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., pp. 187-8.

<sup>193</sup> 'Plakkaat: politieverordening voor stad en kasteel van Colombo', 28 December 1786, in Hovy, ed., *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, II, p. 868.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., p. 868.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p. 868.

<sup>196</sup> On the character of early Cape Town as a space for burghers, see van Oers, *Dutch town planning*, pp. 109-37; see also Worden, van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith, eds., *Cape Town*, pp. 35-84; Worden, 'Space and identity', pp. 72-87.

<sup>197</sup> Mentzel, *Geographical and topographical description*, I, pp. 118-19.

while any who were found to have disobeyed the law were forced to run the gauntlet in the castle.<sup>198</sup> Similarly, the gates of the Slave Lodge, where the company's slaves were kept, away from the castle, were locked at nine o'clock in the evening, and 'the soldier and sailor visitors to the women' were forced to leave.<sup>199</sup> Occasionally, the VOC did turn towards the town to quell subversions, largely as a way of maintaining its authority over slaves or to stop illicit trading. For instance, the company kept a *ratelwacht* (night watch), which policed the streets in search of smugglers.<sup>200</sup> Informers were likewise told to report slaves to the fiscal when they were discovered together on the streets.<sup>201</sup> Yet even when officials attempted to circumscribe the movements of people in the town, they used the castle as a point of reference. In 1704, then, burghers were banned from travelling more than three hours beyond the castle.<sup>202</sup>

Conversely, a key feature of the rise of the colonial state in the Anglo-Dutch colonies was the replication of the forms of territorialisation and settlement applied to the fort across the city. In part, this was due to the political and racial anxieties that the town generated amid the age of revolutions. Officials at the Cape were fearful of the political societies that emerged across the town, and reached out beyond the castle. These societies included the Concordia Club, which was established in March 1797 by Dutch and French colonists, ostensibly for men who wished 'to pass their leisure hours in company of good friends and men of Probity'.<sup>203</sup> Writing to the War Office in 1799, the acting governor Francis Dundas worried that the Club was 'composed ... by persons who are not believed to entertain sentiments favourable to our cause'.<sup>204</sup> Dundas enlisted the fiscal, then Willem van Ryneveld, to 'intimate to the Concordia my wish to be informed of the purposes of their association'.<sup>205</sup> More broadly, he intimated that it was now necessary for officials to be attentive to the proceedings of every confederacy ... of private persons formed without its sanction'.<sup>206</sup> As we saw in Thomas Harington's story,

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<sup>198</sup> Mary Kathleen Jeffreys and Stefanus David Naudé, eds., *Kaapse plakkaatboek: afgeskryf en persklaar gemaak deur M.K. Jeffreys* (6 vols., Cape Town, 1944-51), II, p. 241.

<sup>199</sup> Mentzel, *Geographical and topographical description*, I, p. 116.

<sup>200</sup> As in the case of Salaoos van Sambouwa in 1749, as described in the documents in Nigel Worden and Gerald Groenewald, eds., *Trials of slavery: selected documents concerning slaves from the criminal records of the council of justice at the Cape of Good Hope, 1705-1794* (Cape Town, 2005), pp. 270-5.

<sup>201</sup> *Statute law of the Cape of Good Hope, comprising the placats, proclamations, and ordinances enacted before the establishment of the colonial parliament and still wholly or in part in force* (Cape Town, 1862), appendix 1, p. xxiv.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

<sup>203</sup> 'Papers relative to the Concordia Club', 4 March 1797, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, II, p. 324.

<sup>204</sup> Dundas to Dundas, 23 January 1799, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, II, p. 342.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.





Figure 26. Detail of the pettah in Colombo with the villa of Hulfsdorp to the east. From 'Colombo and environs in the island of Ceylon, 1806', © The National Archives, UK, MPH 1/398.

these fears could be racial as well as political. It was the EIC's agency at the Cape, together with the Crown government of St Helena, that expressed the strongest misgivings about the Chinese that Thomas was bringing to Cape Town, who would supposedly be such a burden on the government.<sup>207</sup> In part, these anxieties must have intersected with emergent Anglo-Dutch perceptions of the Chinese that – as we saw in the preceding chapter – cast them as subversive. Similar worries arose in Ceylon, too. In Trincomalee, the garrison under George Bridges began to patrol the pettah for 'the protection & security of the inhabitants'.<sup>208</sup>

These fears underpinned a shift in which governments began to think about the town as well as the fort in the context of the city. At the Cape, this drove a creeping territorialisation of the town, carried out by the same people who built defences around the castle. When the British returned to the colony in January 1806, one of their first actions was to make Thibault

<sup>207</sup> Arkin, 'John Company', pp. 179-344.

<sup>208</sup> Arbuthnot to Bridges, 21 February 1804, SLNA, 10/32.

inspector of public buildings, telling him to study the 'Civil Buildings'.<sup>209</sup> As government surveyor, Thibault oversaw the renovation of buildings such as the Slave Lodge, which from 1807 was converted into government offices. In time, most government offices were moved out of the castle and into the Slave Lodge. This was combined with efforts by Thibault and the governors John Cradock (r. 1811-14) and Charles Somerset (r. 1814-26) to define 'Government Ground in the vicinity of this Town', and 'the limits of private Property as affecting the same'.<sup>210</sup> In 1811, a commission led by Thibault was appointed to examine this land, and set proper boundaries so that people could not enclose government land.<sup>211</sup> In Colombo, too, the government began controlling the pettah, although most government buildings remained in the fort. In 1807, Maitland's government relocated the bazaar from the main road where it stood to a 'declivity' behind the government villa of Hulfsdorp (fig. 26), 'out of the way of the common passengers'.<sup>212</sup> Cordiner claimed that this allowed easier travel into the pettah, but it also enabled control of the market, as the stalls were now rented to traders by officials. Until 1813, the Hulfsdorp bazaar remained the only place at which anyone from the pettah was allowed to sell their merchandise; when traders complained that the Hulfsdorp site was inappropriate, the colonial government banned the sale of goods anywhere else.<sup>213</sup>

The shift to the city was also accompanied by the extension of regulations tied to the fort. In turn, this was linked to a reassessment of the role of forts. At the Cape, people began to be excluded from the town and kept in the castle. Anne Barnard described how the castle became filled with prisoners during the first British occupation. She claimed that one hundred and seventy men were 'confined in part of the Barracks', while twenty-four 'mutinous sailors' were imprisoned in the provost's house.<sup>214</sup> Another twenty 'seditious Dutchmen' were sent to the dungeons.<sup>215</sup> The latter were rebels from Graaff Reinet, but, as we saw earlier, their actions was interpreted as evidence of the spread of republicanism at the Cape. Most prisoners were people suspected of subversions in Cape Town, and keeping them in the fort allowed them to

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<sup>209</sup> 'Instructions to L.M. Thibault, esqre, inspector of public buildings', 16 April 1806, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, V, pp. 404-5.

<sup>210</sup> 'Proclamation by Lord Charles Somerset', 23 December 1814, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, X, pp. 212-13.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13.

<sup>212</sup> Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon*, I, p. 44.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

<sup>214</sup> Lenta and le Cordeur, eds., *Cape diaries of Anne Barnard*, I, p. 219.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

be monitored by officials. For instance, one prisoner was punished after he was discovered talking 'with people at the Cape', from whom 'he had learnt (& had communicated it to others) that the French were carrying all before them, that they were going on to take India from [the British]'.<sup>216</sup> Imprisonment was also a means of making people respectable: officials regularly received petitions from prisoners promising good behaviour if they were released into town. For instance, in 1799, Pieter Sammes, a Capetonian blacksmith, asked to be allowed to stay in his home 'under good security', rather than the fort.<sup>217</sup> Anne's old acquaintance, Jan Horak, was also locked up in the castle, and was only allowed to return to his family after he promised 'to be more cautious in his discourse and ... not to meddle in politics'.<sup>218</sup> Anne noted that people were allowed to return to Cape Town after they had taken 'the Oath of Allegiance and had a certain number of the Military ... quartered on each for a certain time as punishment for the past'.<sup>219</sup> There is a curious similarity, here, between the conditions on which people were released to the town, and the requirements for attendance at one of Anne's parties.

The extension of colonial settlement from the castle to the town was confirmed by the introduction of new land laws by John Cradock. Cradock's government is known for changing the loan lease system of land tenure which had applied at the Cape under the Dutch.<sup>220</sup> This was predicated on the idea that government owned all land, but could not control it – and thus leased it to tenants on a yearly tenure that was renewed in perpetuity. Cradock replaced this with a system of quitrent which came with new requirements, such as the need for land to be cultivated and surveyed by officials, including Thibault. These requirements were joined to statutes introduced by Governor Somerset in 1814, which banned people who occupied land without official approval from ever being awarded the deed to that land.<sup>221</sup> Effectively, the regime took greater control of tenure, and the people who could be granted land rights. Much attention has been drawn to the way in which, in the interior, this encouraged white British settlement at the expense of Boers and Xhosa.<sup>222</sup> Yet in Cape Town, too, people had to

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>217</sup> 'Petition of Pieter Frederick Sammes', 29 June 1799, WCA, British Occupation (BO) 68, p. 216.

<sup>218</sup> 'Petition of J.A. Horak', 10 July 1799, WCA, BO 68, pp. 231-2.

<sup>219</sup> Robinson, Lenta, and Driver, eds., *Journals of Anne Barnard, 1797-1798*, I, p. 257.

<sup>220</sup> L.C. Duly, 'The failure of British land policy at the Cape, 1812-21', *Journal of African History* 6 (1965), pp. 357-71.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., pp. 361-4.

<sup>222</sup> See Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood ground: colonialism, missions, and the contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (McGill, 2002); see also Alan Lester, 'Otherness' and the frontiers of empire: the eastern Cape Colony, 1806-c.1850', *Journal of Historical Geography* 24 (1998), pp. 2-19.

demonstrate their right to land in ways that reserved urban space for rich white colonists. Thomas Harington was granted land for his Cape Town home because he was able to produce bills that showed that his 'Building Materials (a Complete House and Store)', at the price of £16,000, would be invested in the land – 'for ever'.<sup>223</sup> He was also ordered to pay import duties that 'exceeded any value which could have been estimated upon the plots of ground given to him'.<sup>224</sup> By contrast, the Chinese that Thomas brought with him never had any hope of settling in Cape Town – and official fears that the Chinese would become a burden therefore read as a rejection of non-white settlement. Thomas indeed repaid the favour by building his home in the apparently respectable Cape Dutch style that was a trademark of Louis Thibault.<sup>225</sup>

The towns in Colombo and Trincomalee were not subjected to the racial policies that were introduced in Cape Town, but they were characterised by a blending of bureaucracy between the fort and the town. For instance, Maitland developed a force of 'constables' who were told to apprehend 'suspicious persons who may appear ... after sunset'.<sup>226</sup> These people would be taken to the Kayman's Gate, which led to the fort, and from there to the prison, which could be found with the storehouses to the south. According to James Cordiner, it did not merit a very favourable description.<sup>227</sup> Maitland's law entailed the creation of a large infrastructure for control, and the containment of the space of the pettah: eighteen constables were spread across fifteen streets organised into three divisions according to their proximity to sites like the bazaar and the fisherman's quarter. The constables were given new powers to enter homes; record lists of the pettah's inhabitants and their means of subsistence; prevent anyone from moving between the three divisions of the pettah; and patrol the streets at night. Anyone of special interest would be immediately reported to the magistrate.<sup>228</sup> These laws were introduced in Colombo in 1806, coinciding with Charles Carr's appointment as fort

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<sup>223</sup> 'Somerset to commissioners of enquiry', 17 August 1824, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XVIII, p. 237.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>225</sup> On the design of Harington House, see Ronald B. Lewcock, *Early nineteenth century architecture in South Africa: a study of the interaction of two cultures, 1795-1837* (Cape Town, 1963), p. 92; on Thibault and the chauvinist style with which he is associated, see Coetzer, *Building apartheid*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>226</sup> 'Regulation for the better police of the pettah, and of the country within the four gravets of Colombo', 19 August 1806, in *A collection of the legislative acts*, p. 296.

<sup>227</sup> Cordiner, *A description of Ceylon*, I, p. 38; James Campbell, *Excursions, adventures, and field-sports in Ceylon* (London, 1843), pp. 53-55.

<sup>228</sup> 'Regulation for the better police of the pettah, and of the country within the four gravets of Colombo', 19 August 1806, in *A collection of the legislative acts*, pp. 296-7.

constable, and were replicated for Trincomalee and a number of other cities such as Galle and Jaffna in 1813. At this point, they were applied to their various forts and pettahs at once.<sup>229</sup>

In practice, these laws created wider jurisdictions for those people who were involved with monitoring forts. In Colombo, we can see the extension of Thomas Twistleton's powers during the war and rebellion in Kandy in the 1810s. During this period – which encompassed the end of the Napoleonic Wars – republicans were replaced with Kandyans as the perceived enemy of the state. Colombo Fort was therefore filled with prisoners from Kandy, especially Malabars, who, as we saw in Chapter Three, were cast by officials including Twistleton as 'strangers' and seized as they travelled between the maritime and Kandyan provinces in order to be exiled to the Indian mainland. Many of these prisoners, including Kandy's former king, Vikrama Rajasimha, were held in Colombo Fort before being dispatched to India.<sup>230</sup> The arrangement of these prisoners recalled patterns of settlement in the fort: according to George Calladine, Vikrama Rajasimha was held in a house 'guarded by European soldiers', while other Kandyans – including some captured by Captain de Bussche – were kept in the prison and forced into labour.<sup>231</sup> Some of these prisoners even remained in the fort into the 1820s.<sup>232</sup> At the same time, others were free to move into the pettah, but were subjected to surveillance by Twistleton. Thus, in 1816, we find Twistleton taking an interest in the content of a marriage between a Kandyan prisoner, Hadjie, and the daughter of an 'elderly Malay', Margavey, who lived in the pettah's (relocated) bazaar at Hulfsdorp.<sup>233</sup> Twistleton read new anxieties into his information on Hadjie's marriage, and decided that Margavey, who was formerly a prisoner of the Kandyan king who had been 'released ... some years ago', had seditious links to Kandy. Twistleton hauled him in for questioning.<sup>234</sup> The protections once afforded to Colombo Fort, it seems, now extended to the pettah – taking in the city amid the growth of the colonial state.

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<sup>229</sup> 'Regulation for the better police of the town & fort of Trincomalie and its gravets', 8 May 1813, in *A collection of legislative acts*, p. 303.

<sup>230</sup> See Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, pp. 46-54.

<sup>231</sup> Ferrar, ed., *Diary of Calladine*, p. 38.

<sup>232</sup> Campbell, *Excursions*, pp. 53-55.

<sup>233</sup> Twistleton to Colonial Secretary, 23 December 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

<sup>234</sup> Twistleton to Colonial Secretary, 23 December 1816, SLNA, 6/490.

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This chapter has reimagined the story of the rise of the colonial state by exploring how modes of territorialisation and settlement persisted across the juncture between the decline of the VOC and the emergence of a British government concerned with bureaucratic procedure and information-gathering. Accordingly, it has found points of commonality in the way that the Dutch and the British envisaged their forts in the Anglo-Dutch colonies, in spite of emerging strategic distinctions between the European empires in different parts of the Indian Ocean world. This suggests that, in Ceylon and at the Cape, we can see the entanglement of military knowledge – between people like Thibault, Bridges, and Yonge – and the way in which this knowledge was later extrapolated outwards through the emergence of the colonial state.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, this system continued to expand in later years in both Sri Lanka and the Cape. In the former – as indicated by Thomas Twistleton’s growing interest in Kandyans – the invasion of Kandy entailed the growth and reimagining of the machinery used to contain and regulate the fort and the pettah into the interior provinces. In particular, permits were introduced and administered by Twistleton and others, creating exclusive spaces of areas across the island, and of the island itself, from which Malabars in particular were proscribed.<sup>235</sup> Yet the administrative arm of the state also continued to grow across the expanding city. Therefore, by 1834, we find new laws for a Colombo city police regularising the constabulary across not only the fort and the pettah but also the suburbs (or ‘Four Gravets’) and the ‘port’, which emerged as distinct and spatialised, territorialised units in the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>236</sup> Likewise in the Cape Colony, the procedures applied to the castle and town were rearticulated across the interior in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>237</sup> Thibault died in 1815, but his role was taken over by the Dutch monarchist Charles d’Escury, who – it so happened – was both a friend of the *stadtholder* and the man who had denounced Frederik

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<sup>235</sup> As described in Chapter Three. See, for instance, Twistleton to government secretary, 18 July 1816, SLNA, 10/130; see also the interview of a Malabar traveller reproduced in Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, p. 52.

<sup>236</sup> ‘Ordinance for improving the police within the town, fort, and four gravets and port of Colombo; and for consolidating and amending the laws relating to the same’, 22 May 1834, in *A collection of legislative acts of the Ceylon government from 1796: distinguishing those now in force* (2 vols., Colombo, 1853-4), II, pp. 2-7; on the territorialisation of the port in the later nineteenth century, see Sujit Sivasundaram, ‘Towards a critical history of connection: the port of Colombo, the geographical ‘circuit’, and the visual politics of new imperialism, ca. 1880-1914’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59 (2017), pp. 346-84.

<sup>237</sup> See Duly, ‘The Failure of British Land Policy at the Cape’, pp. 357-71.

Turr to the British authorities in London in 1812.<sup>238</sup> In Cape Town itself, the threat of exclusion nevertheless remained real for anyone found subverting the colonial order. In later years, the castle's dungeon was replaced with a town gaol, but the consequences remained the same. In fact, colonial officials would later take a further interest in the occupants of Harington House, after Thomas Harington let it out to the reformer and abolitionist, Thomas Pringle, and left the Cape for Calcutta.<sup>239</sup> The fiscal summoned Pringle to his office in the former Slave Lodge, and threatened to throw him in prison if he did not cease his agitations.<sup>240</sup> The spaces for colonial settlement characterised by the modern state, it seems, owed much to the respectable, racialised, and conservative hierarchies of the turn-of-the-century Dutch East India Company.

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid., pp. 357-71; see also Cradock to Bathurst, 25 January 1813, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, IX, pp. 133-34.

<sup>239</sup> Pringle to the fiscal, 11 June 1824, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XVII, p. 477-8; on Harington's departure for Calcutta, see Philip, *British residents at the Cape*, pp. 166-7.

<sup>240</sup> Pringle to the fiscal, 11 June 1824, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, XVII, p. 477-8.

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The Sunda Strait is a passage of water that runs between Java and Sumatra, tying the Java Sea to the Indian Ocean.<sup>1</sup> During the occupation of Java, the East India Company patrolled the strait with cruisers that sailed between Batavia, Bengal, and Madras, carrying despatches and chasing down supposed pirates and smugglers.<sup>2</sup> For a moment in June 1815, however, the strait became the focus of a conflict that brought Anglo-Dutch colonists together against the United States of America. One of the company's cruisers, the *Nautilus*, was engaged by an American sloop of war called the *Peacock*.<sup>3</sup> The commander of the *Nautilus*, Charles Boyce, recalled how he had seen 'a strange sail', and sent one of his crewmembers, Joseph Bartlett, to investigate.<sup>4</sup> Bartlett was seized by the *Peacock* along with the master attendant of Anjer, R.B. Macgregor, who had decided to investigate the ship himself.<sup>5</sup> The *Peacock* later closed in on the *Nautilus* and opened fire, killing six crewmembers.<sup>6</sup> The *Peacock*'s attack was viewed by the *Nautilus*' crew as an act of aggression. Britain and the United States had been enemies during the War of 1812 (1812-15), but peace had been agreed in February.<sup>7</sup> Apparently this news had not reached the *Peacock*'s crew.<sup>8</sup> When it became clear, as the wounded were taken ashore, that a peace had been agreed, the *Peacock* gave up the *Nautilus* and sailed away.<sup>9</sup>

After the engagement, the *Nautilus* returned, beleaguered, to Batavia. It soon came to the attention of the authorities, and a report was published in *The Java Government Gazette*

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<sup>1</sup> For an exploration of slave raiding and piracy in this area during the nineteenth century, see James Warren, *The Sulu zone: 1768-1898: the dynamics of external trade, slavery, and ethnicity in the transformation of a southeast Asian maritime state* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Singapore, 2007), pp. 149-251.

<sup>2</sup> Boyce to marine board, 24 September 1815, in William James, *A full and correct account of the chief naval occurrences of the late war between Great Britain and the United States of America* (London, 1817), p. ccvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ccv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ccvi.

<sup>5</sup> 'Evidence of Mr. Joseph Bartlett' and 'Evidence of Mr. Macgregor', undated, in James, *A full and correct account*, pp. ccix-xi.

<sup>6</sup> 'Since our Extra Gazette,' *Java Government Gazette*, 8 July 1815, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> For a historical account of this incident, see James R. Fichter, *So great a proffit: how the east Indies trade transformed Anglo-American capitalism* (London, 2010), p. 253; see also Christine F. Hughes, 'Lewis Warrington and the USS *Peacock* in the Sunda Strait, June 1815', in William S. Dudley and Michael J. Crawford, eds., *The Early Republic and the Sea: Essays on the Naval and Maritime History of the Early United States* (Washington, DC., 2001), p. 115-36.

<sup>8</sup> Boyce to marine board, 24 September 1815, in James, *A full and correct account*, pp. ccvi-vii.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ccvii.



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hailing Boyce for his defence of the ship.<sup>10</sup> In turn, Batavia's magistrates set up a commission to investigate the claims being made by the ship's crew, and take depositions that could be sent to the colonial government.<sup>11</sup> This commission was staffed by the bailiff, the Dutch-born magistrate Abraham Anthony Cassa, whose powers were likened in law to those of a 'Water Fiscal', and our erstwhile traveller Frederik Turr.<sup>12</sup> No doubt in his post Frederik channelled the experience he had gained from Louis Bonaparte's Raad van Justitie en Politie back in the Kingdom of Holland, in which he had been so vociferous that he had been denounced to the British government by a refugee. Frederik took depositions from Bartlett and Macgregor, focusing on their imprisonment on board the *Peacock*. He asked Macgregor whether he had spoken with 'the officers of the enemy's ship, before the action between her and the honorable company's cruiser', and inquired as to how long he had been on the *Peacock* before he was taken prisoner.<sup>13</sup> Macgregor told Frederik that he had 'scarcely' had the chance to tell the Americans about the peace before he had been seized and taken below, with one commenting that it seemed impossible to avoid 'a little brush' with the *Nautilus*.<sup>14</sup> Bartlett explained that he had been 'instantly ordered ... below, not being allowed to ask any question'.<sup>15</sup> The depositions consequently implicate the Americans. They doubtless reflect the interests of Raffles's autocracy and his aforementioned eagerness to gather information about maritime lawlessness in order to develop governmental control over the seas around Java. However, given what we know about Frederik Turr, there was probably a further logic at work here. Frederik renounced the Americans, to whom his fellow republicans had once looked for inspiration, and instead expressed clear discomfort at the prospect of people being seized at

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<sup>10</sup> 'Since our Extra Gazette,' *Java Government Gazette*, 8 July 1815, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> 'Evidence of Mr. Joseph Bartlett' and 'Evidence of Mr. Macgregor', undated, in James, *A full and correct account*, pp. ccix-xi; on the magistrates, see Hendrik E. Niemeijer, 'The Central Administration of the VOC Government and the Local Institutions of Batavia (1619-1811) – an Introduction,' in Louisa Balk, Frans van Dijk, Diederick Kortlang, et al., eds., *The archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the local institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 61-86, at pp. 67-9; on their development under Raffles, see 'Regulation for the police administration of Batavia', 13 May 1814, in *Proclamations, regulations, advertisements, and orders, printed and published in the island of Java by the British government and under its authority* (3 vols., Batavia, 1816), II, pp. 105-12.

<sup>12</sup> 'Regulation for the police administration of Batavia', 13 May 1814, in *Proclamations printed in the island of Java*, II, p. 105.

<sup>13</sup> 'Evidence of Mr. Macgregor', undated, in James, *A full and correct account*, pp. ccx-xi.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ccxi.

<sup>15</sup> 'Evidence of Mr. Joseph Bartlett', undated, in James, *A full and correct account*, p. ccx.

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sea against their will.<sup>16</sup> This anticipated Frederik's collaboration with the Java Benevolent Institution, which also gathered depositions on illegal detentions made by non-Britons.<sup>17</sup>

The American crew would later challenge the information collected by Frederik. The *Peacock's* captain, Lewis Warrington, wrote to the American naval secretary, telling him that he would probably 'see or hear some other account of a rencontre which took place' with the *Nautilus*.<sup>18</sup> He claimed that the *Nautilus's* crew had acted threateningly, and – wrongly – that his attack had killed six lascars.<sup>19</sup> By this point, however, Frederik's depositions had caused a quite stir across the British empire. They were sent by the company captain William Eatwell from Batavia to the marine department in Bombay, and from there to the governor of Bombay, Evan Nepean.<sup>20</sup> They reached the foreign secretary, Viscount Castlereagh, who sent them to Britain's ambassador to the United States, Charles Bagot.<sup>21</sup> They were reprinted for the British public by the historian William James, who said that he had delayed publishing his work in order to make available the 'particulars of the wanton attack made by the U.S. ship *Peacock* ... in an authenticated form', and stop them from being 'disfigured by American misrepresentation'.<sup>22</sup> Bagot later remonstrated the American president, James Madison, and in response the United States government established a commission of its own to examine the depositions.<sup>23</sup> This decided that the *Peacock's* crew acted lawfully.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, Frederik's depositions had served their purpose for the British empire. They had allowed the British to intimidate their rival, the United States; they provided legal information for Raffles's colonial autocracy; and, finally, they enabled Frederik himself to challenge maritime unfreedom.

This excerpt from Frederik Turr's life brings together three themes that have been at the centre of this study. It highlights marginalised voices in the history of the British empire, and brings to the fore an Indian Ocean perspective on this empire by revealing the epistemic

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<sup>16</sup> On engagements by the Patriots with the United States, see Simon Schama, *Patriots and liberators: revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 2005), p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, 'Deposition of Thomas de Rozario', February 1816, in *Eleventh report of the directors of the African Institution* (London, 1817), p. 92.

<sup>18</sup> Warrington to secretary of the navy, 11 November 1815, in James, *A full and correct account*, p. ccxiii.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ccxiii.

<sup>20</sup> Eatwell to Meriton, 22 July 1815, 'Asiatic intelligence', in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany* 1 (1816), pp. 294-5; Hughes 'Lewis Warrington', p. 121.

<sup>21</sup> Hughes, 'Lewis Warrington', p. 122.

<sup>22</sup> James, *A full and correct account*, pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>23</sup> Rush to the secretary of the navy, 24 June 1816 in Benjamin F. Hall, ed., *Official opinions of the attorneys general of the United States* (41 vols., Washington, D.C., 1852-1963) V, p. 704.

<sup>24</sup> Hughes, 'Lewis Warrington', pp. 115-36.

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entanglements that were wrought between British and Dutch colonists around the ocean rim. It shows how these entanglements influenced British state-building in colonies like Java, but also the rise of the Second Empire as a sovereign entity. Who would have thought that the information that formed the basis of a diplomatic spat between the British empire and the United States – over the last engagement of the War of 1812 – would be drawn from a Dutch teacher with Patriot beliefs of his own? Like so many other aspects of Frederik's life, this was a story of entanglement that has been hidden from view by the empire that it supported. Frederik had moved to Batavia according to historic patterns of travel across the former Dutch empire. He had learnt his trade in the civil services of the republican governments in the Netherlands. He was ostracised from the Latin School at the Cape for spreading ideas that placed him at odds with the British administration, but his ideas had still been adopted by the British regime. He would later transform the Java Benevolent Institution into an Anglo-Dutch organisation, but the only person who received any acclaim for that society was (and still is) Raffles.<sup>25</sup> Here was Frederik again, shaping, in his own way, the future of the British Empire.

### **The Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian and its limits**

Guided by the varied lives of the *Scaleby Castle's* cast of characters – Frederik, Maria, Ani, and Thomas – this thesis has charted the story of the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian, in which the rise of the state-building enterprises of the Second British Empire was characterised by the entanglement of British and Dutch knowledge in and between the former Dutch colonies of the Cape Colony, Java, and Ceylon. In so doing, it has brought a different perspective to bear on the Second British Empire and C.A. Bayly's original imperial meridian that unearths the continued significance of Dutch empire and the Indian Ocean world for the transformation of British empire during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In particular, it has revealed that transitions between forms of colonial rule were rarely linear or even logical developments but the products of intractable and reciprocal relationships formed between colonists and subjects – British, Dutch, and Chinese alike – who were brought together across this period with a rich variety of ideas, policies, and information. Building on more recent

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<sup>25</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor, *The social world of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in colonial Indonesia* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Madison 2009), pp. 105-6.

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histories of Anglo-Dutch regime change by historians like Alicia Schrikker and Jurrien van Goor, this thesis has therefore demonstrated that the Dutch and the British empires cannot be viewed in isolation or succession.<sup>26</sup> Instead, it has shown that they were part of an oceanic world in which the practices and peoples of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) empire continued to characterise British states even after the former seemed to decline. This allows us to reimagine the imperial meridian more generally as a period of sustained and influential entanglement across empires. This is valuable in enabling us to critique narratives of the origins and modernity of the Second Empire and contest the view of imperial reform as a process realised first and foremost by the Colonial Office and Britain's colonial officials.

Concurrently, by identifying the flow – or what might be more aptly described as the lurching and stumbling – of ideas and information among Anglo-Dutch colonists through the use of life histories, this thesis has uncovered power amid the imperial meridian. The lives of the Dutch and Chinese figures revealed here show how a variety of people from around the Indian Ocean subverted, challenged, and added to British knowledge. However, their ideas and information were also appropriated and redeployed by Britain's local autocrats for their own purposes. Sometimes – as with the autocrats' adoption of Dutch liberal policies – this laid the groundwork for challenges to British despotism later on in the nineteenth century. Yet what the lives in this thesis have principally revealed is that this was a time in which cross-colonial ideas and information were used to underscore inequality between the British and their subjects, through say the promotion of the English language or in the consolidation of autocratic power. In turn, this was a period during which cross-colonial ideas could actually be used to obfuscate diverse relationships and foster the image of an empire built on British innovation. In stressing the unevenness of the Anglo-Dutch meridian in this way, this thesis has highlighted the ways in which entanglements could promote colonial inequality. It shows that, in using life histories to analyse entanglement, we can write histories of connection that draw attention to power and inequality rather than flattening these parts of the past.

Here, it is nevertheless important to consider the limits of what this thesis has set out as the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian. Certainly, the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian is more limited than Bayly's model in terms of its geographic and chronological scope. Questions also

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<sup>26</sup> See Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815: expansion and reform* (Leiden, 2007); Jurrien van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism: the Dutch in Asia* (Hilversum, 2004), pp. 83-98.

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remain over the extent of Anglo-Dutch entanglement in particular thematic areas; the means and ways through which entanglement actually took place; and indeed the willingness of certain Dutch subjects to share ideas with – rather than resist – their British oppressors.

On the first point, the introduction to this thesis laid out five themes that drove a dialogue with Bayly's imperial meridian while highlighting the importance of Anglo-Dutch entanglement to the reform of British colonial states. In so doing, it made a conscious choice to elevate these themes above others – such as trade; legal systems; or industry – that may have brought to bear a more limited picture of Anglo-Dutch entanglement. On trade, for instance, the British generally antagonised the Dutch as monopolistic and proclaimed their own inclination towards free trade. While – as Bayly shows – reforms on trade through the imperial meridian were limited, this period presaged the emergence of British free trade imperialism later in the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> On the law, this period also saw the British abolish older Dutch courts, such as the *landraden* in Sri Lanka, and replace them with new magistrates.<sup>28</sup> Covering these themes would probably have told a more discordant story of this period. Yet the purpose of this thesis has not been to repeat the familiar narrative of Anglo-Dutch rivalry and straightforward British ascendancy. Rather, it has been to stress those points where the British and the Dutch did share ideas, to reveal the limits of Bayly's specific vision for the imperial meridian and the importance, going forward, of situating this transformative period of British imperialism in a world of overlapping empires populated by diverse peoples with expansive histories of exchange. If the selection of themes in this thesis checks its analytical spread, it also allows us to critique the vision of the British empire as modernising and disruptive that has prevailed in the study of the imperial meridian.

One can also question the extent to which the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian could practically occur. Practices of engagement were very likely constrained by limited language-learning among British and Dutch officials; few British officials spoke Dutch and few Dutch officials spoke English. Indeed many communicated in French.<sup>29</sup> In this way, the Anglo-Dutch

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<sup>27</sup> On Anglo-Dutch rivalry over trade, see P.J. Marshall, 'British assessments of the Dutch in Asia in the age of Raffles', *Itinerario* 12 (1988), pp. 1-16; Nicholas Tarling, *Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the Malay world, 1780-1824* (London, 1962).

<sup>28</sup> Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, p. 156, 217.

<sup>29</sup> See, for instance, the letters of the Swiss VOC official Jacob Burnand. Schrikker, *Dutch and British colonial intervention*, p. 91; Burnand to Grey, 12 February 1812, Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA), 6/382; letter from Burnand, 25 October 1814, SLNA, 6/326.

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imperial meridian might be said to suffer the same limitations as the cosmopolitan histories that have generally proved popular in the study of the Indian Ocean world: in emphasising conversations across lines of difference, they skew towards the study of elites at the expense of their subordinates and paint a picture of engagement that is too rosy to be real.<sup>30</sup> On this charge, it is right to say that the Anglo-Dutch meridian is not an all-encompassing history, and the picture of entanglement that it paints is certainly limited to particular (often small) groups of people: specifically, governing elites; the middle class; and Chinese settlers. Many among these groups would not have been able to talk with one another directly and would have relied on translators. Yet it stands to reason that language was not always a limiting factor. Of the entanglements described in this thesis, the majority were facilitated in spaces where one would have had access to translation: for instance in masonic societies; through the pages of *The Cape Town Gazette*, which was published in Dutch and English; in cross-cultural social circles; in government and bureaucracies. Other practices were observed, and it is in cases like these that one finds misconceptions introduced into the Anglo-Dutch meridian, as in the case, for instance, of John Barrow and his writings on the Chinese in Java. The point worth noting here is that the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian was not experienced universally or uniformly. It was uneven and unequal even for those who stood at its heart. Yet this should not detract from the wider point: that the exchanges described here not only happened but form an important addendum to Bayly's original vision of a British imperial meridian.

More broadly, the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian – like much of the recent literature on entanglement and empire – can be critiqued for elevating stories of connection over those of disconnection. In Tony Ballantyne's work on the entanglement of British and Māori ideas and practices in early colonial New Zealand, for instance, we are presented with a picture in which Māori become increasingly and inevitably entangled with the British as the nineteenth century progresses; entanglement is cast as a gradual and uneven process that nevertheless persists – over time – in creating a globe that is more connected than that which came before.<sup>31</sup> In some ways, this has the effect of pushing to the margins stories of resistance, minimising the impact of those who opposed or fought entanglement or who isolated themselves from others. In the Anglo-Dutch setting, there are indeed many stories of people who did not take

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<sup>30</sup> On cosmopolitanism and its critiques, see Carol A. Breckenridge, ed., *Cosmopolitanism* (London, 2002); David Bell, 'This is what happens when historians overuse the idea of the network', *New Republic* 25 (October 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of empire: missionaries, Māori, and the question of the body* (Auckland, 2016).

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part in practices of exchange: for instance, Dutch colonists who lamented the arrival of the British in their colonies and British colonists who demonised their Dutch counterparts. In Chapter Two, we saw how the British soldier James Williams denounced the Dutch in the Cape Colony for their use of slaves, casting himself as an alien in a foreign land in letters to his brother.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Danelle van Zyl-Hermann has shown how Dutch residents of Cape Town found the British occupation of the colony exasperating and emotionally distressing.<sup>33</sup> In Sri Lanka, several hundred Dutch colonists actually left Colombo for Batavia because they feared that the British would confiscate their slaves.<sup>34</sup> That so many colonists left Sri Lanka is striking; it suggests that antipathy between colonists was in some ways more common than its inverse. Again, these stories reveal something of the limits of the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian and illustrate that its entanglements were never all-encompassing. Yet these stories also emphasise a broader point that lies at the heart of this thesis, if not the wider literature on entanglement: Anglo-Dutch epistemic exchanges developed British control in the context of occupation. In so doing, they elevated not only connectivity but the forces of disconnection, including anglicisation, despotism, and antipathy. Where existing histories of entanglement often build into a bigger picture of increasing connectivity – a sort of crescendo – the picture left by the Anglo-Dutch meridian is more mixed. It points to a world in which entanglements drove disharmony among unequal peoples. As such, it remains principally a story of state-building rather than connectivity, of which the end result was oppression and empire.

### Local resistance and the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian

It is nevertheless true that resistance played an important role in framing the parameters of Anglo-Dutch state-building. Resistance was driven by clashes among the agents of colonial states and those promoting what we might describe – following Bayly – as local patriotisms. In the years after *Imperial meridian*, Bayly came to argue that colonial states in Asia and Africa contended with divergent patriotic identities that were formed among networks of scholars

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<sup>32</sup> James Williams to George Williams, 30 October 1798, Western Cape Archives (WCA), Kirkland papers, A1790, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, ‘Gij kent genoeg mijn gevoelig hart’: emotional life at the occupied Cape of Good Hope, 1798-1803’, *Itinerario* 35 (2011), pp. 63-80.

<sup>34</sup> Alicia Schrikker, ‘Caught between empires: VOC families in Sri Lanka after the British take-over, 1806-1808’, *Annales de démographie historique* 122 (2011), pp. 127-47.

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and subjects within and across local settings, and which gave rise to resistance.<sup>35</sup> For instance, Bayly shows how a local patriotism emerged in the Maratha empire in western India based around the high-caste of identities of the empire's rulers and the celebration of the warrior-king Shivaji. This persisted into the years of British rule over the former Maratha territories.<sup>36</sup> Despite the apparent narrowness of their politics, some local patriots also embraced incipient political ideologies – such as liberalism – which could be fused with ethnic attachments and used to promote anti-colonial resistance.<sup>37</sup> Across the Anglo-Dutch colonies, we can uncover patriotism shaping how Anglo-Dutch ideas were used by colonists. This section draws three of these moments together to show how cross-colonial entanglement was accordingly framed by local contexts of resistance. In so doing, it insists that the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian cannot be separated from the particular, fractious spaces across which it was enacted.

Local patriotism frequently shaped British perceptions of Dutch ideas. We saw in Chapter Four, for instance, how British perceptions of the Chinese and freeholding in Java were influenced by the outbreak of a rebellion in the province of Probolinggo in May 1813. Raffles had followed Daendels in confirming the position of the Han family as the landowners of Probolinggo but continuing Chinese ownership provoked resistance from an Islamic leader named Kyai Mas, who led Javanese peasants to rebel.<sup>38</sup> The whole affray had been predicted by the Dutch Resident of Surabaya, Arnold Goldbach, who had suggested in a letter to the official Hugh Hope that 'a Chinaman' was 'a stranger on the island', for whom 'oppression' was a 'distinguishing' quality.<sup>39</sup> After the rebellion, the British, through the scholar John Crawfurd, took up Goldbach's perspective on the Han, blaming their oppressions for the unrest.<sup>40</sup> Raffles confiscated the lands from the Han before attempting to force the Chinese from their privileged position in Java by introducing a direct form of land tenure that removed

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<sup>35</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Origins of nationality in south Asia: patriotism and ethnical government in the making of modern India* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 4-5; see also idem., *The birth of the modern world, 1780-1914: global connections and comparisons* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 68-70.

<sup>36</sup> Bayly, *Birth of the modern world*, p. 69.

<sup>37</sup> On the intersection of patriotism with liberalism, see C.A. Bayly, 'Rammohan Roy and the advent of constitutional liberalism in India, 1800-30', *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), pp. 25-41.

<sup>38</sup> For a contemporary account of the revolt, see Robert Rollo Gillespie and William Thorn, *A memoir of Major-General Sir R.R. Gillespie* (London, 1816), pp. 194-202; see also Sri Margana, 'Java's last frontier: the struggle for hegemony of Blambangan, c. 1763-1813' (D. Phil thesis, Leiden, 2007), pp. 210-37.

<sup>39</sup> Goldbach to Hope, 7 March 1812, British Library (BL), India Office Records (IOR) G/21/16, p. 307.

<sup>40</sup> Report of John Crawfurd, 25 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.



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Chinese as well as headmen from their positions as landowners.<sup>41</sup> These events were facilitated by the relationship between Goldbach and British officials. Yet Kyai Mas and his followers – and their use of Javanese Islam – were also an influence on British thinking.

The Probolinggo rebellion was cast by Mas and his followers as an episode of local resistance to foreign incursion predicated on understandings of Javanese Islam and courtly politics. It had begun when Mas arrived in the village of Ngadas on the slopes of Mount Bromo and joined forces with a disaffected *demang* (chief) who had been punished by Han Kik Ko.<sup>42</sup> Mas – whose adopted title, *kyai*, described an Islamic teacher who would have instructed disciples on the path to knowledge – had come from the town of Ngampel Denta.<sup>43</sup> In Ngadas, Mas assumed the title of *pangeran* (prince), and assembled a militia before advancing down Mount Bromo.<sup>44</sup> On the way down, he picked up ‘two thousand men ... in four and twenty hours’, while declaring that he had been instructed by Mohammed to ‘take possession of the country’.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps Mas invoked his link to Ngampel Denta as a sign of legitimacy; it was the town where Raden Rahmat – a central figure in Java’s fifteenth-century conversion to Islam – was granted land to erect a mosque by the ruling kingdom of Majapahit.<sup>46</sup> Either way, after the rebels arrived at Han Kik Ko’s plantation, they raised the flag of the kingdom of Surakarta, another site key to Islam.<sup>47</sup> When the British arrived to suppress the rebellion, they decided that the flag signalled the involvement of the *susuhunan* (monarch) of Surakarta.<sup>48</sup>

Crawfurd read the connections between Mas and Javanese Islam as indicative of Mas’ authenticity and indigeneity, next to the strangeness of the Chinese. Mas, he said, was a ‘bold and resolute fanatic’, and ‘a Native of Ampel in the vicinity of Sourabaia’.<sup>49</sup> Crawfurd felt that this gave Mas legitimacy, as Ngampel Denta was ‘the burying place of the first, and most illustrious of the missionaries, who spread the Mahomedan Religion in Java’.<sup>50</sup> Conversely, he

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<sup>41</sup> For the effects of Raffles’s land tenure police, see John Bastin, *Raffles’s ideas on the land rent system in Java and the Mackenzie land tenure commission* (‘s Gravenhage, 1954).

<sup>42</sup> Report of John Crawfurd, 25 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.

<sup>43</sup> Margana, ‘Java’s last frontier’, p. 221; see also report of John Crawfurd, 25 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.

<sup>44</sup> Report of John Crawfurd, 25 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49; see also Ronit Ricci, *Islam translated: literature, conversion, and the Arabic cosmopolis of south and southeast Asia* (Chicago, 2016), pp. 234-5.

<sup>45</sup> Report of John Crawfurd, 25 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49; see also ‘Extract of a letter from Captain Cameron, to Major Forbes, of His Majesty’s 78<sup>th</sup> regiment’, *Java Government Gazette*, 5 June 1813, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Ricci, *Islam translated*, pp. 202-3.

<sup>47</sup> Gillespie and Thorn, *A memoir*, pp. 194-202.

<sup>48</sup> Gillespie and Thorn, *A memoir*, pp. 194-202.

<sup>49</sup> Report of John Crawfurd, 25 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

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set the Chinese landowners apart from 'the Natives' who were 'oppressed and discontented ... the Character of the Chinese had ... its share in rendering their administration unpopular'.<sup>51</sup> Crawford's perception of Chinese strangeness manifested itself through his reading of the roads that they had built on their lands, which he claimed were 'unsuited to the state of the country ... and consequently at a great and real expence, and ... maintained by ... oppressive means'.<sup>52</sup> In this way, the Probolinggo rebellion underscored Dutch notions that the Chinese were strangers to Java. In the context of the Second Empire, this legitimised the shift towards the use of coercive practices against Chinese landowning that we saw in Chapter Four.

In Sri Lanka, state-building was consolidated by the intersection of local patriotisms with Anglo-Dutch information. C.A. Bayly describes how patriotism was 'often strongest in the ... smallest homelands' that were 'vulnerable to distance and foreign enemies'.<sup>53</sup> In these, he includes Sri Lanka, where Kandyan 'rulers and nobles had long nurtured a sense of local pride' in response to threats from the Portuguese and the Dutch.<sup>54</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram has also shown how Kandyan patriotism might be described as 'indigenous and cosmopolitan at the same time', as its leaders combined notions of Sinhalaness with links to Malabar traders and rulers and Hindu-Buddhist syncretism.<sup>55</sup> This form of patriotism was extended through episodes of Kandyan resistance that followed the British invasion of the kingdom in 1815, for instance during the Great Rebellion of 1817, when the Kandyan nobility protested against the imposition of British rule.<sup>56</sup> The nobility put forward two pretenders to the Kandyan crown, the first of whom, Vilbave, was described by observers as a Kandyan 'who had been much in the Galle and Matura Districts', and who dressed 'as a Malabar and sometimes as a Budhoo Priest'.<sup>57</sup> Officials picked up on this use of Malabar attachments and used it to confirm their perceptions of the strangeness of southern Malabars. Governor Brownrigg (r. 1812-20) cast

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<sup>51</sup> Crawford to Raffles, 21 June 1813, BL, IOR/P/167/49.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Bayly, *Birth of the modern world*, p. 69.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>55</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram, 'Cosmopolitanism and indigeneity in four violent years: the fall of the kingdom of Kandy and the Great Rebellion revisited', in Zoltán Biedermann and Alan Strathern, eds., *Sri Lanka at the crossroads of history* (London, 2017), pp. 194-215, at p. 197.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 194-215. On the rebellion of 1817, see also Kumari Jayawardena, *Perpetual ferment: popular revolts in Sri Lanka in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Colombo, 2010); K.M. De Silva, 'The Kandyan kingdom and the British – the last phase, 1796 to 1818', in K.M. De Silva, ed., *University of Ceylon: history of Ceylon* (3 vols., Colombo, 1959-73), III, pp. 12-33; Tennakoon Vimalananda, *The great rebellion of 1818: the story of the first war of independence and the betrayal of the nation* (Colombo, 1970).

<sup>57</sup> Sivasundaram, 'Cosmopolitanism and indigeneity', p. 209.

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Vilbave as ‘a Stranger of suspicious appearance’, and the other pretender as a ‘Malabar ... not connected with the Kandyen Royal Family’.<sup>58</sup> As we saw in Chapter Three, this notion of the stranger was drawn from the VOC and linked to the middle classes. Yet its use here indicates that concepts that cut across empires were also developed in translocal settings – which is where they were used to cast the boundaries of indigeneity and consolidate the state.<sup>59</sup>

Local resistance sometimes also brought a premature end to the state-building efforts of British and Dutch colonists. William van Ryneveld’s anti-slavery, as explored in Chapter Two, was challenged by a slave rebellion at the Cape instigated by Louis van Mauritius in October 1808.<sup>60</sup> Louis led a group of slaves to rebel after discussing slavery with two Irish sailors, James Hooper and Michael Kelly, who described how ‘there were no slaves in our country, neither in England’.<sup>61</sup> Where van Ryneveld had adopted a sanitised, cross-colonial vision of anti-slavery, Louis, Hopper, and Kelly were more radical, and at times even global in their imagination. The most enduring symbol of the rebellion remains Louis’s choice of clothing, which bore more than a passing resemblance to the style adopted by Toussaint l’Ouverture, the leader of the Haitian Revolution.<sup>62</sup> Yet Louis’s followers also referenced the local context of their rebellion, claiming after their arrest that Louis had told them they were going to see the ‘*grootte heeren*’, or leading officials, in Cape Town, who would grant them their freedom.<sup>63</sup> The rebellion revealed the limits of van Ryneveld’s anti-slavery. He came down on the side of the colony’s slaveowners, returning Louis’s followers to their masters, as well as some who were found ‘not to have been guilty of any particular crime or violence.’<sup>64</sup> He indicted the ringleaders in the court of justice, where they were sentenced to death.<sup>65</sup>

These instances of resistance are all very different to one another, and they involve divergent sets of ideas and practices being articulated by local patriots against the colonial

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>59</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the bounds of an Indian Ocean colony* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 10-11, 26-7.

<sup>60</sup> Nigel Worden, ‘Armed with swords and ostrich feathers: militarism and cultural revolution in the Cape slave uprising of 1808’, in Richard Bessel, Nicholas Guyatt, and Jane Rendall, eds., *War, empire, and slavery, 1770-1830* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 121-38.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 123; see also ‘Court of justice – sentence in a criminal case’, 7 December 1808, in George McCall Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony* (36 vols., London, 1897-1905), VI, p. 411.

<sup>64</sup> ‘Court of justice – sentence in a criminal case’, 7 December 1808, in Theal, ed., *Records of the Cape Colony*, VI, pp. 418-19.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 438-41.

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state. Yet the purpose of highlighting them here is to show that while Anglo-Dutch state-building was cross-colonial, it was characterised by practices and processes of resistance that were translocal – and which amid their realisation forced particular features of cross-colonial entanglement to the fore while circumscribing others. Thus, although the narrative of this period is cross-colonial, it ought not to be considered in a vacuum: local resistance here is a reminder that Anglo-Dutch state-building and the processes of control with which it was linked were at all times limited and contingent upon events beyond the control of British and Dutch colonists. As such, while the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian details the consolidation of British empire and its anglicising practices, its narratives should not always be seen as comprehensive, or indeed the starting-point for a 'British world' of endogenous connections.<sup>66</sup>

## The Dutch empire in the early nineteenth century

Similarly, it should be noted that Anglo-Dutch entanglement influenced the rise of not only the British but also Dutch empire in Java after 1816. Java was returned to the Dutch in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of August 1814, which likewise confirmed the cession of the Cape Colony to Britain and saw the Dutch exchange Cochin for Banca.<sup>67</sup> The Dutch regime that arrived in 1816 was a Crown-appointed administration under Godert van der Capellen (r. 1816-25) that embraced the innovations of the British interregnum. As Jurrien van Goor has shown, van der Capellen's regime continued the policies introduced by Thomas Raffles, 'without substantial alteration', therefore allowing the transition from trading company rule to autocratic state to persist.<sup>68</sup> Ulbe Bosma has demonstrated that the Javanese economy under van der Capellen was likewise underpinned not only by Dutch entrepreneurs but also British merchants and agriculturalists who produced and sold sugar and coffee.<sup>69</sup> In fact, as many as one quarter of the 222 merchants registered in Java in 1820 were British, and they were largely involved in

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<sup>66</sup> On endogenous worlds like the 'British world' and their problems, see Rachel K. Bright and Andrew R. Dilley, 'After the British world', *Historical Journal* 60 (2017), pp. 547-68; Saul Dubow, 'How British was the British world? The case of South Africa', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37 (2009), pp. 1-27.

<sup>67</sup> For some of the disputes arising from this treaty, see H.R.C. Wright, 'The Anglo-Dutch Dispute in the East, 1814-1824', *The Economic History Review* 3 (1950), pp. 229-39.

<sup>68</sup> Van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, p. 93.

<sup>69</sup> Ulbe Bosma, 'The cultivation system (1830-1870) and its private entrepreneurs on colonial Java', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (2007), pp. 275-91.

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trading and manufacturing in Batavia and Semarang.<sup>70</sup> As such, British ships still frequently visited Batavia even after the British government had left, and Britons continued to be important figures in Batavian high society.<sup>71</sup> Historians have stressed, in particular, the close interweaving of Anglo-Dutch capital through this period, pointing, for instance, to van der Capellen's grant of a loan of around six million guilders to the Calcutta merchant John Palmer for investment in Java in 1823.<sup>72</sup> British and Dutch colonists likewise continued to share knowledge. Bosma shows how British merchants, such as John Palmer, imported equipment for sugar production from India in the 1820s and 1830s. Some of this equipment, such as the vacuum pan, introduced in 1835, was adopted by sugar plantation owners across Java.<sup>73</sup>

If we look to the figures who featured in this thesis – members of the middle class, for instance – who stayed in Java, we get a sense that they, too, remained part of an Anglo-Dutch community centred on Batavia. In 1817, Frederik Turr moved his offices to a new building on Nieuwpoortstraat, and established himself as a private lawyer and attorney. He published a notice in the *Bataviasche Courant* (formerly *The Java Government Gazette*) detailing his move.<sup>74</sup> It features alongside advertisements for the British-run company Rutter & Co., which sold goods including English cloth, and 'a gold CHRONOMETER, made by a celebrated maker in London'.<sup>75</sup> Frederik also continued to be an active participant in the Batavian social world, joining the (now apparently Royal) Society of Arts and Sciences. He features in a list of the society's membership in 1823 next to none other than the soon-to-be Resident of Singapore, John Crawfurd.<sup>76</sup> Frederik likely also continued his work with the Java Benevolent Institution, which survived into the period of Dutch rule as the *Javaans Menschleven Genootschap*.<sup>77</sup> In its Dutch incarnation, the Benevolent Institution put pressure on van der Capellen's regime to act against slavery, alongside the British and Dutch metropolitan governments. Following the restoration of the Dutch monarchy, the Dutch king Willem I had introduced a ban on the slave trade, supposedly under British pressure, and with the goal of securing the return of Dutch

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>72</sup> G. Knight, 'John Palmer and plantation development in western Java during the earlier nineteenth century', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 131 (1975), pp. 309-337.

<sup>73</sup> Bosma, 'The cultivation system', p. 284.

<sup>74</sup> 'Bekendmaking,' 27 September 1817, *Bataviasche Courant*, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> 'Advertisement,' 27 September 1817, *Bataviasche Courant*, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 9 (1823), p. xxxiv.

<sup>77</sup> Augustin Cochin, *The results of slavery* (trans. Mary L. Booth, Boston, 1863), p. 205.

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colonies like Java to the Dutch Crown.<sup>78</sup> This was accompanied in 1818 by the Anglo-Dutch Slave Trade Treaty, which created provisions for the Dutch and British to search one another's ships for slaves and prosecute them through a pair of mixed commission courts based in Sierra Leone and Paramaribo in the Atlantic. These courts were less than effective: only one crew was tried in Surinam.<sup>79</sup> Yet in Java the Benevolent Institution aided these efforts by supporting a regulation in December 1818 that declared free all slaves not registered on the island within a fixed time. Later in 1825, it aided the passage of a bill that – like Johnston's efforts in Ceylon – declared free all children born of slaves, although this never gained royal assent.<sup>80</sup>

A line can also be drawn between the Benevolent Institution and the development of Dutch autocracy in the early nineteenth century. In 1824, Governor van der Capellen set up a commission to investigate the proliferation of Chinese-run tollgates across the island. These had spread during the British period, and, as Peter Carey has suggested, they created unrest across the interior as gatekeepers demanded taxation from peasants in cash and put together their own private armies which they used to defend themselves from an increasingly resentful peasantry.<sup>81</sup> One of the influential voices on van der Capellen's commission was Frederik Turr's erstwhile companion from the Benevolent Institution, Jan Isaak van Sevenhoven, who was soon to become Resident of Surakarta. Van Sevenhoven wrote a set of reports describing how gatekeepers extorted money from peasant cultivators as they travelled to market.<sup>82</sup> He also stressed how farmers could be drawn into a life of gambling by the gatekeepers. Van Sevenhoven's solution to the tollgate issue was to propose their abolition and the annexation of the provinces of Bagelen and Banyumas. Another commissioner, Hendrik MacGillivray, likewise suggested that the tollgates gave cause for the Dutch to take control of more Javanese land. 'We compromise the welfare and happiness of around two million inhabitants who are not immediately under our protection', he wrote.<sup>83</sup> Van Sevenhoven and MacGillivray's concern for the welfare of Javanese farmers echoes the concerns for agricultural cultivation and productivity that lay at the heart of the Benevolent Institution's programme for reform.

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<sup>78</sup> Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 290-1.

<sup>79</sup> P.C. Emmer, *The Dutch in the Atlantic economy, 1580-1880: trade, slavery and emancipation* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 118.

<sup>80</sup> Cochin, *Results of slavery*, p. 205.

<sup>81</sup> Peter Carey, 'Revolutionary Europe and the destruction of Java's old order, 1808-1830', in David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *The age of revolutions in global context, c. 1760-1840* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 167-88, at pp. 182-3.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

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We might also recall that the Institution – in 1816, just before the return of the Dutch – had likewise recommended the annexation of regions like Makassar in order to end slavery.<sup>84</sup>

As Ulbe Bosma points out, the persistence of Anglo-Dutch cooperation in Java was of great irritation to the Dutch metropolitan government, which sought to exercise increasing authority over Java throughout this period. In 1824, Willem I denounced van der Capellen's 'liberal and Anglophile' policies, and subsequently established the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (Netherlands Trading Company), which was designed to funnel Dutch capital into Java and the Malay archipelago for the benefit of the Netherlands.<sup>85</sup> Willem's actions can be set against the backdrop of resurgent tensions between the Anglo-Dutch empires, and attempts by the metropolitan governments to settle the status of their colonies in the eastern Indian Ocean. In the same year, the British and the Dutch agreed a new Anglo-Dutch Treaty in London, which was intended to partition India and the Malay archipelago between the two empires.<sup>86</sup> This treaty arose, in the words of the British foreign secretary, George Canning, from 'jealousies and suspicions, and ... out of the acts of subordinate agents', which could 'only be removed by a frank declaration of intention'.<sup>87</sup> The Dutch agreed to cede all their factories in India and Malacca to the British, and acknowledged British supremacy over Singapore; the British gave up Bengkulu and Sumatra to the Dutch.<sup>88</sup> Both powers pledged not to interfere in those regions claimed by the other empire, binding themselves to engage 'no Treaty ... with any Native Power in the Eastern Seas' that would exclude the other 'from the Ports of such Native Power'.<sup>89</sup> The Dutch and the British governments concurred that orders should be dispatched 'by the Two Governments to Their Officers ... not to form any new Settlement on any of the Islands in the Eastern Seas' without the approval of the other.<sup>90</sup> Finally underpinning this treaty was a focus on free trade. While the treaty protected the Dutch monopoly over the spice trade in the Moluccas, both empires were banned from

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<sup>84</sup> Thomas Raffles, *The history of Java* (2 vols., London, 1817-30), II, p. cxcvii.

<sup>85</sup> Bosma, 'The cultivation system', p. 277.

<sup>86</sup> For the historical context and the treaty negotiations, see Lennox A. Mills, *British Malaya, 1824-67* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 69-80.

<sup>87</sup> 'Note of British plenipotentiaries to the plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands', 17 March 1824, in 'Papers relative to the execution of the treaty of 1824 by the Netherland authorities in the east Indies', *House of Commons Papers* 284, vol. 49 (1840), p. 7.

<sup>88</sup> 'Treaty between His Britannick Majesty and the king of the Netherlands', in *House of Commons Papers* 284, vol. 49, pp. 1-7.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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imposing anything other than low duties on the other's traders in their ports, and agreed to the preservation of 'a free communication of the Natives' between their colonial ports.<sup>91</sup>

Here was an attempt to organise Anglo-Dutch relationships in the east, moving – in the metropolitan perspective – from territorial overlaps and dependencies of information to separate spheres connected by trading relationships. Paired with the consolidation of British government in the Cape and Ceylon, the treaty reads as an attempt by the British to negate Dutch influence while developing trade ties. Certainly, the treaty's achievement, as Canning saw it, was the disavowal of the Dutch to 'any design to aim, either at political supremacy, or at commercial monopoly, in the Eastern Archipelago'.<sup>92</sup> Yet the treaty was more effective in theory than in practice. Disputes over duties, for instance, persisted into the 1830s.<sup>93</sup>

The treaty's proclamation also coincided with the emergence of an assertive Dutch government in Java after van der Capellen's recall in 1825 and the outbreak of Java War (1825-30). The Java War was the result of enduring resentments on the behalf of the Javanese courts towards the colonial regimes, and these were exacerbated by an attempt by van der Capellen to restrict land tenancies leased by Javanese courts to European planters.<sup>94</sup> From 1825, Prince Dipanagara of Yogyakarta led Javanese peasants into rebellion against the Dutch.<sup>95</sup> However, the Dutch victory drove the annexation of Javanese territory by the colonial government, and the establishment of the cultivation system, wherein all land became state property, and a significant portion was set aside for cash crops for sale to Willem I's *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij*. By 1840, the *Maatschappij* was purchasing ninety percent of tropical exports from Java and the East Indies, meaning that commodities for Europe were sold exclusively in the Netherlands.<sup>96</sup> Ironically, British merchants were key to the Dutch government's monopoly into the 1830s and 1840s. British companies arose in Batavia and Semarang, channelling British capital and expertise into Java's sugar industry and from there to the Netherlands.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> 'Note of British plenipotentiaries to the plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands', 17 March 1824, in *House of Commons Papers* 284, vol. 49, p. 8.

<sup>93</sup> See the documents contained in *House of Commons Papers* 284, vol. 49, pp. 122-200.

<sup>94</sup> Van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, p. 95.

<sup>95</sup> On Pangeran Dipanagara and the Java War, see Peter Carey, *The power of prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the end of an old order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden, 2007); see also C.A. Bayly, 'Two colonial revolts: the Java War, 1825-30, and the Indian 'mutiny' of 1857-59', in C.A. Bayly and D.H.A. Kolff, eds., *Two colonial empires* (Dordrecht, 1986), pp. 111-36.

<sup>96</sup> Van Goor, *Prelude to colonialism*, p. 95; Bosma, 'The cultivation system', p. 277, 286.

<sup>97</sup> Bosma, 'The cultivation system', p. 286.



## The end of the Second Empire

In the Anglo-Dutch colonies that remained part of the British empire – Ceylon and the Cape Colony – the legacy of entanglement was of course the rise of autocratic states, and more generally an expansive British empire that was able to wield ideas, information, and policies against its enemies. Nevertheless, Anglo-Dutch entanglement also sowed the seeds of the Second Empire's demise during the 1830s and 1840s. This is in keeping with the destabilising potential of entanglement as a lens for viewing empire. While it allows us to identify cross-colonial interactions and relations of power in the making of colonial states, it also points to the instability of those states, and their inability to totally control the exchanges on the back of which they came to power. This section accordingly charts the intersection between Anglo-Dutch entanglement and the fall of the Second Empire in the mid-nineteenth century.

As C.A. Bayly and more recently Kirsten McKenzie and Zoë Laidlaw have shown, the Second British Empire's autocracies and their forms of rule persisted into the 1840s but were increasingly challenged by metropolitan and colonial liberal reformers. Laidlaw demonstrates that reformers transitioned from fighting slavery to contesting the overblown powers of the colonial despots, through the many and wide-ranging humanitarian commissions that were dispatched to the colonies by the Colonial Office during the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>98</sup> Two of these visited the Cape Colony and Ceylon, where they proposed reforms of labour, criminal justice, education, and governance that ultimately curtailed the powers of the colonial autocrats.<sup>99</sup> C.A. Bayly suggests that these interventions marked the beginning of the end for the Second Empire, and anticipated the emergence of restricted governorships, symbolised by the creation of colonial legislatures in Ceylon in 1833 and the Cape Colony in 1854.<sup>100</sup>

In some ways, the commissioners kept alive the spirit of Anglo-Dutch liberal reforms from the start of the century. As we saw briefly in Chapter Two, one of the commissioners who visited both the Cape Colony and Sri Lanka was William Colebrooke, once secretary of

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<sup>98</sup> Zoë Laidlaw, 'Investigating empire: humanitarians, reform and the Commission of Eastern Inquiry', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40 (2012), pp. 749-68.

<sup>99</sup> Kirsten McKenzie, *Imperial underworld: an escaped convict and the transformation of the British colonial order* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 5.

<sup>100</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Imperial meridian: the British empire and the world, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), pp. 217-47.

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the Java Benevolent Institution.<sup>101</sup> At the Cape, Colebrooke, together with John Bigge, heard the claims of abused slaves and apprentices, and the reports that they wrote contributed to growing pressure that brought about the abolition of the Caledon Code in 1828 and even slavery in 1834 (although forms of forced labour – not least indenture – continued to exist into the 1840s and beyond).<sup>102</sup> Likewise in Sri Lanka, Colebrooke and Charles Cameron oversaw the abolition of the Kandyan forced labour system of *rajakariya*.<sup>103</sup> In other ways, however, the eastern commissions can be seen as part of a transition away from the schismatic forms of rule wrought by Anglo-Dutch entanglement. The commissioners expanded the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, allowing it to take greater control of colonial patronage and administration, and also functioned as information-gatherers reporting to the metropolitan government.<sup>104</sup> This Anglocentrism had cultural manifestations: in Sri Lanka, they recommended the creation of a school commission that was concerned with the founding of English-language schools.<sup>105</sup> Consequently, the commissions and their reforms have been characterised by David Scott as marking the emergence of a modern colonial governmentality, as the colonial state became increasingly interested in reconfiguring the ways in which its subjects lived their lives.<sup>106</sup>

Following the methodology of this thesis, we can nevertheless uncover another legacy of the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian for this age of reforms (c. 1830s-50s). Kirsten McKenzie has suggested that histories of imperial reform in this period are too concerned with ‘colonial officials and humanitarian activists’, and overlook the influence of ‘unstable mavericks’, whose personal conflicts reflected broader debates on colonial reform.<sup>107</sup> The age of reforms has also been revealed as a period of complex alliances between reformers that drove conflict as often as change. For instance, Sri Lanka’s school commission would later clash with the autocratic governor, James Stewart-Mackenzie (r. 1837-41), after he (paradoxically) embraced

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<sup>101</sup> McKenzie, *Imperial underworld*, p. 5; on the Colebrooke and Cameron in Sri Lanka, see K.M. de Silva, *A history of Sri Lanka* (London, 1981), pp. 247-50; David Scott, ‘Colonial governmentality’, *Social Text* 43 (1995), pp. 191-220; Niranjin Casinader, Roshan de Silva Wijeyeratne, and Lee Godden, ‘From sovereignty to modernity: revisiting the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms – transforming the Buddhist and colonial imaginary in nineteenth-century Ceylon’, *Comparative Legal History* 6 (2018), pp. 34-64.

<sup>102</sup> Nigel Worden, ‘Indian Ocean slavery and its demise in the Cape Colony’, in Gwyn Campbell, ed., *Abolition and its aftermath in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London, 2005), pp. 26-45; for the information they gathered on ‘free blacks’, see ‘Prize ‘negroes’ and free blacks, nos. d. 11 to d. 49’, 1823-6, TNA, CO 414/6.

<sup>103</sup> Roland Wenzlhuemer, *From coffee to tea cultivation in Ceylon, 1880-1900: an economic and social history* (Leiden, 2008), p. 112; Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, pp. 233-4.

<sup>104</sup> McKenzie, *Imperial underworld*, p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, p. 34.

<sup>106</sup> David Scott, ‘Colonial governmentality’, pp. 191-220.

<sup>107</sup> McKenzie, *Imperial underworld*, pp. 283-4.

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vernacular education on the island – much to the distaste of the Anglican Tories who led the commission.<sup>108</sup> The school commission was indeed racked by so many internal conflicts that it was almost entirely useless until it was reconstituted in 1841 by Mackenzie, and his accomplice in school reform, D.J. Gogerly, as a vehicle for establishing their vernacular schools.<sup>109</sup> If we seek Anglo-Dutch entanglements through this later period, it is evident that they, too, persisted in the British empire, with a range of consequences for that empire's autocracies. They suggest that there may be a sequel to the events mapped in this thesis.

Robert Ross has shown how the Dutch residents of the Cape Colony eschewed what might be termed 'ethnic mobilisation' in the first half of the nineteenth century, in favour of cooperation with the British regime that provided them with careers and financial security.<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, they did not eschew Dutch travel or knowledge, and actually continued to synthesise this in the Cape context to argue for changes to British governance. For instance, the lawyer Christoffel Brand travelled to university in Leiden to be trained in law, and sailed there via London with the help of none other than the British statesman John Barrow, who also forwarded some of his letters to the Cape Colony.<sup>111</sup> As Robert Ross has observed, Brand wrote his thesis in Leiden on the need for independent colonial legislatures, with the Cape Colony as an example.<sup>112</sup> No doubt some of his thesis was influenced by the political situation in the Netherlands. Writing to his parents, Brand spoke of his disapproval of the Dutch monarchy, and his belief that the British were warmongers who would appease the 'clamour, fume, rage' of the people with 'the usual little remedy – foreign war!'<sup>113</sup> King Willem I, Brand said, was 'making himself hated more and more in Holland', so that people were wondering how 'to transport the King back to England with the least possible expense'.<sup>114</sup> After he returned to the Cape, Brand added his voice to those critical of the British regime.<sup>115</sup> He played a key role in the founding of the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift*, a newspaper which published texts from the VOC era, and became speaker of the Cape legislature in 1854.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, p. 34.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300-1; see also Wenzlhuemer, *From coffee to tea cultivation*, pp. 204-5.

<sup>110</sup> Robert Ross, *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1780: a tragedy of manners* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 45-7.

<sup>111</sup> Brand to Brand, 27 July 1816, WCA, Brand letters, A989.

<sup>112</sup> Ross, *Status and respectability*, p. 49.

<sup>113</sup> Brand to Brand, 8 June 1819, WCA, Brand letters, A989, p. 2.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>115</sup> Ross, *Status and respectability*, p. 50.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

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Dutch colonists in Ceylon also emerged as a political group during the age of reforms through their concentration among the middle classes and role in debates over privilege. The burghers were never a uniform group, and many disagreed over who actually had the right to be a burgher, particularly as the descendants of Portuguese colonists were imagined as burghers together with those of the Dutch.<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, they were criticised by Lankan reformers who, during the 1830s, bemoaned their prominence in the ranks of government.<sup>118</sup> In the 1840s, they were targeted by the British regime, as it claimed legal ownership of the verandas of burgher homes in Colombo which stretched into the public roads.<sup>119</sup> In these cases, burghers leapt to their own defence by citing their Dutch past and challenging British rule. In the case of the former, one colonist suggested to *The Colombo Journal* that the burghers were limited to the lower rung of government posts, and advised that the natives 'stick to their farms'.<sup>120</sup> In the case of the latter, some burghers aligned themselves with the radical newspaper editor Charles Elliott, whom it was later claimed played a key role in a series of riots that took place in mid-1848, and who took up their cause with a reforming vigour.<sup>121</sup>

At times, the burghers themselves became an important source of support for reform. Governor Robert Wilmot-Horton (r. 1831-7) tried to balance out the dominance of Anglican Tories on the colony's school commission by leveraging the influence of the Dutch and the Reformed Church. In 1836, he placed Johannes Stork – the Tuticorin burgher who we might recall supported Alexander Johnston's anti-slavery reforms after his niece was trafficked from Tuticorin to Colombo by a Dutch captain – on the commission.<sup>122</sup> Stork's precise influence on the commission is unclear, as he died in 1840, but he probably supported more liberal ideas than the Anglicans.<sup>123</sup> One of Stork's successors as the Dutch representative on the renewed commission in the 1840s was the Reverend J.D. Palm, who supported the attempts of Gogerly and Mackenzie's successor, Colin Campbell (r. 1841-7) to introduce vernacular schooling, and

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<sup>117</sup> On the history of the burghers in Sri Lanka, see Michael Roberts, Ismeth Raheem, and Percy Colin-Thomé, *People in-between: the burghers and the middle class in the transformations within Sri Lanka, 1790s-1960s* (Ratmalana, 1989).

<sup>118</sup> Sivasundaram, *Islanded*, pp. 294-5.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>122</sup> Ranjit Ruberu, 'School commissions of Ceylon 1834-1867: a discussion of their education policy', *University of Ceylon Review* 20 (1962), pp. 244-68, at p. 245; see also L.J. Gratiaen, *The story of our schools: the first school commission (1832-41)* (Colombo, 1927).

<sup>123</sup> 'Register – Dutch India – Penang, Singapore, &c.', *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany* 31 (1840), p. 187; on the Second School Commission, see L.J. Gratiaen, 'The central school commission, 1841-1848', *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, 31 (1930), pp. 488-508.

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who was a member of the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In November 1846, Palm gave a paper at the Asiatic Society describing the school system under the VOC, and stressing that education had been undertaken in the vernacular. He provided a list of dictionaries and religious texts that had already been translated by the Dutch into Sinhalese and Tamil.<sup>124</sup>

In this way, Dutch colonists remained an important influence on British empire in the years beyond those studied in this thesis. While the memory of Dutch empire in Ceylon and the Cape Colony inevitably became more distant, those who had lived through the Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian continued to draw on some of its most prominent themes – liberal reform and education, for instance – to challenge the dominance of the autocrats who in the 1810s and 1820s had repurposed Dutch ideas for their own ends. These changing fortunes reflect transitions in the metropole, as the Colonial Office developed greater oversight over colonial rulers through this period. Yet they were also a legacy of entanglement. Britain's autocrats in the Anglo-Dutch colonies had depended on Dutch forms of knowledge, ideas, and information as a way of underpinning their power. In their dependence on these ideas, they had fostered their growth within the colonies that they governed. Those Dutch colonists who engaged with reform in the 1830s and 1840s therefore found themselves adopting liberal concepts that had become popular due to the efforts of their forebears earlier in the century.

### Entanglement and the politics of memory

By way of an epilogue, it is worth considering how Anglo-Dutch interdependencies have been written out of colonial history and why it is accordingly important to open up the British empire at its interstices. In researching the stories of the *Scaleby Castle*'s characters, and those people with whom their lives intersected, it has become clear that most of what was Anglo-Dutch (or Sino-Anglo-Dutch) has been reimagined by historians and the public as British. This has allowed the history of the British empire to be cast as monotone; an observation that remains true of public debate, if no longer academia. Often, Dutch and Chinese figures do not appear in retellings of the British empire's history, and their paucity in the history books also means that other figures – including women and non-elites – have likewise disappeared from

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<sup>124</sup> 'Reports to secretary of state on past and present state of H.M. colonial possessions, 1848', *Command Papers (House of Commons)* 1126, vol. 34 (1849), p. 493; Rev. J.D. Palm, 'The education establishments of the Dutch in Ceylon', *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 2 (1847), pp. 105-83.

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the stories of which they were a significant part. This, of course, is largely a consequence of the power imbalances that underpin the history (and histories) of the British empire, and the way in which sources have been placed in archives that are designed to tell stories about the ascendancy of British men. Yet it is also a consequence of the way in which we make assumptions about the British empire, seeing British histories where developments were actually Anglo-Dutch – or, say, Anglo-French, or Anglo-Mughal. In a more critical era of global historical writing, it is worth bearing these intersections in mind, because they reveal the subversive or disempowered voices amid older narratives like the imperial meridian.

This study opened by considering the stories of those who sailed on the *Scaleby Castle*, and the way in which their lives were notably absent from the memorialisation of the *Castle* in Thomas Whitcombe's painting of the ship. Like the ship, their memorialisation carries some important lessons for us, going forward. Many of the people uncovered here do not feature outside of the archive; those that do are often remembered (sometimes inaccurately) for being British, or for the accomplishments of their British husbands. More generally, their lives point to both an anglicisation and gendering of British history. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Ani's only trace in the archive remains his entry in the *Scaleby Castle's* logbook.<sup>125</sup> Maria Fichat has fared little better. She featured in Peter Philip's compendium *British Residents at the Cape, 1795-1819* as the wife of James Fichat (shorn – like other women – of her own entry), and left a discernible track through the colonial archive as a result of her travels.<sup>126</sup> Yet it is James Fichat's land deals and disputes that have featured in subsequent histories and anthologies of the Cape Colony.<sup>127</sup> Maria's fate was in many ways shared with those of other Dutch women, such as Dorothea Ross – Chapter One's diarist – who has been remembered for her British husband's imperial career.<sup>128</sup> A brief article published by his descendants in a family history journal details his travels to Tasmania and England, where he settled with Dorothea and some souvenirs of their time in southern Africa, including an *assegai* (spear), a 'coolie hat', and a boomerang. His journal went with his family in England, while Dorothea's remained in Africa.<sup>129</sup> Of all the women featured in this study, it is predictably Sarah Batt who has been best memorialised.

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<sup>125</sup> Journal of the *Scaleby Castle*, 11 October 1813 to 14 November 1815, BL, IOR/L/MAR/B/34J, fo. 4.

<sup>126</sup> Peter Philip, *British residents at the Cape 1795-1819: biographical records of 4,800 pioneers* (Cape Town, 1981), p. 125.

<sup>127</sup> James L. Buchanan, ed., *Cases decided in the supreme court of the Cape of Good Hope as reported by the late Hon. William Menzies, esquire* (3 vols., Cape Town, 1870-1903), I, pp. 418-19.

<sup>128</sup> Eddie Ross, 'George Ogilvie Ross in four continents', *North West Kent Family History* 4 (1987), pp. 300-1.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

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Her story has been told in two articles in the *Cape Argus* in 2010, although the second of those focused on Henry Batt's later life, and his settlement and naming of an area of the Cape.<sup>130</sup>

Consequently, it seems unfair to highlight the ways in which Thomas Harington has been remembered, because he had greater control over his memorialisation. His publication of *A remarkable account of the loss of the ship Ganges East Indiaman* in 1808 has allowed his story of his own gallant heroics amid the sinking of the Ganges seven years before his captaincy of the *Scaleby Castle* to be recounted as recently as June 2017, ironically on the British Library's 'Untold Lives' blog.<sup>131</sup> Frederik Turr has not been afforded the same control over his legacy; rather, he has been anglicised by history. He appears in Edward J. Morse Jones's *Roll of the British settlers in South Africa*, published in 1971, as a British settler, in which his name served to highlight the number of early British 'pioneers' in Cape history.<sup>132</sup> In Peter Randall's *Little England on the veld*, a history of the British public school system at the Cape published in 1982, he features as the rector of the Latin School, but this time with the anglicised name 'Fred Turr'.<sup>133</sup> No mention has ever been made of Frederik's later move to Java, and his work with the Java Benevolent Institution – or indeed the *Nautilus*. Together, these legacies unearth the broader anglicisation of the Second British Empire's history. They suggest that we have, in the past, eroded the fractious stories of non-Britons who disrupted and entrenched British colonialism and indicate that multiple cross-colonial stories must feature across the many archives of British empire. For now, by moving away from colonial paradigms through these lives, we have unearthed an Anglo-Dutch imperial meridian across the Indian Ocean world.

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<sup>130</sup> Jackie Loos, 'The marriage that started a crisis and launched a bride on her way back to England', *Cape Argus*, 21 January 2010; idem., 'Of Henry Batt's two marriages – and how Plumstead got its name', *Cape Argus*, 28 January 2010.

<sup>131</sup> Helen Paul, 'The loss of the East Indiaman 'Ganges'', <<http://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2017/06/the-loss-of-the-east-indiaman-ganges.html>>, created 15 June 2017.

<sup>132</sup> Edward J. Morse Jones, *Roll of the British settlers in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1971), p. 163.

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