



The Arrangement of the Netherlands Indies Government and Loloda Resistance, 1817 – 1909

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the process of the arrangement of the Netherlands Indies government in Moluccas, particularly in Loloda during the period 1817-1909. This arrangement was based on several treaties agreed between the colonial government and the Ternate Sultanate. Three of them were signed by the two parties and have given a great impact on Loloda's sovereignty including the treaties of the years 1817, 1822, and 1824. The impact on the implementation of such contract led to three aspects: firstly, towards local authority; secondly, towards native people; and thirdly is the Dutch Protestant missionary activity. The arrangement on the three aspects raised a resistance against such arrangement, categorized as the onlusten/ongeregeldheden (riot) which is slightly different from Sartono Kartodirdjo's studies on the Banten revolt in 1888. This is evidently contrary to Resink's study revealing that in the period 1850–1910, the free kingdoms including Ternate, which is fallible, since the treaties' articles even strengthen colonial authority upon Ternate and Loloda. The issues to be answered in this article regarding 1. the background; 2. the governance arrangement process; and 3. The reactions towards the arrangement. Studies on archives and literature are parts of history method and methodology applied in this article writing.

INTRODUCTION

Loloda was the oldest and greatest kingdom along northwest and southwest sea coastal of the North Halmahera of Moluccas territory, initially inhabited by people of Alifuru Tribe along Soasio Tua riverside (Dictionaire Geographique Universel, 1712: 481 & 607. This kingdom was not a member of Moti Alliance (1322–1343) since they were late to attend the first meeting for establishing such alliance in Moti Island in 1322 which launched an agreement (Moti Treaty) called in local language as *Kolano Ngaruha Dokunena Moloku Kie Raha* (the kingdoms alliance of the four mountains Mollucas, hereinafter shortly called MKR), with its motto *moi-moi i moloku* (all in one hand). The MKR's members consisted of kings of Ternate, Tidore, Makian (Bacan), and Moti (Jailolo). Dutch researchers and writers called the Moti Alliance as *Motir Staten Verbond* (Mollucas kingdoms league in Moti) established in the 14th century and initiated by the seventh king of Ternate, Sida Arif Malamo (1322–1332) as quoted from Veth (1861a). If Loloda joined the alliance, it would be the *Moloku Kie Ramtoha* (the kingdoms of the five mountains Mollucas, abbreviated with MKRth) as its member would consist of Loloda aside from MKR's members, however, this never happens into real. (Jacobs 1984: 62, 118 & 761).

As a vassal kingdom of Ternate, the basic structure of the Loloda's traditional government is not principally different comparing to the other kingdoms of MKR. Such structure defined as a classification of main positions in the kingdom including *kolano* (king), *jougugu* (prime minister), *kapita lao* (warlord), *babato* (customary board), *hukom* (judge), *sowohi* (royal advisory board, and *alfris* (secretary). This structure has not changed, even in the current time, since the Tolo Usman Malamo (1220) to Syamsuddin (1909) era.

MKR's kingdoms have their certain perspective towards Loloda. They put Loloda as an inferior and subordinated territory under Ternate. Despite the fact that foreign and local sources have shown the unitary relation between Loloda and the four kingdoms in their mythology, genealogy, geography, sociology, culture, and history, in fact, Loloda's existence as a political entity in the past Mollucas was not noticeable until the end of the 20th century (Andaya, 1993a & 2015b and Fraassen 1985a & 1987b).

LITERATURE REVIEW

A source from the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries dated on November 19th, 1599 has mentioned Loloda as the ruler of a small territory (*hum reisinho*) and the powerful old kingdom (*anti gamente dizem que foi poderoso*). Within the Spanish attack between the year 1606 and 1607, and not to mention in the second half of the 17th century, Loloda and its territory in Halmahera was destroyed (Jacobs 1974: 188, 1984: 62, 118; Lapian 1994: 18; Visser 1994: 18). Loloda was eventually replaced by another North Halmahera's ethnic group, namely Jailolo, which in its turn, as like the Loloda, fell under the Ternate.

An intriguing source shows that Spain took part in weakening Loloda's power in the Mollucas history of the late 17th century. The source as mentioned above is *Documenta Malucensia* or the documents of Mollucas (1606–1690) in Spanish along with its translation in English. It served as the travel and activity reports of the Jesuit missionaries, both Portuguese and Spanish. The report

contains information on Loloda in Spanish, edited and with the annotation given by Jacobs Hubert (1984: 62, 118 & 761). As quoted from the document that “Loloda village in North Halmahera destroyed by Spaniards”.

Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC)

Before the Dutch regional government for Moluccas (*Gouvernement der Molukken*) was established in Ambon, VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*/The United East Indian Company) has previously placed its main office in Ternate. The four first governors-general of VOC based in Ternate before their main office moved to Batavia in 1819. Such names were 1) Pieter Both (1612-1615); 2) Gerard Reynst (1615-1616); 3) Dr. Laurens Reaal (1616-1619); and 4) Jan Pieterzoon Coen who started his duty in 1619 in the same time of the establishment of Batavia as the capital of VOC (de Clerq 1890a & 1999: 112-156).

Although VOC has been existed in Moluccas, to be exact in Ambon since 1602 and in Ternate since 1607, the VOC started to permanently rule the territory in 1864 and went on until 1799. There was three regional government of VOC known as *Gubernemen der Moluksche Eilanden* including the regional governments of Moluccas, Amboina, and Banda. Loloda was part of the regional government of Moluccas (*Gubernemen Maluku*) along with all territories of Halmahera and Morotai and their surroundings (Ohorella, Ratnawati, & Suhardi 1990:7).

METHODOLOGY

Arrangement the Colonial Government in Ternate (1817–1908): Loloda and British Empire

In June 21st, 1801, Governor Cranssen handed over Moluccas to British Empire in Ternate. The British further placed its first resident, H. Webber in Ternate. However, England did not last there for a long time. In 1803, England returned Ternate to Dutch. A Dutch commission for handover and stabilization of the eastern territories led by Cranssen arrived in Ternate in August 1803. In 1804, Peter Adrianus Goldbach was assigned as the governor of Moluccas, and replaced by Carel Lodewijk Wieling in the following year. In this period, Moluccas was temporarily subordinated to Ambon.

In 1807, Muhammad Ali (Sarmole van der Parra, 1807–1823) was crowned as the Sultan of Ternate replacing Sultan Muhammad Yasin who died within this period. Ternate, later signed an agreement with the Dutch at the Oranje fort on May 16th, 1807. The article 14 of the agreement reads: “Sultan and the important figures of the kingdom (Ternate) will remain faithful to their protector, the government of the Netherland Indies”. Shortly after, in 1810 to be exact, the Dutch returned Moluccas to England under Captain Tucker. A year later, the British appointed Captain Forbes to be the military commander and the chief of civil government. W. Ewer then replaced him and served as the resident who was in charge in all affairs of the British East India Company in Moluccas”. From 1813 to 1816, the British placed several residents in Ternate including W.G. McKenzie, W.B. Martin, R. Stuar, and had re-assigned W.G. McKenzie to the same position. Loloda by this fact was administratively under of British government, aside from being part of Ternate authority during the period.

Meanwhile, the reassignment of McKenzie as the Resident of Moluccas has marked the end of the British short term government in Ternate. By a decree of the Commissioner for the Handover of Moluccas dated on April 5th, 1817, Lieutenant Colonel H.J. Graaf, the frigate commander of Maria Reigensbergen and J.A. Neijs, an administrator in Ambon, were assigned to be in charge on the handover. Both arrived in Ternate on April 24th, 1817, and in the following week, April 30, 1817, the hand over from the Resident McKenzie was carried out. In 1818, J.A. Neijs assigned as the first Dutch Resident for Mollucas. Loloda administratively returned to be part of the Gubernemen of Mollucas.

After the Treaty of London signed in 1824, the Dutch conducted the government reorganization and the dissolution of Ambon and Mollucas provinces, then replaced with the establishment of Moluccas Islands Province. The new province consisted of several districts (*afdeeling*). North Moluccas (*Noord Molukken*), previously known as the Moluccas was one of the districts. This district was part of Ternate's territory and its surrounding (*Ternate en onderhorigeden*) which undoubtedly included all territories of Loloda in the North and West Halmahera, Sula Islands, Banggai Islands, and some small autonomous regions (*swapraja*) on the eastern coast of Celebes, including Bolante, Mindong, Tomeiki and Tombuku (van der Kemp 1917: 334).

Loloda's position in the Moluccas seemed to be equal to the MKR's kingdoms as recorded by van Baarda (1904), an Evangelist missionary in Loloda in 1898. According to Baarda, Loloda King had helped the British expedition ship in the Loloda's waters territory suffering from a lack of clean water. Loloda King gave his help by sticking his wand in the sea and change it into the drinkable fresh water. The British were pleased for the help of the Loloda King (Van Baarda 1904: 325). Such explanation was similar to the information of the descendants of the Loloda King namely Habib Mamang and Lutfi Syamsudding that the king had received a small gold umbrella from the British as a gift due to his help over the British ship blocked by storm attack as well as his action for changing the salt water. Unfortunately, as the king's descendant said, nobody knows where the gold umbrella currently is (Habib Mamang and Luthi Syamsuddin, interview, 21-04-2013, in Mansur 2013:95)

Based on such details given by van Baarda and the descendant of Loloda King, we can assume that the Loloda King above mentioned was referred to the king who ruled in the early 19th century within the British government era. Both van Baarda and the king's descendant did not mention the king's name. The genealogy of the Loloda's kings did not list the period of their reigns, for this reason, we find difficulties in identifying the king who was ruling at that time. However, the treaty's manuscript created by the Dutch colonial government and the Sultan of Ternate in 1817 referred it to the reign of Camelie Besie (Kalumbesy) as the king of Loloda. Given with the fact that King Cameli Besie ruled the Loloda during the times of British government (1810 – 1817), it can be another key point to make the assumption above (Collection of Indonesian National Library, September 16th, 1817: 1 – 25).

The years of 1817 to 1909 known as the Pax Neerlandica Pacification period whose implementation seen as the colonial government's ideals. This idea

came up with an expectation that all colonial territories in the eastern part of Archipelago, including the Moluccas, should be part of the Netherlands East Indies ruled by the Dutch Queen. This fact can be attributed to Ardhana (2005: 5-7) in his dissertation on the Nusa Tenggara's governing structuring, 1915--1950. He referred to the imperialism theory belonging to the British historians, Johan Gallagher and Ronald Robinson speaking of the transition of informal to formal authority which seen by Ardhana, referred to analysis on British colonial politic in the 19th century. According to this theory, he argued that British colonial politic has closed the door free trade as the result of the rise of formal authority. This theory briefly explains in "British policy followed the principle of extending control informally if possible and formally if necessary" which means that British power will be informally applied as long as it is possible or with formal annexation if necessary (Gallagher and Robinson 1979:185 in Ardhana 2005:5) and that "the consolidation power" seen as a gradual process. The colonial rulers initially built their power seek for influence through the "indirect politics" upon their territories.

G.J. Resink (2013) in his book "Bukan 350 Tahun Dijajah" argues that kings and free kingdoms in the Indonesian Archipelago remained existing during the period of 1850 to 1910. The Ternate, Tidore and Bacan kingdoms with their respective territories were found around the waters and islands of Moluccas. So was the Loloda in the North Halmahera that was known as a free kingdom until the mid-17th century, notwithstanding that the Spanish had massively attacked them. Moreover, the Loloda has returned to rule despite being a vassal kingdom (subordinate) of the Ternate.

Resink explains in his work "Raja dan Kerajaan yang Merdeka di Indonesia between 1850 and 1910" on the function of residents and assistant-residents as the position derived from diplomatic fields. He, further, explains in his second book that even the Supreme Court of Batavia deemed a controller as a delegate (representative) of the Netherlands Indies. Meanwhile, Resink warned that posthouder position is the lowest level among the category of hierarchical representation of the prevailing government of the period. Posthouder and assistant Bestuur position in Loloda, particularly in the Timur Besar areas, "not appointed to rule, yet to solely represent Dutch empire through flag raisings. (See Lapiann on G.J. Resink in Abdulla & Sedyawati 1997: 211).

RESEARCH RESULT DISCUSSION

Friendship Treaty and Alliance Renewal (1817)

In 1817, Dutch created an agreement with the Sultan of Ternate and other kings around Moluccas land and waters territory, including the regions under Ternate Sultanate which set their highest power in the hand of the Dutch. As a consequence, colonial officers were placed in Loloda to give their assistance to the resident of Ternate in his responsibility to the Regional Government of Moluccas (Gubernemen Moluccas) and Governor-General of Netherlands Indies in Batavia. Following the power handover from the British (1811–1816) back to the Dutch, the government administration system of Mollucas Gubernemen (het Gouvernement der Molukken) was applied to the Ternate

residence (de Residentie van Ternate) and Ambon residence (de Residentie van Ambon).

The Treaty of 1817 with the title *Tractaat van Vriendschap en Alliantie Vernieuwe en Gesloten.....(enz.)* has been renewed by the Commissioner-General of the Netherlands Indies, Arnold Adrian Buijsked and his fellow commissioners in Moluccas including Nikolas Engelhard on behalf of the Government for the East Regions of Netherlands Indies as the first party and Your Excellency Ternate Sultan Muhammad Ali (Sarmole van der Parra, 1807 – 1823) with his successors as the second party. The treaty was accompanied by the oath utterance of the king and his ministers. The treaty consisted of 20 articles signed at Fort Oranje in Ternate. The Sultan of Ternate, as well as Engelhard and his commissioners in Moluccas, stamped and signed the letter of agreement. Since the Loloda was part of the Ternate Sultanate and the Ternate Residency and its conquered regions (de Ternate en Onderhorigheden), the king and prince of Loloda also taken part at signing as seen on the final part of the letter of the agreement. (Collection of Indonesian National Library, September 16th, 1817: 1-25)

It was Camele Besie, the Loloda's king who participated in signing the agreement. He was accompanied by his son, Prins Loda who also gave his signature for the agreement. By referring to the genealogy of the Loloda's kings based on their reign periods, we can assume that the Prince concerned was Kaicil (Jou Ngofa) Abbas and King Cameli Besie (Kalumbesy) reigned in Loloda in the time of British government (1810 – 1817) (Collection of Indonesian National Library, September 16th, 1817: 1-25).

This treaty has forced the Loloda to admit Dutch sovereignty over Moluccas proven by a loyalty to subject to the orders of Dutch colonial government. Loloda, by this fact, was forced to receive back the Dutch to be the ruler of Ternate and Moluccas. Aside from being a vassal kingdom under the Ternate Sultanate, Loloda was also under the authority of the Resident of Ternate and its surrounding regions (de Resident van Ternate en Onderhorigheden) and the Regional Government of Moluccas (Gouvernement der Molukken) who served as the manifestation of Dutch sovereignty in Moluccas. Ternate was apparently the extended hands of the Dutch in taking their control over Loloda as seen on Article 1 and 2 of the treaty. The land and islands previously belonged to Ternate shall be returned to the Dutch colonial party. As a consequence, Loloda was subsequently handed over by the Ternate to Dutch in accordance with Article 3. As determined in Article 3 and the following ones, Loloda had to be the territory of Ternate and the Dutch (Collection of Indonesian National Library, September 16th, 1817: 1 – 24).

The treaty seemed to officially serve as a form of colonization in which the rulers or the local kings in Moluccas including Loloda were the aggrieved parties since, by this treaty, Dutch had carried out colonialism and imperialism for its own interest. As a matter of fact, the colonial politics has suppressed Ternate and Loloda and taken their freedom and sovereignty due to this treaty. G.J. Resink (2013:205-229) in referring to the treaty argues that it is false to mention Ternate and Tidore as the free kingdoms in the second half of the 19th century.

Treaty of Dutch Government and Sultan of Ternate, Iskandar Nazaroeddin (1822)

Issues on the arrangement of the Loloda government undertaken by the Dutch colonial government through the Ternate Sultanate was apparent on the second treaty (1822) agreed and signed on April 16th, 1822 by the Ternate Sultanate as the first party and the Dutch colonial government as the other party consisting of the Resident of Ternate and its surrounding regions and the Regional Government of Moluccas. This treaty made in Dutch with the title *Tractaat Tusschen het Nederlandsch Gouvenement en Zijn Hoogheid den Sultan van Ternate Iskandar Nazaroedin, Gesloten den 16 de April 1822* (Treaty between the Dutch Government and Your Excellency Sultan of Ternate Iskandar Nazaroedin, agreed and signed by the two parties on April 16th, 1822) (Collection of Indonesian National Library, April 16th, 1822: 1-21).

This treaty served as an agreement between the Resident of Ternate, Johannes Alexander (J.A. Neijs) on behalf of the government of Netherlands Indies as the first party and the son of Your Honour Major Sarmole to approve the authority of the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, in return for his appointment to be the king of Ternate with the title *Paduka Sri Sultan Amirulmukminin Iskandar Nazaruddin*. This treaty consisted of 19 articles in 21 pages. The oath of King Iskandar Nazaruddin was included on the last page followed with the oaths of the ministers and the royal sons who did not serve in the Royal Assembly. The Sangaji of Tolofuo, Kaoli was seen to sign the contract as well. Tolofui was a region in the Loloda's territory having been forced to sign the treaty in the matters of tribute payments for nature's yields and human resources to the Ternate and Dutch. Yet, the key point to note here is the tribute payment was not only for the yields taken from Ternate but also from the kingdoms and regions in Halmahera and its surrounding islands, particularly Loloda, which is outside the territory of Ternate (Campen 1888 & Baretta 1917).

In this respect, the Dutch colonial government placed their officials to take care of all matters in the certain areas of Dutch territory and to serve as the agents for collecting and managing the tributes on yields, particularly nutmeg and clove. Loloda gave the tributes such as Sago, rosin, rattan, rice, and swiftlet nests, and sea products including various types of fish. (Indonesian National Archives, MvO, J.H. Tobias (1857) and C. Bosscher (1859), 1980:183). The small rulers in Loloda appointed by the colonial government, among others are *Assistant Bestuur* and *hofd district* (Valentijn, 1856:135).

Treaty Between Dutch Regional Government and Sultan of Ternate, Tajul Mulki Amiruddin Iskandar Kawalain Syah (1824)

The third treaty created between the Netherlands Indies Government and the Ternate Sultanate on April 8th, 1824 regarding Loloda known as Treaty 1824 with the title *Tractaat Tusschen het Nederlandsch Gouvernement en Zijn Hoogheid den Sultan van Ternate Tadjul Mulkie Amiroedien Iskandar Kawoleine Syah*. This treaty served as an agreement between Resident of Ternate, Johannes Alexander Neijs on behalf of the government of the Netherlands Indies and the son of Major Mohammad Zain as the Sultan candidate. Major Zain was obliged to acknowledge the authority of the Governor-General of the

Netherlands Indies and the Resident of Ternate. In return, he gained the throne in Ternate Sultanate with his title Kanjeng Paduka Sri Sultan Tadjul Muluk Amiroedin Iskandar. This treaty included on last page the oaths of the Ternate's Sultan, his ministers, his sons and his royal family members who did not serve in the Royal Assembly. The Resident of Ternate, Johannes Alexander Neijs and the candidate for the next Sultan signed, Major Mohammad Zain signed the treaty on April 8th, 1824. So did Malie, the *Kapita Lao* of Loloda (sea captain/ navy commander of Loloda)(Indonesian National Library. April 8th, 1924). Some articles of this treaty were applied by the Ternate and the Dutch to Loloda until the early 20th century.

On the first article, Sri Sultan of Ternate and King Loloda acknowledge Dutch colonial sovereignty in Ternate; The second article states that any appointment of kings, Sultan or kolano and other royal officials including Loloda conducted by the Ternate Sultanate should have the approval the colonial government; the fourth article: allies, and fellows of Dutch government were simultaneously the allies and fellows of the Ternate Sultanate so that they should be treated equally by the Sultanate; the fifth article: Ternate Sultanate should consistently be prepared to assist the colonial party in facing the wars and prepared weapons, boats, troops and helping the Dutch to handle chaos including revolt, riots, and any act of resistance against the Ternate and Dutch. This article was applicable towards Loloda.

The tenth article states that any riot and chaos occurred in Ternate Sultanate circumstance and its colonial territory should be reported to the Dutch colonial government in Ternate; the eleventh reads that every replacement of kings, sultans, ministers and royal officials within the royal circumstance should be approved by the Dutch government of Ternate; the twelfth, any judgment towards all people who breached the law, should not only in accordance with the Islamic Law but also the decision of the Dutch government of Ternate.

The thirteenth article states that any logging activity for cloves and nutmegs within the territory of Ternate should be provided with a special officer appointed by the Sultanate under supervision the colonial government; the sixteenth article, any city and fort building or demolition by the Sultanate should be approved by the colonial government. The treaty above directly or indirectly was binding towards Loloda. All written on the treaty served as a reference for the Dutch in setting up their government over Loloda through Ternate as can be proven by the signature of the Loloda's navy commander, Cameli, in 1824.

Resistance of Kapita Laut Sikuru of Laba (1909)

The idea on resistance of the Sea Captain Sikuru Laba had actually grown within Loloda Kingdom since 1909, initially by the internal conflict among the princes (kaicil) in order to gain the royal throne and title Kolano (king). Royal elites have driven the resistance themselves including Syamsudddin Syah (1906 – 1909). The resistance brought up the issues on an intimidated feeling and insecurity among Loloda's people towards the colonial policy in tax (*belasting*) and forced labor (*rodi*) management and Christianity-Protestantism activities conducted by Dutch Evangelical missionaries in Loloda of the period.

By the time a king of Lolona, Sunia, died around the late 19th century, the princes coming from the social group “Jou” (the royal elites and their families) seized the royal throne of Loloda Kingdom. Among others, they are Kaicil Arafane, Kaicil Syamsuddin, Kaicil Nasu (son of Kolano Sunia) and Kaicil Kayoa (the first son of Sea Captain Dumba (the blood brother of Kolano Sunia).

The four princes above approached the Dutch Government to pass their ambition for the throne. Following the consideration of Ternate Sultanate, the colonial government agreed to appoint Kaicil Syamsuddin as Kolano Loloda to replace his father Kolano Sunia due to his genealogy status as known that the Syamsuddin’s wife has a close familial relationship with the Ternate Sultanate. Meanwhile, his older brother, Kaicil Arafane, appointed to be the Sea Captain of Loloda, and his younger brother, Kaicil Nasu as the Junior War Commander (Kapita Lao Muda). Only Kaicil Kayoa whose title remained Jongofa (kaicil/prince).

This appointment has triggered Kaicil Kayoa’s political jealousy towards Kaicil Syamsudin due to his ambition for the throne. Kayoa solely refused this appointment. He tried to benefit from the uncertain social condition among his people when the new taxation system was applied. It was seen when the colonial government through their *Assistant Bestuur* van Rooij was collecting an individual tax (*belasting*) from Loloda's people. Kayoa protested against Kolano Syamsuddin for his indiscretion while serving as Kolano and allowing the Dutch to levy taxes on the people of Loloda. According to Kayoa, the tax payment should be done by, from, and for the Loloda’s people without any intervention from the foreign party.

Kaicil Kayoa expressed his rejection to Kolano Syamsuddin by holding a demonstration. He provoked people to make shame on king’s dignity. Once, the Dutch tax officers were in the palace of a Loloda’s commander (kapita) of Soa Laba (Laba village, Sikuru when his two colleagues, Bagina and Tasa from Soa Bakun, on February 14th, 1909, broke into the palace and suddenly attacked and killed the three tax officers, identified as Government administrative assistant, van Rooijs and two policemen who accompanied him. They instantly died in front of Kolano Syamsuddin and his queen Jou Ma-Boki, Habiba.

Such incident resulted in the arrest of Kolano Syamsuddin (1906 – 1909) and his queen Jou-boki Habiba followed with their children. The king’s family brought to the exile as the punishment while Kapita Sikuru sentenced with an equal punishment and the jogugu (Prime Minister) whose name is unknown also brought to the exile. Since then, the position and title Kolano has been overthrown by the colonial government. (KV 1909:77).

After such overthrow, *Sangaji* runs his leadership in Loloda. This fact indicates a transformation of political forms and functions within the leadership. People in Loloda commemorated their revolt in a local poem "Kolano Madodaga" (the end of the king) compiled by Hasan (2001) and Mansur (2003 & 2013) whose contents shown as follows:

“Kapal dai Lalaweri, Sordano Walanda Na Kapal; Isa yo parang Laba; ma sarsan o uci; ma komdan o ginado; Hongi ma kapita nage; ma kapita, Kapita Sikuru; masongo-songo Bagina; Madiki-diki Kayoa; Mamegi una Tasa; Suba Jou Kolano Malamo-lamo; Au le”

(The ship is sailing; the ship of Dutch army; Let's fight together with the Laba; When the soldier (sergeant) went down; His commander then asked: Who's the war commander of yours?; then here is our answer, the commander is Kapita Sikuru; Bagina as his partner; Kayoa who gives the command (the brain); and Tasa as the guide; Hail to His Majesty Lord; Kill!")

"Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant, Algemeen Handelsblad" dated on Saturday.13 and Monday, 15 of March 1909 were two newspapers published the incident of resistance. The incident has greatly affected the sustainability of Loloda's political entity and sovereignty in the Moluccas since it has justified the authority of Ternate with the political support obtained from the colonial government. Three Dutch died and eight Lolodans injured in the local resistance of Loloda in the year 1908 – 1909 led by Kapitan Sikuru-Laba. 30 fully armed soldiers were sent to Loloda from Ternate led by Lieutenant Meihuizen to quell the resistance as shown in the newspaper as follows:

"De resident van Ternate seinde den 9en Februari via Gorontalo: vier dezer bericht van posthouder Djilolo: Politie-adsistent Loloda 2 dezer in huiz Radja te Soa Sioe door bende Alfoeren kampong Laba overvallen en met twee politieopassers vermoord; militaire patrouille, 30 man, onder Luitenant Meihuizen van Ternate gezonden, over viel nacht 5 op 6 dezer versterkte kampong Laba; kwaadwilligen vluchtten met achterlating van twee dooden, een geweer en veel blanke wapens; onzerzijds geen gewonden".

(The Resident of Ternate on February 9th via Gorontalo announces that: four news have given by a controller in Jailolo: Two policemen unexpectedly have been killed at the royal palace of King Loloda in Soasio by a group of Alifuru's people of the Laba Village; 30 military patrols sent to Ternate, led by Liutenant Meihuizen, to besiege the Laba Village for 5 to 6 nights; After having killed two men, the villains run away while taking a lot of guns and sharp weapons; no one was injured at our side (NAC-AH, Monday, March 15th, 1909: 13).

Dutch newspapers issued in 1909 have not mentioned any Dutch official killed in the incident. Yet, it was subsequently identified on a Dutch newspaper issued in 1910 as the Asisten Bestuur van Rooij (NAC-AH, Monday, December 19th, 1910:9). The death of van Rooijs and two policemen who accompanied him had caused the dismissal and exile of the (last) King of Loloda, Syamsuddin Syah in 1990 to Ternate along with his sons and wife. As for the Sikuru and the rebels, they were sentenced with an equal punishment. Since 1909 Loloda's status as a kingdom was officially removed and integrated by force into the Ternate Sultanate's authority simultaneously with the death of the King of Loloda, Syamsuddin died. The revolt has actually been recorded on Colonial Verslag van Nederlandsch (Oost) Indie 1909 informing that:

".....Lolode werden in Februari 1909, zonder bekende aanleiding, de ten laste van de lanschapskas in dienst genomen assistent an twee gewapende politiedienaren door de bevolking van Laba vermoord. Nadat de kampong door an militair detachement uit Ternate bezet was, waarbij op eenig verset werd gestuit, dat den aanvallers op 3 dooden en 8 gewonden te staan kwam, verbeterde de toestand spoedig. De gevluchte bevolking keerde terug en werkte, onder leiding van de

nieuwent assistent, aan wegen en bruggen. Een onderzoek bracht aan het licht dat de radja, de djogoegoe en de kapitein laoet van Loloda de hand in het gebeurde de moeten hebben gehad. Zij werden ontslagen en met de hofdschuldigen aan den moord naar Ternate gezonden"

(On February 1909 in Loloda, with unidentified cause, two armed policemen have been killed on their duty by a group of men from Lalaba Village. Later, the village occupied by a military detachment from Ternate. The rebels' attacks caused three people died and eight people injuresd. The situation was immediately resolved, people returned from their evacuation and back to work guided by a new assistant to build road and bridges. An investigation has revealed that king, JOugugu, and Kapitan Laut Loloda were involved in the incident. They were fired and sent to their exile in Ternate due to the murder) (See: KV (Oost) Indie 1909: 77).

The citation above reveals that a sudden revolt had occurred in February 1909 conducted by a group of people from Loloda under the command of their Sea Captain that had caused 3 people, 1 tax officer, and two Dutch policemen died as well as 8 people injured in the Loloda palace, in front of Kolano Syamsuddin in Soa-Sio. As a consequence, kolano, jougugu, and kapita Loloda were fired from their positions (M. Mansur, interview, 12-02-2015) and sentenced with an equal punishment. Likewise, Kolano Syamyuddin brought to exile in Ternate.

The oral source reveals that the revolt, in fact, has occurred in 1908 (H.M. Jae bin Usman, interview, 04-01-2016), led by Kapita Lao Sikuru, the war commander of Loloda at that period. Kapitan Sikuru was helped by his two partners, Bagina and Tasa (Sulaeman, interview, 03-01-2016). This revolt was finally ended on February 14th, 1909, the year that was believed by the local inhabitants as the ending of Loloda Kingdom. People in Loloda remember such heroism in the folklore "Kolano Madodaga" ("the Last King").

Based on the documents used in his study on The Peasant Revolt of Banten (1888), Kartodirdjo used different terms to show the categories of revolt. According to him, such revolts can be clearly distinguished from the big revolts that seem like wars, such as the Aceh war, the Padri War, or the Java War (Diponegoro). The terms include onlusten, ongeregeldheden, complot, samenscholingen, woelingen, onrust, and rustverstoring (Kartodirdjo 1984c: 43). In his study, there is no clear distinction between revolt and riot since both have a lot of similar characteristics; both are traditional and regional.

Based on terms found on the Dutch newspaper news Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant, Algemeen Handelsblad, Zaterdag, 13 Maart 1909, page 3, and by looking at the categories proposed by Kartodirdjo based on the Dutch documents used above, It appears that the so-called revolt (riot) that had occurred in Loloda in this study in 1909, belonged to the category of onlusten (riot), as it is reported:

Ternate. Aan de "Deli Cour". Werd uit Buitenzorg het volgende gemeld: De Resident van Ternate seinde 14 Febr., dat de aanvoerders van onlusten te Loloda gevangen genomen zijn, waarbij Arruser, de broeder van den Radja van Loloda zich bevindt en de Radja zelf met twee rijksgrouten, die weten van den moord op

de ontslagen Labareezen. Er waren 3 dooden en 8 gewonden. De schuldige kampongs worden gestraft met weg-arbeid.

(Ternate. To " District Court of Deli", the following here is reported from Buitenzorg (Bogor): Resident of Ternate announced that on February 14th, the mastermind behind the revolt in Loloda had been arrested in which King Loloda with his two brothers as Loloda rulers was accused of the murder committed by a group of Laba people causing the three people died and eight others injured. The persons who were found guilty of the incident punished with forced labor to build roads and bridges (NAC-AH, Saturday, 13 March 1909: 3).

A series of interviews compiled by the writers from the informants during the field research shows that the Loloda's king and the noblemen being involved in the incident were Syamsuddin (kolano), Arafane (Kapita Lao), Sikuru (Kapita), Kayoa (kaicil-prince), Tasha, and Bagina (the guard). The revolt against the Dutch in Loloda in 1909 was considered to be local, regional, and short-lived, yet its objectives were clear. First, to reject the colonial policies on taxation, forced labor, and Evangelical missionary activity supported by Ternate. Secondly is to bring down Kolano Syamsuddin from his throne as King Loloda since his appointment was considered invalid, according to the opposite party. Syamsuddin was appointed by the Dutch and Ternate by taking into account that Syamsuddin's wife, Queen (Jou-Boki) Habiba, was a close relative of the Ternate's royal family and nobles which were not based on the people's will.

Tax collection was an important colonial policy and the main objective of the resistance. Aside from refusing the taxation system, forced labor, and Christianity-protestantism mission which troubled the Loloda's king and his people particularly since the late 19th century, the resistance was against the Dutch and Ternate's intervention towards the appointment of Syamsuddin Syah as the last Kolano Loloda. Behind the Loloda's attempts in opposing such policy, there was a purpose for overthrowing the king deemed to act in an arbitrary manner towards his own people. As a social movement, this resistance has not indicated any characteristic of a modern organization and ideology, or national agitation (Heberle, 1959:6 in Kartodirdjo, 1986:43).

Kartodirdjo argues (1984c) that the significance of such revolts was primarily not about its impact on the political development, yet for the fact that the revolts were endemic during the 19th century as can be seen as a manifestation of an agrarian upheaval constituting the grassroots political development during the period of "Pax Neerlandica". This feeling of dissatisfaction kept burning until the fall of Dutch colonial regime. Economic, social, religious, and political factors were the reasons behind such dissatisfaction. Likewise happened in Loloda as seen in the onlusten or ongeregeldheden (riot) in 1909 (NAC- AH, Zaterdag, 13 Maart 1909:3 & NAC-AH, Maandag, 19 December 1910:9).

The involvement of native people, "Alifuru" from Laba and Bakun villages who had been living along the side of Soasio Tua river since the 17th century was found according to several related sources aside from those who resided in hinterlands and jungle of Halmahera. In terms of leadership and

personality, Sikuru, indeed, was not an ordinary people, not even come from the Alifuru social group. He was from the Laba village. He eventually became a royal official serving as kapita (captain, commander), or often called as "kapita" (kapitan lao) or navy commander of Loloda Kingdom. His titles have indicated Loloda as a maritime state. Thus, people were involved in war or revolt should be those who lived within the maritime culture. The fishermen revolt has been done by those working as fishermen, sailors, or pirates on a daily basis. Fishermen and pirates have collaborated to create a mass for the riot that subsequently resulted in the act of resistance against colonial policy. The riot reached its most critical moment when a Dutch administrative assistant, van Rooij and his two guards killed while 8 Loloda's people injured.

As cited from Kartodirdjo (1984), a revolt of local people including those categorized as a riot, often followed with several tragedies such as murder victim, arrest, dismissal or punishment given without right to objection. Such situation happened in Loloda as illustrated in this study in terms of reactions and impacts that emerged from a social movement including chaos, riot, or the real revolt itself.

Factors Leading to the Revolt of Kapitan Laut Sikuru of Laba

1. Forced Labour and Tax Policy

Instead of using the title sangaji, the head of Loloda District uses the title kolano. Despite this fact, the Loloda District was related to Kedaton of Ternate regarding the tax collection such as tribute and the labor mobilization from Loloda for the interest of Ternate Sultanate. Furthermore, Ternate Sultanate placed their representative in Loloda called utusang, or often called juru tulis with his three assistants to build relationship with Loloda's king. (De Clercq 1890a; De Clercq. 1890b: 74; van Baarda 1904: 320). That is to say that the tributes were annually given to Sultan of Ternate including swallow's nest in 6 to 10 times, two armies and 3-5 kora-kora boats each year is in terms of such tributary and labor mobilization previously mentioned. (ANRI. 1980", MvO J.H. Tobias (1857) and MvO, C. Bosscher (1859):13).

While the taxes managed by kolano under his royal management, this tax obligation applied to Bakun, Kedi, and Laba tribes. Each year they had to pay 10 rial or f 1,600 per family (Van Baarda 1904: 320). According to the Ternate Sultanate's economic interest, as shown above, we can say that such interest has weakened Loloda's political system as seen on Ternate domination over economic resources of Loloda. Ternate's economic interest consequently had affected political dynamics in Loloda due to the system transformation from kingdom to district under Ternate Sultanate.

There was also a limitation on influence and role of native officials in Loloda. Being part of a colonial political hierarchy, people and native rulers were forced to receive the consequences of colonial political policy. Such policies including the agreements of *Hereendienst* and *Gemeentedienst* created between the colonial government and the Sultan of Ternate on October 22th, 1884 and was in force on March 24th, 1896 (ANRI, MvO, 1980:12, Ternate: MvO J.H. Tobias (1857) & MvO, C. Bosscher (1859). *Hereendienst* constitutes a forced labor system for public interest and charged on native people. The implementation of forced labor

determined by the local government and applicable to certain objects and territories (District).

Hereendienst held for 32 days in a year and 12 hours a day including the time spent for reaching the working site from worker's home. Meals and transport were on the workers themselves. *Gemeentedienst* means forced labor applied to the regions which directly ruled by a *gubernemen*. The provisions on *gemeentedients* and *hereendienst* were alike except on its object and term of employment. The job specifically performed for the regional (village) interest such as for the constructions of roads, bridges and worship places. Such jobs took 30 days in a year. All projects that previously should be funded by the government, by then carried out under the *hereendienst* and *gemeentedienst* mechanism, as an example the road and bridge construction in Loloda's capital as recorded on KV-OI (1909:77).

2. Dutch UZV-Mission

Utrechtsche Zending Vereniging (UZV), an Evangelical Society established in Utrecht in 1865. Its activity was stopped at the time of the visit of Resident of Ternate in 1899. Van Baarda was a member of this society. He made a visit to Loloda that given him with a feeling of disappointment and fear. He was disappointed for seeing Dores Nuha, a native priest assigned to lead his congregation could not perform his duties properly and known as a drunkard. Baarda made the decision to dismiss Nuha from his position. Moreover, his fear was attributed to the Arifuru people who could at any time hold a revolt since their worship places often destroyed and burnt by the missionaries. Not to mention that he worried on the presence of Loloda's king to be sorts of a barrier for Zending activities in Loloda. For those reasons, he made a report to Resident of Ternate which responded with an appointment of an assistant bestuur to be placed in Loloda.

The assignment of an assisten bestuur to Loloda has indicated an attempt to keep an eye over the King of Loloda who deemed as a barrier against missionary activity. This *Assistent bestuur* was van Rooijs accompanied by two policemen as his guards had been victims of murder committed by Kapitan Sikuru of Laba and his followers, the Alifuru on February 14th, 1909 as mentioned on Kolonial Verslag Nederland Oost Indie (1909:77) and several Dutch newspapers. Aside from the issues on missionary activity, the murder was related to force labor and tax obligation system that deemed contrary to principles of mutual cooperation in Loloda.

Consequences of the Revolt

The revolt held by a group of Loloda's people had pushed the colonial government on June 28, 1909, to reaffirm the agreement regarding *herendienst* and *gemeentedienst* created on October 22, 1894. Such reaffirmation followed with the requirements on tax obligation through the agreement of 1903. This indicated an attempt of the colonial government and Ternate Sultanate to consolidate their authorities towards people in Ternate territory including Loloda. The dismissal and exile have been conducted in order to prevent the communication among kolano, jogugu, and kapita lau and their people. If previously the three of them

were acknowledged for their cooperation to the colonial government, as the revolt occurred on February 14th, 1909, they were no longer lost their power and deemed to be the opponents of the colonial government. Kolano, jogugu, and kapita lau accused of being the mastermind behind the revolt led by Kapita Sikuru.

The decision to alienate the rulers from their people can be seen as a strategy of the Dutch colonial government to directly obtain legitimation from the people. It was manifested by the placement of a sangaji in Loloda. Thus, we can consider the placement of Sangaji was an attempt to consolidate the authority and power between the Dutch colonial government and Ternate Sultanate.

What's more, such placement indicated an attempt of the two parties to administratively create districts uniformity throughout Halmahera. As previously conveyed that all district heads in Halmahera held their title sangaji, except the District's Head of Loloda who used kolano as his title. The uniformity had consequently indicated an implementation of the principles of rational-legal authority by the colonial government. As for the sangaji, his appointment represents a statement that a social status of a ruler should be based on people's will and approval of Ternate Sultanate and Dutch colonial government. At this point, we can conclude that the leadership no longer relied on traditional authority and legitimation, dignity, and inheritance system (ascribed status), yet on rational-legal authority and legitimation and mandate and credibility (assigned status) (Weber 2009: 217-233 & 236-300).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The colonial authority over the government system arrangement of Loloda has brought up several consequences including the huge development of missionary activities through UZV that established in Halmahera in the 19th century as well as tax obligation and forced labor management towards native people. Tax obligation and forced labor system applied to follow the arrangement of the political system in the north and west Halmahera. It was undertaken based on the new system with European characteristics (Dutch) as well as rationality and empiricism principles. Yet, it did not stop the natives from undertaking movements against the colonial policy in order to make them free from colonial power. The arrangement had also caused internal conflict within royal family and involvement of local rulers who were apparently cooperative to colonial policy and the Dutch imperialists. Moreover, the arrangement has ignored the loyalty and sovereignty as demanded by the people.

The Loloda revolt led by Sikuru of Laba Village caused three Dutch died including an assistant bestuur named Van Rooijs and two policemen serving as his guards. Among the consequences of such incident is the arrest and dismissal of the last king (kolano) of Loloda, Syamsuddin Sjah from his throne. Such resistance serves as a social movement that according to Sartono Kartodirdjo, categorized as *ontlusten* or *ongeregeldheden* (riot). The incident has symbolized a strong implementation of "Pax Neerlandica" as the manifestation of Dutch colonization throughout Indonesia in the early 20th century. The revolt, in such manner, is defined as a way of the Loloda's people to express their resistance

toward the new arrangement undertaken by the colonial government in the early 20th century.

ADVANCED RESEARCH

Future research is recommended to further examine the long-term social, political, and cultural impacts of Dutch colonial administrative reforms in Loloda, particularly their influence on local governance, royal authority, and community identity after the abolition of the kingdom. Comparative studies with other kingdoms in North Maluku or eastern Indonesia could provide a broader understanding of colonial intervention and indigenous resistance. In addition, future studies may incorporate oral histories, local traditions, and newly available archival sources to gain a more comprehensive perspective on the dynamics of colonial rule and the legacy of the Loloda revolt in shaping regional historical narratives.

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