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Please remember:

- Presentations in the parallel sessions should last no more than 15 minutes.
- Presentations in the central sessions should last no more than 20 minutes
- Commentators are asked to keep their comments limited to 10 minutes.
- We would like to ask the chairs and/or commentators of the parallel sessions to give a short report of their session during the final meeting on Thursday the 14^{th} .

Conference program

Encompass conference
"Monsoon Asia in the age of revolutions: Changes of regime and their aftermath"

12 – 14 January 2010 Mumbai University

Day 1, Tuesday 12 January Location: Convocation Hall, Fort Campus, Mumbai University.

Opening program at Convocation Hall

9.00 - 09.30 registration, coffee and tea

9.30 – 9.45 Welcome speech: Prof. Dr. Ruby Maloni

09.45 - 10.30 Introductory lecture

Chair: Ruby Maloni

Leonard Blussé, "Monsoon Asia in the age of revolutions: Changes of regime and their aftermath."

SESSION I

Revolutions and State formation

10.30 – 11.45 Plenary session

Chair: Ruby Maloni

- 1. François-Joseph Ruggiu *India and the reshaping of the French colonial policy* (1759-1815)
- 2. Penny Brook/Margaret Makepeace 'An empire in writing'

11.45 - 12.30

Lunch at Convocation hall

12.30 – 14.45 Parallel Sessions

Room 28 on Ground Floor/Room 144 on First Floor

1a State formation and bureaucracy in the Dutch East Indies

Chair: Djoko Utomo

Comments: Margaret Makepeace and Penny Brook

- 1. Charles Jeurgens Empire of paper: the early Dutch colonial state in search for control
- 2. Gerrit Knaap *The Dutch colonial Archival Legacy in an Age of regime Change* c. 1790 c. 1810
- 3. Mona Lohanda The British interregnum in Java, 1811-1816
- 4. Nadia Dwiandari/Diantyo Nugroho Archives Management as a Reflection of Bureaucratic Development: the Case of the Transitional Dutch East Indies, 1816 1830

1b State formation and local integration

Chair: Jos Gommans Comments: Swaran Singh

- 1. Abdul Wahid Financing imperial transition: Revenue farming in the early colonial state formation of Java, 1800-1830
- 2. Nadeera Seneviratne Settled strangers: Tax collectors in eighteenth-century Sri Lanka
- 3. Murari Kumar Jha *The Route to Empire The Grand Trunk Route in Early Colonial India*
- 4. Aditya Nair The Tragedy of the Eastern Riviera 1780 1830

15.00 – 15.30 plenary session

Prof. Dr. Mariam Dossal - An introduction to Bombay around 1800

15.30 – 17.30 visit to **Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya**, formerly Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 159/61, M.G. Road, Fort Mumbai - 400023.

20.00 Dinner at CCI (Cricket Club of India Brabourne Stadium Marine Lines, Mumbai 400020, Maharashtra)

Day 2, Wednesday 13 January Location: Royal Bombay Yacht Club, Apollo Bunder. Anchorage Hall and Ballroom

SESSION II Global interaction

9.00 - 10.15 Plenary session

Chair: Ishrat Alam

- 1. Maxine Berg Learning from India: Luxury Textiles and the Origins of British Industrialization
- 2. Sujit Sivansundaram Kandyan, Dutch and British medicine in Ceylon.

10.15 - 10.30 coffee/tea

10.30 -12.00 Parallel sessions

2a. Trade and economy

Chair: Prof. Zhuang Guotu Comments: Om Prakash

- 1. James Fichter American Enterprise, European Empire: U.S. Capitalists in Asia in the Age of Revolutions, 1793-1815
- 2. Timothy Davies Local Networks and Global Trade: British Private Trade in the Western Indian Ocean
- 3.Pham van Thuy Economic Aspects of the Dutch Expansion in Sumatra in the Nineteenth Century

2b Science and knowledge

Chair: Sujit Sivansundaram Comments : Jos Gommans

- 1.Martijn Eickhoff (and Marieke Bloembergen) To stop misconduct'; archaeological research as a national obligation in Java and the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century
- 2. Andreas Weber *Do* local encounters *matter? The life and career of Caspar G.C. Reinwardt*
- 3.Manjusha Kuruppath Casting Asian Despots in Dutch Drama: The case of Van Steenwyk's Thamas Koelikan

12.00 – 13.30 Lunch

Central session III Cultural identities

13.30 -14.45 Plenary session

Chair: Charles Jeurgens

- 1. Zhuang Guotu Chinese migration into Southeast Asia stimulated by the economic expansion of European colonies in Southeast Asia around 1800
- 2. Pius Malekandathil The hanging Meaning of Lusitanian Space in India, 1780-1830
- 3. Alicia Schrikker Dealing with Dutch legacies in urban Sri Lanka around 1800

1500 – 16.45 Parallel sessions

3a Trade and Economy 2: piracy

Chair: Maxine Berg

Comments: Yogesh Sharma

- 1. Atsushi Ota Piracy and sea people in West Kalimantan in the 1820s
- 2. Binu John Mailaparambil Pirates of the Malabar Coast: A Historical Analysis
- 3. Simon Layton Commerce, Authority and Piracy in the Indian Ocean World, c.1780-1850.

3b Cultural identities

Chair: Pius Malekandathil Comments: Carolien Stolte

- 1. Anjana Singh Change and Identity: Fort Cochin between 1750 and 1830.
- 2. Danelle van Zyl The "Cape Dutch": Cultural identity and emotional experience at the Cape of Good Hope during the first British occupation
- 3. Nirmal Dewasiri Chetties in Early- Modern Sri Lanka: some aspects of the social history of Sri Lanka
- 4. Devi Riskianingrum In fear and furiousness: the Chinese and crime in the ommelanden of Batavia

17.00 – 18.00 Heritage Walk of Old Bombay and visit to **Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Mumbai - 400023.**

20.00 Dinner at Royal Bombay Yacht Club, Anchorage room

Day 3 Thursday 14 January Convocation Hall, Fort Campus, Mumbai University

9.30 – 12.00 Plenary session

Chair: Om Prakash

- 1. Reports from the parallel sessions (10 min. per session)
- 2. Gerrit Knaap Concluding Note
- 3. Final discussion

1200 - 1300 Lunch

13.00 – 18.00 Boat trip to Elephanta Island.

PS: the last boat from Elephanta Island back to Gateway is at 5.30 pm. Be on it!!

Optional Day 4 and 5:

Two- day trip to visit the Maratha forts South of Mumbai, with an overnight stay at Alibagh. We will go to Alibagh from Mumbai on a catamaran. Alibagh is a beach resort and has some pristine beaches and Maratha Fortresses: Alibagh, Murud Janjira etc. Participation in this trip is your own expense.

Conference proposal

1780-1830: Asia in the age of revolutions

The period 1780 – 1830 is generally termed as 'the age of revolutions', referring in particular to the American, French and Industrial revolutions. It is our intention to assess the impact of these 'European' revolutions on monsoon Asia (and South Africa) – an area of longstanding and dynamic interaction with Europe. This should lead to a better understanding of the nature and the degree of global interaction in this period – in this context global interaction is understood as a process in which people in various parts of the World influence each other culturally, economically or politically.

In Asian history the 1780-1830 period is often marked by the take-off of what has been termed the modern transformation of Asia. Some historians point at the collapse of the colonial ancient regimes and the economic integration by private entrepreneurs and political reforms by colonial administrators, others have shown how traditional regimes in continental Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Burma and Siam) went trough a series of restorations in an 'autonomous' response to modernity. In this respect the conference proposes to see how the revolutions in the West relate to the modern transformation of Asia.

From the sixteenth century onwards the growth of the European share in the intra-Asian trade economy resulted in an extension of European trade settlements in such coastal areas as Java, Ceylon, Bengal and on the Malabar Coast. In many of these regions the period between 1780 and 1830 marked the end of an era of tension and antagonism between hinterland kingdoms and maritime settlements: European powers on Ceylon, Java and Bengal gradually expanded further inland, thereby isolating the autonomous kingdoms and sultanates until they actually took over those regions. Once in control, they developed colonial states that not only catered to commercial purposes but increasingly relied on the articulation of trade with the agrarian exploitation of tropical cash crops in the interior. This process of economic and political integration of the coast and hinterland under the new colonial regimes resulted in a colonial transition, that was a

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¹ C. A. Bayly, Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914 (Oxford, 2004). A. Reid, ed., The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900 (London, 1997). Leonard Blussé, 'Changes of Regime and Colonial State Formation in the Malay Archipelago, 1780-1800', *Asia Research Institute, Working Paper Series, No.41*, ARI National University of Singapore (Singapore 2005).

² V. Lieberman, Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context: 800-1830. Vol. 1, Integration on the Mainland (Cambridge, 2003). A. Reid, ed., The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: <u>Responses</u> to <u>Modernity</u> in the <u>Diverse States</u> of <u>Southeast Asia</u> and <u>Korea</u>, <u>1750-1900</u> (Basingstoke, 1997); J.L. Blussé, 'Chinese Century: The Eighteenth Century in the China Sea Region', Archipel 58 (1999): 107-29.

³ P. Carey, 'Civilization on Loan: The Making of an Upstart Polity: Mataram and its Successors, 1600-1830'. In *Beyond Binary Histories: Re-imagining Eurasia to c. 1830*, edited by V. Lieberman, 267-89 (Ann Arbor, 1999).

⁴ Leonard Blussé, `The Run to the Coast; English and Dutch Expansion in Asia during the ancien régime' in *Itinerario* 1988, XII-1, pp. 195-214.

much more complex than is usually assumed. The starting point of this conference is that the colonial transition can only really be understood if it is treated as an integrated part of Asian and global history.

At the Mumbai conference we welcome researchers who are working on the various regions of monsoon Asia in this period and address the following problems of Global Interaction and state formation:

State formation

How did the colonial states function in the transitional period, what was the nature of colonial intervention in the various regions?

- -What were the foundations of these emerging colonial states?
- How did important pillars of state formation processes like bureaucratization, taxation and justice manifest themselves in the various colonial contexts?
- And what were the roles of Asian and European elites in these state formation processes?

Global Interaction

How should we assess the impact the American and French revolutions and the industrial revolution in Asia?

- What was its influence on political thought in Asia?
- The role of knowledge gathering projects and science in the State formation processes in Asia ?
- The impact of the industrial revolution on production processes and trade patterns in Asia

Trade and economy

Long standing trade patterns in Asia changed as a result of a changing world market, industrialization and the collapse of old regimes and commercial companies:

- What was the effect of the new geopolitical settings and the rise of new players (Americans and Chinese) on the existing trade patterns.
- How to understand the role of piracy in the Asian economy
- The influence of new consumer tastes on the Asian production and trade
- What was the effect of the changing nature of Asian trade and the new balance of power on the existing migration patterns

Cultural identities

What was the effect of the changing regimes on the lives of inhabitants of port cities like Cape Town Cochin, Singapore, Penang, Batavia, Mumbai, Colombo and Manila and other places.

- What do we know about personal experiences of the inhabitants of these ports
- How did the regime changes influence their sense of identity?

Abstracts

Session 1: Revolutions and state formation

India and the reshaping of the French colonial policy (1759-1815)

François-Joseph Ruggiu Professeur à l'Université de Paris IV

During the Seven Years War, France experienced several traumatic experiences in America and in the Indian Ocean: the capture, in 1755, of the better part of its sailors before the declaration of war; several outstanding naval defeats; and the loss of almost all his colonies especially in India. In 1763, France was left with the scattered remains of her first colonial empire, and amongst them the île Bourbon, the île de France, and five Indian settlements.

Choiseul, the leading minister of Louis XV, triggered thus a complete reshaping of the French colonial policy. He definitively rejected the idea of territorial dominions in order to favor factories and small-scale colonies able to sustain a steady and profitable trade with the metropolis. Choiseul and his successors, especially Vergennes, during the American War, scorned all opportunities to recover the Canada and to redevelop a territorial influence of France in India. This posture of the leading French politicians has often been interpreted by French historians as a lack of interest for empire, or as an incapacity to struggle against the English, or as an inability to envision the value of these countries.

This paper examines the place that the French politicians assigned to the French possessions in the Indian Ocean and in India, from the fall of Québec to Waterloo. It is based on the official instructions compiled by the central government and on the reports sent by local administrators. It shows that their attitude of the ministers was the product of a conscious and cogent policy and was imposed sometimes despite the will of the local actors of colonization but sometimes with their cooperation. This policy was founded on an economic conception of the relation between the metropolis and the colonies and on the lessons of the defeats of the Seven Years War which were never forgotten by the French ministers.

Thus this paper asks if the word "empire" really fits with the model of the French colonization as seen by Choiseul and Vergennes and as applied in America as well as in India. Finally, the paper studies the extension of this policy during the French Revolution and the First Empire when the French colonies East to the Cape were systematically captured by the English.

'An empire in writing'*

Dr. Penny Brook and Dr Margaret Makepeace India Office collections

The English East India Company, faced with the challenge of overseeing its employees operating far from its base in London, responded by developing effective systems for gathering information and issuing orders. Through its 'empire in writing', it exerted control over its commercial, political, military and governmental activities. This paper will outline the main series of records forming this 'empire in writing'. It will illustrate the nature of these records by focussing on the documents relating to the development of botanical knowledge, attempts at control and exploitation through plant experiments and transfers, and the establishment of the Calcutta Botanic Garden.

Session 1a: State formation and bureaucracy in the Dutch East Indies

Empire of paper: the early Dutch colonial state in search for control

Charles Jeurgens

One of the most important tools of power to govern and control a colonial empire was the power of writing. By the ever-increasing demand for information, to be collected by the colonial civil servants, the early colonial state expected to be able to exert control. So far, the paperwork bureaucracy received little attention from historians and archivists. Is it because of the papers, the archives, are regarded as an invariable? Archives are mostly seen (and used) as quite static remnants of past activities and they are hardly ever considered to be elements of the historical dynamics. In my contribution I want to investigate the usefulness of the framework of globalization and the network theories to our understanding of the role and function of this paperwork in the era of the early colonial state.

The Dutch colonial archival legacy in an age of regime change c. 1790-C. 1810

Gerrit Knaap

In this contribution attention will be paid to subsequent changes in the institutional framework of Dutch colonial in Asia and South Africa, roughly between 1790, i.e. the last years of the Dutch India Company (VOC), and 1810, more specifically the fall of Java to the English. After this exercise in institutional history the archival legacy of the period, in so far as it is preserved in the Netherlands itself, will be presented briefly. The conclusion will be that, in comparison to the old VOC, the volume of archival

^{*} Huw Bowen *The business of empire: the East India company and imperial Britain* (Cambridge, 2006) title of Chapter 6

information from overseas was shrinking rapidly and that modern-day historians interested in the period will be more dependent on archives kept elsewhere in the world than before.

British rule in Java, 1811-1816; glimpses at the archives

Mona Lohanda

The paper largely based upon the archives of British interregnum, 1811-1816, aims to explain some aspects of the British local administration in Java. Looking into the Semarang local administration as an example, it might unfold continuity and changes in colonial bureaucracy, despite new system being introduced. Some irregularities might also be found within the bureaucratic circles. How the British government observed the conduct of native chieftains and how this matter being dealt with, explained the way the colonial authority maintain peace and order in the colony. The paper will also give general information on the archives collection created under the British interregnum, 1811-1816, housed at the National Archives in Jakarta, covering its volumes, contents and characteristics.

Archives Management and Bureaucratic Development: The Case of Transitional Dutch East Indies, 1816 – 1830

Nadia Fauziah Dwiandari

The period of British interregnum brought a lot of changes to the Dutch East Indies. As this colony was handed over back to the Dutch, this former colonizer was left with huge and difficult tasks to be done especially in financial aspect caused by the partial implementation of the land tax system initiated by Raffles. The unfair land tax which was not based on exact land measurement and the failed attempt to introduce money had made the Dutch East Indies was not productive for the mother country which also suffered financial crisis after the war.

The first things considered to be recovered were economy and order establishment. In order to do that, the central government in the Netherlands sent special commissions (*Kommissarissen Generaal*-KG) in 1816. The specific task for this commission was to construct a government in the East Indies archipelago under the sovereign rule of the King of the Netherlands by accepting, rejecting, or altering policies and institutions, as seemed best, to fit the humanitarian freedoms and rights while respecting the customs and religions of all. What made this period interesting is because from the period of 1816 onward is the starting point of the Dutch position in the colony. Originally having economic oriented ends with the existence of United East India Company (VOC) it then changed to be an entity with political objectives. It only started in 1819 that this colony changed from a somewhat chaotic region into a colony with order.

⁵ Robert van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast 1740-1840: A Study in Colonial Encroachment and Dominance*, Leiden: CNWS Publication, 2005, p. 291

After KG was ended formally in 1819, the authority in the Dutch East Indies was entrusted to a Governor General as the representative of the supreme power in the Netherlands. Next to this position were *Raad van Indie* (Indies Council) and *Algemene Secretarie* (General Secretariat) as parts of the Dutch East Indies government's assisting bodies. *Algemene Secretarie* in particular played a crucial role since its position could not be separated from Governor General's position. This organization was a connector between Governors General and their subordinates inside the colony and the backbone of communication between the Dutch East Indies authority and the central government in The Hague. The decision making process in the colony which involved the activities of those organizations and interactions among them produced various administrative output, concluded into series of decisions which then arranged into a certain archives management system, in this case is *verbaalstelsel*, a chronological ordered archival system which - to some extents - resembles the previous system used by the VOC, *resolutiestelsel*.

This paper focuses on archives management and bureaucracy development in the Dutch East Indies by finding the governance process through archives creation. Combining archival science by examining 19th century Dutch archives deposited in National Archives of Indonesia (ANRI) and literature research, this paper aims to describe the relations between context behind archives creation and the archives management system, which eventually reveals that archives play a more important role than just being extracted as historical sources.

Session 1b: State formation and local integration

Financing imperial transition: Revenue farming in the early colonial state formation of Java, 1800-1830

Abdul Wahid UGM/Utrecht University

Revenue farming had been an indispensable source of revenue for the Dutch during the VOC period. In the long run it served, in one hand, as one primary method efficiently used to collect taxes from various groups of population and economic activities. In other hand, by mobilizing the Chinese with close cooperation with local elites, the Dutch exerted their influence and maximized profit from local resources. This triangular relationship was seriously challenged when the VOC went down into bankruptcy, and the Dutch – now under French dominion, involved in the far sea warfare with the British navy. The weakened authority combined with the emerging competition among political economic players in local levels created a chaotic situation of 'transitional state' of this particular episode of Dutch presence in Java, which is generally featured in literatures.

This paper seeks to contribute a social economic perspective to the existing literatures on the transitional period of the Dutch colonial expansion in Asia, Indonesia in particular. By focusing on the practice of revenue farming under the successive orders of the Dutch, the British, and then again the Dutch, this articles uncovers strategies of the power

holders to preserve their control, strengthen their administration, and finance a growing expenditures. Attention will also be given to the Chinese *pachters* and their local partners as to what extent they could maintain their position; and how local economies affected by these changing regimes. Quantitative and qualitative data taken from colonial archives and printed materials will be combined to answers the posted questions in this paper.

Settled strangers? Tax collectors in eighteenth-century Sri Lanka

Nadeera Seneviratne

Coastal social formation in Sri Lanka has been affected by migration from South India and colonial intervention. The karavas, salagamas and duravas, known as the 'KSD castes', and Moors, Chettiars and Burghers have been an integral part of the construction of coastal society. Their migration to the island began from the thirteenth century onwards. By the eighteenth century, the high incidence of tax collectors from among the same groups was testimony to their integration into the political economy of coastal Sri Lanka. While the KSD castes were grouped under 'Sinhalese' in Dutch classifications, the Moors and Chettiars are referred to as decidedly non-caste social formations. Special mention must be made of the karavas, who were the most prominent among the Sinhalese in the business of revenue collection. Their collaboration with the colonial power was thus self-evident, arguably due to an outsider quality that they possessed. In contrast, the Moors, Chettiars and Burghers are possibly more like 'cross-cultural brokers' who retained their role as strangers, one that was deemed beneficial for a colonial power on foreign land. Incidentally, despite being tax collectors, the Moors and Chettiars also paid a tax of residence to the Dutch East Indies Company. On the other hand, even these non-caste social formations can be said to have assimilated into coastal society. In the eighteenth century, their presence on the island provides a micro-history that is related to world history, or at least a part of the early modern Indian Ocean world. These and other questions will be addressed in the paper.

How did revenue farming contribute, if at all, to the 'settled' nature of such caste and non-caste social formations? And to what degree did 'strangers', in so far as that term maybe used, work together in the business of revenue farming in the eighteenth-century? Muslims, for instance, were seen in partnership with Sinhalese businessmen. Furthermore, the Sinhalese frequently collaborated with persons of Burgher or European origin. What were the socio-economic implications of such a dissolution of conventional corporate boundaries?

A history of institutions is also a part of the story. Individuals among the abovementioned caste formations held both local headmanships and the positions of revenue collector. The study aims to examine the relationship between these individuals (social groups?) and two economic and political institutions that lay at the foundation of cooperation between the colonial power and local society. It will pay special attention to the institution of revenue farming, being the auctioning by the state of the right to collect a particular tax, due to its importance in the rise of local entrepreneurship. Secondly, although in less detail, it will look at the native department of office-holding insofar as it overlapped with the role of revenue collection in certain persons. These smaller institutions operated within the larger institutions of the Dutch overseas empire and the traditional administrative system of the country.

The Route to Empire. The Grand Trunk Route in Early Colonial India

Murari Kumar Jha (Leiden University)

It is well known that the empire building is closely aligned with road building. All premodern empires paid close attention to secure access to the subjected territories by means of developing and exploiting roads and communication networks. In the Roman Empire all roads led to Rome. In ancient India, the seasoned uttarapatha (the great northern highway) and dakhshinapatha (the great southern highway) connected the far flung areas of the Indian subcontinent and facilitated the imperial sway of the Mauryan and Gupta rulers. In medieval India Sher Shah Sur, the Afghan empire builder, busied himself with road building projects and laid the extensive network of road between Bengal and Lahore. The Mughals further exploited these existing routes and employed huge army of road builders to lead the periodic military campaigns all over empire. Thus roads and routes are not merely mute relics of the past but contain some very lively histories behind them. In the present exercise, this paper concerns with the Grand Trunk Route, its genealogy, imperialist motives behind its construction and the whole gamut of history which was played out along this road. This paper will take a long term perspective in appreciating the importance of route. In the first section it deals with the roads and empires in history, followed by a discussion on the Old Mughal Route and its parallel running the Gangetic riverine highway. The paper tries to recapitulate the histories which were played out on these old routes. In the second section, the paper examines the Grand Trunk Route and the exigencies which necessitated its construction in the second half of the eighteenth century. How the regime change on the Indian political horizon necessitated a reorientation of the existing route system? How the history of the Grand Trunk Route gives a glimpse of existing political reality in India in the second half of the eighteenth century? Why British were so preoccupied with securing the southern frontier of Hindustan or upper northern India, the frontier line drawn from southern Bihar and moving up towards northern India? This paper as whole makes an exercise into the routes and roads as geographical entities which consist of rich histories of human activities.

The tragedy of the Eastern Riviera: Pondicherry between 1780 and 1830

Aditya Nair (University of Mumbai)

The trials of Europeans in pre-modern times, in an attempt to profit from the riches of India have been well documented. The aim of this paper is to analyze and understand, why the French in India, remained a marginalized power. Why the French, in comparison with the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English whose history is well recorded in the Indian sub-continent, lag behind. By taking up the example of Pondicherry the paper

attempts to make a case study of the French in India. It also gives examples of the 'one man game' phenomena which saved the French in Pondicherry, more than once.

Session 2: Global Interaction

'Learning from India: Luxury Textiles and the Origins of British Industrialization'

Maxine Berg Global History and Culture Centre and Dept. of History University of Warwick

Just how did Europe's pursuit of quality goods turn a pre-modern encounter with precious cargoes into a modern globally-organized trade in Asian export ware?

The trade in Asian goods led by Europe's East India Companies created the world's first major export-ware sector. While Europe held onto its domestic production of woollen cloth, ironware and leather goods, it was Asia's prescient cotton textiles and porcelain that changed economies and cultures in Europe and many other parts of the world. This export-ware sector created and fed Europe's insatiable demand for millions of pieces of textiles (5 million between 1670 and 1760)and thousands of tons of porcelain (70 million pieces) - the key manufactured goods that pre-dated then complemented Europe's tea culture. The impact of these Asian imports was both to stimulate a new industrial response in Europe. Europe adapted Asian design, production and industrial organization, ultimately to displace Asia as the world's manufacturer. That Asian trading world was re-orientated to European priorities during this first global shift between the pre-modern and modern worlds.

These large scale export ware sectors were Chinese, Indian and wider Asian achievements, but ones which were also stimulated by, intervened in, and redirected by European merchants and companies. Just how did these manufacturing and distribution centres connect to Europe's own industrial development —was there an interlinking of Asia's and Europe's manufacturing economies?

What I argue here is that to understand the division of labour, mechanisation and the rise of the factory system in Europe, we need to understand how manufacturing export ware sectors developed in Asia just before and during this period. We need to recover these Asian origins of the Industrial Revolution.

This paper will investigate British surveys of Indian textile manufacture during the eighteenth century. It will assess the impact of this knowledge on product and process innovation in Britain. How did British cotton manufacturers hope to compete with the quality of Indian textiles? Did the alternative products they created provide a road to industrialization?

Session 2a: Trade and economy

American Enterprise, European Empire: U.S. Capitalists in Asia in the Age of Revolutions, 1793-1815"

James Fichter

During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815), the histories of much of the Indo-Pacific merged into one narrative: British imperial expansion against the colonies of France and France's allies. Yet the common history of French, Dutch and Spanish colonies resisting British expansion remains under-examined. New research in Asia, Africa and Europe reveals the shared economic history of the Cape Colony (1803-1806), the Mascarenes (1793-1810), the Dutch East Indies (1795-1811) and the Philippines (1796-1808) during their participation in the war against Britain, during which time these colonies relied almost entirely on neutral and especially American shipping to connect them to the broader world. This paper examines Americans' transimperial trade in the above colonies from their customs records before, during, and after their participation in the French Wars.

During the 1793-1815 period, neutral-carried overseas trade deepened the basis of creole authority in the Mascarenes, the Philippines and Java by increasing the economic significance of cash-crop agriculture for export—sugar and coffee in particular—at the expense of the entrepôt trade in mainland Asian products or Southeast Asian spices which had been so important to these colonies in earlier times. During the 1793-1815 period, none of these colonies faced major slave revolts, revolutions, or wars of independence on the order of those occurring in Latin America and the Caribbean, a striking point given the tenuous links between the colonies and their metropoles. Indeed, it may well have been the Indo-Pacific colonies' demonstrated susceptibility to rule—in European eyes—and the American colonies' demonstrated susceptibility to revolt that swung the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonial projects to the east after 1815. This paper suggests that the histories of the Cape Colony, Batavia, Mauritius and the Philippines in this period are best considered not in isolation but together, as nodes in a web of empires which crossed imperial boundaries and that their shared economic history during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras informed their subsequent experiences in divergent colonial spheres

'Local Networks and Global Trade: British Private Trade in the Western Indian Ocean'

Timothy Davies

By the eighteenth century, English East India Company servants had established extensive private trading networks in the Indian Ocean. Existing scholarship has concentrated almost exclusively on this activity in the eastern part of the Ocean, often arguing for the crucial role of private merchants in the process of empire building in Bengal from the 1750s. This project explores the networks of British merchants in a different region of this maritime trading arena however and is focused on the crucial period of the eighteenth century. Building on recent insights from scholars of Global History, private merchants and their commercial connections will be situated within the

broad frameworks of Indian Ocean and global trade, whilst emphasising the more localised webs of exchange that were vital for the success of early modern trans-national commerce.'

Economic Aspects of the Dutch Expansion in Sumatra in the Nineteenth Century

Pham Van Thuy

This paper departs from H.L. Wesseling's hypothesis that Dutch colonial expansion in the Indonesian archipelago in the nineteenth and early twentieth century formed a continuity with earlier administrative and diplomatic relations between the Dutch and local principalities and that the expansion was precipitated by the new trend of an international scramble for overseas territories. By looking at economic aspects of the expansion in Sumatra, this study demonstrates that Dutch interest in potential economic advantages of the island served as a primary motivation to intensify the control over the territory. Indigenous products, such as tin in Bangka and Palembang, pepper and coffee in Central and West Sumatra, gold in the Minangkabau region, had been the staples of the VOC's trade in Sumatra in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were still very much in demand in the nineteenth century. The London Treaty of 1824 recognized actual Dutch political control over Sumatra. Nevertheless, the rapid development of the British Straits Settlements with their close relationship with North Sumatra gradually excluded the Dutch from trading Sumatran products. Dutch policy in Sumatra from the 1820s onwards was to increase the production of Sumatran goods under the colonial government's supervision. Forced cultivations and monopolies in trade and taxation were introduced into different parts of Sumatra. These policies with their emphasis on indigenous goods linked up seamlessly with the traditional commercial policies of the VOC. From the 1870s, Sumatra was opened up for foreign investors, which led to the rapid development of the export plantation crops on the east coast, especially tobacco, rubber, oil palm, tea, and fiber. The Dutch colonial government drew on few direct economic advantages in Sumatra, but it maintained close relations with Dutch private capital. The need for a measure to protect the Dutch investors required the Netherland Indies government to establish an effective authority over all of Sumatra.

Session 2b: Science and knowledge

'To stop misconduct'; archaeological research as a national obligation in Java and the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century

Martijn Eickhoff (& Marieke Bloembergen)

In this paper we discuss how parallel regime changes in Java and the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century were an incentive for archaeological activities in both Java and the Netherlands. In the context of military expeditions, violence and looting, archaeological practices became increasingly connected to competing claims to sovereignty. This led to the promotion of the collecting of archaeological knowledge and the preservation of archaeological sites and objects as a national moral obligation, both in Java and the Netherlands. By discussing and comparing the initiatives of Colin MacKenzie (Java) and C.J.C. Reuvens (Netherlands) within the context of the interactions between the European nations and the colonized world we aim to show how archaeology at that time started to become a means for socio-cultural critique.

As this paper is part of a project on archaeology and (post)colonial heritage formation in Indonesia we are not primarily interested in the origins of colonial archaeology, but in the question how archaeological objects and sites on Java became part of an authoritative heritage discourse at the start of the nineteenth century.

Do local encounters matter? The life and career of Caspar G.C. Reinwardt

Andreas Weber

This paper focuses on the life and career of the German naturalist and colonial administrator Caspar G.C. Reinwardt (1773-1854). Reinwardt, professor of chemistry and pharmaceutics at the *Athanaeum illustre* in Amsterdam, was sent to the Netherlands-Indies as a member of a *commissie-generaal* (general committee) appointed by the Dutch king Willem I (1772-1843) in 1814. The delegation was instructed to organize the handover of the colony from the British to the Dutch. During his six-year stay in the colony, Reinwardt traveled to the interior of Java and carried out a large sea expedition to the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Moluccas. The aim of these survey operations was twofold. On the one hand, the naturalist had to serve the emerging colonial state which aimed at maximizing profits from the region. On the other hand, Reinwardt was supposed to act as collector for 's *Lands Kabinet van Natuurlijke Historie* (National Cabinet for Natural History) which in 1820 became part of the newly founded *Rijksmuseum voor Natuurlijke Historie* (National Museum for Natural History) in Leiden.

By following Reinwardt to the Malay Archipelago, this paper aims at providing a history of science and empire that breaks with a metropole centered perspective. By doing so, it follows a group of historians who over the last three decennia have shown that a thorough analysis of the *people on the spot* in non-Western sites has the potential to fundamentally alter our understanding of both, colonial empires and modern science. By focusing on the daily and informal practices of figures *in between* in key regions such as Northern America, the Atlantic world, the Caribbean, the Malay Archipelago, the Pacific region, India, or China, those scholars convincingly questioned historical narratives according to which empire and science have to be considered as singular and exclusive western projects. Their case studies unveil that empire and science - particularly those fields of scientific inquiry which relied on field research such as natural history, geography, geology, archeology, meteorology and ethnography - were often based on multi-layered and highly contingent local interactions in which various institutions and

agents distant from European centers played a crucial role. Hence, at the core of this paper are the following three questions:

- 1. How did the various encounters in the Malay Archipelago affect the knowledge practices of Reinwardt?
- 2. Which indigenous groups contributed to the making of scientific knowledge, objects and practices?
- 3. How did those local encounters influence the course of natural history in the Netherlands?

Casting Despots in Dutch Drama: The case of Van Steenwyk's Thamas Koelikan

Manjusha Kuruppath

By 1745, the Persian ruler Nadir Shah Afshar also known as Thamas Koelikan had made a name for himself as a conqueror in Asia. In the very same year, the Dutch playwright Frans van Steenwyk scripted a play titled *Thamas Koelikan* in Amsterdam. This relatively understudied play not only chose the Asian monarch for protagonist, but also identified Nadir Shah's conquest of Mughal Hindustan as the backdrop to his drama. This act is perhaps not altogether strange when seen in the context of the larger European fascination for the conqueror in the mid eighteenth century. Numerous accounts rolled out of the European presses detailing the conquests, expeditions and the personality of Nadir Shah. Just as Van Steenwyk's drama reflected the curiosity of his peers in the activities of the distant Persian sovereign, another image of Asian rulers widely circulating in Europe at the same time also found its way into the play – the image of the Oriental Despot. The concept of Oriental Despotism was without doubt an old one sired by a long line of philosophers down centuries. But the 18th century was in many ways the 'defining moment' for the concept. Scholars such as Perry Anderson and Lucette Valensi acribe to the period the first ever inclusion of the term in dictionaries and argue that with the publication of Montesquieu's L'Espirit des Lois in 1748, the concept of Oriental Despotism was 'firmly fixed in European political thought' and 'became a central legacy for political economy and philosophy after'. Although the theme of the Oriental Despot was a generic application to Asian rulers, the relationship that this label had with Nadir Shah was more intimate. From the late 18th century onwards, any mention of Nadir Shah invariably meant reference to Oriental Despotism and it was not long before the ruler was inducted into the league of despots alongside other 'scourges of the East' such as Tamerlane.

This paper studies the nature of representation of Nadir Shah in Van Steenwyk's *Thamas Koelikan*. It enquires whether and by what means the image of the Oriental Despot features in this literary piece. It argues that the observations made in this regard should be seen in the light of the sources of information and imagery that the playwright

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⁶ Lucette Valensi . 'The Making of a Political Paradigm: The Ottoman State and Oriental Despotism' in Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (ed). *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press. 1990. 173 – 203. 174. Perry Anderson. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: NLB.1974. 462 -466.

relied on, in drawing up his play. And this related in turn to the larger world of the Dutch East India Company in Asia.

Session 3: Cultural Identities

Chinese migration into Southeast Asia stimulated by the economic expansion of European colonies in Southeast Asia around 1800

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The China's maritime trade with Southeast Asia can be traced at least to the first century. The famous silk road by sea from Canton through Southeast Asia to Europe existed, although sometimes was intermittently, for two thousand years. Based on China's advanced handicraft industry and shipbuilding, higher navigation technology and abundant commodities for export before 19th century, the Chinese merchants dominated, to some extents, the maritime trade in East Asia. Although Chinese merchants were very active in these areas, a few Chinese settled down there before the early 15th century except the settlements in Java and Sumatra around beginning of 15th century. Since the Europeans expanded into Far East and established their colonies, the Chinese from Southeast coastal areas, particularly from South Fujian and Eastern Guangdong, migrated in a great scale into European colonies and the native kingdoms under the European commercial impacts in Southeast Asia, and started the continuous migration wave until 1949. To the middle of 19th century, the Chinese migrants and their descents amounted to a number of one and half million, and to the middle of 20th century, this number increased to 800 million. Up to present days the Chinese in Southeast Asia amounted to 33.45 millions.

This paper tries to give a general view of the process why and how the Chinese migrated into European colonies in Southeast Asia from 17th century to early 19th century and how they established their communities for the later new comers. Therefore, this paper also wanted to prove that the economic globalization the Europeans brought to East Asia in 17-19 centuries was the fundamental driving force for Chinese migration into Southeast Asia, and this migration phenomenon took place again since 1990s but promoted by the economic integration of China and Southeast Asia also under the context of economic globalization.

Changing Meanings of Lusitanian Space in India, 1780-1830

Dr.Pius Malekandathil (Centre for Historical Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University)

The Lusitanian space in India, constructed over time by way of mercantile linkages, political processes and ecclesiastical institutions and mechanisms, underwent significant change during the period between 1780 and 1830. On the one hand the commercial

ventures that the Portuguese maintained as their major economic profession for more than two centuries were relegated to the background or handed over to the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa and on the other hand the Portuguese state in India began to give utmost importance to agriculture and expansion of cultivation against the backdrop of intensified threat from the English on their commerce. The agrarian policy of Marques de Pombal to acquire new cultivable territories and expand agriculture had already brought neighbouring areas of Goa like Sattari, Pernem, Ponda, Ouepem, Bicholim, Canacona and Sanquelim under the Portuguese control during the period between 1763 and 1783, which they named as New Conquests. This was followed by the establishment of a Department of Agriculture in 1776 to supervise cultivation and to introduce new crops like pepper, cotton, areca-nuts etc., in Goa and in the newly conquered territories. At a time when the king of Portugal fled from Lisbon to Brazil and began to rule Portugal and its colonies from Brazil following severe threats from Napoleanic wars, the Portuguese possessions in India, particularly in Goa, were moving towards increasing ruralization. The Department of Agriculture even clamoured for the closure of municipal councils of Goa, and also for the liquidation of gaonkar system(community ownership of land) that would facilitate distribution of enough land to enterprising individuals, so that capitalistic production might happen in agricultural sector and resources needed for the sustenance of Goa might be produced from within.

When the power centre of Goa was getting ruralized, the different Indian cities where the Portugese retained their influence and control through the ecclesiastical device of Padroado, were slipping away from their hands and the Portuguese descendants residing in these cities were made to undergo ethnic transformations. The missionaries of Propaganda Fide, which was established in 1623 by Pope for evangelization works in non-Portuguese pockets, were increasingly used by the English to wean the Portuguese descendants of their cities including Bombay, Madras and Calcutta away from Portuguese Padroado authorities and to get them integrated with the English system. The frequent conflicts between the Padroado and Propaganda Fide facilitated the emergence of a strong linkage between Propaganda missionaries and English authorities for the purpose of keeping Portuguese Padroado missionaries as far away as possible from English possessions, particularly Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The Luso-Indians and the descendants of the Portuguese in these cities, who were thus detached from the Padroado authorities with the help of Propaganda missionaries and institutions, were eventually absorbed as commercial intermediaries, fighting force and wives for the English, causing a consequent transformation to happen from Luso-Indians into Anglo-Indians in the erstwhile Portuguese possessions.

Session 3a: Piracy

Pirates of the Malabar Coast: A Historical Analysis

Binu John Mailaparambil

This article examines the changing nature of 'piracy' that was in vogue along the South-West coast of India (Malabar) during the early modern period. It argues that the demeanours and activities of the Malabar pirates cannot be properly understood by depending merely on the representation of them in European narrative sources. For a proper understanding, it is imperative to analyse them by taking their socio-cultural milieu into account. In the same vein, the history of Malabar piracy cannot be studied in isolation from the larger framework of European commercial expansion into the Indian Ocean. From this perspective, both 'internal' and 'external' forces were crucial in determining the nature of Malabar piracy. Thus, instead of being a representative case of a 'traditional' and 'static' pre-colonial Oriental identity, 'Malabar pirate' embodies the dynamics of pre-colonial South Asian political economy.

Piracy and Sea Peoples in West Kalimantan in the 1820s

Dr. Atsushi Ota

When the Dutch attempted to start their colonial rule in West Kalimantan in the 1820, they assumed that the coastal areas were occupied with a number of pirates. Some reports made by Dutch officials who visited coastal kampongs, however, reveal that communities of so-called pirates were in fact engaged in various activities including trade, fishery, and cultivation. They were mostly migrants, who were often ethnically mixed. They created reciprocal relationship with local Malay rulers, providing a part of booties or maritime products, in return for protection. They played an important role in the collection and trade of local maritime products and the distribution of imported commodities. Through their network they contributed to the regional and interregional trade. The examination of their activities provide new perspectives to reconsider the history of Kalimantan in the precolonial-to-colonial transition period, which scholars have conventionally discussed as in decline because of the lack of strong state control.

Discourses of Piracy in the Indian Ocean World, c. 1780-1850.

Simon Layton

This paper explores several interconnected, though curiously distinctive, understandings of maritime piracy in the Indian Ocean world, as they developed within the changing framework of British imperialism from the late eighteenth century. Whether they reflected a need to maintain East India Company trading monopolies, compete with rival imperial powers in Asia, or (as we find increasingly) to promote a new liberal-commercial ethos of free trade, taken together such perspectives of piracy produced a rich discourse that I locate within Admiralty and Company correspondence, and in the pages of a burgeoning littoral-press network.

From what C. A. Bayly terms the 'global revolutionary age', in which concepts of the nation and civic republicanism found their ideological footing, there emerged a concomitant 'international' legal regime that depended on the construction of piracy as an ideological tool for legitimising extraterritorial force in the contexts of empire and global trade. But the criminalisation of such activities becomes problematic in light of recent

historiography, which approaches piracy as a spectacle of both commercial warfare and indigenous resistance. To confront these issues, I focus largely on two critical maritime spaces. First, in the Persian Gulf, I explore the motives behind British expeditions against the Qawasim (1809-1819); secondly, I conclude with the controversial 'white Raja' of Sarawak, James Brooke, whose quixotic campaigns to extirpate 'piracy' stretched the term to its reasonable limits in the 1840s.

Session 3b: cultural identities

The "Cape Dutch": Cultural identity and emotional experience at the Cape of Good Hope during the first British occupation

Danelle van Zyl

In 1652, the VOC established a small settlement at the Cape of Good Hope as a refreshment station for its fleets en route between Europe and the East. With time, the humble Dutch settlement developed into a unique colonial society shaped by the dynamic interaction of European, Eastern and local elements. The research at hand is based on a selection of private lettersi written at the Cape during the first British occupation (1795-1803) – a prelude to the permanent regime change followed in 1806. Although a great deal is known about the Cape during this period, these letters reveal something of those less obvious cultural developments which occur at grassroots level parallel to more apparent political, economic and social occurrences.

The Cape Letters were written by Dutch-speaking residents of the Cape town and its surrounding areas. This group is here termed the "Cape Dutch", a term which indicates that this unique community was simultaneously indigenous to the Cape and of European settler-origin. As scarcely any sources of such an intimate nature exist for this community during this period, these letters provide insight into otherwise inaccessible aspects of the Cape past. Consequently, they were examined as a mirror into the mentality of the social group to which their authors belonged.

The focus falls on two aspects of this community's mentality as it is revealed in the Cape Letters. Firstly, the nature of Cape Dutch group consciousness and collective identification was investigated, based on theoretical extrapolations concerning the use of "the collective" in historical analysis. Analysing the way in which the letter-writers position themselves vis-à-vis other groups in Cape society, it is shown that Cape Dutch collective consciousness was very specifically exclusive – not only racially, as is conventionally believed, but also culturally. Secondly, focus fell on the intensity of emotional expression revealed in the Cape Letters. The analysis takes the first steps towards an emotions history of South Africa – to date a historiographical lacuna. The feelings that marked the Cape Dutch emotional landscape around 1800 are sketched and linked to this community's specific collective identity and historical experience. Placing

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these findings within their greater historical context, it is shown that the emotional expressiveness of the Cape Letter-writers was in keeping with models of Western emotional development and the associated movement towards modernity.

Pointing towards the author's future research, this research culminates in a brief discussion of marrying findings on Cape Dutch collective identity and emotional experience in an exploration of the history of collective emotion. This raises several questions as to the necessary conditions for the expression of collective emotion, and it is shown that the nature of collective experience is a determining factor of considerable significance in this regard.

i These letters form part of the recently discovered Prize Papers archive of the High Court of Admiralty in The National Archives, Kew, UK.

Chettys in Early- Modern Sri Lanka: some aspects of the social history of Sri Lanka

Nirmal Dewasiri

The purpose of this paper is to analyse some information that surface in the Dutch cadastral tombos in the eighteenth century Sri Lanka on the community identified as chettys. Chettys are a distinct ethnic community in the present Sri Lanka. It is concentrated in some areas on the western coastal belt, especially in Negombo, although it is not a numerically large group. Moreover, there is large number of people among the Sinhala ethnic community who bear 'hetti' (colloquial form of chetty) as a suffix or prefix of their family name. This suggests that these people has some ancestral links with the chettys in the past, even though this not conclusive.

Moreover, there are numerous references to merchant communities in the sources that provide information on the post-Rajarata social formations in Sri Lanka. They are referred to as *setti* (Sanskrit) or *situ* (Sinhala). Information on Alakeshvaras of South Indian origin, a powerful elite group who built the Kotte fortress and closely linked with politics of the fifteenth century Sri Lanka, and the episode of Jotiya Sitana of Kandy who organized a rebellion against Kotte rulers in the late fifteenth century are some of the important information in this connection. Although this information is well known to historians, they have not been adequately analysed.

This information regarding merchant communities could be located in the context of certain intriguing dynamics in the demographic constitution after the fall of Polonnaruva kingdom in the mid thirteenth century. The most fascinating aspect is the constant movement of people between the South Indian main land and the island. Such eminent scholars as Gananath Obeyesekera, Amaradasa Linagamage and Michael Roberts have identified some aspects of these movements of people. Chettys are also known as a group of recent South Indian descent. Therefore it is important to locate the case of Chettys in the context of these people's movements between the South Indian main land and the island.

There are a significant number of villages as recorded in Tombos where chettys lived. Although their major settlement areas are along the Western coastal belt, a number of Chetty families were resided in interior villages as well. It is evident from the information contained in tombos that many male members of these chetty families were married to

women of the *goyigama* caste. *Goyigama* is the largest agricultural caste in the precolonial caste system in Sri Lanka. This marriage pattern therefore could be considered as an early stage of the integration of chettys into the agrarian society in the interior Sri Lanka. The information on this integration process through marital relations can be supplemented by other information regarding land ownership. Some chettys have become land owners in the interior areas. They have apparently benefited from the emerging land market sponsored by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) administration.

Furthermore, other information on a later stage of this integration could also be gleaned from tombos. There are a large number of non-chetty families, belonging to several caste groups, have been recorded in tombos where "hetti" has been suffixed or prefixed to their family names. It may be possible to assume that those who have been integrated into the other social groups or castes preserved their Chetty identification by way of retained the 'hetti' part in their family name.

Based on this assumption and taking into consideration the sizable number of people bearing family names with 'hetti' suffix or prefix even in the present day, it is possible to argue that this represents a decisive aspect of the demographic history of what I would like to call 'post-Rajarata' period. I will try to use this information coming from tombos together with information other sources to place chettys in the proper perspective in the early modern history and historiography of Sri Lanka. Among these 'other sources' are François Valentijn's and John Davy's accounts on Sri Lanka, Janawansaya, a minor chronicle that describe the caste system, and *Niti Niganduwa*, a compilation of indigenous law. This study will shed a new light on some important aspects of the social history of the early modern Sri Lanka.

In Fear and Furiousness: The Chinese and Crime in The Ommelanden of Batavia 1780-1795

Devi Riskianagrum

The Ommelanden of Batavia was in the midst of increasing criminality in the late 18th century. The crisis of the sugar industry in the 1730s, the effects of the Chinese massacre in 1740 on the Batavian economy, the declining health of Batavia's population owing to recurrent epidemics, followed by the involvement of the Dutch in the fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784), and the declining power of the Company in the Indonesian archipelago, resulted not only in falling profits, but also financial difficulties and mounting debt. All of these problems were reflected in the colonial administration's weakening control over the Ommelanden of Batavia. Beginning with the decline in the demand for labor which contributed to unrest in the Ommelanden, crime became a common occurrence in society ranging from murder, robbery and theft to internecine fighting among the different ethnicities. The increase in criminality in the Ommelanden of Batavia affected the Chinese as a part of the society, either as perpetrators or as victims. Their superior financial status was the source of envy among other ethnicities and thus, they became vulnerable to crime. This study aims to explore criminal cases in Batavia and the Ommelanden as recorded in the Schepenbank archives involving the participation of the Chinese either as perpetrators or as victims. This study, in this way, provides some insight into the functioning of the colonial legal system vis-à-vis the Chinese community and their relations in turn with other ethnic groups in the Ommelanden on the basis of the law cases.

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