







Commodities and the Dynamics of Commercial Shipping Activity at Gorontalo in 19th Century

Hasanuddin Anwar¹ , Retno Sekarningrum² , Muhammad Nur Ichsan Azis³,
Irna Saptaningrum⁴ , and Hendri Gunawan¹ 

- ¹ Research Centre of Sustainable Environmental, Maritime and Cultural Archaeology, National Research and Innovation Agency, Jakarta, Indonesia
hasa010@brin.go.id
- ² Culture Preservation and Heritage, Centre, Section XVII, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jakarta, Indonesia
- ³ Research Center for Religion and Civilization Treasures, National Research and Innovation Agency, Jakarta, Indonesia
- ⁴ Research Center for Prehistory and Historical Archaeology, National Research and Innovation Agency, Jakarta, Indonesia

Abstract. The aim of this study is to describe and analyze of Gorontalo port which had important role and position in the trade shipping network in the archipelago because of its geographical location connecting Singapore, Ternate, Tomini Bay and Makassar. This condition is strengthened by the avail ability of various agricultural, forest and mining commodity products that are traded in international markets. The existence of these commodities then attracted local and foreign traders to conduct trade shipping activities in Gorontalo. This paper aims to describe the types of commodities and the dynamics of trading shipping activities in Gorontalo in the nineteenth century. The method used in this paper is historical method which includes heuristic, criticism, interpretation and historiography stages. This paper proves that in the nineteenth century, Gorontalo was able to produce various important export commodities, such as gold, coffee, cotton, copra, rattan, resin and sandalwood. This prompted the Dutch East Indies colonial government to implement a number of rules and policies on commercial shipping in Gorontalo. The commercial shipping network of Gorontalo with other regions in the Dutch East Indies has also been growing since the entry of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM). However, the dynamics of commercial shipping of Gorontalo in the nineteenth century was also marked by piracy and smuggling activities.

Keywords: Commodity · Dynamics · Shipping · Commerce · Gorontalo

1 Introduction

The study of maritime history is an important theme, given that Indonesia has 62% of its territory under sea and water. Historically, Indonesia has a close relationship with the sea. For example, spice commodities in Indonesia in the past could not have been traded without the sea to connect the transport and trade network. In addition, maritime

trade became important after several studies indicated that despite centuries of scattered kingdoms in the archipelago, they were economically, socio-culturally and politically interconnected or incorporated into larger units of interaction [1]. Lopian assumes that attention to maritime aspects is no longer something that should be done, but something that is mandatory and a top priority [2]. Unfortunately, until now there are still many regions and periods that have not been reached in the study of maritime history in Indonesia, one of which is Gorontalo.

Gorontalo has an important position and role in the formation of commercial shipping network in Tomini Bay and Sulawesi Sea. Since the 16th century, Gorontalo has been visited by local traders such as Bugis and Makassar. These local traders traded rice and cloth brought from other regions with important commodities produced by Gorontalo, such as gold and slaves [3]. Gorontalo produced marine products such as turtle shells and clams that were often sent to Singapore, the Netherlands and other parts of Europe [4]. The existence of these high-value commodities made Gorontalo an important and profitable trading centre for local and foreign sailors [3]. Furthermore, the maritime history of Gorontalo entered a new phase when the VOC managed to take over and monopolise almost all shipping and trade networks in Sulawesi and its surroundings in the XVII century. When the VOC went bankrupt in 1799, Gorontalo became part of the Dutch East Indies.

In the 19th century, Gorontalo experienced an increase in trade commodities, both in terms of type and quantity. This cannot be separated from the influence of the *Cultuurstelsel* policy which introduced Gorontalo to various new types of plants, one of which was coffee. During this period, Gorontalo was also able to export cotton, copra, resin, rattan and sandalwood products. This had an impact on the rapid development of commercial shipping activities in Gorontalo. Various local and foreign ships and boats, such as *padewakang*, *schoener palarij*, *boloto*, *djulong-djulong*, and *kora-kora* took turns docking at Gorontalo harbour. The Dutch East Indies government then made several rules and policies to monopolise and regulate commercial shipping traffic in Gorontalo. One of the things they did was to establish a Port Office and Goods Excise. The progress of commercial trade activities in Gorontalo was also supported by the inclusion of the *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij* (KPM) network. This made Gorontalo's connection with the surrounding areas in Tomini Bay, such as Togean and Banggai, better. However, commercial shipping activities in Gorontalo in the 19th century were also characterised by piracy and smuggling. This led the Dutch East Indies government to establish security and surveillance posts, as well as ordering patrols of military vessels to guard the commercial shipping traffic in Gorontalo. From this, it can be seen that Gorontalo had a strategic position and role in shaping the transport route and became a centre for collecting trade commodities in Tomini Bay in the 19th century.

In relation to the study of maritime history in the Sulawesi region, there have been several previous authors who have discussed it. Lopian (2011) has started the study of Sulawesi's sea area on *Orang Laut, Bajak Laut, Raja Laut: History of the Sulawesi Sea Region in the 19th Century* [2]. The article explains the competition of commercial forces in the northern part of Sulawesi, including Gorontalo. However, Lopian did not explain what commodities were traded in Gorontalo. Furthermore, there is Warren's (1981) study of the "Sulu region" in a book entitled *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898: The Dynamics*

of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Marine State [5]. This book discusses the geographical, political, economic, cultural and historical aspects of the “border zone” of the Sulu Sea and Sulawesi between 1768 and 1898. Then, there is Ulaen’s (2003) study of the transition process from a commercial route to a border area in the Sangihe and Talaud islands in an article entitled *Nusa Utara: From Commercial Route to Border Region* [6]. Unfortunately, these three writings have not explained specifically about commodities and the dynamics of commercial shipping activities in Gorontalo in the 19th century. Therefore, this paper complements the existing shortcomings. The questions answered in this paper are what commodities Gorontalo produced during the 19th century; and how were the dynamics of commercial shipping activities in Gorontalo in the 19th century.

2 Rationale of the Study

One of the main functions of history is the ability to explain the ‘red thread’ that the present is the result of past developments. In the context of Indonesian maritime history, especially the spice route, it is to explore and identify commodities and commercial shipping activities that are revealed from the knowledge of superior maritime communities (local genius) and local wisdom as a foundation for building a strong Indonesian maritime state.

The study of the spice route in commercial shipping is a study that has been done a lot, but considering the vastness of the archipelago, there are still many areas and periods that have not been covered in existing studies. One of them is Gorontalo, which is located in the North Sulawesi coastal area, covering the Sulawesi Sea and Tomini Bay. Lapian has started a study of the Sulawesi Sea region on Orang Laut, Bajak Laut, Raja Laut [2]. The results of the study have not fully revealed the spice trade studied. Referring to Lapian’s opinion, attention to the maritime aspect is mandatory and a top priority. From a maritime perspective, Indonesia is the islands of collective memory, but many ‘historical islands’ have been neglected [7].

The accumulation of studies on spice routes in commercial shipping is increasingly necessary because Indonesia is an area consisting of thousands of large and small islands. Likewise, most of the islands and regions have not been touched by studies that have been conducted. Indonesia as the largest archipelago in the world [8], has its own characteristics both in terms of traditions and patterns of social life.

The existence of peripheral commercial shipping in the Sulawesi Sea and Tomini Bay is determined by the existence of trade commodities that support economic life. Gorontalo, for example, is a producer of gold, coffee, cotton, resin, rattan and copra. This also makes Gorontalo an important region and trade centre in Tomini Bay. This is favourable for Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, Ternate, Chinese, Arab and other foreign sailors to conduct trading activities [3].

3 Materials and Methods

This paper takes the spatial scope of Gorontalo because of its important role and position as a collecting port in the Tomini Bay region. Meanwhile, the 19th century is taken as the temporal limit because during that period Gorontalo experienced an increase in the type

and quantity of exports. In addition, during this period, the colonial government implemented various new policies to monopolise and regulate commercial shipping traffic there. The Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) transport company also entered Gorontalo in 1888. This then made Gorontalo's network with other areas, especially in Sulawesi, grow.

The author uses historical research methods which include several stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. First, at the heuristic stage the author collects primary sources such as archives. There are several types of archives collected from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) collection, such as archives of agreements or contracts in the Gorontalo chronicle, Gorontalo bundle, Ternate bundle, Gorontalo Archives Inventory 1810–1865, and Corpus Diplomaticum. In addition to primary sources, there are also secondary sources such as books or articles from previous research obtained from libraries and online sources (internet) that can be accounted for such as delpher.nl.

Second is the criticism stage, where the information in the source is tested for authenticity or validity (external criticism), such as the materials that make up the document or document paper. In addition, internal criticism is also carried out to test the credibility of sources by checking the content of historical materials and documents, for example from language, writing style, and what is conveyed in the document [9].

Next, source interpretation was carried out. This interpretation is done objectively and carefully so that the interpretation of the source is not subjective and the data obtained can be assembled chronologically to answer the problem formulation in writing. The last stage is historical writing or historiography. At this stage, the data from the sources that have been obtained are reconstructed chronologically, thus creating a historical narrative that is sequential and in accordance with the facts [10].

4 Discussion

4.1 Overview of Gorontalo

Gorontalo covers the northern peninsula of Sulawesi and was once called the “Gorontalo Peninsula”. In the maritime trade network, Gorontalo is strategically located because to the west is Kalimantan and Brunei; to the east is Tomini Bay, Ternate and the Maluku Islands; to the north is Manado and the Sulu Islands (Philippines); and to the south is Makassar. Gorontalo also has a harbour that is naturally protected from ocean waves and monsoon storms. Therefore, Gorontalo harbour is a good natural harbour, shady and safe. This harbour is supported by the existence of Bone and Bolango Rivers which are the transport routes to and from the hinterland [11]. Thus, commodities from surrounding areas (city periphery) such as Limboto, Suwawa, Bone, Bolango, Banggai, Togean Islands, Parigi, and Tomini can be transported easily to Gorontalo harbour. Its strategic location placed Gorontalo as the centre of trade and Dutch colonial administrative administration.

4.2 Overview of Gorontalo

The existence of various important commodities in Gorontalo cannot be separated from the natural wealth that the area contains. Another factor that influenced the 19th century

was the socio-economic and political conditions of the Dutch East Indies at the time. One of them was the Java War, which ended in 1830. After this event, the Dutch East Indies government's treasury was drained after being used to fund the war against Diponegoro's troops. The strategy then implemented by the colonial government was the *cultuurstelsel*. This policy obliged the entire population of the Dutch East Indies to grow crops that sold well in the international market at the time, such as coffee and cocoa. This system, although on the one hand very burdensome for the community, but on the other hand also introduced the community to various new commodities, including in Gorontalo. Here are some important commodities Gorontalo traded in the 19th century.

Gold

Gorontalo's role as a trading centre in the Tomini Bay region cannot be separated from the availability of marketable export commodities. One of Gorontalo's important export commodities is gold, which has a high karat quality, making it expensive and sellable in the international market. Almost all areas of Gorontalo can be found mineral deposits, such as gold, silver, copper, and iron. The western plains of Gorontalo, for example, contain copper. Some mines in the northeast of Lake Limboto and west of Mount Kabila contain gold in the form of quartz mixture. Along the Loneo River, it is rumoured that the size of gold can even reach the size of a pigeon's egg. Meanwhile, in the Molombulahe and Pahayato plains, gold powder was found in the form of granules in the riverbed mixed with sand [12].

Gold in Gorontalo was first discovered in the early XVII century, when the Paguyaman River contained grains of gold [13]. This commodity attracted Bugis and Makassar sailors to visit Gorontalo. Gold also attracted Portuguese traders to Gorontalo [14]. The VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) intervention on gold commodity in Gorontalo started during the Bungaya Agreement of 18 November 1667. Based on the treaty, the VOC had the right to expand its economic and political interests to regulate the countries that had been controlled by Gowa. Starting from this event, the VOC then placed its governor in Ternate (Maluku Islands) and Gorontalo was included in its supervision [15].

During the 19th century, there was a development and expansion of mining production due to the exploration of gold deposits in Gorontalo. The Dutch East Indies government paid attention to regulate and monopolise the commodity, so the gold mining business increased in almost all areas of Gorontalo. One of the gold producing areas was Paguat. In addition, the Dutch East Indies Government also received gold deliveries from various gold mines in the Gorontalo region. In 1830, gold, silver and copper powder were exported [16]. Furthermore, in 1834, the Dutch East Indies Government implemented a policy of registering gold leases in Limboto, Boalemo, Bone, Bolango, and Atinggola. Similarly in Sumalata, where gold mining began in 1831. In order to regulate the gold commodity in Gorontalo, the Dutch East Indies Government issued a policy to monopolise the gold trade in 1833. This was done by regulating the price of gold, income tax on gold and silver [16]. Due to the many regulations, most of the gold commodities were smuggled to Singapore in 1846. The amount smuggled was estimated to be four times greater than the amount exported to the Netherlands [16, 17]. The gold trade in Gorontalo was conducted between 1831, 1832, 1833 and 1845. Between 1820 and 1848, it is estimated that the amount of exports reached around 20 kg.

At the end of the 19th century, there was an increase in the number of mining companies investing in Gorontalo. From April to September 1897, 39 companies were recorded in the mining areas of Kota, Batudaa, Kabila, Bone, Boalemo, Paguat, Tibawa, Paguyaman, and Kwandang [18]. To illustrate the Bone region, gold production in Sumalata produced almost 0.5 tonnes of gold and 3 tonnes of silver [11].

Coffee

Coffee plants first entered Gorontalo after being introduced by the Governor of Maluku in the early 19th century. At that time, the Governor of Ternate invited Raja Mohammad Iskandar Pui Monoarfa to Ternate to discuss the rules of coffee planting in Gorontalo. Raja Monoarfa then invited the officials of Gorontalo Kingdom, Limboto, Suwawa-Bone-Bintauna, Bolango, and Atinggola to hold a meeting with the Assistant Resident of Gorontalo, Samelmoleh at his residence to discuss coffee planting in Limo lo Pahalaa area. Raja Monoarfa also ordered the marsaoleh and wulea lo lipu (sub-district head level) in each village to open coffee plantations. Every year the coffee plantation owners were also required to pay taxes. Coffee cultivation began in Gorontalo in 1824–1839 through plantations. The largest coffee plantations were in the Kabila and Modelido (Tapa) areas. Coffee is also cultivated in Tapadaa, Talumelito, Bulobuta, Bulila, Tapodu, Tabango, Tomula and Tohupa. Coffee cultivation is generally carried out on mountain slopes on rather barren land (woeste gronden) that cannot be utilised as rice fields [19].

The monopoly of coffee commodities in Gorontalo was carried out by the Dutch East Indies Government through an agreement with the King of Gorontalo on 9 January 1828. The contents of the agreement included, among other things, that the profit from coffee production was given $\frac{1}{4}$ part to the Dutch East Indies Government and the coffee production tax obligation could be replaced with money. In addition, every year the Dutch East Indies Government determined the price of coffee. In 1828, for example, the price of coffee was assessed at f16/pack of 125 L for good quality beans. Meanwhile, poor coffee beans were valued at f 12/pack of 125 L. The King of Gorontalo, under the authority of the Dutch East Indies Government, could determine taxes for areas that produced coffee [20].

Coffee production from Gorontalo is of good quality, as the processing, separation and drying systems are organised. However, the amount of coffee deposited with the Dutch East Indies Government fluctuated according to the production. For example, in 1861 the amount of coffee deposited was 14 pikuls. Furthermore, in 1862 there was an increase of 42 pikuls. Then, in 1863 there was a decrease of 34 pikul and in 1864 there was another increase of 58 pikul. In 1865 there was another decrease of 40 pikul, and in 1866 there was an increase of 206 pikul [21].

At the end of 1866, the number of coffee trees in Gorontalo was 254,677. The number later decreased to 174,034 trees because many coffee trees died. This was caused by soil incompatibility, so there were few coffee plants in the plantations. Meanwhile, coffee cultivation in home gardens did not experience significant difficulties. The results were even favourable and the collection of coffee beans was easy [21].

Coffee production in Gorontalo, apart from being consumed by the population, is also exported, one of which is to Manado. It was recorded that the amount of coffee exported to Manado in 1864 was 610 pikuls, in 1865 it increased to 820 pikuls, and in 1866 it increased again to 1074 pikuls. At the end of 1866, the price of coffee in

Gorontalo increased from f16 per pikul to f35 to f50 per pikul [21]. The marketing of coffee commodities was also largely controlled by Bugis traders or sold in Dutch colonial warehouses [21].

Cotton

In addition to the coffee commodity, Gorontalo also has an export commodity of cotton cloth. Since the 18th century, cotton (tiopo) has been cultivated. The expansion of cotton cultivation resulted in a high production of raw materials for traditional weaving that benefited thousands of women [22]. Every year thousands of sarongs and pants were sent to Ternate, the Tomini Bay region and Minahasa [21]. In 1828–1846, Gorontalo was able to export around 6,625 pieces of cotton cloth per year (mostly sarongs). Furthermore, in 1863, cotton cloth exports were recorded at f 560.50; in 1864 at f 6,294.50; in 1865 at f 5,208.10; and in 1866 experienced a spike of f 24,420. The price of raw cotton at the end of 1865 was f 10 per pikul. The government also collected a tax of f 0.01 from each cotton farmer, which was then handed over to the chiefs [21]. The export commodities of the local weaving industry began to decline after the influx of European factory textile production [17].

Copra

The cultivation of coconut trees or bongo in Gorontalo is generally done by slaves. However, in 1858 - after the slavery liberation policy - the majority of coconut trees became the property of traditional chiefs and nobles. In 1864, there was a massive expansion of coconut crops and it was very beneficial for the benefit of the population. The most popular coconut species were moila, moidu, molulo, hulawa, pini, tapalu, pi-ita, kapali, topango and timadu. There were 117,195 coconut trees in Gorontalo at the end of 1866. The number then increased in 1865 to 142,726 coconut trees [21]. The price of coconut fruit in Gorontalo ranged from f 1 to f 1.50 per hundred grains. Meanwhile, coconut oil is priced at f 9 to f 12 per pikul. The government also imposed an annual coconut tax for heads of f 0.40 per coconut tree [21]. Meanwhile, copra exports were generally valued in pikuls. For example, an annual export of 9,000 pikuls was valued at f 28,000 [23].

The copra trade in Gorontalo was controlled by Chinese traders, one of whom was Liem Boen Yad. He was trusted by the Heng Seng company to purchase and transport copra in the Gorontalo, Tondano and Amurang areas. When compared to copra from Manado, the price of Gorontalo copra was higher, at f 1 per pikul. Trade in copra commodities then increased after the entry of American ships that transported copra to San Francisco at a cost of f6 per tonne. In 1889 there was a surge of 11,853 pikuls of copra exports [4].

Apart from Chinese traders, the inter-island copra trade was also controlled by Bugis boats. Since the Dutch East Indies Government issued the KPM monopoly policy, many traders began to turn their attention to the KPM, including Chinese traders. However, it cannot be denied that Bugis sailors also remained rivals to the KPM. Some Bugis and Mandar boats, which had previously dominated commercial shipping, gradually began to transport copra by relay. The Bugis sailors' monopoly of inter-island transport formed an increasingly strong network. It became easier for Bugis and Mandar sailors to trade because of the influence of Bugis and Mandar traders in the Tomini Bay area.

Gorontalo's copra exports provide a snapshot of the economic history of the entire east coast of Sulawesi. There were 32,000 tonnes of copra exports in 1929. This increased to 43,000 tonnes during 1931, but the overall price value fell from 7 million guilders to 6 million guilders. This caused the overall export tax to also drop from f 143,000 during 1929 to f 2,500 during 1931; as well as the import duty from f 145,000 to f 64,000 [24]. Most copra was exported directly to Makassar and Singapore [25]. After reaching Makassar, some copra was also exported to America on ships owned by Silver JPL Klaveness [26].

Earth Products and Other Forest Products

The most dominant forest product export commodities in Gorontalo are rattan and resin. At first, the population did not recognise the value of these forest products. However, after the arrival of Chinese and European traders who bought rattan and resin, Gorontalo residents began to cultivate them [4]. Gorontalo resin comes from the agathis genus [17]. Gorontalo resin is not found in Ternate and Halmahera. Chunks of resin weighing up to a kilogram (crystal form) are transported by steamship to Makassar [13]. Each year Gorontalo is able to export 2,000 pikuls of rattan commodities at a price of f 11,000. Meanwhile, Gorontalo's damar exports annually reached 21,000 pikuls at a price of f 350,000 [23]. Rattan and resin commodities from Gorontalo were usually exported to Surabaya and Singapore [27].

In 1868–1869, Gorontalo's rattan and resin exports declined as many people returned to their villages to plant food crops [24]. In 1870–1873, Bugis and Makassarese traders were asked to help buy resin and rattan from Gorontalo. The *Indische Gids* shows that the number of exports from Gorontalo harbour has increased since 1870. The king and the nobles of Gorontalo forced the people to look for resin and rattan which were bought at a low price. The export trade of forest products in Gorontalo increased after the influx of supplies from other areas in Tomini Bay [28].

Apart from rattan and resin, sandalwood is also a Gorontalo commodity that is found in large quantities, especially from forest areas in Bone [4]. There is also the Gorontalo tobacco or tabaa commodity. The most favoured types of tobacco are tabaa kiki, tabaa daa, and timamente. Tabaa kiki and tabaa daa have a pleasant aroma and flavour, while timamente has a very sharp aroma. In Gorontalo, tobacco production is usually done by drying it, then putting it into bamboo tubes and in some places mixing it with a little honey. Apart from Gorontalo, tobacco commodities are also imported from Atinggola and Tinombo. In 1866, there was a production of 300 pikuls of tobacco in Gorontalo [21].

4.3 Commercial Shipping Activities in Gorontalo

The commercial shipping network in Gorontalo was carried out by Nusantara and foreign traders who encouraged the development of Gorontalo. Some important commodities such as gold and forest products found in Gorontalo also supported the traders to conduct their activities in the area and then market them to Makassar, Singapore and other European countries [4]. Gorontalo's strategic location in the Tomini Bay region, supported by the presence of rivers, shaped Gorontalo into a rendezvous for maritime trade and developed as a port city and trade commodity market.



Fig. 1. Loading and unloading rattan commodities from people's boats to be transported by *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij* ships in Gorontalo, around 1925. (Source: Digital Collection Leiden University Library - KITLV 18833)

Since the late 16th century, trade in Gorontalo has been conducted by Bugis and Makassarese sailors. Their activities became the lifeblood of the economy in the northern part of Sulawesi all the way to the hinterland. Some of them used traditional boats, such as padewakang and palarij, to transport commodities such as resin and rattan, as well as marine products, especially turtle shells and various sea shells. Bugis sailors travelled to Gorontalo in December and March, sailing in the direction of the west monsoon. They departed from the east coast of South Sulawesi via the northern route through Kendari, Tolo Bay, Banggai Island, Tomini Bay, to Gorontalo [29].

Apart from Bugis and Makassarese traders, Gorontalo was also visited by Chinese traders. They usually used bigger boats to transport their goods to China [30]. Chinese traders also controlled gold powder and clam shell products which were then transported to Ternate [29].

Gorontalo's strategic position in Tomini Bay region and trade advancement later attracted Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) to expand its power to the region. After the Treaty of Bungaya on 27 September 1677, which marked the fall of Ternate and Gowa, Maluku Governor Robertus Padtbrugge visited Gorontalo. On this occasion a meeting was held with the King and officials of the Gorontalo Kingdom. Padtbrugge, accompanied by Ternate officials, pressured the King of Gorontalo into a treaty which stated that the King of Gorontalo no longer recognised the Sultan of Ternate as his ruler, but submitted to the VOC Governor in Ternate. In addition, an agreement containing 8 articles was also agreed upon. One of them stated that the Gorontalo River had to be opened for VOC ships [13]. The agreement was the beginning of the VOC's power to regulate its political and economic interests in Gorontalo.



Fig. 2. Map of the Dutch East Indies and Gorontalo's commercial shipping network, 1872. (Source: <https://www.atlasenkaart.nl/toonkaart.php?kaart=9101>, accessed on 25 October 2020)

Commercial Shipping Rules

After the VOC went bankrupt, the Dutch East Indies state was established in the early 19th century. In this period, one of the most important and challenging tasks facing the Dutch East Indies Government was to organise trade and shipping. This was made more difficult by the trade competition between the Netherlands and England. The Dutch East Indies government implemented a trade monopoly system. Various policies were also taken to regulate shipping activities, including in Gorontalo.

For example, on 9 January 1828, the Dutch East Indies Government issued a policy on shipping for ships that had accidents in Gorontalo waters. The policy was the result of an agreement with King Mohammad Iskandar Pui Monoarfa that contained 15 articles. One of them stated that the King of Gorontalo would order the population to provide assistance to ships that had experienced accidents or shipwrecks, both Dutch East Indies Government ships and indigenous ships. In addition, the population was also obliged to secure the cargo of these ships [20].

The Dutch East Indies government also issued a regulation through Governor General Decree No. 32 dated 27 April 1847. The decree regulates the implementation of data collection of ships and boats anchored and departing at ports in the Gorontalo region. In addition, it also regulated port boundaries, export-import activities, and commercial shipping [31]. Shipping activities in the Dutch East Indies can be divided into two, namely shipping activities carried out in the Dutch East Indies Islands (*kustvaart*) and shipping activities carried out to foreign ports (*scheepvaart*). In conducting local shipping activities, native traders also had to complete *jaarpas* (annual sailing licence) shipping documents. Meanwhile, foreign ships, both international and shipping in the Dutch East Indies, had to complete *jaarpas* and *zeebrief* (sailing passport) documents [32].

Therefore, to facilitate the processing of licences and supervision of shipping activities, the Dutch East Indies Government then established a Port and Goods Excise Office in Gorontalo (currently a Customs Village in Talumolo, Kota Selatan District). The Dutch

East Indies government also wanted to prevent Gorontalo's commercial and political relations with other Europeans, especially the British. In addition, the existence of the Port and Goods Excise Office was expected to facilitate and centralise indigenous business activities under its supervision.

Types of Marine Transport Equipment

The report of the Assistant Resident of Gorontalo in 1822–1839 noted that shipping activities in Gorontalo harbour were dominated by padewakang, carolina jacobae, schoener (fast sailing ship), palarij, boloto, djulong-djulung, kora-kora, tjamberoe, rorehe, and galai [16]. Schoener sailing ships were generally used by European traders. Sometimes schoener from Singapore to Gorontalo carried cloth, letters and postal packages [4]. The ships usually sailed from Manado, Kema, Ambon, Ternate, Donggala and Bangka. Visiting boats also came from Makassar and Surabaya [33]. In addition, there were ships sailing from overseas such as Manila, India, Bengal, Europe, Amsterdam, America and China. Throughout the year, Chinese traders visited Gorontalo harbour. In July 1828, eleven Chinese junks visited Gorontalo carrying sea cucumbers, cloth and sarongs [16].

An overview of shipping activities around Gorontalo at the end of the 19th century can also be found in Musshenbroek's travel report. Musshenbroek recounts that a number of ships and boats regularly visited Gorontalo to pick up cargo outside of sailing time to New Guinea. In addition, there were also British ships that were seen looking for cargo in Gorontalo. When they left the harbour, the British ships were full of cargo. Likewise, warships and a number of cruisers belonging to the Dutch East Indies government also frequently visited Gorontalo [30].

Due to the high ratio of exports and imports in Gorontalo harbour, the Dutch East Indies government then issued a decree establishing Gorontalo harbour as an entry point for commodities in 1898 [34]. However, on the other hand, the colonial government also



Fig. 3. The Harbour Office area in Gorontalo, circa 1926. (Source: Digital Collection Leiden University Library - KITLV 171114)

felt competed by European ships, and Bugis, Makassar and Mandar boats in Gorontalo. Therefore, the Dutch East Indies government also issued a policy regulating shipping to protect its merchant ships from competition. The policy benefited Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) as it could dominate shipping and commodity transport.

Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM)

On 15 July 1888 a decree was issued on the establishment of a state transport company, later called Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM). The company soon dominated shipping and commodity transport. KPM also saw the potential of the rapid shipping of Singapore, Maluku, Makassar and Surabaya at that time. This encouraged KPM to be able to take over the shipping line and immediately study the economic potential in the Dutch East Indies region. After the analysis, a shipping line was arranged in which Gorontalo was also included as one of them. Gorontalo was included in the Gorontalo - Manado - Kema - Ternate shipping line on 4 September 1888 [31]. In its development, Gorontalo was also included in shipping lines number 9 and 14 which began to run actively on 17 January 1891 from Surabaya. The routes were Surabaya - Bali - Buleleng - Ampenan - Makassar - Timor Deli - Banda - Ambon - Buru - Bacan - Ternate - Gorontalo - Sangir Islands - Manado - Amurang - Kwandang - Toli-Toli - Palu - Pare-Pare - Makassar - Ampenan - Bali - Buleleng - Surabaya. Similarly, the Bacan - Ternate - Manado - Gorontalo shipping line was recorded to be carried out every four weeks [31].

KPM line 18 serves northbound voyages via Manado and Ternate to the south coast of Minahasa, Gorontalo, and Tomini Bay, a two-week journey from Makassar. In addition,



Fig. 4. Shipping activities at the harbour in Gorontalo, 1880. (Source: Digital Collection Leiden University Library - KITLV 3270)

KPM line 21 travels along the south and east coast of Sulawesi via Gorontalo - Banggai - Kolonadale - Tumori Bay - Buton Strait. This route takes four weeks to Makassar [35].

From Gorontalo harbour, KPM ships transported copra, sandalwood, resin and rattan. The port of Gorontalo at that time served as a collection and stockpiling point for export goods in the Tomini Bay area [36]. In loading and unloading goods, KPM used three piers in Gorontalo harbour. The commodities collected from Gorontalo were then transported to Makassar. From Makassar, the commodities were then exported to America on ships owned by Silver JPL Klaveness [26].

The introduction of the KPM shipping line in Gorontalo harbour to transport commodities of crops and forest products brought considerable impacts. Agricultural products such as copra and coffee have increased production and become export goods in Gorontalo. Meanwhile, forest products that became export commodities were resin, rattan and sandalwood. The existence of KPM also had an impact on the opening of communication relations between Gorontalo and various regions in the Dutch East Indies at that time. However, the entry of the KPM into Gorontalo also had a negative impact on indigenous ships, as indigenous ships tended to be smaller in size and had less speed. As a result, many indigenous ships were abandoned for commercial shipping activities since the entry of KPM in Gorontalo in the 19th century.

Piracy and Smuggling

The history of commercial shipping activities in Gorontalo in the 19th century was also marked by piracy and smuggling. Piracy and smuggling activities in Gorontalo have been going on since the XVII century, especially after the VOC and Gowa signed the Bungaya Agreement in 1667. The impact of the treaty was the loss of local sailors' trade network due to the VOC's monopoly system. To survive, many of these local traders became involved as pirates. In addition to the Bungaya Treaty, another influential factor was the closure of the Philippine waters by Spain as a barrier between Spanish rule in



Fig. 5. Sailboats and steamers unloading in Gorontalo Bay. (Source: ANRI: KIT 56/17)

the Philippines and Dutch rule in Ternate. This in turn fuelled piracy activities in the Sulawesi Sea region. In his 1853 report, J.C. Van der Hart even called Gorontalo a pirate den due to the massive piracy activities in the Sulawesi Sea and Tomini Bay [37].

Pirates in the Sulawesi Sea and Tomini Bay usually come from Bugis and Mandar. These pirates even build their base in Gorontalo to facilitate their activities. There are also pirates from Mangindano and Tobelo (North Halmahera). The pirates' territory is very wide, covering the Sulawesi Sea, Flores Sea, Banda Sea, Maluku Sea and Tomini Bay (Gorontalo), Banggai Islands, Tobungku area and Butung Islands (Buton). Tobelo pirates are up to 400 strong. In carrying out their actions, Tobelo pirates use four or five boats, each of which can carry up to ten people [1]. They also built hiding places and supplies [38]. In 1870, there were reportedly 48 Tobelo pirate boats travelling in the Tomini Bay area. Due to the vast area explored, Tobelo pirates split into smaller groups and spread across the eastern waters of Sulawesi [38].

Not only piracy, pirates also play a role in illicit trade or smuggling of goods. These smuggling activities were usually carried out after an illicit trade and co-operation with indigenous kings, such as Buol, Gorontalo and Limboto. The native kings and nobles were happy to have illicit relations with the pirates because they could sell commodities such as cloth, rice and salt at a cheaper price. Meanwhile, the Dutch East Indies government usually charged higher prices. Therefore, pirates and local kings and nobles utilised this opportunity. The Assistant Resident of Gorontalo noted that in 1824, 1832, 1833 and 1834, there was considerable pirate activity in Gorontalo.

The massive piracy and smuggling activities in the Gorontalo region made the Dutch East Indies colonial government uneasy and took firm action to eradicate pirates there.



Fig. 6. Fort Nassau at the mouth of the Gorontalo river directly facing Tomini Bay, circa 1900. (Source: Digital Collection Leiden University Library - KITLV 75563)

One of the measures taken was to establish a guard post or surveillance of Fort Nassau. The Dutch East Indies government also increased its warship patrols in Tomini Bay and Gorontalo waters. As a result, piracy was no longer openly practised since 1878. Patrols by the Dutch East Indies government eventually led to the surrender of many Tobelo pirate leaders. One of the most influential and feared pirate leaders named Medo or Medomo and his men also surrendered to the Dutch Government [38]. Pirate activities in the Tomini Bay area can be said to have ended after the beginning of the 20th century.

5 Conclusion

Gorontalo's strategic geographical location in the northern part of Sulawesi Island, facing Tomini Bay and the Sulawesi Sea as a shipping route for Ternate, Singapore and Makassar, gives Gorontalo an advantage as a shipping transit area. Its shipping and trade network has been busy since the 16th century, and became a bone of contention between Ternate and Gowa. This factor is also encouraged as a gold producer, which is one of the main trading commodities. Even in the XVII century, the export trade in gold, turtle shells and clam shells attracted the attention of Portuguese, VOC and Chinese traders.

Gorontalo also has a wealth of natural resources, both mining products and crops and forests. In the 19th century it was able to produce and export gold, coffee, cotton, resin, rattan, sandalwood, Gorontalo sarong, copra and later copra put Gorontalo into an important area in shipping and trade in the Tomini Bay region. These commodities were transported by traders from Gorontalo harbour with foreign ships and traditional boats such as padewakang, carolina jacobae, schoener (fast sailing ship), palarij, boloto, djulong-djulong, kora-kora, tjamberoe, rorehe, and galai. The progress of commercial shipping in Gorontalo in the 19th century has grown since the entry of Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM). Piracy/smuggling activities by pirates also coloured the dynamics of commercial shipping. Some of the pirates/smugglers were Bugis, Mandar, Mangindano and Tobelo (North Halmahera). They also played a role in the illicit trade of goods through co-operation with nobles, royal officials and the King of Gorontalo.

Gorontalo's commodities and commercial shipping network are important factors in the integration of northern Sulawesi and Tomini Bay. Traders are contributors in uniting the nodes of the spice route and cultural encounters/crosses that come from various ethnic groups, then choose to settle and establish settlements in Gorontalo.

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