

VOC and Chinese in Java: Identifying the Migration Motives in the Seventeenth Century

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ABSTRACT

The presence of Chinese abroad in the seventeenth century is regarded as the early modern period by many scholars. The seventeenth century was also marked by the increasing seaborne trade in Southeast Asia, which was significantly more intense than before. Chinese merchants were one of the dominant traders within the region. As the result, the Chinese massive migration in the seventeenth century witnessed unprecedented occasions regarding many issues which encouraged the enthusiasm of the Chinese diaspora to Java in the seventeenth century. This chapter emerges from the observation that the current literature on migration motives are lacking. This study aims to enrich the literature about the motives and how they drove the Chinese to migrate. Few literatures that adequately appreciate transnational migration motivation to Southeast Asia, especially Java. The previous research tends to discuss the events, background, and consequences of Chinese migration to Java. This chapter addresses some points, namely (1) investigating the Chinese motives to migrate to Java in the 17th century; (2) formulating well-established analytical tools on how these Chinese migrants were perceived by the Dutch East Indies as well as by indigenous Javanese traders. Also how Chinese migrants portrayed themselves in Javanese society in the seventeenth century; (3) underscoring that the main factor of Chinese migration to Java relates to VOC policy which started with the establishment of the new city of Batavia in 1619. This chapter also tries to complete the reference and research about the Chinese migration phenomenon all over the world.

Keywords: Chinese, Java, Migration, Motives.

Published Online: December 11, 2022

ISSN: 2736-5522

DOI: 10.24018/ejsocial.2022.2.6.354

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I. INTRODUCTION

Trade has been a significant characteristic of Indonesian history. By trade, the Dutch East India Company or Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie later known as VOC came to the Eastern hemisphere. Classically, the VOC attempted to monopolize trade activities aided by military power and advanced technology. They held dominance both in political and economical circumstances within the archipelago. Chinese on the other side had been considered an extension of VOC activity due to the strong alliance between VOC and the Chinese.

This paper describes and analyses how VOC policy attracted the Chinese to come to Java in the 17th century despite other minor factors. The role of colonial policy in the 17th century toward Chinese migration is unmistakable. The number of Chinese kept growing, especially after Batavia was founded in 1619. The main concern is, how the colonial policy did attract the Chinese? This research also attempts at discerning how Chinese groups were perceived and functioned within Javanese society.

The Chinese in Java in the 17th century is one of the features of national history towards minority communities. Chinese in Java had a significant influence on Indonesian history. Most Chinese who migrated to Java were merchants and/or intermediary commercial services. Their role was crucial to the Dutch East India business. Chinese were trusted to operate in the city of Batavia with many roles, namely artisans, shopkeepers, fishermen and farmers. This new city of Batavia was significantly dependent to China's junk trade, and eventually the Chinese engrossed themselves as intermediary and distributive figures. The Chinese mostly acted as middlemen between VOC and indigenous Java (Dobbin, 1989). From this, we could draw a big picture how VOC relates to the existence of Chinese in Java. From the beginning, Chinese were asked to join VOC over trade business since the late 16th century.

Chinese migration in the 17th century was based on several factors, namely internally and externally. The Chinese diaspora is significantly different compared to Europeans. Chinese were not associated with religious and cultural exclusiveness, but as the subjects of the powerful kingdoms. Hence, Chinese people considered themselves Han, Tang, Ming, and Qing (Flynn & Giraldez, 2008). Chinese migration is distinctively different compared to Europeans in the 15th century. They obtained no stereotypes such as 3G's (gold, glory, and gospel) which are very associated with European arrival. The Chinese term relates to languages, ethnicity, and culture. Their existence had been long associated to Southeast Asian history.

By the 19th century, they were about 200 hundred thousand Chinese occupied Java island, a little more than half were men. Most Chinese settled in Batavia and its immediate environs and in the north coast cities of Cirebon, Rembang, Surabaya, and Semarang. All residency capitals were occupied by the Chinese population of a few thousand. They were ranging from several hundred to one or two thousand people scattered both in towns and beyond (Rush, 1991). Their number increased steadily due to VOC needs regarding trade, plantation, etc.

People's migration is a relation between origin and destination. There are some types of correlation. First, migrants preserve social contact with their homeland, even though they settled permanently in a new place. Second, some migrants may come back to their homeland due to certain circumstances. Third, some households engage in a separate household strategy and make the best of both origin and destinations without obvious intentions to stay (Shen, 2011). Based on these types, the Chinese migration in the 17th century to Java might fall into the first category. Most of them settled in Java, especially Batavia and still made effort in communicating to their homeland. They survived from generation to generation until today.

Chinese migration all over the world could be categorized as a diaspora. Diaspora term is used to demonstrate a group of people who spread geographically and also share some culture, sentiment, as well as history. There is a recognition found related to country-oriented history, that at the same time admits that the historical making of diaspora needs to be examined (McKeown, 1999). Until now, scholars of Chinese in Indonesia have touched on the topic lightly. The migration study toward global demographic dynamics has gained growing academic interest.

Migration itself is an important theme in the world and Asia history, yet important cases, among them Chinese who migrated to other countries have been somehow ignored in the migration literature. Chinese overseas diaspora networks require significant scholarly existence from cross-disciplinary perspectives. Finally, a general goal for this chapter is to enrich the motives perspective in migration studies. This paper also tries to complete the reference and research about the Chinese migration phenomenon all over the world.

II. CHINESE MARITIME POLICY IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Since the 13th century, adventurous traders from South China went to Southeast Asia or known as 'Nanyang' to bring commodities, such as tin, spices, and jade. Once the European Portuguese reached Malacca in 1511, they were under Chinese suzerainty. During this period, the Chinese dynasty extended their power to Tongking, Annam (practically Chinese provinces), Burma, and Siam were tributary states (Unger, 1944). It is no wonder that the Chinese had began played a significant part in global trade since the early stage. Their existence was recorded long before European arrival.

Chinese migration to Southeast Asia, especially to Java had begun long before the 17th century. Between the 14th and 17th centuries, Chinese traders sailed to Japan, Southeast Asia, and India regularly and settled either temporarily or permanently. During the late Ming and early Qing periods, many of the descendants were in the southeastern coastal provinces namely Fujian and Guangdong. The two provinces sent migrants overseas with the claim that their previous ancestors had migrated from northern China (Miles, 2020). People from the Southern province of China were known as sailors as well as sea traders. They felt abandoned by the emperor which then led to migration to Southeast Asia regions.

Even though overseas Chinese migration for the most part had not been managed by the imperial as early Chinese migration. The government still played a significant part in organizing the migrants' movement within the borders if they could. For instance, during the early Ming dynasty after the rebellion of the Yuan dynasty, the new official moved a large population to some areas in the new imperial capitals between Nanjing and Beijing. Between the 14th and 16th centuries, Japanese-Chinese pirates known as *wako* attacked the southeastern coast of China with radical frequency. Hence, Ming officials banned overseas trade and the merchants who did trade became smugglers for the official (Miles, 2020 & Zhao, 2013). In addition, this ban also managed full control over the borders, Ming officials closed the country to foreigners and forbade all further Chinese emigration as well as forbidding all Chinese merchants to trade with foreigners. This maritime ban created significant economic issues for those Chinese in coastal areas that depended on maritime trade. After Ming was conquered by Manchu, the political transition and economic turmoil period, and many Chinese decided to leave China to find a better place to live (Riskianingrum, 2021).

After Ming had been conquered by Manchu Qing. The Kangxi emperor released a new regulation to open China to global trade in November 1684. This policy led to some other regulations later which drove the Chinese history of foreign trade. Those regulations namely; 1) the law that banned maritime trade would be abolished, making the empire and private traders operated trade globally; 2) all merchants from both tribute and non-tribute countries were permitted to enter coastal ports; 3) there was a clear distinction between trade and tribute activities. Thereby, it allowed foreign countries to participate in private trade; 4) the maritime customs systems managed the overseas trade and collected tariffs. These regulations were significant elements of the Qing trade policy that remained for a century and a half (Zhao, 2013).

By the end of the seventeenth century, well-organized Chinese trade groups dominated Pacific trade and they took a significant part in the Chinese economy by bringing foreign silver into China. Kangxi emperor opened and encouraged private maritime trade. Thus, in 1727 hundreds of thousands of Chinese living abroad.

The 17th century maritime policy is also related to capitalism. Chinese traders scattered trading communities were also severely handicapped in the world capitalist system by the absence of state support. However, the Chinese traders' diaspora grew. Merchants' diaspora brought valuable cultures and they developed into their own distinctive and autonomous institutions and modes of operating (Tracy, 1996).

Despite the dynamic of Chinese migration drawn by trade and commerce, the image of emigrants in the eyes of the imperial was negative. For more than four centuries during Ming and early Qing periods, those who migrated were regarded as deserters, criminals, and potential traitors. This negative perspective remained until the period of the Opium Wars. These migrants could only care for themselves as "overseas orphans" (Xiao An, 2015).

III. WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CHINESE MIGRATION TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND JAVA

From the early years, the Chinese seemed to have been captivated to travel to foreign countries when they sailed to and from the Indian Ocean. Chinese held the intensity and variety of the livelihood quest which then marked them as "material man" (Rush, 1991). This term came from their substantial role within the Java economy. Chinese were ubiquitous and essential. Hence, whoever intended to do business needed contact with the Chinese. However, was the economy the major factor in Chinese migration? Or how did VOC regulation attract more Chinese to come to Java in the 17th century?

Chinese migration to Java in the 17th century could be examined with several migration theories. Migration activity has been conceptualized as a function of capabilities and aspirations to migrate to urban areas or foreign lands. Search for a new life for a 'promised land' encouraging people on the move. Migration is a form of geography between one place to another. Migration generally involves a change in residence from the original place to the destination place (Roy & Basu, 2021). The emphasis on China as the initial homeland is the most evident in the Chinese history overseas that has been conceptualized.

Massive Chinese migration to Southeast Asia occurred in the mid-17th century after the European arrival. This migration is known as the first wave of Chinese migration into Southeast Asia. During the early period, European colonists attempted to hire Chinese merchants for construction as well as to participate in trade ports (Zhuang & Wang, 2010). In addition, Southeast Asia is considered the place which Chinese migration headed referred to as 'Nanyang', literally meaning 'South Seas'. Nanyang was known as the 'water frontier' or a form of "Asian Mediterranean" which also established a significant component of the 'Maritime Silk Road'. The region has the longest interaction which China through trade and migration (Xiao An, 2015). From an early age, the main factor of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia is the economical factor. However, when we narrow it down to Java in the 17th century, the economical factor seemed another factor alongside other factors which led to massive Chinese migration to Java.

In the first stage, Chinese migration to Java in the 17th century was to earn profit. J.P. Coen considered the Chinese in Batavia as a significant element in the economic asset. The Chinese established themselves as the majority in Batavia's population as artisans, traders, contractors, and coolies. Chinese were also middle class and proletariat. Chinese merchants were intermediaries between the Dutch and indigenous people in the cities and hinterland (Onghokham, 1989). As time went on, the VOC generated several policies toward the Chinese to keep them attached over trade and business.

IV. THE DUTCH EAST INDIES COMPANY REGULATION POLICY

Java island is one of the largest in the archipelago. It covers about 125,622 km² with an estimation of population of 145 million in 2015. Java is a very populated island as it is occupied by more than half of Indonesia's population. The people generally consist of three major groups, namely Javanese in Central and East Java, and Sundanese in West Java. Java has many volcanoes and significant parts of the region are fertile soils which suitable for agriculture (Clever, 2013). This situation is not far from the past. The

features of Java island attracted many foreigners to take chances on economical advantages. Chinese in the first place were very aware of this situation that was contrary to their homeland.

Chinese migration has a similarity to transatlantic migration which is to be found in the individual motives for leaving their homeland. The primary reason Chinese moving with the largest number of people is economical opportunities in the lands. The Chinese commonly settled in agricultural districts like Java island. They looked for any chances for work that could bring them to a subsistence level (Unger, 1944). These economical opportunities could be found in Java where indigenous people were less advance in terms of culture compared to the Chinese. Many of the emigrants had left home since they could not find work to support themselves and their families. But, not until the Dutch power came to the surface they enjoyed a monopoly of certain economic function in social life (Furnivall, 2010). Netherlands Indies associated with China even before the arrival of Europeans through trade activity. Even though India's culture is more dominant in Java in outer regions, China's culture left its trace in the early days and is a more important influence than India's in the region today. The Chinese stayed throughout the island, commonly in both cities and towns (Unger, 1944). In the early fifteenth century, a prosperous Chinese trading settlement had developed in Gresik, where Cantonese merchants played a vital role. By the 1600s, there were about 3,000 Chinese also existed in Banten. According to Gerrit Knaap (*in* Xiao An, 2015), the port cities were usually clusters of unwallled village-like settlements. Many of these settlements were reserved exclusively for non-Javanese groups of sailors and traders, such as Chinese, Indians, Malays, etc.

Much literature indicates that Chinese diaspora to Southeast Asia, especially Java had to do with economical interests. The Chinese occupied the niches areas in the colonial economies of Java. Their activities were encouraged by common migrants' motivation and organizational networks, and the situation by the dichotomy between local and colonial regulations which both forbade them from land ownership and agriculture. Hence, Chinese merchants and laborers mostly helped to develop commodity export as brokers, middlemen, traders, and processors of agricultural products, also acted as the bridge between local peasants' economies toward global markets, namely in relationships with Western colonial trading business (Lim, 2013). These opportunities had brought economical comfort for them to stay longer and even attempted to strengthen the opportunities.

The VOC initially wanted to conquest Spice Islands which then led to territorial expansion. In order to maintain the trade network to Spice Island, they had to build a base in Java then known as Batavia. This was followed by forming up buffer states which would acknowledge their suzerainty. Eventually, VOC became the merchant prince with political power in the archipelago and rely for the revenue mainly on tribute (Furnivall, 2010). This is the first event of many other events that in the end marked the period of colonization within the archipelago.

The Dutch East India Company, or VOC, first sailed to Southeast Asia in 1595 when the Chinese, Spanish, and Portuguese already established trading routes for about thirty years. J. P. Coen established Batavia as an important entrepot between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. The Dutch intended Batavia to be the terminus of the Chinese Xiyang route. Thus, J. P. Coen had no doubts that Batavia had to depend on Chinese networks and Chinese manpower for its survival in the Indonesian archipelago. The opening of China market was also believed to obtain the key to a bigger success of VOC expansion in terms of the trading network. (Blusse, 2008; Furnivall, 2010). The Dutch encouraged the Chinese by telling them as "industrious, diligent, and unweaponed people" without becoming dangerous might have helped them to make it the greatest trading network in the East (Furnivall, 2010). This is the very first policy that led the Chinese to migrate to Java in the first place. They were mobilized by the Dutch to occupy the new city 'Batavia' and this led to other policies and regulations. The Dutch interest to the Chinese was implied either in terms of regulation and/or administrative affairs.

The seventeenth century in Batavia performed the first directly administrated territory where the Dutch were a forced to come to terms with the phenomenon of a significant heterogenous society within an urban context since it was a plural society. The VOC accepted cultural variation within the colonial realm as long as they were not against the norms and values of the Dutch culture. Batavia society was made up of several groups under the Dutch ruler who was possessed by various struggles foreign to other social structures. The Chinese in Batavia were also part of the Chinese trade networks, they served interests alien to those of the VOC. They remained embedded in and gained strength from their South China Sea trade network that spread among ports, namely Amoy, Swatoy and Canton (Blusse, 1986). This event brought the Dutch and Chinese getting closer and their relationship was as solid as ever. Both sides saw opportunities in the new city and there was a mutual need for one another, which made Chinese position had grown more secure.

Batavia witnessed a new development in the history of Chinese migration, while they had previously visited Southeast Asia mainly for commercial reasons, the Chinese started to come to Batavia not only as merchants, but also as craftsmen, market gardeners, and sugar producers (Kian, 2015). It becomes clear their role eventually turned more complicated and Chinese put themselves as dominant players. The Chinese and their mixed blood were becoming significant until the end of the eighteenth century. Batavia trade system was primarily redistributive that depended on a tributary mode of production and exchange. This system

was eventually put in the Indonesian archipelago during the seventeenth century with several treaties and contacts with local Javanese rulers. While products flowed into Batavia, it was also an attractive international emporium that attracted many sailors and traders from different ethnicities. These traders participated and enjoyed profit introduced by the Dutch colonial. Thus, the Chinese gap which bridged Batavia with the south China economy fed the city a wide array of Chinese products and provided it with a constant flow of manpower. So, the VOC was commonly served by Chinese shipping linked in the 1680s (Blusse, 2008). This trade system technically is not an official regulation, but it could be seen as a subtlety from the Dutch to keep the Chinese in place. Batavia did not only serve as a destination for China's overseas trading port but also as a node in the network of the largest Western trading power in the region.

The Europeans who arrived in the archipelago acted as wholesale merchants. Thereby, they gave the intermediary or middlemen merchandise in credit in the expectation their products will be delivered to the retail markets. Chinese in this stage operated as middlemen, along with Japanese and Arabs, even though their roles were not as dominant as the Chinese. It is assumed that the Chinese came with the advantages of business skills, large families and business contacts that pushed them into intra and extra-archipelago trade networks (Clever, 2013). Hence, the Dutch treated the Chinese quite differently. They trusted money and cloth to the Chinese who would retail and collect Southeast Asian products on their behalf (Kian, 2015).

The Dutch felt pleasant employing the Chinese. They deliberately placed Chinese under their leader who then represented the community to the Dutch authority. In the late 17th century, some Chinese were also represented by one or two of their leaders as city magistrates. Their number increased steadily and other Chinese "officers" known as "lieutenant" and "secretaries" were appointed to assist the captain's task (Blusse, 1986).

In addition, In the early years of Batavia, two Chinese played a significant part within the city, Su Ming-Kang (alias Bencon) and Jan Con. Bencon was the respected chief of Chinese in Batavia, while Jan Con was considered a "movers and doers" who worked beyond the spotlight of the official. The two Chinese performed their assignments delicately. They were awarded for their service 600 rials. Jan Con especially was a great asset for the Dutch as they struggled to establish a town in a hostile environment (Blusse, 1986). Some Chinese figures became significant with their various roles and function in Batavia society. The Chinese settled in Batavia using their customs and ruled by their chief, commonly known as Kapitan and lieutenants. They were the subject of the Dutch colonial administration. Their existence in some sources was often relative to the significance and visibility of the places they occupied. It was obvious that based on the resources that many Chinese had gained their religion and customs from their ancestors (Guillot, 1993). When the Dutch successfully established a monopoly in some areas such as Malacca and Portuguese Mollucas and Portuguese Malacca, the Dutch banned all regional traders to sail. They attempted to establish a network with other Europeans. However, the Chinese were freely sailing to the Southeast Asian seas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Chinese were seen as less threatening compared to other regional traders (Kian, 2015).

Chinese merchants were also important sources of free labor. In the 1670s the term coolie first appeared in many documents, associated with natives' unskilled laborers. And over the 17th and 18th centuries, unfree and free labor existed side by side in Java. Chinese laborers earned larger wages than local workers due to their higher productivity (De Zwart & Van Zanden, 2015). This also relates to sugar cultivation along the coast between Jacatra and Jepara even before the arrival of the Dutch. Then, the Dutch came and encouraged cultivation within their territories mainly by Chinese immigrants. Despite being dominant in sugar cultivation, the Chinese were also assigned tolls and taxes, including customs duty (Furnivall, 2010). This resulted in a stronger position for the Chinese cultivators than peasants who planted coffee, and as Chinese held a keener economic instinct and great resistance. During the period of VOC, some substantial products were available in the markets. Even though most Javanese products were aimed at internal markets, the productions for the inter-insular markets and the global market were quite significant. This led to Java island gaining a dense market network with steady markets at a smaller size such as markets that spread in the villages and operated weekly. In this smaller level, the Chinese were often appointed by the Dutch and provided with military positions such as Majoor, Kapitan, and Lieutenant. This system served as a link between Chinese immigrants, and colonial and local authorities (Clever, 2013).

In the thirteenth century, the Chinese merchants already started to build their community known as Peranakan. Peranakan could be described as mixed races and during the Dutch occupation, the term usually was engaged to address anyone of mixed racial ancestry. Peranakan at first were descendants of Chinese men who stayed and married local women in the archipelago. Nowadays, the Peranakan term means a socio-cultural state to address those who are no longer rooted in China and who do not speak the Chinese language at home (Rafferty, 1984). Chinese diaspora through Bourdieu sociology related to the fields of government, polity, economy, and state. Capitalism contributes to economic and political power, without due attention to history and culture. Capital does not exist and cannot function except in relation to a field. Certain resources of diasporic Chinese such as gender and language may be made qualified as a capital exchange for a value in a given field (Pang & Michael Mu, 2019).

V. HOW THE DUTCH EAST INDIES PERCEIVED THE CHINESE

The Chinese had come to Java island long before the arrival of Europeans, yet they enjoyed the economical benefits after the Dutch came to the throne of power in the archipelago. It started when J. P. Coen, the founder of the company empire at East established Batavia in 1619. He deliberately asked the Chinese in Banten to move and occupy the new city. The Chinese number reached to 300-400 who lived in Jacatra and by 1627 they were 3,500 Chinese people. When Coen left Batavia in 1623, he wrote that 'there is no people in the world who serves us better than the Chinese.' The intermediary commercial services of the Chinese in Java were important to the VOC.

In the early years of Batavia, the Dutch could not hold of Javanese local traders for rice supply and be aggravated by distrust of Javanese. The Dutch then believed that the Chinese could serve the new city with different roles, namely artisans, shopkeepers, fishermen and farmers (Dobbin, 1989). Furthermore, J. P. Coen even also tried to blockade all Chinese shipping from Manila and divert it to Batavia. Hence, Chinese community in Batavia came to be served by an umbilical cord of Chinese shipping that connected them with the homeland in South Fujian (Blusse & Denning, 2018). The Dutch in Batavia also significantly relied on China junk trade and the Chinese put themselves as 'distributive and collecting intermediate trade' and become the intermediaries between the VOC and indigenous Java (Dobbin, 1989).

Based on Blusse's (1988) some Western language sources describe Chinese as diligent, kind and sometimes false. They had a hand in everything but were at the same time timid. They also have been described as industrious people, since without them no markets would be performed, and neither houses nor defence would be made. Governor-General Brouwer (1635) once said 'it is true without them Batavia's safety and its present state would not have been achieved for many years'. 'The Chinese established the foundation' according to Governor-General Van der Lijn. However, there is further explanations have been made for this direction by contemporaries since Batavia was the headquarters of the company. Seventeenth-century of Dutch sources mentions the 'diligent', 'peace-loving, and 'cowardly' character of the Chinese which made them easily controlled and dominated the urban plebeian class (Blusse, 1988).

Based on some rare archives from VOC, from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries proved that Chinese and Javanese kept suspected each other. It was VOC policy which related to the innate commercial capacities of Hokkien Chinese capacities. The VOC regulation about farming out government monopolies, the monopoly lease system most solely acknowledge the Chinese as leases. Farmed out to the highest bidder for years, the leases were varied. The most prominent was the bazaar lease, the right to levy poundage for marketplace usage, while the entire village was also leased to the Chinese. The primary source of Dutch revenue was the opium lease and this too was monopolized by the Chinese (Dobbin, 1989).

The Dutch as the colonial government in the Dutch East Indies had not been introducing an assimilation policy into the state. The Dutch government made it clear as they issued the Staatsblad no. 35, 1835 which stated that the government noticed the tendency in mingling between ethnicities (laten amalgeren). The Dutch official resented this and they demanded separation between for each known as *wijkenstelsel*. Hence, this regulation had become the biggest struggle for Chinese to assimilate with the indigenous. *Wijkenstelsel* obliged each minority group to live separately (Onghokham, 2017).

Under the Dutch East Indies, Chinese were under many restrictions that limited their freedom to travel and their places of residence. In addition, they were denied as fair a trial as that granted the Europeans and limited certain occupations to them. How the colonial put certain occupations on Chinese caused resentment of the local Javanese. Kennedy (in Unger, 1944) argues that "The Chinese, however long their families may have lived in the islands, have kept themselves a separate group, retaining their own customs and preserving a lively interest in the home country".

VI. HOW THE INDIGENOUS JAVANESE PERCEIVED THE CHINESE?

On one side, Southeast Asian's historians have a tendency to put Chinese or known as *hua-chiao* according to their intermediary operations, whether as the profiteers of a cohort of foreign capital or political influence. On the other side, Chinese historians perceive their kinsmen's role as victims made by bad capitalists in the past century. On the contrary, in China, the internal and external factors caused by overseas emigration are shadowed by political rhetoric. The truth is more likely whenever China turned its attention toward the overseas Chinese, it performed only to exact gain from these lost children, who generally savour a higher standard of living. Thus, overseas Chinese are bound to be misunderstood and to be depicted in stereotypes portraying them as the materialistic groups who plot for possible profit and demonstrate willingness to cooperate with foreign capital (Blusse, 1986). Hence, the Javanese also depicted Chinese as materialistic people who allied with the Dutch colonial for their own sake. Between Javanese and Chinese was a degree of mutual suspicion and friction first. The commercial business in Java in the period of Dutch commercial was marked by a significant mediating role of middlemen minorities. The leading minority among Java were Chinese. Even though there has been less theoretical literature by historians to point out

the relationship between ethnicity and success in terms of business activity (Carey, 1984). The Javanese were targeting the Chinese which seemed that the Chinese gained an advantage the commercial skills or they had obtained unfair benefits during the colonial era (Kian, 2015). These arguments have inspired some research about Chinese existence in Java during the colonial period.

In the early days, the local Javanese obtained their relationship with the Chinese, yet when the Dutch came and suppressed the merchants of East Java, the Chinese were eager to take their place as rice suppliers. Thus, the Chinese benefited. While the Dutch reinforced their hold over East Java, the Chinese established contact with a people restricted to agriculture (Furnivall, 2010). Then, eventually, the Chinese had an economic stronghold which was secured against the local Javanese and the Dutch.

In the early Java War, many Chinese were killed throughout Central Java. They were Chinese origin as well as mixed blood *peranakan*. The Chinese had always been suspected subjects of Javanese of their intentions. The Javanese felt fear and mistrust towards Chinese and vice versa. The attitude shown by Diponegoro appears understandable since the Chinese played a significant role as overseers, opium retailers, moneylenders in the 19th century. Before 18th century, the Chinese were needed in the courts as money-lenders and commercial experts. They simply contributed their skills which were not mastered by the local Javanese society. In some cases, local chiefs married Chinese *peranakan* as secondary wives and believed to bring misfortune in their wake appear to have been foreign to the Javanese (Carey, 1984).

The stereotypes toward the Chinese are partially due to Dutch colonial policy. They were to be blamed as they damaged the social structure as well as the mental outlook of the people. People's economic state was merely stunted by the suppression of all economic activities but agriculture and corrupted by the abolition of economic laws (Furnivall, 2010). Hence, it is also impossible that Europeans, Chinese and local Javanese could live side by side on their own world as the significant element of a plural society.

VII. HOW THE CHINESE PORTRAYED THEMSELVES IN THE JAVANESE SOCIETY?

Chinese in Java have been slow to accept the term as applying to them since they had to struggle hard to demonstrate their local identification and are afraid of being viewed as a scattered people group without a sense of belonging. Hence, identifying themselves as indigenous or locals means they have declined the label of overseas Chinese with its connotation of sojourning. Some bad reputation for Chinese immigrants was shaded by European anti-Semitism in the early dates. In addition, some Western sociological literature is fraught with some categories of Chinese namely entrepreneurial minorities, "pariah" capitalists, middleman minorities, etc. These parallels have been made for some reasons, mainly to describe the role of foreigners within capitalism, the economic success of an ethnic minority, antagonism, and violence shown towards members of such minorities in stress periods (Coppel, 2012; Chee-Beng, 2013).

One of the factors Chinese move to Batavia was to protest against the greedy Dutch within Fukien coastal areas. The governor of Fukien coastal province had been confronted over the previous two years with high-handed behaviour by the Dutch sailors. Admiral Cornelis Rayersen attempted to force an entrance toward Chinese market. Another reason was to discover who was responsible for the Dutch actions. There was a belief among Fukienese officials that there was Overseas Chinese who provoked the "Red Barbarians" to their bad behaviour (Blusse, 1988). Chinese in Indonesia, especially in Java had become localized and adopted their ethnic and cultural roots in many ways. This phenomenon is known as a hybrid which is a concept whose definition is significantly relative and whose analytical values are questionable. In this sense, the Chinese were hybrid as one category of Chinese *Peranakan* was the main example of hybridity in terms of scholarly writing and in their estimation. The existence of *Peranakan* has been a product of certain particular historical circumstances in particular localities. Chinese *Peranakan* in Java is viewed as the past phenomenon which is now being celebrated and commemorated as part of Indonesian national heritage (Coppel, 2012).

Due to Chinese immigrant increase number, based on the Kai Ba Lidai Shiji, the Imperial established two new and very important institutions permitted around that time at the encouragement of Chinese elite members, namely the *weeskamer* (orphans chamber) for the well-being of Chinese immigrants and their family as well. There was also the appointment of the Chinese *boedoelmeester* or inheritance curator. These institutions had been established earlier based on VOC administrative initiative and actually against the will of Chinese migrants (Blusse & Denning, 2018). In addition, based on Kai Ba Lidai Shiji, the author also emphasized that both the hospital and curator board were significantly important for Chinese community in Batavia. The new tax farms introduction, the extensive enlargement of cemeteries, and school establishment and temples indicate how Chinese communities grew between 1680-1720. Some anecdotes appeared in tales which point out the moral decline of Chinese inhabitants. The author sees since 1710, there was the start of natural disasters period and social unrest such as conspiracies, robberies, and killings by bandits around countryside. These events lead to Chinese rebellion and consequently massacre in 1740 (Blusse & Denning, 2018).

VIII. CONCLUSION

Generally, the motive of colonial expansion has been economic gain. Besides, prestige and military strategy have played their part, but in the main economic considerations have won. Thus, economical interest has had influenced the colonial policy, such as commerce, social structure, and military. Colonization itself was arisen from commerce. The Dutch occupation of Java started 1619 in which they very much depended on Chinese immigrants. The Chinese mostly acted as middlemen between the Dutch and local Javanese and a buffer of direct collision of their conflicting interests. The Chinese interests were capitalists rather than nationalists and made them closer to being allied with the Dutch against the local authorities. In the early 17th century since the establishment of Batavia, Chinese enjoyed some privileged positions in several sectors, namely trade, politics, and social buffer. The Dutch East Indies Company needed them to occupy the new city since they were trusted as more advanced in commerce and obtained particular characteristics. Therefore, the Dutch established several policies and regulations that put the Chinese at ease compared to the local Javanese. This brought more Chinese arrived in Java, especially to Batavia. The Dutch regulations acted as the stimulus and booster to move more and more Chinese to obtain advantage opportunities in Java during the 17th century.

FUNDING

This research did not receive any grant or funding in the public, commercial, or not-for profit sector.

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