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# Jacobus Arnoldus Hazaart and the British interregnum in Netherlands Timor, 1812-1816

## *Introduction*

The term 'British interregnum', in relation to Indonesia, refers to two short periods in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the British took control of most of the Netherlands Indies from the Dutch, only to hand it back a few years later. The British did this as a result of their wars with France. The first occupation occurred in 1795-1797 after a pro-France regime had been established in Holland. After peace was declared in 1802, the occupied territories were returned to the Dutch. Hostilities soon resumed, however, and with the annexation of Holland by the French in 1810, the British once more moved into the Netherlands Indies. Following France's defeat in Europe, the Dutch territories were restored once again in 1816. This paper deals with British rule in Timor, one of the far-flung outposts of the Netherlands Indies, and the central role played by a native of that island, Jacobus Arnoldus Hazaart, in helping the British administer the territory. Hazaart's name looms large in the colonial history of Netherlands Timor due to the long period he spent at the helm of the territory's government and his many and varied efforts to improve the security and well-being of its inhabitants. Although Hazaart played no role in the first, unsuccessful, British occupation of Timor, that story is told here also.

Considering Timor's reputation in the colonial era as a poor and isolated outpost, there has been a surprising amount written about it. Most of what has been written about Hazaart and the Netherlands Timor of his day is based on Dutch journal articles published in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of these articles provide details not given elsewhere, but most seem to be derived from a single article published in 1847, 'Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het eiland Timor' (Contributions to the history of the

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island Timor), written by G. Heijmering, a clergyman with the Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap (Dutch Protestant Missionary Society). Heijmering (1847:198-9, 204-5) claims that many details of events at Timor were missing from official records and that some previously published reports were unreliable, but that through his interviews with 'living eyewitnesses', all 'truthful people', he was able to place events 'in their true light'. One has no reason to doubt that Heijmering's informants were indeed 'truthful people', but the fact that they are used as the authority for events spanning a period of nearly fifty years is a signal for caution in accepting their testimony, as memory can be fallible. Heijmering's article contains information that is not found elsewhere, and will remain important, but other sources do exist, which in some cases confirm Heijmering's findings, and in others call them into doubt. This paper builds on the foundation provided by Heijmering, by drawing on published material that has been overlooked by other authors, and primary sources discovered in archives and libraries in Jakarta, London and The Hague. These sources are at times at odds with each other and contain some palpable errors, but taken together they make it possible to provide a more detailed (although still far from complete) picture of Hazaart and the role he played during the period of British rule in his homeland.

### *The first British occupation*

The first British occupation of the Netherlands Indies had been a relatively painless affair. Malacca, Padang, Ambon and the Bandas were occupied after only slight resistance. Ternate held out for several years, but capitulated in 1801.<sup>1</sup> The only Dutch post to successfully oppose British occupation was Kupang, in Timor. As B.H.M. Vlekke (1946:130) puts it, 'On Timor a success was scored when the local commander with the help of armed slaves and tribesmen drove the British from the fortress of Kupang, which they had occupied'. Vlekke's statement is only partly true.

According to Heijmering (1847:196-9), the British arrived off Kupang with a ship of the line and a corvette from Maluku in early June 1797. The British had long been expected, but the town was poorly defended and the general consensus was that opposition would be futile. Mr Wanjon, the *opperhoofd* (headman)<sup>2</sup> of the settlement, therefore considered it prudent to make as advantageous a capitulation to the British as possible, thereby ensuring that

<sup>1</sup> Parkinson 1954:136; Vlekke 1946:130. Java was not occupied at this time, but was subject to a naval blockade.

<sup>2</sup> In British reports the government heads of different islands in the Indies are often referred to as 'governor', although the Dutch were more likely to refer to these people merely as *opperhoofd*. When Hazaart assumed leadership in Kupang his official title was *drost*, bailiff or sheriff. Under the British he became the 'resident', a title later commonly used by the Dutch also.

the inhabitants and their property would go unmolested. Wanjon's second-in-command, Mr Greeving, however, was totally opposed to a capitulation, due, it was said, to the fact that his books were not in good order. These were the last days of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company) administration in the Netherlands Indies and corruption was rife, so presumably Greeving feared detection of his own misdoings.

Because of Greeving's opposition to surrender, Wanjon sought and received a delay from the British to hold a meeting of the leading European inhabitants of the settlement. Having gathered these worthies, Wanjon presented each with a piece of paper on one side of which was written the word *capituleren* (capitulate), and on the other side, *vechten* (fight). Wanjon asked each to sign his name under his choice of action. As Greeving was the only one who voted to fight, Kupang was surrendered to the British on 10 June 1797, but before that happened Greeving arranged for the Company's trade goods to be removed from the warehouse in the fort (Heijmering 1847:199-200). This act may have been the catalyst for later events as, according to an author known only as B. (1852:220), Greeving became increasingly concerned that the British would discover his theft and was determined to drive them away.

According to a British account written by C.N. Parkinson, based on India Office and Admiralty records, Kupang was occupied by a small garrison, mainly sepoy (Indian soldiers), under Lieutenant Frost. Coming from a meeting with the Dutch 'governor' (presumably Wanjon), Frost saw two of his sentries being killed by armed Timorese. Frost and two survivors then ran to the captured Fort Concordia, but found that it offered little sanctuary, as they came under heavy musket fire from nearby buildings that overlooked the fort. Assisted by a group of marines, Frost and the others escaped back to the ships, where it was decided to set fire to the town and blow up the fort (Parkinson 1954:136).

The account told to Heijmering was little different, barring that Frost assumed the Timorese attack was part of a general Dutch conspiracy (Parkinson 1954:136), whereas Heijmering's informants put the blame solely on Greeving. According to this account, the day after the surrender many of the British officers and soldiers were seen roaming the town or in their quarters with local inhabitants. All was peaceful, but Greeving had secretly persuaded the local contingent of *Mardijkers* (non-European soldiers in VOC employ) and a number of Timorese from the surrounding district to attack and kill the British. Wild bands descended on the settlement and murdered the British soldiers in the presence of their hosts. Their severed heads were carried off into the interior and only a handful of the British soldiers were able to reach the safety of their ships (Heijmering 1847:200).

Heijmering (1847:198-201) was told that Wanjon, fearing he would be held responsible by the British, fled from Kupang, followed by the majority of the

European inhabitants. The British then bombarded the town with their ships' cannons. The fort was badly damaged, as were many of the private residences, but the Chinese inhabitants suffered the most, as their dwellings directly bordered the seafront. Following this, the British weighed anchor, leaving the smoking ruins of Kupang in the distance, only for the place to be plundered by the Timorese, who descended on the town in their hundreds.

A. Haga (1882:288-9) states that Greeving later appeared in Batavia with a British prisoner of war and was greeted by the government as a hero, but when Wanjon was called to give his side of the story, doubts began to surface. Haga cites Wanjon's report on the matter, which basically concurs with Heijmering's account, but Haga concludes, as did apparently the government, that the full truth of the case was unlikely to be revealed.

The various accounts highlight different aspects of the first British occupation of Kupang, but all agree that the British were only forced to abandon their occupation at a high cost to the local population. The British claim to have lost sixteen of their sepoy and seamen in the mêlée, but to have killed three hundred of the 'rebels' in return (Parkinson 1954:136). The town was largely destroyed and much property looted. It was, thus, hardly the 'success' described by Vlekke.<sup>3</sup>

#### *The appointment of J.A. Hazaart*

Following the brief 1797 British occupation of Kupang, the settlement had a rapid succession of leaders, most of whom appear to have been incompetent, corrupt, or unwilling.<sup>4</sup> The Director of Finances, Mr Vekens, who recommended to Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels that Jacobus Arnoldus Hazaart, a merchant and former lieutenant on one of the VOC's ships, be appointed to the post, finally solved the difficulty of finding a suitable person

<sup>3</sup> French explorer Nicolas Baudin visited Kupang in 1801 and was told that the English had captured the fortress 'last year', but they were eventually 'obliged to evacuate it by night', following a 'war' with 'the local natives'. G.L.D. de Rienzi mentions English soldiers being massacred by 'half-castes' (*metis*) during an attack on Netherlands Timor in 1801. Both accounts sound similar to the 1797 events, which are not mentioned by either. See Baudin 1974:255; Rienzi 1836:209.

<sup>4</sup> There were at least six *opperhoofden* between Wanjon and Hazaart, according to Heijmering. At first Greeving was appointed, but was replaced by Commissioner Doser, who was recalled due to incompetence. Doser was replaced by Mr Lofsteth, followed by Mr Giesler, both of whom died in office and were later discovered to have misused VOC funds. Mr Van Kruine then took command, but was replaced by Mr Stopkerb, who requested discharge from the post soon after he was appointed. P.J. Veth and B. give Van Kreunen, rather than Van Kruine, and Matthew Flinders, who visited Kupang in November 1803, stated that Mr Viertzen was in command, having replaced the recently deceased Giesler. J. de Roo van Alderwerelt lists the *opperhoofden* for this period as: F. Wanjon, Greving, J. Doser, Lofsteth, J. Giesler, P.B. van Kruine and P. Stopkeert. See Heijmering 1847:202-4; Veth 1855:83; B. 1852:221; Flinders 1966:348; Alderwerelt 1904:224.

to head the settlement (Heijmering 1847:204-5). Heijmering states that Hazaart took over the post in 1809, but Haga (1882:290) cites documents showing that Hazaart replaced his predecessor, Mr Stopkerb, on 11 April 1810. Hazaart was then 37 years of age and he held the position until at least 1833, just a few years before his death.<sup>5</sup> There was a period during the third British occupation when Hazaart was not the official head of government, but even then his advice proved invaluable to his replacements, who generally had no knowledge of either Timor or its inhabitants.

Hazaart was a native of Kupang, and a 'coloured man', a fact, says P.J. Veth (1855:83), that first caused Vekens to hesitate recommending him for the post, although he knew of his abilities. Hazaart objected to his nomination, but Daendels approved the appointment and he accepted the post. Hazaart applied to Daendels for instructions and received the revealing reply, 'Adapt yourself to the circumstances on Timor and then write to me how things are going. We know too little of the outer possessions to give appropriate and definite directions for your administration.' (Heijmering 1847:205.) Hazaart thus had to use his own judgement, but he proved to be a capable, energetic and loyal official.

When Hazaart was appointed commander of Netherlands Timor in 1810, the territory was subordinate to Ambon, but there was little contact between the two. The VOC had ceased to exist from the beginning of 1800 and its territorial possessions became the property of the Netherlands government. Marshal Daendels was appointed governor-general of the Netherlands Indies in 1808 and energetically set out to fortify Java against any British attack. The British, however, first paid attention to some of the outer islands. In February 1810 they attacked Ambon, and several days of fighting ensued during which the Dutch positions suffered heavy bombardment from the British cannons. On 19 February the Dutch Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Filz, agreed to a capitulation. In April, Filz was sent to Java, but was tried and shot soon after his arrival, by order of Governor-General Daendels (Thorn 1993:350-4). The following year the British turned their attention to Timor.

#### *Hazaart and the defeat of the second British occupation*

Hazaart later told Heijmering (1847:206) that the fate of Filz made him determined not to allow a surrender of Kupang without a strenuous defence beforehand. Hazaart soon had the chance to prove his mettle when the British once more landed in Kupang and took possession of Fort Concordia. Heijmering prefaces his account of these events by stating that he learnt of them di-

<sup>5</sup> Heijmering (1847:230) gives Hazaart's date of birth as 8 January 1773 and the date of his death as 19 December 1838.

rectly from Hazaart and other eyewitnesses. He dismisses an earlier account, written by Pieter Mijer (1839), because it did not tally with what he was told by the participants themselves. Documents exist that support most of Heijmering's claims, but contradict others, even in such fundamental matters as when the occupation occurred.

Heijmering (1847:205-6) states that the second British occupation of Kupang happened in June 1810. If this was so, one wonders how Hazaart was able to hear of the fate of Filz so quickly, as Timor had only infrequent contact with Java.<sup>6</sup> Mijer (1839:179), however, puts the date as April 1811. It seems clear that Mijer got his information about the brief British occupation from a report that appeared in the *Bataviasche Koloniale Courant* of 15 June 1811. This report is quoted at length by Haga (1882:291). The *Courant's* dating of the event is backed by none other than Hazaart himself in his report to the governor-general, dated 15 May 1811. A copy of this report exists in the British Library in an English translation that was probably made after the occupation of Java.<sup>7</sup>

In his report Hazaart states that the frigate *Phoenix* under the command of Captain James Bowen (Brown, in Heijmering's account) arrived off Kupang undetected during the night and landed a force at Namosain, just to the west of the fort, at four o'clock in the morning of 8 April 1811. The British attacked a man who questioned who they were, and he later died of his wounds. At 5.00 a.m. about a hundred British servicemen stormed the fort and met with no resistance, because as the British were entering over one wall, the fort guards were escaping over another. Hazaart later learnt that his men could do little to prevent the occupation of the fort, as their muskets were useless, their sergeant-major having removed their cartridges.<sup>8</sup>

Sergeant-Major J.L. Euvard<sup>9</sup> was a Frenchman who, according to Hazaart, acted as a guide for the enemy, taking them to Hazaart's house to search for 'the lady' (presumably Hazaart's wife), who Bowen ordered to be taken aboard his ship. She was not found. Euvard then took them to the house of the widow of the former *opperhoofd* van Este, in order to plunder her goods. The British captured Hazaart's secretary, Karel Lamberts, and forced him to open the treasury, even though he told them there was no money. They also required him to open the stores and supply them with arak, and to take them

<sup>6</sup> When the British occupied Kupang in January 1812, Hazaart is reported to have claimed that he had had no communication with Java for nearly two years. See Marshall 1833:59. I am grateful to Michael Phillips, who runs the website *Sailing ships of the Royal Navy* ([www.cronab.demon.co.uk](http://www.cronab.demon.co.uk)), for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>7</sup> Where Heijmering got the specific date of June 1810 from is a mystery, but Haga (1882:290) notes that he was not the first to make the claim. Heijmering's account is definitely a description of the 1811 events, but perhaps there had been an attempted occupation the year before also.

<sup>8</sup> J. Hazaart to Governor General and Council of the Government of the Possessions of his Majesty the King of Holland in India, 15 May 1811, Mss Eur Mack Private 29, in British Library, London.

<sup>9</sup> Recorded also as Euvrad, Euverhard and Everhard.



to Hazaart's house to retrieve the government papers stored there. Lamberts was then sent with a message for Hazaart, ordering him to return to the fort to meet with Bowen, who assured Hazaart that he wished merely to 'treat with him about all that concerned the Government' and that the place would then be given up and none of the government's or the inhabitants' property would be taken. But Hazaart learnt that Bowen had broken his word and his men were already looting the houses in the town, so, relying on an existing defence plan, he assembled all the soldiers, citizens, and local Timorese he could gather for a counter-attack.<sup>10</sup>

Curiously, Hazaart is silent in his report of what happened next, but according to Heijmering (1847:206-8) he had raced on horseback to the nearby district of Amabi, where he recruited several hundred native marksmen and returned to Kupang with them. The British were then sniped at from behind rocks and trees, and by occupying the high ground above the fort, Hazaart and his men were able to shoot directly into it. The British attempted to drag some of the fort's cannons into the street to use against their attackers, but many men were shot down and the attempt was abandoned. Using cannons from within the fort, the British caused great devastation to the town, but were unable to stop the hidden riflemen, who continued to inflict carnage in the fort.

Hazaart resumes his report at the British retreat. Before the break of day, he says, the British secretly abandoned Fort Concordia and made their way back to their ship. They had suffered heavy losses, with at least twenty killed and eight severely wounded. A further three had been taken prisoner.<sup>11</sup> Heijmering (1847:208) adds that it was fortunate for Hazaart that the British did not know that he and his men had almost depleted their only keg of powder and had been forced to fashion their bullets from any lead available, including window frames from Hazaart's house. Hazaart, however, wrote to Bowen a few months after the occupation telling him that the British had occupied the fort for seventeen hours, but that if he had known they had only one ship, he would have removed them far sooner. In fact, he maintained that as he had gathered over 9,000 enraged natives, he could have ended the occupation in a quarter of an hour.<sup>12</sup> This seems to be a deliberate exaggeration aimed at deterring the British from a further attempted occupation, as Heijmering (1847:207) was told that Hazaart had gathered 'some hundreds' of natives, while the *Bataviasche Koloniale Courant* put the figure at five hundred (Haga 1882:291).

<sup>10</sup> J. Hazaart to Governor General and Council of the Government of the Possessions of his Majesty the King of Holland in India, 15 May 1811, Mss Eur Mack Private 29, in British Library, London.

<sup>11</sup> J. Hazaart to Governor General and Council of the Government of the Possessions of his Majesty the King of Holland in India, 15 May 1811, Mss Eur Mack Private 29, in British Library, London. Both the *Bataviasche Koloniale Courant* and Heijmering give British casualties as thirty men.

<sup>12</sup> J. Hazaart to Governor General and Council of the Government of the Possessions of his Majesty the King of Holland in India, 5 June 1811, Mss Eur Mack Private 29, in British Library, London.

Furthermore, as Hazaart is silent in his report about what happened between the time he went to gather reinforcements and the retreat of the British, it is unclear whether the dramatic action detailed by Heijmering ever took place. Heijmering's account is confirmed by B. (1852), who would appear to have been a military man long acquainted with Timor, but as his work was published a few years after Heijmering's, one cannot be sure that he did not simply paraphrase the earlier article. According to the *Bataviasche Koloniale Courant*, after Hazaart's departure the British 'plundered and stripped bare' the houses of the inhabitants, which so embittered the local Timorese that they attacked the British and drove them from the fort and town without Hazaart's help or guidance. When Hazaart returned to Kupang with his reinforcements, he was just a moment too late to prevent the British escape (Haga 1882:291). This is also a contested issue. In his report, Hazaart says that after the British had retreated to their ship he was able to re-enter the fort, but as the guns had all been spiked and the powder expended, he was unable to inflict any damage on the *Phoenix* and the British sailed that night.<sup>13</sup> Years later he apparently told Heijmering (1847:209) that when he entered the fort the *Phoenix* was still at anchor below him. The British had not spiked the guns properly and neglected to render the remaining ammunition unusable, so he was able to quickly have two cannons loaded and trained onto the ship. Just as he was about to blast the *Phoenix*, however, he reflected that he had no means to transport to Java any prisoners of war he should take, so he let them escape. It is now impossible to determine which version is correct.

Both Hazaart's report and Heijmering's account, however, are in agreement that when the British sailed that night they took Sergeant-Major Euvard with them. Hazaart wrote to Captain Bowen on 5 June 1811 that Euvard had returned to Kupang in a small vessel on 1 May.<sup>14</sup> He had with him a letter from Bowen dated 12 April and a parcel containing twelve pairs of silver spoons and forks, four pairs of iron forks with silver handles, a copper fork, a tin soup spoon, and a pair of shoe buckles set with crystal. Hazaart had Euvard imprisoned and wrote Bowen an angry reply. Bowen claimed that the expedition had aimed to take from Kupang only the goods of the 'Dutch company'<sup>15</sup> and not those of the inhabitants, hence the kitchenware and shoe buckles were returned. Hazaart dubbed Bowen the 'plunder commander' and told him the items he had returned were trivial considering the 40,000 rix dollars<sup>16</sup> worth of other goods and slaves that had been taken away on the *Phoenix*. All

<sup>13</sup> J. Hazaart to Governor General and Council of the Government of the Possessions of his Majesty the King of Holland in India, 15 May 1811, Mss Eur Mack Private 29, in British Library, London.

<sup>14</sup> The date of Euvard's return is rendered as '1st instant' in both Hazaart's report of May and his letter of June.

<sup>15</sup> Although the VOC had ceased to exist from the beginning of 1800, British report writers persisted in referring to the Netherlands Indies government for many years after as the 'Company'.

<sup>16</sup> One rix dollar, or *rijksdaalder*, was equal to two and a half guilders.

of these, he said, belonged to private citizens, but he did not think it worth spoiling any more paper to speak of them further. Bowen had also complained of Hazaart's 'bloody and unexpected attack', to which he replied that he was merely doing his duty. Moreover, he said that the Timorese had been so enraged by the insolence of the British that they would have maltreated any prisoners taken if not for his presence.<sup>17</sup> Bowen clearly did not impress Hazaart, but his dealings with the British had just begun.

### *The third British occupation*

Hazaart had managed to drive away the British in April 1811, but in September of that year Governor-General Jan Willem Janssens in Java capitulated to the British and surrendered the outer islands also. From the various accounts that exist it is clear that Hazaart would have found it difficult to prevent the British taking Timor again. The fort was largely in ruins, there was no powder for the guns, and no money to pay the soldiers and officers of the garrison (Hazaart 1811a). B. (1852:221) reports that when Hazaart first assumed command of the settlement he expropriated 1,200 rix dollars, meant for poor relief, from the treasury, to pay off the military, but he apparently received no more money, and morale in the ranks must have been very low. It was not until 10 January 1812, however, that the British arrived in Timor, and then only by accident. Captain Charles Thruston (Ternton, in Heijmering's account)<sup>18</sup> on the *Hesper* had been sailing in the Straits of Bali when a combination of currents and monsoon winds carried him to Timor and the settlement of Kupang. The Dutch colours were flying over the fort, so Thruston sent an officer ashore with a flag of truce to inform the 'governor' of the capitulation and to demand that the British flag replace the Dutch one. In his own account, Thruston says that Hazaart appeared to be agitated by this information and hesitated to reply, leading Thruston to threaten to attack the settlement if he did not get a favourable answer within ten minutes. This was a case of bluff, as most of Thruston's men were far too ill to have caused much harm. Thruston was apparently a master of this type of deception, as he dispatched a man to the fort with a British flag while Hazaart pondered his course of action and had him pretend that Hazaart had ordered him there. The flag was run up the flagpole and at this point Hazaart acquiesced. Thruston then appointed him provisional 'vice-governor'. Thruston did not carry any official documents to prove the capitulation in Java had actually taken place, but he felt that Hazaart was totally convinced

<sup>17</sup> J. Hazaart to Governor General and Council of the Government of the Possessions of his Majesty the King of Holland in India, 15 May 1811; J. Hazaart to James Brown, Castle Concordia, 5 June 1811, Mss Eur Mack Private 29, in British Library, London.

<sup>18</sup> In some British accounts his name is given as Thurston, but this appears to be an alternative rendering of the name.

of the matter. The *Hesper* remained in Kupang for weeks and no other vessel arrived to confirm the news. Thruston heard that many people in Kupang doubted his story and suspected the truth about the sickly state of his men. He also heard that there was a conspiracy between the Dutch and the local rajas to take him prisoner and restore the Dutch flag. Thruston put an end to this by putting Hazaart under house arrest and placing all his available men in the fort. The *Hesper* was then brought broadside with the town, so that if needed her cannons could cause great devastation. The principal inhabitants were then summoned and told to prepare the next day to swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Thruston's tactics worked and Hazaart, his staff, four local rajas, and other principal inhabitants of the town gathered at the solemn ceremony the following morning. A ball and supper were held that night that Thruston thought went so well that he had no further fear of revolt. The 'chief of the princes' became quite drunk and emotional, embracing Thruston and declaring his willingness to follow him through the world. Not long after, a Chinese junk touched at Kupang and confirmed the Dutch capitulation. In late February the *Hesper* returned to Java (Marshall 1833:55-63).

Hazaart told a different story when he wrote on 7 June 1812 to the Civil Commissioner in Makassar, Richard Phillips, who was now responsible for Timor also. Hazaart (1812) said that when he learnt of the French annexation of the Netherlands he had the Dutch flag 'turned about', in which position it remained until the settlement was handed over to the British. As Thruston had arrived by accident he carried no legal documents to explain the changes that had occurred in Java, but Hazaart nevertheless accepted his word of honour and the British flag was run up the flagpole on 11 January and on 20 February all the members of the government and inhabitants of the town swore allegiance to the British Crown. Hazaart later told Heijmering that he feared a stubborn refusal to change the flag could have had disadvantageous consequences, so he made a deal with Thruston whereby they drew up a contract in which Hazaart agreed to change the flags, but that as soon as he heard the British flag no longer flew over Java he would replace it with the Dutch one, no matter wherever else it remained in the Indies. At the ceremony where the flags were exchanged Hazaart experienced 'strained emotions' to see the Dutch flag lowered on a site it had flown over for more than 150 years, and remembering how Bowen's men had been repulsed the previous year he exclaimed to Thruston, 'You had the Dutch flag last year, but bravely defended, Sir!' (Heijmering 1847:211).

### *Hazaart replaced*

While there may be some contention over how the surrender occurred, what is not disputed is that Thruston asked Hazaart to remain in charge of the ad-

ministration on behalf of the British. Heijmering (1847:211) says that Hazaart soon declared that he was not disposed to continue as British resident and was replaced in the course of the following year. If so, Hazaart must have told this to Thruston before he left Kupang because his replacement, a Dutchman employed in British service, C.W. Knibbe, arrived on 22 March 1812, only a few weeks after Thruston's departure.<sup>19</sup> As Thruston left Kupang to return to Java and Knibbe appears to have arrived from Makassar, it seems most likely that Knibbe was already on his way to accept the capitulation of Timor, unaware of Thruston having been there before him.<sup>20</sup> However it occurred, Knibbe's subsequent correspondence with Makassar provides much information about general conditions in Timor at that time that are missing from most sources. Thus we learn from Knibbe that expenses in Timor exceeded revenue, all of which came from tax farming. Concessions for tax collection were sold to predominantly Chinese tenderers in the fields of gambling, import and export, export of spirits, and the stamping of candles and dammar (tree resin). Tax farms for a slaughter tax and poll tax were sold also. Knibbe envisaged more revenue would be raised through trade, and reported sandalwood, wax and jewellery among the goods seized from the Dutch on his arrival. There was no cash and a lack of rice, gunpowder and lead. These items he requested, as well as new muskets, as those he found at Kupang were unfit for service. Knibbe reported that the native 'princes' provided no money to the government, but were always willing to provide assistance, leading Knibbe to supply them with ammunition following their offer to help fight 'one of the most remarkable Princes', the 'war-faring rebel at Amanoebang' (Amanuban), of whom Knibbe said the government had always to be careful.<sup>21</sup> It was not long before the British felt that action had to be taken against this 'rebellious prince', but not during the time of Knibbe's administration. The only challenge to the British administration that Knibbe had to report came from the Portuguese.

The relationship between the Dutch in West Timor and their colonial rivals, the Portuguese in East Timor, had never been an easy one. Both claimed possession of a number of districts in the region. One of those disputed districts was Maubara, on the north coast of present-day East Timor. The rulers of Maubara had signed a contract of alliance with the VOC in 1759, but the

<sup>19</sup> Lieutenant Commanding at Coupang, C.W. Knibbe, to Civil Commissioner at Makassar, Richard Phillips, 28 March 1812, in *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*, Jakarta, *Algemeene Secretarie, Arsip Timor*, 1616-1890, no. 21.

<sup>20</sup> This is evident from Knibbe's letters to Makassar and can also be inferred from reports written by the Lieutenant Governor of Java, Thomas Stamford Raffles, who wrote in April 1812 that Timor had been garrisoned from Makassar. See Raffles to Minto, Ryswick, 17 April 1812, *Collectie 215, 1810-1814 Raffles-Minto Manuscript Collection*, Vol 2, in *Nationaal Archief*, The Hague.

<sup>21</sup> Lieutenant Commanding at Coupang, C.W. Knibbe, to Civil Commissioner at Makassar, Richard Phillips, 28 March 1812, 3 May 1812, and 6 June 1812, in *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*, Jakarta, *Algemeene Secretarie, Arsip Timor*, 1616-1890, no. 21.

Portuguese claimed the territory as well. Yet it seems that neither side did much to make good their claims. Knibbe reported that he had appointed a Dutchman, Andries Christian Muller, as interpreter to travel to a number of areas to inform the local people of the change from Dutch to British control. In Oecusse, in April 1812, Muller met a former Portuguese post commander who told him that the Portuguese would soon take the islands of Sabu and Rote and that the British would hand over Kupang within three months. Muller was then en route to Maubara, but he was told that Maubara was Portuguese, not British, and that he should not go there. The Portuguese commander of Batugade, near the central border of the two territories, repeated this advice. This man warned the Chinese captain of Muller's ship that if he took Muller to Maubara his vessel and cargo would be confiscated and his head chopped off. The Batugade commander pointed to the Portuguese flag and exclaimed, 'Look there, what a flag this is!' He then pointed to the British flag on the ship, and expressed his disdain by saying, 'This is good to wipe our backside and no more.' Muller's captain would not risk the trip to Maubara and they returned to Kupang.<sup>22</sup>

Knibbe later reported that he intended to send an interpreter to a number of other districts, including Amarasi and the islands of Solor, Sabu and Rote. Charles Boxer (1960:354-5) reports that the *Glatton* visited Solor and left a British flag there as a sign of sovereignty, but it seems that the British did little else to make good their claims, as it is said that the Portuguese governor of East Timor promptly had the British flag removed and obtained formal recognition of Portuguese suzerainty from the island's local ruler. The Portuguese did not formally renounce their claim to Solor until 1851 (Heyman 1895:34-5).

In the meantime, the Frenchman Euvard remained under arrest in Kupang, and Hazaart and others convinced Knibbe that he was a dangerous man, resulting in his being sent to Java as a prisoner.<sup>23</sup> Little more of note seems to have occurred during Knibbe's term as resident, but Heijmering (1847:211-2) relates an incident in which Knibbe was forced to retreat into the fort by a mob of angry Sabunese after attempting to arrest one of them as a thief.<sup>24</sup> B.

<sup>22</sup> C. Lamberts, Statements from 'tolk' A. Muller and Chinese trader/captain, 1812 in *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*, Jakarta, Algemeene Secretarie, *Arsip Timor*, 1616-1890, no. 21. Who ruled in Maubara was not settled for many years. In 1837 two 'English nationals' were killed there, and when a British naval officer complained about this to the Netherlands Indies government there was uncertainty over whether the territory was Dutch or Portuguese. The issue was only settled in 1851, when the Dutch conceded it as Portuguese territory. See Heyman 1895:33.

<sup>23</sup> Lieutenant Commanding at Coupang, C.W. Knibbe, to Civil Commissioner at Makassar, Richard Phillips, 6 June 1812, in *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*, Jakarta, Algemeene Secretarie, *Arsip Timor*, 1616-1890, no. 21.

<sup>24</sup> People from the nearby island of Sabu had been living in and near Kupang since the earliest days of Dutch settlement. At another time during the British occupation a flotilla of Sabunese arrived in Timor. It was learnt that they had come to do battle for one of the local rajas, an apparently common practice. Their headman was asked to keep the peace with the Europeans. He replied that if one of his subjects harmed any of the British he would lop off his head, and he expected

(1852:222) tells a similar tale of Knibbe being pelted with stones by 'natives' and being forced to flee, although he gives no reason for the event.

According to Heijmering (1847:211-2), Knibbe requested to be replaced not long after his arrival in Kupang, but had to wait nearly a year for his replacement to arrive. The new resident, a British officer named Watson, was in Kupang for a year also, but little more is known of him other than that he was remembered as a person of moderate and honest character. In early 1814 Watson was replaced by a civil official, Mr Burn, who arrived from Makassar with his secretary, Mr Curtois.

Heijmering's chronology of the Timor residents is in conflict with a record left by John Clunies Ross, who visited Kupang in May 1813. Clunies Ross was third mate and harpooner on the whaling ship *Baroness Longueville* that put in to Kupang for water and provisions prior to sailing for London. Clunies Ross recorded in his journal that he was approached by 'the Resident Mr Joseph Burn' to take command of the chartered brig *Olivia*, at rest in Kupang harbour without a captain. Clunies Ross accepted the job.<sup>25</sup> In B.'s account (1852:222), Knibbe was replaced by Watson in 1812, and in the same year he was replaced by Burn, thus allowing him to meet Clunies Ross in Kupang in 1813. Watson, therefore, must have been stationed in Kupang for only a brief period, which would explain why so little is known about him.

The *Baroness Longueville* was not the only British whaling vessel to enter Timor's waters. Indeed, well before the British occupation, in 1808, the retiring Netherlands Indies Governor-General, A.H. Wiese (1888:298), in a memorandum to his successor, Daendels, warned that Timor was 'continuously cruised by armed English fishing vessels'. American whalers operating near Timor had also been a cause of concern for the Dutch, mainly because of apprehension that they were occupied in smuggling (Parkinson 1954:46). Under the British, Kupang became an important port for ships involved in the South Seas fisheries and for ships returning to Britain from the young colony on Australia's east coast.<sup>26</sup>

Heijmering is the main source of information for the remaining period of British rule in Timor. It is from Heijmering that we know that Hazaart, in the meantime, had resorted to his old profession of merchant. But he continued to live in Kupang and was of invaluable service in giving advice to the British administrators, especially in their dealings with the native population, of whom they knew practically nothing. This was certainly true of Burn, who

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the same of the British. He invited the British to visit Sabu, but stressed that they would be guests only. The British found the man to be very forthright and dignified. See W. Colebrooke, 'Sketches', Sourabaya [Surabaya], 4 May 1812, Mss Eur Mack Private 82, in British Library, London.

<sup>25</sup> Gibson-Hill 1952:17-9. 'Extract from a journal kept by John Clunies Ross', 1813, Mss Eur K232-46, in British Library, London.

<sup>26</sup> Kruseman 1836:4. Timor was to become an important source of supplies for the settlements later founded in northern Australia as well. See Farram 2000.

was reportedly an alcoholic who inspired little respect for his authority in the native population. Burn could well have fallen victim to attacks on the European administration planned by some local native leaders if Hazaart had not got to hear of them first (Heijmering 1847:213).

The first of these was planned by a man called Soroe, a rebellious official of the principedom of Dengka on the nearby island of Rote. To maintain the peace in Dengka, Soroe was kept in exile in Kupang. Soroe then plotted to massacre all the Europeans in the settlement with the aid of the government's slaves and the Rotenese and Sabunese population. A time was set for the massacre and it might have succeeded if one of the slaves, Poti, had not informed Hazaart. Soroe was promptly arrested and the plot collapsed. Poti was given his freedom as a reward (Heijmering 1847:213-4).

At about the same time, the raja of Amabi invited Burn, his officials, and other dignitaries to a great feast. Hazaart was secretly informed that this was a trap and the men would be slaughtered. Amabi, however, was considered one of the most loyal allies of the Dutch in Timor and Hazaart doubted the veracity of the report. Burn was not convinced and wished to avoid the feast, but was finally persuaded by Hazaart, who devised a plan that would thwart any attack, raise the respect of the Timorese for the European administration, and honour the raja of Amabi at the same time. Hazaart did this by having the gentlemen's servants armed and placed behind their seats at the feast. Soldiers with loaded rifles stood behind them. The procession of civil administrators, armed servants, and soldiers that arrived in Amabi for the feast was certainly impressive and was presented as an honour to the host. The raja seemed pleased. No attack occurred and the Timorese at large were given a demonstration of military might and preparedness (Heijmering 1847:214-6).

The greatest threat to the European administrators was seen as coming from the principedom of Amanuban, which abutted Amabi. Amanuban had long been in dispute with Kupang. In 1788 the reigning raja of Amanuban was forced off the throne by his brother and took refuge in Kupang. The usurper, Don Louis, demanded the surrender of the raja's followers who had loyally followed him to Kupang, and declared that he would lop off the raja's head in view of the Europeans (Heijmering 1847:216). Don Louis was considered by Hazaart to be 'very dangerous', and one of his complaints against the treacherous Sergeant-Major Euvard was that he had been in 'very frequent correspondence' with him.<sup>27</sup> The matter came to a head in 1814 when an impressive armed force marched from Amanuban into Amabi. The administration had to respond, and in late 1814 an expedition was prepared using whatever material was at hand, which included making cartridges from the government archives (to the regret of future historians) (Veth 1855:57).

<sup>27</sup> J. Hazaart to Governor General and Council of the Government of the Possessions of his Majesty the King of Holland in India, 15 May 1811, Mss Eur Mack Private 29, in British Library, London.



Secretary Curtois led the expedition, accompanied by Hazaart, but the results were inconclusive. Burn died suddenly in Kupang and Curtois was recalled to assume leadership of the settlement. The rainy season was then at hand and the native soldiers had to be released to attend their cornfields. The Amanuban warriors, however, had for the moment been sufficiently awed by the field exercise to retreat into their own district, and for this the Europeans were thankful (Heijmering 1847:217). Hazaart was involved in a number of inconclusive campaigns against Amanuban in the years that followed.

#### *Hazaart reinstated as resident*

Curtois had taken the reins of government for only a short period<sup>28</sup> before he died also. There was then not a single Briton of sufficient ability in Kupang to assume leadership, so the principal inhabitants and local rajas requested Hazaart to once again fill that role. The British administration in Makassar then either officially recognized Hazaart in the post, or silently condoned it. Certainly, it seems no one else was appointed to the position. Thus, when the Napoleonic wars in Europe were over and the British returned the posts in the archipelago to the Dutch, a most unusual event occurred in Timor. In late 1816 a British officer, Lieutenant Philipps, arrived in Kupang to hand over British authority to the new Dutch official, Jacobus Arnoldus Hazaart. Hazaart then had the distinction of having twice replaced himself as head of the settlement and having served in that position twice for the British (1812 and 1814-1816) and twice for the Dutch (1810-1812 and late 1816 onwards).<sup>29</sup>

#### *The remaining years of Hazaart as resident*

One of Hazaart's first acts after resuming the post of Dutch *resident* was to induce the ruler of Soetrana (Citrana), on the border of the Portuguese enclave Oecusse, to switch his allegiance to the Dutch in 1817. The Dutch claim was dropped only many years after Hazaart's death. Hazaart also took action against Portuguese incursions on Dutch territory. Hazaart discovered that during the British interregnum the Portuguese had planted their flag and began collecting taxes in the Dutch-claimed port of Atapupu, close to the present central border in Timor. Therefore, Hazaart reoccupied the settlement for the

<sup>28</sup> Forty days, according to B. (1852:224).

<sup>29</sup> Heijmering 1847:217-9; Kemp 1917:3. The British sold to the Netherlands government all the public property they had taken over during their administration. Philipps sold Hazaart a number of government slaves whom he claimed were too 'old and helpless' to be emancipated. This act was disallowed by Philipps's superiors, who refused to accept the money and requested for the slaves to be kept in government employ as 'free servants'. This was done. See Kemp 1917:3.

Dutch in 1818, but the Portuguese complained to Batavia, resulting in Hazaart standing down while the matter was investigated. Hazaart was reinstated, however, when it was concluded that his actions were completely justified. The Portuguese then let the matter drop (Heyman 1895:14-8). This was just one of a number of disputes between the two colonial powers in Timor which provided impetus for a formal settlement of their possessions on the island, although this was still many years away.<sup>30</sup>

Hazaart had two other problems: unrest on the nearby island of Rote, and a lack of security for Kupang, which was surrounded by large uninhabited areas. Hazaart solved these problems by transferring the restive Rotenese to the plains near Kupang. Sabunese immigrants settled here also, although on a much smaller scale. These people established successful agricultural communities that provided a buffer for Kupang against raids from the interior. The settlers also provided a ready source of soldiers to meet any challenge from Timorese princedoms that still opposed the Dutch.<sup>31</sup> Hazaart used soldiers from this source in a large expedition against Amanuban that he led in 1822 (Fox 1977:139). According to Heijmering (1847:224), the outcomes of that expedition were even less favourable than those of 1814.

Hazaart was keen to improve agricultural production on Timor. He had sought to have Javanese wet-rice farmers brought to the island and had even established an agricultural association, an usual innovation for that period (Ormeling 1956:125; Fox 1977:141-2). Hazaart was also involved in public works programmes, such as road building, and did his best to promote Christianity in the region. With the help of some willing native rulers, and with substantial monetary contributions from himself and his former secretary, J.M. Tielman, a new church was completed in Kupang in 1826 (Heijmering 1847:228-30). Tielman and Hazaart also provided hospitality to passing explorers, such as the Frenchman Louis de Freycinet, who visited Kupang in 1818 when Hazaart was up-country campaigning against Amanuban, and the British Phillip Parker King, who was in Kupang a few months earlier. King was particularly grateful to Hazaart for giving him cash on a private bill, without which he would have been unable to purchase provisions (Basset 1962:96-7; King 1969:126-7).

Hazaart remained as *resident* for many years to follow, but there are few further details available of either his personal or professional life. He appears to have retired in 1833, or perhaps a bit later (Kemp 1917:198). Heijmering

<sup>30</sup> For details of the partition of Timor, see Farram 1999.

<sup>31</sup> Fox 1977:138-48. Rotenese farmers eventually spread throughout much of the interior. Because the Rotenese took readily to western education and generally accepted Christianity, they in many ways became the favoured people of the Dutch in Timor and were heavily utilized in the administrative bureaucracy. The Rotenese on Timor are still active today in agriculture, government and politics.

(1847:230) provides the last glimpse of Hazaart, reporting that he continued to work on behalf of the government and the people of the region until his very last days. In 1838 he had gone to the island of Sumba on behalf of the government to investigate some disputes between local rulers. On his return journey he stopped at Sabu and died there on 19 December 1838.

### *Conclusion*

Much of what we know about Jacobus Arnoldus Hazaart is due to the work of G. Heijmering. His 1847 article has informed most work about Hazaart that has been written since. The present paper is no exception, but by drawing on a range of other sources I have attempted to give a fuller picture of the life and times of a quite extraordinary figure. He played a central role in the administration of Timor during the British interregnum, and for many years after that. When Hazaart died he was in his sixty-fifth year and had spent nearly thirty years in the service of the Netherlands government and the people of Timor. His length of tenure as *resident* of Timor was a feat unprecedented at the time and unequalled since.

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