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The Mandar War, 1868-1869: An Annihilation Operation Against the Pirates

ABSTRACT: This research aims to express the changing process that happened in Mandar as a result of Dutch colonial intervention. From this, it can be seen the early structure that made by Mandar people, their custom and behavior; and finally to bring a new structure that come from their interaction with colonial power. From the period as temporal term, source of information is explored from a past data, especially from colonial archives. Some articles from journals and newspapers, as a contemporary mass media, contribute much information for reconstruction. The structure that made by Mandar people in 18th and 19th century was identified with a maritime piracy. By a reason to end this criminality, Dutch colonial government took a drastic measure with sending her military expedition to punish Mandar people. The expedition motivated the Mandar War in 1868-1869, and ended with a political contract between Mandar and Dutch in 1870. As a conclusion, Mandar is proven to have a difference structure with other political units in South Sulawesi. The structure is consisted of two: power system that composed by seven kings or "maradia"; and diaspora system that spread as long coast of Sulawesi. The contract, that forced by Dutch, could not end the both structures, even though the Dutch regarded that she could establish her political domination.

KEY WORD: Mandar people, piracy, Dutch colonial, war, intervention, political contract, seven kings, diaspora system, and political domination.

RESUME: "Perang Mandar 1868: Operasi Pembasmian terhadap para Perompak". Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan proses perubahan yang terjadi di Mandar sebagai akibat dari intervensi kolonial Belanda. Dari sini, dapat dilihat struktur awal yang dibuat oleh orang-orang Mandar, adat mereka dan perilaku; serta akhirnya membawa struktur baru yang berasal dari interaksi mereka dengan kekuasaan kolonial. Dari periode sebagai jangka waktu, sumber informasi dieksplorasi dari data masa lalu, terutama dari arsip kolonial. Beberapa artikel dari jurnal dan surat kabar, sebagai media massa kontemporer, berkontribusi banyak informasi untuk rekonstruksi. Struktur yang dibuat oleh orang-orang Mandar pada abad ke-18 dan ke-19 telah diidentifikasi sebagai bajak laut. Dengan alasan untuk mengakhiri kriminalitas ini, pemerintah kolonial Belanda mengambil tindakan drastis dengan mengirim ekspedisi militernya untuk menghukum orang-orang Mandar. Ekspedisi ini memotivasi Perang Mandar pada tahun 1868-1869, dan berakhir dengan kontrak politik antara Mandar dan Belanda pada tahun 1870. Sebagai kesimpulan, Mandar terbukti memiliki struktur berbeda dengan unit politik lainnya di Sulawesi Selatan. Struktur ini terdiri dari dua: sistem kekuasaan yang disusun oleh tujuh raja atau "maradia"; dan sistem diaspora yang tersebar di sepanjang pantai Sulawesi. Kontrak, yang dipaksakan oleh Belanda ini, tidak bisa mengakhiri dua struktur tersebut, meskipun Belanda menganggap bahwa dia bisa membangun dominasi politiknya.

KATA KUNCI: Orang Mandar, pembajakan, kolonial Belanda, perang, intervensi, kontrak politik, tujuh raja, sistem diaspora, dan dominasi politik.

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INTRODUCTION

Mandar people, as the Buginese and Makasarese in South Sulawesi, is known since a long past as a skillful seaman. This community, because of its geographic factor, cannot separate itself from a maritime world in all living aspects. They live a part of maritime's products and a part of her activities connected to sea, as shipping and trading. With her habitat stretching as long as Sulawesi west-coast, with Makassar strait as a water-border line for her origin, Mandar people since her birth has faced toward a continually social interaction with maritime living. This interaction does not only have any effect on individual's view and way of live, but also gives some values in her social system and culture of a Mandar as a collective unit (Alimudin, 2005:2).

Potential of Makassar strait offers a great chance for that. This water area, since a long time, was known as a fertile area for maritime's products, especially related to meet some primary interests. Fish, *tripang* (sea cucumber), shell, and another maritime's products in this strait are so excess for meeting the primary needs of people in her coastline. In her development, the product, that got from this water based on this tradition, is not only limited to some primary needs but secondary ones. Some another products as *tripang*, seaweed, and another animal products as turtle, pearl, and so on begins to be exploited by Mandar seamen and fishers (Mollengraaf, 1912:307).

The growth of interest is not influenced by any increase of living requirements qualitatively as well as quantitatively, but also on external development of her existence. Mandar people's interaction with another group - locally, domestically, and regionally - has any impact on her view and, of course, changes their needs from primary one to broader ones. Beside it, a domestic dynamism that happened in her habitat made a new habitus for Mandar to show her response and to defend her existence by production and economic sector.¹

¹One of Mandar famous products is *sarong* weed and wicker. See, for example, H. Blink (1907:439).

MANDAR MARITIME ACTIVITIES

With her abundant natural source, particularly related to maritime, Mandar people make of this potential source for her living survival. As primary needs grows into economic needs, and a proof that a natural potential can support her motivation, a further change appears to lead into any motivation for establishing her existence, namely the domination. It can be achieved only with establishing any political and economic hegemony over any abundant natural source and her habitus, namely Makassar strait. Following that, Mandar people created her maritime geo-politics view and demands any recognition on her hegemony (Zerner, 2003:87).

The process was happened in 17th - 18th century, with the time as establishment of political domination around the area by local rulers, Gowa and Bone in South Sulawesi. As both exerted their power consisted of their own regular troops and their allies, Mandar did not use a same pattern. Mandar people gave any priority of a local identity in her effort for domination, namely her maritime power. Differed from any coast or sea activities with primary needs meeting as a target, in this phase Mandar's physical and ability power was proved by any combination of meeting any primary needs and increasing her political domination, namely pirate activity (Moor, 1837:72).

The piracy, that was done in Makassar' strait, stretched as long as a coastline and then downed into some rivers in hinterland. Areal domination as her habitat and strategically potential of this area as a pillar for her hegemony supported the piracy activities that taken place without hindrance from 18th century to the middle 19th century. Even with this piracy, recognition toward her geographical domination by another groups could be achieved, that legalized her maritime operational borders.

At first, the beginning of piracy was related to a natural law enforcement, namely to assert the hegemony of powerful in this area. The pattern continued as a general pattern in another places of *Nusantara* or Archipelago, since 15th century (Hall,

2011:277). Some minor rulers' action to force newcomer, particularly merchant, to fulfill some obligations as tribute giving, forced selling on local products, payment of duty in calling at of harbor or sailing over her water area, was a first step of piracy by the dominant one. Meanwhile, some local wars that followed by war spoils by winners that consisted in a various products included human as slave, adding any variation and motivated for getting some spoils. All of these was patterned into any activity that known as piracy.²

A such phenomenon was happened in Mandar. Local ruling elite, that centred around *Maradia* as a lord with *Balangnipa* as his seat, played a significant role in piracy activities in her habitat water area.³ Although without political repressive actions as happened in Gowa with Makassar as her harbor, piracy activities by Mandar people could show any different structure from her neighbours, with these local pirates acted as an agent, borrowing Anthony Giddens (1984:6-7)'s term.

After passing some watersheds around Makassar harbor in south border and Palu gulf in north border, the fleet would come into Mandar's piracy operational area. The area that stretched more than 100 miles was recognized by another pirate groups indirectly as Mandar domination, beside her habitat or territory in hinterland. The difference of wide and long between her domination over land and sea was caused by her boat's range that used in her piracy. From their bases in Mamuju and Majene, Mandar's fast sailing boats could down a coast line and reaches long as said above, before touched another pirate's area (Anonymous, 1909:657).

²The Toraja people in Southwest Sulawesi were famous in this. See, for further information, Richard Oluseyi Asaolu (2012:39).

³In her governmental system, Mandar people were controlled by seven rulers with a title of *Maradia*. From these seven persons, as a representative of seven rivers and showing a river cultural identity, a King was chosen and in his function supported by seven *Maradias* that formed an Advisor Council. Their power was to install and to dismiss the King. Thus, no direct descent appeared as a successor in ruling Mandar and each area had a same right and obligation. See, for further information, Anonymous (1854:243).

Her success for domination over Makassar' strait was not only a crucial one for supporting her hegemony in this area or in hinterland. The piracy as one of prime income source for Mandar ruling elite confirmed her political position and motivated Mandar pirates for expanding her operational activities. The expansion was at first aimed to increase her income that consisted in materials. Nevertheless, in further, the action was aimed to support Mandar's bargaining position in maritime political constellation that changing in the 18th century and early 19th century in Sulawesi (Schulte, 2002:172).

Local political disturbances, that accompanied some important event likes the throne changing, border conflict, economic competition, and political marriage among the elite, was an interesting one for some people outside to intervene. In the late 18th century and early 19th century, the process could be found in Central and North Sulawesi. Either the party that intervened or the internal parties that conflicting, felt any necessary to strengthen their position and to search any support for their offering. One of them was to make of piracy.

As piracy experienced, some functions change as shown by some local turbulences; this activities appeared in a different context. The piracy was not limited to a pure economic activity for increasing her income, but to be one of strategically factors to show the supporters' political power. As pirate's power began to be considered by local elite, her appearance was not only a means for searching any source of exchange supply, but functioned as a mean for destroying the enemy. However, for the pirates, a call by local elite that conflicting was a chance for intervening directly in local polarization and, in finally, to be an opportunity for establishing her permanent position outside her early habitat.⁴

The immigration process into a permanent settlement above was

⁴Cooperation between local elite and pirates will be achieved when they had to face a common enemy, for example the colonial government. See, for example, Esther Velthoen (2010:216).

experienced by Mandar pirates, as the Bugis, Bajau, and Makassar pirates over Sulawesi island. In the late 18th century, Mandar pirates' existence was known around the water of Palu gulf. Although not same scale as the Bugis pirate, the Mandar pirate's appearance in this area was considered by local elite in Banawa, Tawaeli, Palu, Toli-Toli, and Bwol as an important factor. They intervened in local political constellation as a supporter for one of local elites and, then, coming as a separate power that calculable by local elite as well as another immigrants (Anonymous, 1854:229).

The same pattern came again in Tomini gulf in the early 19th century. Mandar seamen cruised along north-coast of Sulawesi successfully and finally came into a watershed that connected North and Central Sulawesi directly. With some local political powers, as Gorontalo, Limboto, and Poso, Mandar seamen and pirates established their position as long as coast of Tomini gulf. They controlled further some places in south-coast of Gorontalo, east-coast of Parigi Mouton, and north-coast of Poso to reach Banggai islands (Coolhas, 1988:295).

A new dynamism developed in these settlements. As another immigrant bases, Mandar people in her new settlement developed her autonomy political structure. They installed someone that fit for appearing as a leader. Generally, someone that installed as a local chief was a captain of a ship or commandant of pirate fleet and his descent. Thus, they was often called as a Captain of Mandar in the settlement, or if integrated into a local political structure, got any position as *Kapitan Laut* or Sea Captain. The function was to lead a local royal fleet to establish her ruler's with rewards and facilities for the *Kapitan Laut* and his subordinates.

With above development, at least there is two factors: the expansion of pirate's operational area from their first habitat in Sulawesi strait to the fleet's operational area; and the forming of new structure in their settlements as an effect of local political constellation. This structure could integrate Mandar sea power into the present

political structure and, at the same time, the forming of Mandar structure into a local political structure as an autonomy unit. As a second structure is more dominant than the first one, it means a first of new role that played by Mandar pirates in some places, borrowing Pierre Bordieu as cited by Lewis A. Cosser (1956) was to make the statement, as people arena for interaction with around environment.

COLONIAL INTERVENTION

When the orientation of Dutch politicians turned from Java to Outer Islands in the middle of 19th century, a regional change was happened and it created a condition that lead to the forming of new balance of power. In this case, Dutch government in Batavia had to face some local powers spread in a networks of islands, great and small ones that consisted of a separated land- and watershed topographically. Different from Java topography, the pacification of Outer Islands as a necessary for colonial political and economic domination followed a different strategy that fit for local context (Lindblad, 1986:3).

Even though the Dutch colonial tactic was to repeat the same pattern in Java, in 17th and 18th century, namely made a political intervention into local polarization with supporting one of conflicting dominant elites that searching some aid from Batavia, the policy was not effective anymore. The different in political structure and local power expansion, that be sustained by social values and traditions, motivated the Dutch strategist to form a new approach for saluting the problems. This approach demanded any combination between diplomatic ability and military power. Troops' mobilization was not used in Java. As in Java, Dutch troops often fought to support or in the name of a local elite; in Outer Islands, the Dutch troops was used to establish the Dutch interest directly against local power.

Beside political factor, economic interest played a crucial and strategic role in the changing of Batavia's political policy. Economic exploitation system, which

hitherto applied to supply the *devisa* (foreign exchange) of colony, depended on trade sector and agrarian exploitation as proven with the program of *Kultuurstelsel* (cultivation system) in Jawa. If agrarian exploitation needed a permanent hegemony over any landscape in hinterland, trade sector needed a dynamic capital circulation and, of course, a guaranteed communication and transportation facilities. Some Dutch posts in Outer Islands and her trade relation with local rulers that lain by VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East-India Company) spread farther from central of power in Batavia. For guarantee the relation and making the posts effectively as an income source of local exploitation, the Dutch had to own an adequate transportation facilities (Touwen, 2001:314).

Since the past, the pattern that applied by Dutch faced a great hindrance. One of hindrances was piracy, that challenged against some trade and shipping routes for the Dutch merchant fleet. It covered areas in Makassar strait as one of important routes in watershed around Sulawesi, that regarded as a strategic island for political and economic structure of Dutch in Eastern Indonesia. Based on reports that be submitted by her captains, some figures in piracy of this area were Mandar people. It was happened in the first middle of 19th century, as Dutch government decided to intervene in trade sector of Outer Islands for supporting their supply to Netherland India colony and for reducing losses potential as a result of breaking down her monopoly system.⁵

Under VOC, especially toward her dissolution in the late 18th century, the piracy in Makassar strait could not be overcome by the Dutch. In addition to Dutch fleet collapsed since her loose in the fourth British War in 1784, Dutch government's decision for strategic consideration to protect her colony against British invasion

⁵In the late 18th century, VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East-India Company) wrote that they suffered many loose in her paying balance, especially came from pepper supply monopoly, because many Mandar people made an illegal transaction with Banten traders through a shipping route. See, for further information, H.D. Canne (1862:518).

forced her to concentrate her fleet power in Jawa (Harrison, 1954:155). Therefore, any protection toward Dutch maritime transportation was weaker and her merchant ships were easily targeted by pirates attack. As a result, Mandar piracy in Makassar strait could not be broken by VOC and Dutch government that following her in the early 19th century (ANRI, 1937:165).

Although in the first part of 19th century, Dutch government tried to establish her position in South Sulawesi, with the visit of Governor-General Baron van der Capellen to Makasar in 1824; and one year later Dutch's winning over Bone and her allies, the piracy of Mandar in Makassar strait, especially targeted toward Dutch merchant fleet, increased. Mandar's political power in Bone war did not show a great role, but still dominant and could guarantee her existence.⁶ Thus, Makassar' strait, as a trade and shipping route between south and north punts of Sulawesi, was a very risk area for Dutch and had a potential for her loss.

This condition was a problem for the Dutch political decision makers in Batavia for some decades. However, Dutch government in Batavia, that focused her attention in Java in winning the war against Diponegoro (1825-1830) and in applying the *Kultuurstelsel* or cultivation system (1830-1870), ignored the situation in Makassar strait, especially for Mandar. After overcoming the problems of Diponegoro war in Java and *Kultuurstelsel* began to show unfavourable signs, it forced the Dutch government to change her policy since 1848 and turning her attention to Outer Islands, including South Sulawesi. At this time, Dutch politicians turned their attention toward Bone as a most dominant power there (Kielstra, 1920:199).

Although Bone recognized a peace agreement, that made in 1838 formally and

⁶In the instruction of Governor-General Baron van der Capellen for *Commisaris* (Commissioner) of South Sulawesi, dated 21 December 1824, that included the forming of a new structure in this area after the Bone war in 1825, article 7 sub e was read that the *Commisaris* was ordered to investigate how far Mandar's aid for Bone in her resistance against the Dutch. It means that the Dutch has had a suspicious toward Mandar's participation on behalf of Bone. See, for example, J.C. van Rijnveld (1840:145).

would accept a renewed Bongaya Contract in 1846, Bone's political elite still disinclined to loss her dominant position in political structure of South Sulawesi. Requirement in the contract with the Dutch that regarded as unfavourable for them and degraded her prestige made any tense condition between both. The tension reached its climax with the Dutch military expedition against Bone in 1859-1860 and ended with new peace and recognition by Bone toward Dutch supremacy over all South Sulawesi.⁷

This last moment opened the eyes of Dutch politicians toward political structure and balance of power in South Sulawesi. Some free political powers that regarded as challenge toward Dutch was a focus of their attention. Mandar was one of their political targets, particularly from piracy sector that disturbing for the Dutch merchant transportation. After saluting the Bone problem, Dutch government convinced that all South Sulawesi had to experience any pacification under the Dutch and, especially, Mandar got a special attention in Dutch strategy.⁸

The chance came in 1860, after Dutch found some signs that Bone would stop her resistance. With the Bone's power collapsed and a peace condition made, the Dutch turned her troop to Mandar that bordered in the north side. Meanwhile, Dutch searched some reason to legalize her military operation against Mandar, especially her capital in Balangnipa. In a magazine that published among Europeans in Batavia, Mandar people were described as follows:

Thans gedragen, de Mandharsche hoofden en hunne aanverwanten, die 's-Gouvernements gezag voortdurend ondermijnend en de Nederlanders dagelijks afgeschilderen als monster, die er slechts

⁷See, for example, Michael Teophile Hubert Perelaer (1872:340). The expedition was stated to end in April 1860, as troops commandant was Colonel Waleson, withdrew his troops after making an agreement with the King of Bone.

⁸The risky of area was proven by the sending of some frigates to Mandar's coast for annihilating pirates. But, in addition to survive, the pirates could often apply any resistance tactic against the Dutch frigates. With a natural reefs and small islands, the Mandar pirates could avoid the Dutch frigates' hunting operation and attacked them in unfavourable position. See, for example, "Nieuwstijdingen" in *Padangsche Nieuws en Advertentieblad*, dated 20 July 1861, p.2.

op uit zijn om belasting te heffen en koffie te doen beplanten, zich nog gelijk voorheen als doortrapte rovers. Zij onderdrukken de Alifoeroe bevolking en onderhouden benden misdadigers, om de vreedzame en nijvere landbouwers hun gave en goed telkens met list en bedrog te ontweeldigen (cited in Riedel, 1870:558).

Translation:

Now, Mandar leaders and their family try to weaken Dutch position and daily described the Dutch as a monster that comes to levy a tax and orders any coffee plantation, as a caught robber. They oppress Alifuru population and keep some criminal gangs to steal a wealth and result of any loyal peasants by their cunning.

The above citation showed that there was any character assassination toward Mandar by the Dutch's mass media before Dutch invasion against Balangnipa, because this news was published in May 1858, namely as Dutch troops was ready to send for subduing Bone in South Sulawesi. The accusation could not be accepted, because Mandar people did not know the Dutch as a coffee planter in South Sulawesi.

The expedition was made on 9 June 1860, with battleship of *Lansier*. The ship and troops did not face any resistance from Mandar people, because they did not find any pirates.⁹ Meanwhile, some Mandar aristocracies offered any peace and began to negotiate. Principally, two things were offered by Dutch. The first, Mandar rulers accepted the Dutch domination over their homeland with the sending of their representative to Makassar routinely for making an audience with the Dutch Governor there. The second, Mandar people had to stop her piracy activities that disturbing Dutch merchandise transportation. It was included a slave trade that regarded as detrimental to economy and population in the government's lands. After they agreed, in the year any contract was made with seven *Maradias* of Mandar.¹⁰

⁹See "Nederlandsch Indie" in *De Outpost*, dated 15 June 1860, p.2.

¹⁰See, for example, Kenneth M. George (1996:76). Sometime, Mandar people changed her slave with weapon through an illegal transaction that made in North Sulawesi water area with some boats from Mindanao, South Philippines.

The agreement did not last for a long time. In July 1862, the Dutch government heard a lot of news that at least four *Maradias* of Mandar, namely one from Balangnipa, Pambuang, Cenrana, and Binoang, played an active role as pirates and slave trader. They began to revolt against Mandar ruler that regarded as a weak one toward Dutch pressure.¹¹

Dutch government sent an Assistant Resident of Northdistrict, Wijnmalen, to Mandar on 6 August 1862, to prove the condition. With Secretary Holz and troop commandant, Lieutenant van Daalen, Wijnmalen met 13 members of Mandar council. In the discussion, the Mandar council inclined to compensate toward some ships as a victim of pirate and to send an envoy to pardon to Makassar.¹²

However, in further relation, any tension came because of some incidents. The Dutch ships, or under her captain, or even any foreign ships that called at or run aground in Mandar coast, were looted by Mandar people, men, women as well as children. The Dutch captain, with his crews that survived, then, reported the incidents to Dutch high official in Makassar. As Dutch envoy came to Balangnipa and met with Mandar leadership, they got any answer that the incident was not piracy, but a right and obligation of Mandar people to save all from natural damage. It was a Mandar common law that applied for a long time and subordinated by all people there.¹³

For the Dutch, this action was enough

¹¹*Maradias* from Pambuang and Cenrana were central figures in this resistance, that began in February 1862 and threatening the King's position in Balangnipa. Envoy of Makassar Governor, that came there on 20 February 1862, for a while calmed the situation. See, for further information, "Celebes en Onderhoorigheden" in *Semarangsch Advertentieblad*, dated 18 April 1862, p.8.

¹²See "Mandhar" in *Makassar Nieuws en Advertentieblad*, dated 17 January 1863, p.2. Secretary for Native Affairs, Van den Bosse, that participated in the group, stayed in Mandar for some months to control the situation and returned to Makassar on 9 June 1863. See also "Berigten van Nederlandsch Indie" in *Sumatra Courant*, dated 22 August 1863, p.3.

¹³See "Makassar" in *De Outpost*, dated 12 August 1864, p.3. The event happened on 26 July 1864, in Balangnipa's coast, involved a trade boat with load money f (Dutch Gulden) 1,000 and merchandise that looted by local people. The Dutch captain reported to *Inlandsch Bureau*, that continued to the Dutch Governor in Makassar.

to accuse the Mandar people that having violence against the contract. They accused that Mandar people had provoked, so that some victim fell useless. Some troop units that sent with some frigates to hunt pirates came into Mandar water area. Some Mandar commandants showed their readiness to renegotiate and to sign a new political contract. Until 14 December 1867, the political contract was signed by all *Maradias* of Mandar.¹⁴

THE MANDAR WAR

Agreement of 1867, that ended a serial of conflicts and political tensions, was not a sign of new peace in the relation between Mandar people and Dutch government. However, the agreement was a first of new steps in a tension relation between both that lead to a greatest war that never seen before.

The piracy that continued in Makassar strait, and proven by Dutch that it was made by Mandar seamen, was a reason for the Dutch to accuse the Mandar elite rulers (*maradia*) as to break the contract of 1867. It was used as a reason for punishing expedition by Dutch government. In November 1867, the expedition was sent to Makassar and, from there, the troops were sent to Mandar.¹⁵

However, the unfavourable weather forced the Dutch to postpone her expedition, beside to uncondusive security condition of Makassar for the Dutch, because of Karaeng Bonto-Bonto's resistance.¹⁶ In July 1868, Lieutenant Colonel M.H. Meyer with 24 officers, 272 European soldiers, and 266 native colonial soldiers marched from Makassar to Balangnipa in Mandar area. The troop movement targeted firstly against Pambuang, that be occupied easily in some days. *Maradia* of Pambuang, supported by his council, La Pasau, inclined to surrender

¹⁴See also *Jaarboek van het Mijneuzen in Nederlandsch Indie*, Volume 13, 1884, p.448. This contract was legalized on 18 April 1868.

¹⁵See, for example, "De Expeditie Naar het Eiland Mandhar" in *Soematra Courant*, No.94, dated 25 November 1867, p.3.

¹⁶See also "Gemengd Berichten" in *De Locomotief*, dated 11 December 1868, p.2. There was any suspicious by Dutch that Karaeng Bonto-Bonto survived to Mandar with his followers as they were hunted by the Dutch troops.

Table 1:
 Many Ships that Incoming and Outgoing in Ports of South Sulawesi

Name of Ports	Incoming	Outgoing
Makassar	128	125
Bonthain	82	87
Alloe	16	10
Takalar	31	27
Balangnipa	108	123
Kajang	4	22
Bulukumba	15	25
Selayar	84	163

Source: "Berigten uit het Javasche Courant" in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, dated 8 October 1870, p.4.

and a month later, on 29 August 1868, and signed a political contract with the Dutch Governor in Makassar, J.A. Bakkers (ANRI, 1869). In the contract, that be applied for Cenrana, article 1 reads as follows:

*De Vorst en de Hadat van Pamboewang verklaren voor zich en hunne nakomelingen dat het rijk van Pamboewang (Mandhar), een gedeelte uitgemaakt van Nederlandsch Indie en gevolgelyk staat onder het opperheerschappij van Nederland.*¹⁷

Translation:

King and *Adat* of Pambuang state for themselves and their descent, that the kingdom of Pambuwang (Mandar) is a part of Netherland India and under Dutch supremacy.

The above statement, as first article of political contract, showed any recognition toward Dutch supremacy over Pambuang and made Dutch government to have any authority for application of positive legal system in Mandar area. After subduing Pambuang and Cenrana successfully, the Dutch troops marched to Tapalang, known as a pirate nest. In October 1868, this place was blockaded by the Dutch frigates, i.e. *Leeuwarden*, *Coehoorn*, and *Stavorenij*. With this blockade, Tapalang ruler (Tamanggung Gagalang) stated to surrender. By Governor J.A. Bakkers, he was dismissed from his throne because he was accused to have broken the contract that made with the Dutch government on 5 February 1868.

Now, the Dutch focused her troops to

occupy the capital of Mandar, Balangnipa. Balangnipa was defended by some fortresses and strengthened by many soldiers. In the late December 1868, the fortress was attacked from sea by Dutch frigates and after the landing of troops, the fortress fell. In early January 1869, *Maradia* of Mandar in Balangnipa surrendered and inclined to accept a new contract with the Dutch.¹⁸

The *Maradia* was dismissed from his throne and *Hadat* negotiated to choose his substitute. In April 1869, the substitution was made with the installation of the 1867 deceased *Maradia's* brother. The new *Maradia* made a promise that he would go to Makassar as fast as possible to make a new contract.¹⁹

After this, it can be said that the peaceful condition was created in Mandar area. Port of Balangnipa was opened to be a stop harbor that protected against pirates. The port had a strategic value, because there were many ships calling at here, as shown in table 1.

From the numbers, it can be found two things. *Firstly*, tonnage of Balangnipa port could compete with Makassar harbor, quantitatively as well as qualitatively; meanwhile Selayar port showed unbalance between incoming and outgoing tonnage. *Secondly*, Balangnipa port did not show anymore the description as pirates nest, so that it attracted for a great shipping to stop at this port.

¹⁷As cited in *Bijlagen van het Verslag der Handelingen der Nederlandsch Staten Generaal: Tweede Kamer*, Volume 1, 1870, p.762.

¹⁸See, for example, *Koloniaal Verslag over het Jaar 1869-1870: Hoofdstuk C.*, p.13.

¹⁹See also *Koloniaal Verslag over het Jaar 1870: Hoofdstuk C.*, p.411.

Another growth that shown by Mandar was some road constructions that connected this city with another cities. Road between Balangnipa and Makassar began to be opened in the middle of 1870. Governor Kroesen felt an urgent need for opening any road and to find any alternative for land connection, in addition to sea connection. In the project, compulsory labor (*heerendiensten*) was mobilized through some local native chiefs that tied by political contract.²⁰ Thus, the political contract of 1870 was not only regarded as a peaceful relation, but also any change that motivated by new relation between Mandar rulers and Dutch colonial government.

CONCLUSION

Mandar was an interesting and special phenomenon to see. Comparing with Bone war and Makassar war, the great events in South Sulawesi historiography, Mandar war showed some unique. The unique was not only situated in the process of war, but in the context of event, namely in a different sphere to both. If Makassar war as a process of pacification toward Sultanate of Gowa was motivated by economic factor, namely business competition between Makassar and VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East-India Company) over Eastern Indonesia at that time, and Bone war was a more political typology with the hegemony competition between Bugis and Dutch; Mandar war included both, namely pirates. The piracy in Mandar case is not only an economic phenomenon, namely activity for searching any income, but also has to be seen from political aspect, because it is related to application of some common values and tradition.

Another unique is on the structure that faced by the Dutch in Mandar. If Gowa and Bone are a great political power with some minor rulers as their vassals, so that making one focus of expedition's target, Mandar is a form of alliance by some powers that each having a same status and position. It forces the Dutch to set a special strategy for

conquering all Mandar areas in her effort to annihilate piracy.

Although in 1870, the Dutch established her domination successfully, by making a political contract with Mandar rulers, it did not mean that Mandar's existence collapsed as a political and economic power. Until that time, Mandar was successful to build two different structures. The first was composed of any political units that built on their homeland with seven *Maradias*. Meanwhile, the second was built by Mandar diaspora network that stretched as long as Sulawesi coastline with each having an autonomy enclave.

The enclave did some activity with her traditional values as homeland, namely piracy. Therefore, in 19th century and early 20th century, the Dutch had to exploit her energy for breaking this Mandar diaspora network with her potential to challenge for her political and economic domination in Eastern Indonesia, particularly in Sulawesi.²¹

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²⁰See "Overzicht van het Nederlandsch Indisch Nieuws" in *Sumatra Courant*, dated 21 September 1870, p.4.

²¹**Statement:** We would like to declare that this article is our original work; so, it is not product of plagiarism and not yet also be reviewed and published by other scholarly journals.

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