

Exiled and Convict: Workers and Working System in the Nutmeg Economy in Banda, 1850-1860

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Abstract: Banda Islands had a particular landmark in the traffic of world trade history. These islands are recognized as green gold and became one of the main sources of colonial profit. At the peak of the nutmeg trade, the Dutch colonial government built massive *perkens* (nutmeg plantations). The development of these *perkens* had scratched a typical history line in Indonesia's history of economy and colonialism. It created a new economic zone but also laid a dark markdown on the practice of slavery and the workforce on the island. Another consequence was creating a new hybrid social and cultural identity in Banda. This article examines the development of Banda as a new economic zone, the mobilization of workers, and its working system in the nutmeg economy during the colonial period. It argues that the use of exiles and convicts in the nutmeg economy was a colonial strategy to escape to a newly legal ordinance that abolished the practice of slavery in the *perkens*.

Abstrak: Kepulauan Banda memiliki *landmark* tertentu dalam lalu lintas sejarah perdagangan dunia. Pulau-pulau ini diakui sebagai emas hijau dan menjadi salah satu sumber utama keuntungan kolonial. Pada puncak perdagangan pala, pemerintah kolonial Belanda membangun *perken* (perkebunan pala) besar-besaran. Perkembangan perken ini telah menggores garis sejarah yang khas dalam sejarah ekonomi dan kolonialisme Indonesia. Ini menciptakan zona ekonomi baru tetapi juga memberikan penurunan harga gelap pada praktik perbudakan dan tenaga kerja di pulau itu. Konsekuensi lain adalah menciptakan identitas sosial dan budaya hibrida baru di Banda. Artikel ini mengkaji perkembangan Banda sebagai kawasan ekonomi baru, mobilisasi tenaga kerja, dan sistem kerjanya dalam perekonomian pala pada masa kolonial. Ia berpendapat bahwa penggunaan orang buangan dan narapidana dalam ekonomi pala adalah strategi kolonial untuk melarikan diri ke ordonansi hukum baru yang menghapuskan praktik perbudakan di *perken*.

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INTRODUCTION

Banda islands are located in the remote waters of current Central Maluku's Indonesia. Since the nineteenth century, these islands were Dutch colonies possessed by rich economic resources and known as the land of slavery and exile since the 1600s. The prominent settlers were *perkeniers* (*perken* [nutmeg plantations] owners) who were motivated to develop a nutmeg economy; the rest were workers for the plantations. (Banda in her Verleden, 1870, p. 5). The nutmeg in Banda had turned this remote place into a center of regional economic activity and strongly connected with other places worldwide.

Hanna Willard once researched Banda in his article, "Indonesian Banda; Colonialism and Its Aftermath in the Nutmeg Islands," which discusses the history of Banda from the arrival of the VOC to the time of independence (Hanna, 1991). David R. Carlson and Amy Jordan write in the title Visibility and Power: Preliminary



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Analysis of Social Control on a Bandanese Plantation Compound, Eastern Indonesia, which discusses the VOC as the sole ruler in Banda, having robust control over the production of nutmeg and the trade of nutmeg in *perken* in Banda. This control also covers slave labor used as labor in *perken* (Carlson, 2013). The article on slavery in Banda as labor in the production of nutmeg in *perken* was written by Philip Winn. Compound, Eastern Indonesia, discusses the VOC as the sole ruler in Banda, having robust control over nutmeg production and the nutmeg trade in *perken* in Banda. This control also covers slave labor used as labor in *perken*. The article on slavery in Banda as labor in the production of nutmeg in *perken* was written by Philip Winn (Winn, 2010).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the colonial authority took a step to transform the administration of Banda into a modern bureaucracy, but it was never achieved. A lack of well-prepared plans could be implemented effectively on these islands. However, the colonial policy on tax had a profound effect on plantation owners. The tax obligation for enslaved people had severe problems for the plantation owners, especially for the small-scale plantation owners. As a result, many small plantations could not bear the tax burden because they could not achieve a balance between the production cost and the production income.

Moreover, the spice trade monopoly had made the *perkeniers* increasingly depressed and experiencing financial difficulties. To overcome this, the *perkeniers* used skilled laborers but with a meager cost of living and wages. The skilled laborers were enslaved people and exiles or convicts. There were only 34 plantations that could survive until 1830.

The general view of colonial plantations was exploitation and capitalism. The plantation system had formed a hierarchical structure in which there were some conflicts. Once Marx states, "in capitalism "free" labor is to exchange their labor for the sake of wages to those who have the means of production. Workers are indeed legally free. The capitalism system was replaced by "vague coercion" of economic forces at that time. The legal and political coercion that forced laborers, as in slavery and servitude were applied." (Berstein, 2010, p.10).

Banda's economy, which is centered on nutmeg commodities produced by *perken*, makes Banda a trading center, has been discussed by V.C. Loth in his writings *Pioneers and Perkeniers: The Banda Islands in the 18th century*. Meanwhile, Roy Ellen, in his writing *On the Edge of the Banda Zone: Past*

and Present in The Social Organization of a Moluccan Trading Network, discusses trade in Maluku, categorized into several zones. This trading zone developed because of the role of foreign traders, immigrants, and local elites. In his writing, Ellen also discusses this trade route connected to Banda as a producer of nutmeg (Ellen, 2003). Banda as a producer of nutmeg, is connected to other areas such as Makassar, Java, Singapore, Penang, and Europe, making the area around the Banda Islands also developed in trade. As an example of the influence of colonial control on trade, the northwest side of the Banda sea is written by La Ode Rabani entitled *Commercial Activities and Development of the Towns in the West Side of Banda Sea Indonesia, Early Twentieth Century*. Urban Studies: Border and Mobility explained the strengthening of the region's economy, although it had weakened the economy of local power, which before the colonial rule was the economic ruler (Rabani, 2019). Villiers, in his article entitled to trade and society in the Banda Islands in the sixteenth century. Modern Asian Studies has not touched on the nutmeg trade as an export crop and is still discussing the traditional trade between Nusantara traders and the Banda people. In the Banda Islands, the government is not under the rule of a kingdom but is led by rich people whose status is the same as traditional leaders or tribal chiefs. The role of the rich in local government is a traditional feature of managing Banda society, including trade and land ownership (Villiers, 1981).

The labor exploitation to produce profits for employers was a historical fact for *perkens* in Banda, where enslaved people were used as leading labor. Enslaved people became owners who could be traded, given as gifts, or discarded when they were not helpful anymore. Before the *vrij arbeiders* (freelances) system, from the 17th century to the 19th century, enslaved people became the main actors in nutmeg production. The implementation of this new system led to the main question how was the fate of the plantation economy in Banda by the introduction of *vrij arbeiders*? How the plantation mobilized them, and to what extent did the working system change affect the nutmeg economy? Before examining these issues, it is significant to depict the development of *perkens* and the nutmeg economy in Banda from the beginning of the 19th century onwards.

METHOD

This study uses historical research methods and approaches from social sciences (interdisciplinary)

such as sociology, anthropology, and economics to provide a broader and deeper perspective. This study's primary sources were obtained from several written documents in archives, articles, books, dissertations, and others. Archival studies trace sources from archives related to nutmeg production statistics, trade, and *perken*, all of which are contained in *Algemene Secretarie* and *Kultuur verslag*.

PERKEN AND PRODUCTION

In the 19th century, there were 34 *perkens* (plantations) in Banda, of which 25 were in Banda Besar, 6 in Ai, and the rest in Neira. Most of the *perkenier* (plantation owners, were Dutch). *Perken* in Banda produced large quantities of nutmeg and was sufficient to meet market demand in Asia and Europe. The type of nutmeg produced for the world market was *Myristica fragans*. Nutmeg also grew in the wild forest in the neighboring islands, such as Tanimbar, Kei, and Aru Islands. Other vital islands for nutmeg production were Ternate and its surroundings, such as Ambon and Seram, but under the Dutch colonial government agreement with the Sultan of Ternate, nutmeg should only be planted in Banda. (Janse, 1898, pp. 9-10). The Dutch colonial government did not allow *perkens* to grow any other crops but nutmeg and should only sell them to the government at the price that they had set. The following figure shows nutmeg production during 1850-1860 in the Banda islands. (Kolonial Verslag, 1855, p.185)

The table above shows an increasing number of nutmeg and mace productions between 1850 -1960. There was also a significant number of shipments of nutmeg and mace from that period. Unfortunately, it was not accompanied by an increase in price because of the government restriction. (Janse, 1898). Production was significantly declining after the slavery abolition in 1860.

A catastrophic eruption and earthquake mainly caused the decline of nutmeg production in Banda. Many nutmeg trees were destroyed, and many workers were injured and even died. (Berg, 1995, pp. 84- 85). To restore the condition, the government aided with facilities and large amounts of money to rebuild houses, warehouses, and other buildings. The *perkeniers* had to spend additional funds to care for the sick and repair facilities. In 1859, the government also provided interest-free down payment to repay mortgages in most permits (only 13 percent for suffered heavy damage). The assistance gave the *perkeniers* an annual benefit of 177 thousand guildens, which they were supposed to pay with interest. Another facility was to support

Table1. Amount of Nutmeg and Mace

| Year | Nutmeg | Mace |
|------|-----------|---------|
| 1850 | 562,771 | 137,475 |
| 1851 | 463,309 | 111,068 |
| 1852 | 562,771 | 135,475 |
| 1853 | 583,547 | 143,691 |
| 1854 | 537,861 | 133,986 |
| 1855 | 504,023 | 125,739 |
| 1856 | 750,929 | 193,337 |
| 1857 | 701,448 | 174,047 |
| 1858 | 812,804 | 207,002 |
| 1859 | 832,634 | 215,566 |
| 1860 | 1,072,765 | 275,586 |
| 1861 | 912,543 | 234,458 |

the *perkens* in caring for the injured workers. Gradually, the plantation effectively recovered from the decline by 1875, and until 1884, the production of nutmeg doubled. (Janse, 1898, p. 23).

During the British Government, seeds and nutmegs were brought to Penang and Singapore successfully. Later, both regions became competitors for Banda, although it did not last long. This table shows that in specific years the production of nutmeg in these regions equaled Banda.

As in Singapore and Penang, the British also sent nutmeg seeds to various places such as Sumatra, Celebes, and Asia, but Banda remains the best nutmeg producer for the European market. However, this report does not match Ridley's statement in the 'Malay Peninsula Agriculture Bulletin'. According to the reports, the trees would only be half as tall in Banda, no higher than 20 feet. In 1843, total production amounted to 51 *picols*, which gradually increased to nearly 500 *picols* in 1849. The good results only lasted for ten years of harvest. Yields began to decline rapidly around 1859 and 1860, and after that, when the disease appeared destroyed the previously abundant harvest. In 1862 the harvest still left a little yield, but in 1864, the harvest was destroyed. In 1872 Penang's nutmeg production began to stretch again. Even in 1887, Penang produced a harvest of 3250 *picols*, but the disease re-infected, and since then, the nutmeg had been unable to compete with the products from Banda. The disease was so severe in infecting nutmeg plants there that there were almost no plants left in the next few years. Production after 1887 almost had no more meaning on the world market, while production on the other Maluku Islands and Minahasa also did not exceed the amount of harvest in Banda. (Janse, 1898, pp. 14). In Banda, nutmeg trees were

Table 2. Delivery of Nutmeg from Banda to Penang.

| Year | Nutmeg | | Mace | |
|------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | Banda | Penang | Banda | Penang |
| 1850 | 504.000 | 578.000 | 126.000 | 166.000 |
| 1855 | 822.000 | 820.000 | 207.000 | |
| 1860 | 1045.000 | 782.000 | 276.000 | 266.000 |

Source: A.H.W. M Hermans (1975)

shaded by walnut trees as protection from sunlight and seawater vapor. Walnut trees grew larger than nutmegs; these canary trees had usually existed for years before.

As in Singapore and Penang, the British sent nutmeg seeds to various places such as Sumatra, Celebes, and Asia. However, as in both regions, the yields that initially increased eventually decreased sharply and could even be said to have declined because of plant diseases attacked (Kolonial Verslag, 1858).

The cultivation of nutmeg by some *perkenier* had experienced significant profits for hundreds of years. It led to the idea to spread plantation culture more broadly to Menahassa. Some nut and nutmeg seeds were sent from Banda, planted in several places, and grew very well. However, Banda remains the best nutmeg producer from where Europeans ordered the nutmeg

CREATING AND RECREATING NETWORK

The Dutch success in planting nutmeg in the Banda Islands brought many consequences. Banda was transformed into a trading report where transactions of various commodities were held. Like the trading in Ternate, the Banda economy also impacted trade by creating trade routes in Maluku and further into Asia. It also re-enacted the traditional trade in the regions, which stretched from the north in Ternate-Tidore to the southeast in Aru-Tanimbar before the arrival of Europeans. These routes connected the trade with Sulawesi, Timor, Sumba, and Bali to Java. These traditional pathways were maintained when the VOC and the Dutch East Indies Government controlled the Maluku Islands. Foreign ships from Asia and Europe sailed there to trade in spices and sell goods needed by Europeans and Moluccans. (Kolonial Verslag, 1859).

Banda people had long traded with Seram, Timor, and the Aru Islands. *Perkeniers* bought rice and clothing from traders of Makassar and Java to provide food and other needs for the enslaved people and workers. The Makassarese and Buginese traders were aware of this demand as well and inte-

grated themselves into the network. Traders from Java and Sulawesi pursued spices and other commodities such as bird feathers, sea cucumbers, pearls, and weapons. With this development, the Dutch Colonial government tried to give more freedom to the traders to get more benefits by restricting monopoly to only specific trading. (Oliver, 1835, pp. 24 – 26).

The Governor-General himself, in 1824, had removed barriers such as the prohibition of traders from entering the Banda region, restricting goods brought by traders, and giving residents of the eastern part of the Banda islands freedom of trade and protection. It means the previous relationship with Goram, Kei, and the Aru Islands was trying to be restored. The trading in Banda, which had been connected with other regions, had grown since the opening of plantations in the Banda Islands and the nutmeg significant-increase prices on the world market. Every year, Javanese and Chinese Linen, fabrics, iron, wine, beverages and supplies, Indian linen, white and blue blankets, coarse *sitzen* Patna, sheets and fabrics, and some fine European *sitzens* are offered from Java and Makassar. However, there was only a small supply of flax seeds because flax-seeds were imported on behalf of the government and were available at stores with a 40 percent increase in purchase from the prices in Batavia. The government carries out the supply of goods from Java using chartered vessels.

The same method is used to transfer rice and other items and collect spices. Some Javanese traders from Maluku also brought spices sent to Surabaya every year. Private traders could get very varied profits. They could achieve a 150 percent profit, depending on the stock. Ships that came first after the end of the East monsoon made the best calculation to return to Banda or vice versa. Paper money was used as a payment instrument at that time. From Seram, traders carried Seram wood, tripang, turtles, bird nests, and *massoeij*, but for this merchandise, Makassar traders usually paid higher prices than ships using government licenses that went to Java. Some traders from Makassar often arrive earlier in

Banda each year than ships from Java, so they have an early chance to get a better profit. The trading in Banda usually runs yearly, so relations with traders in Banda and other places such as Seram and Ternate have been reached in previous years. The trading relations that were formed made the goods loading and unloading activities more organized so that when the ships arrived, the merchandise was prepared to be loaded. (Oliver, 1835).

These ships also carried Eastern products for the Chinese market, f 15,000 per year. Upon returning from China, they brought silver, tissue, iron, and goods from China to benefit the Banda, Seram, Goram, Keij, and other Southeast islands. The people of Seram and Goram exchanged it with sago, poultry, timber, roofs, sweet potatoes, fruits, and other food they brought with their ships to Banda in one or two loads. These Moluccans also produced ten or eleven thousand guildens from tripang, turtles, and *massoeij*. The islands in Seram, Buru, and Kei provided some goods such as sago, coconut oil, sheep, pigs, poultry, and coarse pottery for the needs of the population of Banda, and then they exchanged these goods for some goods brought from Java. Traders/merchants from Banda usually brought nine or more ships filled with thirteen to twenty-five cargo, in the form of linen, Chinese pottery, trinkets, iron tools, shelves, and various goods to the islands in the southeast, to be exchanged with sea cucumber, wax, livestock, and copra. (Ellen, 2013, p.13)

Nutmeg, as the leading economic product in Banda, had created a trade network and connected one island to another. Banda itself focused more on nutmeg and did not provide a variety of needs for its life; hence to fulfill the demand, the goods had to be imported from various islands. Rice for plantation communities was imported from Java or Sulawesi. Trader activities in Java became routine and, in its development, also promoted other areas such as Geser, Seram Laut, Aru, Onin, Tanimbar, and Timor, in addition to Ternate-Tidore and Ambon, which had become centers of the spice trade. Traditional routes eventually flourished, with traders from the archipelago and foreigners loading spices and natural and sea products. Ships aboard Chinese and Arab passengers were more daring to trade with the indigenous peoples to distant islands to get sea cucumbers, aloes, sandalwood, and sea products to be brought back to Asia.

Trading in Banda can be seen from the arrival and departure of ships. In 1856 more ships came than in 1855 because the import-export of luxury goods increased. Import shows 36,825 ponds and

exports of 11,189 ponds. There were arrivals of 84 ships and 72 ships leaving in 1856. While at the Maulud festival, many ships from Makassar and Seram came to celebrate with various goods. Boats from Seram carried sago flour which would be brought to Singapore by Makassar ships and other European ships. (Algemeene Verslag, 1856). In Banda, especially Neira, there was no market for the merchants to do the transactions. Buying, selling, and bartering transactions were carried out at the port. The ship was moored at the dock. The buyers could read the list, ask the office employee, or visit the ship at the dock because the merchants had previously reported the manifest at the trading office.

The Banda Declaration on free ports in 1856 meant nothing until 1865. The only product of the place suitable for exporting spices remained a government monopoly for ten years. Meanwhile, within ten years, the price of spices had not increased, and it was not comparable with the yields and plantation needs.

The ports of Ambon, Banda, and Ternate on the Maluku islands, were closed to wholesale trade and opened to retail trade. All these, except Dutch ships, came directly from the Netherlands, ships from China had access to these ports, and ships from foreign ports were accepted in Banda. (Kolonial Verslag 1849, p. 207) As mentioned in several reports in Banda, the traders came from Java, Makassar, Ternate, Timor, Tanimbar, Maluku Islands and eastern islands, Europe, Asia such as Bengal, Siam, Ceylon, China, Manila, and India. There were also British, French, American, and Portuguese flagged ships. This general trade was free for export, but the regulations were entirely under the Netherlands Indies Government and supervised by port officers. Every year the ship departed from Surabaya for Banda. (Oliver, 1835, p. 27).

The liberation of the Amboina port, Ternate, Banda, and Kajeli, based on the law of 8 September 1853, was officially announced in the Dutch East Indies with the publication on 23 June 1854 (Official Gazette of the Netherlands no. 98; *Staatblad* no. 46). Previously, there was a publication issued in April which reported imports of firearms and opium to Maluku ports that were open for general trade (*Staatblad* No. 28a). A tax was imposed on Chinese *jung* and foreign-flagged vessels (except those of the Dutch government). Concerning the port opening operation, it should be noted that since being declared a free port in 1854, only one ship was anchored in Banda under a foreign flag. The Portuguese ship from Timor-Delhi, visited the

port on 19 December that year. (Koloniaal Verslag, 1855, p.19).

The Governor-General determined further regulations, and trading ships in Amboina and Banda had to submit to the government regulations. It is to prevent such things as the smuggling of spices. Then the provisions regarding the import, ownership, sale, and consumption of opium in Banda were stipulated in the publication on 11 May 1851 [Staatblad No. 24]. It was not affected by free ports. The 6 July 1857 regulation governing navigation in and from Amboina, Banda, Ternate, and Kajeli was granted the same freedom as previously announced in traffic with free ports. (Koloniaal Verslag, 1857, pp. 153).

Traders dominated local trade in Banda from East Seram, Baber, Aru, Seroa, and Tanimbar. Their fishery yields many benefits. Seram people with agricultural products who practiced exchanged trade with Papuans and the Aroë Islands. The sago demands that traders from Seram and Aru supplied brought huge profits because the *perkeniers* replaced rice with sago for their workers.

Meanwhile, since 1853, 106 Dutch Indies steamboats that went to and from Banda yearly must renew their ship's license. The license was valid for five years. These ships and boats from Java, Makassar-Bugis, Ternate, Buton, and the Maluku Islands came yearly to exchange, sell and buy trade goods in Banda. The port and the surrounding roads were busy places to conduct transactions because there was no market in Banda.

Trading in Banda continued to prosper until the 20th century, although in the late 19th century, nutmeg commodities from Banda experienced a decline due to other goods such as coffee, tea, sugar, indigo, rubber, tobacco, and mineral resources. The goods other than nutmeg were mainly cultivated in Sumatra and Java. So, the Dutch East Indies Government and traders prospered from these two regions. Nutmeg gradually began to be abandoned. It did not mean that nutmeg was no longer demanded in the market, but the cultivation of spices had spread to other regions, including Singapore, Penang, and other Asian regions. Nutmeg cultivation was only centered in Banda in the late 19th century. It took place at the same time as the extirpation politics carried out in Ternate. Nutmeg and cloves had been cultivated in other regions in Ambon, Seram, Haruku, and other Maluku regions. Although nutmeg can be found in some other places, the quality of Banda nutmeg is still the best.

LABOR IN THE PLANTATION

Perkens in Banda used enslaved people and exiles as primary plantation workers. According to Philip Winn, in the Asian context, slavery in Banda is a new style. Finn asserted that slavery in Banda's *perkensteel* system represented the early modern vision of the administrative order in which labor and its environment were included. Slavery in Banda was considered a means of production on plantations and in agriculture. The Dutch government did not load enslaved people from Africa as in Cuba, Brazil, and other Latin American regions. Slavery in Banda began with the conquest, killing, and expulsion of the population of the Banda Islands by the VOC led by Jan Pieter Zoon Coen to be replaced by Europeans as plantation owners. A similar opinion is given by Bruno Lasker, who writes that the slavery system in Banda is unique and has created a new population. (Winn, 2010). The uniqueness of this population is that the generations did not return to their origins, so their descendants call them Banda people, which creates a new Banda identity today. Enslaved people and exiles formed their society separated from the *perkeniers*. Marriage life made the slave community multiplied because of the birth of their children, whose status was also considered an enslaved person.

Slavery in the Banda Islands became widespread after the Europeans established *perkens*, where enslaved people from various islands in the archipelago were sent to this place. They were transported to the islands because of the absence of the indigenous people. In the beginning, they were employed by *perkenier* for various kinds of work as cleaning the gardens and sowing the seeds.

The nineteenth-century slavery in Banda was an old system. *Perkenier*, when managing the plantation, enslaved as the determinants of production. In Dutch, they are called *perkhoorige and perkslaven* (plantation enslaved people). *Perkenier* acted as a minor king and controlled the plantation acres. In 1850 there were 759 enslaved people imported to Banda. They were transported from Ambon and Makassar. (Algemene Verslag, 1850). Three years later, in 1853, there were 5.519 workers in Banda, enslaved people, exiles, and forepersons.

Enslaved people and exiles were not only used for work on plantations but were also employed in other jobs such as carpentry and household work. The last mentioned enslaved people were mainly transported to Banda after the earthquake in 1852. They were employed to repair buildings and other damaged facilities after the disaster.

Before 1850 workers on plantations (*perken*) were enslaved people initially borrowed from the Dutch Indies Government for each plantation. *Perkeniers* got additional enslaved people from the slave market, which was commonly available in slave markets in the archipelago. The rest enslaved people were also bought from pirates. From various reports, other than enslaved people, plantations also used convicts, exiles (*banelingen*), and mercenaries (*huurlingen*), especially after 1860, to guard the plantations. Budak telah lama menjadi obyek pajak yang penting dan menjadi pemasukan penting bagi pemerintah. (Algemene, 1852).

In 1852 voices for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade had come to the attention of the Dutch colonial Government in Batavia, and it responded by reducing the supply of enslaved people to Banda. *Perkeniers* also reduced the purchase of enslaved people whose status had been replaced by free labor (*vrije arbeider/free labor*). After the abolition of slavery *perkens* in Banda used convicts and exiles to work on the plantation. The exiles came from various regions of the Indies, including Java. In the beginning, they worked while their legs were chained, but later the chain was released to ease the work. The Dutch East Indies government became the leading actor in sending these exiles to the plantations. They were sold to the *perkeniers*. The reports about the purchase of free workers and exiles were published in the Dutch report of 1852-1888. (Kultuur Verslag, 1852) The abolition of slavery did not include exiles who had to be freed and change their status to be free people. The existence of enslaved people and convicts often caused problems, such as fighting, theft, and escape attempts. It caused the *perkenier* to employ mercenaries (*huurlingen*) to monitor and control them. The mercenaries in the *perken* have the same duty as foremen in plantations in Java and Sumatra.

The colonial law punished the government by convicts and exiles (*bannelingen*). Most people were punished because of criminals and subversive movements such as rebellion. The exile had long been practiced by the Dutch since the VOC period. Banda island was one of several other places that had been used as a destination for exile. The sending of convicts and exiles to Banda as workforce labor began in 1825 under a contract signed by the government and the *perkeniers*. (verslag der Handelingen, 1853-1854, p. 1393). The request for purchasing and shipping this particular person from the Banda's *perkeniers* was common in the Dutch report. Convicts and exiles as forced labor were differentiated from ordinary enslaved people. The

first mentioned could be freed when the sentence is over. However, in most cases, the ex-exile (*voormalige bannelingen*) who had been freed were still eager to continue to work in *perken* as wage labor.

The labor shortage when production had to continue to run would be detrimental to the *perkenier*, so the urgent labor needs made them recruit workers without selection. Compared with the period of slavery, the *perkenier* would choose according to the desired criteria. Recruitment sometimes carries risks, like the case in the Takkermorro plantation managed by J.B. Mulder. In February, this *perkenier* recruited former household enslaved people, and former plantation enslaved people to work on his plantations. These workers stole and took 40 *tal* as wages, even though they had been promised allowances. Also, they did not have the skills to work on the plantations. Consequently, they were not profitable. These workers were fired, and some were returned to Neira. (Kultuur Verslag, 1860). However, the Takkermorro *perkenier* could not act against the workers because the labor force was needed at that time. Ripe nutmeg could not wait. If the fruits were not picked, they would have failed and rotted the skin so that it would be an additional job while there was no labor.

The *perkenier* conditions in 1859 were more satisfying than those in previous years. It is due to the enormous success of the harvest and the government's policies. *Perkenier* gets funds from the government in the form of funds for enslaved people who have been freed, especially elderly enslaved people. The lack of taxes and the burden of enslaved people improved their financial condition. For several years Banda has been designated as a place of exile for outcasts and convicts for working on the premises for meager wages. They are not given allowances if they have harvested more nutmeg but are allowed to pay for food, clothing, health, and shelter. The Dutch East Indies government helped provide loan funds whose payments were repaid in nutmeg. The care of the exiles was carried out by mercenaries who also doubled as foremen. The exiles and the enslaved people worked in the same garden and occupied the barracks in the *perken* neighborhood.

The discourse on the abolition of slavery made *perkeniers* worried that they would lose many enslaved people. Apart from that, the problem of compensation to which the master was entitled to his enslaved people was not equal in number, for the Dutch East Indies government allowed accepted more exiles and free workers. For free workers, at

Table 3. Amounts of *Bannelingen*, Free Labour, and enslaved person

| Year | Total <i>Banelingen</i> and <i>Vrije Arbeider</i> (Free Labor) | Enslaved person |
|------|--|-----------------|
| 1852 | 2395 | 2471 |
| 1853 | 2393 | 2577 |
| 1854 | 2456 | 1157 |
| 1855 | 2512 | 1184 |
| 1856 | 2505 | 1194 |
| 1857 | 2518 | 1161 |
| 1858 | 2508 | 1178 |
| 1859 | 2570 | 1122 |
| 1860 | 1542 | 66 |

Sources: Kolonial Verslag.

the end of 1859, there were as many as 100 workers sent to the Ministry. The difference in wages for the types of workers in the perks, wages, and payments for exiles only amounted to 1/2 gulden a month for those over 14 years of age and 1/4 gulden a month for vagabonds and 1 1/4 gulden a month for free workers without contracts. Free workers will get a bonus of 10 guildens each year.

In 1860, after the *perkeniers* freed their enslaved people, production increased. With the increase in the number of these good harvests, the generally perceived latency has disappeared and was replaced by the satisfaction of the *perkenier*. The government, by sending the number of workers to the *Perken* managed to maintain this favorable result, but an increase in the number of workers was deemed necessary. The considerations in this matter are pending. After the abolition of slavery on 1 January 1860, it was permissible to consist of only three categories: free labor, *vagabondens*, and *bannelingen*. The combined number of these people as of the reported date is 1433, excluding some of the exiles who had become free and the Gilolo people. The figure of 1433 had increased during the 1860s after 48 exiles and *vagabondens*, whose terms of detention had ended, and who were willing to return to work on permits. Then at the end of 1860, 117 free laborers were recruited in Java, and 200 exiles and *vagabondens* were sent. Thus, the number of workers had increased at the end of the year to 1809 people. (Kolonial Verslag, 1860)

The recruitment of voluntary workers in Java and Madura, as well as in the Southwest Islands, has not resulted in much success, although some benefits are offered. Increasing skilled labor is considered one of the primary needs because workers who

have just arrived from Java, because they are not used to working in the nutmeg orchard, have to practice selecting perfectly ripe fruit, peeling nutmeg, and sorting. Efforts to find workers from Maluku residents who are used to working in nutmeg gardens have also failed. Due to this failure, the Dutch East Indies Government provided a solution to meet this need, stipulating that the outcasts in the chain (*kettingen*) should also be sent to Banda. In addition, it is necessary to increase forced labor in construction work. To await the sending of free labor and *bannelingen*, the *perkeniers* attempted to recruit daily laborers with the offer of being paid 40 cents for every 1000 nutmegs collected from formerly enslaved people. However, the reluctance of formerly enslaved people to work again is very high, and only 172 ex-slaves are willing. Meanwhile, the natives were also unwilling to work in the *perken* because the work was considered lowly, and the work was only for enslaved people. (Kolonial Verslag, 1860).

CONCLUSION

The abolition of slavery in the second nineteenth century ended slavery in Banda but not the practice of the workforce. The *perkens* turned to the exiles and convicts to foster the nutmeg economy. Especially during the challenging period after the natural disasters and the rise of other nutmeg economy zone in Singapore. Moreover, the government supported this new mode of production in Banda, which was encouraged by the value of the nutmeg economy in the world market. The use of exiles and convicts in the nutmeg economy was a colonial strategy to escape from the pressure of a new global legal ordinance that abolished the practice of slavery in the *perkens*.

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