

NETWORKS OF EMPIRE

Kerry Ward argues that the Dutch East India Company empire manifested itself through multiple networks that amalgamated spatially and over time into an imperial web whose sovereignty was effectively created and maintained but always partial and contingent. Networks of Empire proposes that early modern empires consisted of durable networks of trade, administration, settlement, legality, and migration whose regional circuits and territorially and institutionally based nodes of regulatory power operated not only on land and sea but discursively as well. Rights of sovereignty were granted to the Company by the States General in the United Provinces. Company directors in Europe administered the exercise of sovereignty by Company servants in its chartered domain. The empire developed in dynamic response to challenges waged by individuals and other sovereign entities operating within the Indian Ocean grid. By closely examining the Dutch East India Company's network of forced migration, this book explains how empires are constituted through the creation, management, contestation, devolution, and reconstruction of these multiple and intersecting fields of partial sovereignty.

Dr. Kerry Ward is currently Associate Professor of World History at Rice University. She has a PhD from the University of Michigan, an MA from the University of Cape Town, and a BA from the University of Adelaide. She has published in the fields of comparative slavery and forced migration, comparative imperialism and colonialism, Indian Ocean history, South African and Southeast Asian history, historical memory, and public history in South Africa.



STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE WORLD HISTORY

Editors

Michael Adas, Rutgers University
Philip D. Curtin, The Johns Hopkins University

Other Books in the Series

- Michael Adas, Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Colonial Order (1979)
 - Philip D. Curtin, Cross-Cultural Trade in World History (1984)
- Leo Spitzer, Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, and West Africa, 1780–1945 (1989)
- Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (1990; second edition, 1998)
 - John Thornton, Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800 (1992; second edition, 1998)
 - Marshall G. S. Hodgson and Edmund Burke III (eds.), *Rethinking World History* (1993)
 - David Northrup, Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922 (1995)
 - Lauren Benton, Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900 (2002)
- Victor Lieberman, Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800–1830, vol. 1: Integration on the Mainland (2003)



Networks of Empire

Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company

KERRY WARD

Rice University







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521885867

© Kerry Ward 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2009 First paperback edition 2011

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data Ward, Kerry.

Networks of empire : forced migration in the Dutch East India Company / Kerry Ward. p. cm. – (Studies in comparative world history) Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-88586-7

1. Nederlandsche Oost–Indische Compagnie – History.
2. Forced migration – History.
1. Title. II. Series.

HF483.E6W37 2008
325–dc22 2007046372

ISBN 978-0-521-88586-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-40473-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



In memory of my parents, Jack and Molly Ward, and my godmother, Janis Erica Evans



Contents

List	t of Maps	page xi
Ack	enowledgments	xiii
I	Networks of Empire and Imperial Sovereignty	I
2	The Evolution of Governance and Forced Migration	49
3	Crime and Punishment in Batavia, circa 1730 to 1750	85
4	The Cape Cauldron: Strategic Site in Transoceanic Imperial Networks	127
5	Company and Court Politics in Java: Islam and Exile at the Cape	179
6	Forced Migration and Cape Colonial Society	239
7	Disintegrating Imperial Networks	283
Bibliography		309
Index		331



List of Maps

Ι.	VOC Shipping Networks.	<i>page</i> xvi
2.	VOC Nodes in the Indian Ocean.	48
3.	VOC Batavia & the Indies Archipelago c. 1750.	84
4.	The Cape Cauldron.	126
5.	Shaykh Yusuf's Indian Ocean Network.	178
6.	The Cape Colony c. 1798.	238



Acknowledgments

Writing a book about networks has helped me to keep in mind that conducting research and writing a book is not always a solitary pursuit. I am eternally grateful for the generosity of family, friends, and colleagues who have accompanied me in this long journey around the Dutch East India Company empire.

Research funding for this book and for the dissertation it was based on came from a number of sources. The University of Michigan International Institute, History Department, Rackham Graduate School, Center for the Education of Women, and Center for Afroamerican and African Studies provided doctoral funding. I was also awarded an International Doctoral Research Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council and a Bernadotte E. Schmitt Grant from the American Historical Association. The William Fehr Collection granted me a museum internship at the Castle of Good Hope. At Rice University, support from the Jon and Paula Mosle Research Award and the History Department helped me turn the dissertation into a book. Any errors in this book are mine alone.

My mentors at the University of Michigan, David William Cohen, Julia Adams, Fred Cooper, and Vic Lieberman, have continued to support my intellectual growth, and I have appreciated continuing conversations with them. Anthony Reid was always encouraging during my time at Australian National University. The World History Association has provided a stimulating forum for thinking globally; thanks especially to Jerry Bentley, Pat Manning, and Anand Yang for comments on my written work. The members of the Houston Area African Studies Group created exciting opportunities for sharing ideas. At Rice, I am indebted to Eva Haverkamp, Moramay Lopez-Alonzo, and Allison Sneider for reading draft chapters of this book. Thanks also to Lauren Benton at NYU, Clifton Crais at Emory, and Peter Dear at Cornell for inviting me to present work to their



xiv

Acknowledgments

graduate seminars, and to Eric Tagliacozzo for giving me the opportunity to participate in the Cornell SEAP speaker program.

Colleagues and friends at the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape have been amicable comrades over the years. Particular thanks to those who have commented on my work, including Antonia Malan, Susan Newton-King, Nigel Penn, Gerald Groenewald, Robert Shell, Sandy Rowaldt Shell, Shamil Jeppie, Premesh Lalou, Candy Malherbe, Ciraj Rassool, and Leslie Witz. Lalou Meltzer at Iziko Museums has always shared her creative spark and helped me to think of other avenues for intellectual production. Christopher Saunders and Pam Allen have been wonderful friends and supporters since my undergraduate days.

I am fortunate to have an intersecting network of collegial friendships, including Robert Ross, Steven Pierce, Wayne Dooling, Ruth Watson, Lisa Lindsay, Aims McGuinness, Anu Rao, Lynn Thomas, Dias Pradadimara, Kirsten McKenzie, Clare Anderson, Mike Charney, Atsuko Nano, Henk Niemeijer, Jan-Bart Gewald, Markus Vink, and Jim Ward. Jim Armstrong is still a guiding light to the VOC. Eric Tagliacozzo has been a great mate. Ned Alpers, Gwyn Campbell, and Michael Pearson have generously included me in fascinating discussions about the Indian Ocean. I have probably left a few people off this list, but it is a result of memory lapse and not disregard.

Special thanks are due to the two anonymous reviewers of my manuscript. Their keenness pointed me in the right direction for revisions. I'm very fortunate to have worked with Eric Crahan at Cambridge University Press, who has been a supportive and patient editor. Thanks to Anoop Chaturvedi and Sweety Singh for making this a better book. Eva Garza from the Rice University GIS Data Center kindly spent weeks with me drawing maps. Many librarians and archivists in Cape Town, The Hague, Leiden, and Jakarta have helped in the course of my research. The Cape Archives also gave me permission to reproduce the cover image. For Chapter 4 of this book, I have used material from my chapter "Tavern of the Seas?" The Cape of Good Hope as an Oceanic Crossroads during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, eds., Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007.

Martha Chaiklin, Gretchen Elsner-Sommer, Eva Haverkamp, Sheryl McCurdy, Laura Mitchell, Alison Paulin, Allison Sneider, Menuk Sudarsih, Mary Louise Totton, and Merran Welsh have been true struggle



Acknowledgments

ΧV

sisters. Greg Maddox, Kairn Klieman, Ussama Makdisi, and Elora Shehabuddin continue to make Houston a good place to live.

My family in Australia has always cheered me on and welcomed me home with open arms. I'm especially grateful to my girl-cousins who keep my ties to Oz strong with their love and middle-of-the-night conversations across multiple time zones. Norman Etherington first sparked my curiosity about South Africa. Patricia Sumerling and Robert Martin have been constant in their confidence and companionship. Rosemary and Bob Barker have warmly welcomed me into my new Houston family.

Without Nigel Worden's friendship and inspiration this book would not have been started, let alone finished. Pamela Scully and Clifton Crais lured me to the United States, shared their home and family life with me, and have shown by example how to be a great historian and to live life to the full.

Special thanks go to Colleen O'Neal, who has engaged enthusiastically, energetically, and with incredible insight to this book from the very beginning, when we were graduate students together discussing our research ideas, through to the very end with her contribution in the last few months as editor, mentor, and collaborator in revising and seeing this book to its completion. Colleen got exactly what I wanted to say and helped me say it clearly, concisely, and with conceptual precision. This book would be much the poorer without her contribution.

My final thanks are for my husband, Mack Smith, who now knows more about the Dutch East India Company than he ever dreamed possible and has wholeheartedly read and commented on multiple drafts of this book and proofread the final product. He knows how much his support and encouragement have meant to me. We are both looking forward to exploring new horizons together.

I have dedicated this book to my parents, Jack and Molly Ward, who always let me travel my own path and had unshakable faith that I would find my way in the end. I dearly wish they were alive to see this book come to fruition and to celebrate, but they will always be with me in life's journey.