Hajj at Sea: The Maritime Perspective of the Hajj Journey in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century from the Netherlands East Indies

M.A. Thesis

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I. Introduction

The nineteenth-century was marked by increasing humans' movements crossing vast swathes of the Indian Ocean. Due to the advent of steam technology, traveling by sea could be done in a shorter time and was considerably cheaper. Consequently, more often than not, people with moderate means were now able to find their way to practically any place in the world. Mecca was among the most visited places at the turn of the twentieth century. It is considered a holy place to Muslims where, once a year at a designated time, tens of thousands of Muslims across the world converge, a journey called the Hajj.[1] As it had turned out, the Hajj pilgrimage was among striking phenomena that contoured the nineteenth-century development, and Muslims were ubiquitous in the Indian Ocean. Driven primarily by the urge to fulfill a religious duty Muslims as far as Indonesia and the Philippines could make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

While there has been an increase in the number of publications on the nineteenth-century Hajj pilgrimage from the Netherlands East Indies, the story of pilgrims' experiences has still been left out of the literature. At the turn of the twentieth century, Pilgrims were constituted primarily of lower and middle-class passengers, working mostly as peasants or laborers in burgeoning plantations across Java and Sumatera. Having collected money adequate to pay for steam tickets, they would find themselves among hundreds of their compatriots confined in steams decks bound for the holy land, Mecca.[2] Some distinguished historians such as Eric Tagliacozzo, Henri Chambert-Loir, and Dien Majid have included pilgrims' accounts in their works. Perhaps, the most extensive and relatively recent was research conducted by Eric Tagliacozzo.[3] In 2013, he published *The Longest Journey*, in which he extensively examined Hajj's history from Southeast Asia, from ancient to present times. He argued that during the

[1] Practicing the *Hajj* is one of the Islamic tenets. Those who secured financial and emotional stability are obliged to visit Mecca at least once in their lifetime. Fundamentally, Hajj means the evolution of man towards the creator, Allah. The *Hajj* practice simultaneously represents many things, including a "mark of creation," a mark of history," a mark of the Islamic ideology, and a mark of Islamic society. See ʿAlī Šarīʿatī, and Behzadnia. *Hajj* (S.l.: S.n.], 1980) ix; F.E. Peters. *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[2] The era of steamship opened up the possibility for Muslims to make way to Mecca and Medina. This means of mass transport enabled the middle-class Muslims to take the Hajj for the first time. Besides the steamship invention, the development of the new railways and electric photographs heightened people's movement. See C. A Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Blackwell, 2004), 351-357.

[3] Chambert-Loir, Suryadi, Samuel, J, and École Française D'Extrême-Orient. Naik *Haji Di Masa Silam, Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482-1964. Jilid 1:1482-1890* (Jakarta: École Française D'Extrême-Orient (EFEO): Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (KPG) 2013); M. Dien Majid, *Berhaji Di Masa Kolonial* (Jakarta: Sejahtera, 2008), Eric Tagliacozzo. *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford [etc.]: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013).

height of the colonial period, the pilgrimage seemed to have become "much more of a state-sponsored venture" rather than a mere religious occurrence. In 2013, he contributed a chapter, *The Hajj by Sea* in the volume *The Hajj Pilgrimage in Islam,* where he argued the discussion on the Hajj's maritime aspect seemed to have not been appropriately investigated by scholars. It appeared that scholars tend to attend to its subject from broader perspectives rather than look at the actual journey on board and what life might have been on the Hajj steam as this thesis is going to do.[4]

The earliest works pertained to the Hajj pilgrimage from the Netherlands East Indies can be dated back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. C. Snouck Hurgronje, J. Eisenberger, and S. Keyzer were perceived to have pioneered the nineteenth and twentieth-century Hajj discourse from the Indonesian archipelago.[5] While Snouck Hurgronje and S. Keyzer's concerns were more on Indies Muslims residing in Mecca in the latter part of the nineteenth century by focusing on its social dimension, Eisenberger has taken up its discussion from an administrative perspective, examining in detail the regulatory process of the Hajj journey in the nineteenth century. In 1962, Vredenbergt published his work *The Hajj. Some of its features and functions in Indonesia,* in which he highlighted the factors that influenced pilgrimage participation started from the last decades of the nineteenth century to some years after Indonesian independence.[6] Like other Dutch scholars before him, he attended primarily on factors that influenced Muslims' participation in the Hajj practice rather than on pilgrims' travel experiences per se.

Indonesian historian M. Shaleh Putuhena perhaps was of the few Indonesian scholars who extensively examined the experiences of Indies Muslims undertaking the pilgrimage in the first of the twentieth century. In his book *Historiography of Indonesian Hajj,* published in 2007, arguing that the rise of Muslims undertaking the pilgrimage in the nineteenth century owing primarily to the standardization of steamship transport.[7] While he had emphasized the importance of steam transport in the rise of pilgrims' traffic, his work failed to discuss how the respective pilgrims perceived the Hajj voyage as modes of traveling per se. Meanwhile, an article

[4] Eric Tagliacozzo. "The Hajj by Sea." In *The Hajj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 113-30.
[5] Johan Eisenberger, *Indië En De Bedevaart Naar Mekka* (Leiden: Dubbeldeman, 1928); C. Snouck Hurgronje, and J.H Monahan, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*. Vol. 1. (Brill Classics in Islam. Boston: BRILL, 2006).
[6] Jacob Vredenbregt, "The Haddj: Some of Its Features and Functions in Indonesia." *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde* 118, no. 1 (1962): 91-154.
[7] M. Shaleh Putuhena. *Historiografi Haji Indonesia*. Cet. Ke-1. ed. (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Kajian Islam Dan Studi (LKiS), 2007).

written by Erlita Tantri incorporates a number of factors that render to the increase of Indies undertaking the Hajj in the nineteenth century, such as good harvests across Java and Sumatra and the presence of pilgrims brokers.[8] On the other hand, in his work *Berhaji di Masa Kolonial,* Dien Majid has included, however brief, some aspects of the Hajj voyage by the sea. He argued that even though the journey *en route* to Mecca was fraught with risks and perils, such as contagious disease and deaths, it could not restrain them from going to Mecca.

In recent years, there have been recurring patterns in the Hajj historiography from the Netherlands East Indies. Firstly, it centers primarily on its commercial dimension, aiming to interrogate the intertwined linkages between economics, politics, and religions. It was evident that despite the Hajj being a religious pilgrimage in the first place, politics and business interests in tandem came along in shaping how Muslims made their way to the Hijaz. It interrogates primarily pilgrimages' carriages that were largely of Western provenance. Steamships, first invented in the early years of the nineteenth century, further became more commercialized some fifty years later in the wake of the establishment of the Suez Canal. This vantage point mainly attracts a large number of historians. In 2006, Michael Miller examined Hajj's business dimension by focusing on the impact of steamship lines.[9] He argued that although historians have discussed the commercial aspect of the Hajj, including Hajj steamships, a study that focused more on how shipping companies had sustained the Hajj transport has not received sufficient investigation. In a similar vein, Kris Alexanderson, eight years later, argued that shipping companies had played a vital role in "political contestation of power" in the years 1920 and 1930. Herein, the private companies that had incorporated into Kongsi Tiga were given a role in controlling the flow of maritime networks between the Netherlands Indies and the Middle East.[10]

The second trend in the Hajj historiography focuses on its administrative dimension, including "policing, surveillance, and sanitations." This body of discourse attracts scholars from various backgrounds, including historians, anthropologists, and religious intellectuals. It is likely that the considerable/fair amount of primary records could be the reason that these topics are attractive to researchers. The Dutch colonial government brought Hajj under surveillance

[8] Erlita Tantri, "Hajj Transportation of Netherlands East Indies, 1910-1940." *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage*, vol. 2. No. 1 (2013): 119-147.
[9] Michael B Miller, "Pilgrims' Progress: The Business of the Hajj." *Past & Present* 191, no. 1 (2006): 189-228.
[10] Kris Alexanderson, "A Dark State of Affairs": Hajj Networks, Pan-Islamism, and Dutch Colonial Surveillance during the Interwar Period." *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 4 (2014): 1021-041.

because of the fear of overgrowing Pan-Islamism and the dissemination of cholera. On the other hand, they wanted not to appear very restrictive; hence stringent rules were imposed to make it more difficult for Indies pilgrims to make their way to Mecca.[11] The last trend centered ultimately on networks present outside the colonial milieu, whose aims were to chart humans' interaction outside the imaginary geographical boundaries of colonial power. It focuses on its humans' interactions per se, where ideas, culture, and any kind of –ism are confluence and taking shape. In that sense, this trend entails a more objective vantage point meaning the one derived from non-colonial provenance.

Despite these significant contributions, current Hajj historiography continues to overlook how steamships were transformed into a moving society where humans interact and mingle. Moreover, the discussion has not extended to how the pilgrims might have experienced the onboard journey. Instead of discussing Hajj voyage per se, historians tend to draw it within the ambit of broader questions, taking into account the involvement of the colonial government. This is inevitable since the colonial government played an essential role in monitoring the Hajj enterprise. Hajj historiography appears to be engaged with some prevalent lacuna embedded on its bodies. With that regard, it is paramount to fill the lacuna that has long existed in the discussion of Hajj history. Nile Green contended that scholars tended to rely heavily on colonial archives rather than travelogues. While Southeast Asian pilgrims took half portion of the total annual pilgrimage in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a serious investigation on therein pilgrims' diaries, however, has received relatively little interest.[12]

Moreover, if historians eventually attended to the matter, it was mainly concerned with the beginning and ending points rather than the passage per se. Nile Green utilized the Indian Ocean vernacular printing in excavating the Hajj journey. He specifically foregrounded his research by focusing on Indian, Persian, Afghan, and Tatar travelers' diaries.[13] In 2018, he examined the use of vernacular printing to argue that the Hajj accounts could be harnessed to understand the intellectual history of the Indian Ocean.[14] A far earlier work, M. N. Pearson's

[11] The same attitude was shared by the British government in India where despite having to impose stringent rules, they tend to intervene the Hajj business indirectly. See Low, Michael Christopher. "The Infidel Piloting the True Believer." *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, BRILL, (2016), 47.
[12] Nile Green, "The Hajj as Its Own Undoing: Infrastructure and Integration on the Muslim Journey to Mecca." *Past & Present*, no. 1 (2015): 193-226.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Nile Green. "The Waves of Heterotopia: Toward a Vernacular Intellectual History of the Indian Ocean." *The American Historical Review* 123, no. 3 (2018): 846-74.

Pious Passengers: The Hajj in Earlier Times, published in 1994, has included some aspects of Hajj transportation. Pearson attempted to foreground the actual experience of those who undertook the passage. He included both land and sea journeys to accentuate its linkage with the economic dimension.[15]

Sugata Bose perhaps was one of a few Indian Ocean scholars who have foregrounded the maritime dimension. His work *A Hundred Horizons*, published in 2006, interrogates a maritime experience of pilgrims' voyage in the twentieth century from the Indian subcontinent. Pilgrims were not only comprised of pious people who intend to fulfill religious duty but also of poets who regard the ocean as a site of contemplation.[16] Through his exemplification of pilgrim travel, we could conclude that Bombay played an essential role as the central hub of the Indian Ocean, a confluence of all pilgrims across the Indian Ocean. Another historian who has utilized the pilgrim's account was Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, where she predicated her research on the diary penned down by Sikandar Begam (1816-1868), a ruler of the Muslims princely state of Bhopal, central India. In her article on the princess's account, she argued that this kind of source could be employed as a site of ethnography, meaning aspects such as "gender roles, sanitation, and religious practice" were, therefore, to be taken into account.[17] Travel writing specifically intensified in the nineteenth century, according to Barbara Metcalf, was due supremely to the presence of the colonial empire. She noticed further that the trend of writing down a diary while on pious visits was very much a "modern phenomenon," a trend that emerged on account of contact with the West. She argued that delving into individual experience, it would allow for charting both social and political backgrounds in which they were produced.[18] Her research, however, did not extend to other communities outside the Indian subcontinent.

Driven from an urge to fill some lacuna that has existed within the body of Indonesian Hajj historiography, this thesis aims to include voices that are often being expunged from the grand narratives of such stories. What remained unanswered is how the actual voyage was like in the ships full of Muslims that were often followed by terrors and calamities. This research would consider the social conditions embedded in the ships laden with Indies and Malay Muslims

[15]M.N Pearson, *Pious Passengers: The Hajj in Earlier times*. (London: Hurst, 1994).
[16]Sugata Bose. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA [etc.]: Harvard University Press, 2006).
[17]Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, "A Princess's Pilgrimage." In *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century*, 107. Anthem Press, (2006).
[18]Barbara D. Metcalf, "The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian accounts of the hajj," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

coming from different cultural backgrounds. On many occasions, the ships carrying pilgrims were compared with the slaves' ships in the eighteenth century, carrying African slaves crossing the Middle Passage.[19] It entrenched with horror and terror, which pilgrims had never experienced before. Although the ocean had been perceived to be supremely subdued during the age of steam, it could not hinder the fact that ships would often meet with calamities on account of the infamous Indian Ocean currents and waves.

Given that such lacuna has existed in the Hajj historiography, I aim to propose the following question: How did Indies and Malay pilgrims experience the journey to Mecca during the two distinct periods; sailing boats and steamships? This research covers broadly the second part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Given that this thesis deals primarily with humans' experiences in the Hajj vessels, social conditions embedded in this transportation are our prime concern. There are quite a handful of travelogues penned by Indies and Malay pilgrims in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries upon a closer look. By putting those narratives left by Indies and Malay pilgrims forward, what we get would be intact representations that often otherwise were captured through the lens of colonial authority.

II. The Scope of Analysis

This thesis explores social conditions embedded in the Hajj transportation from the Netherlands Indies during much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unlike individuals that are presented in Clare Anderson's *Subaltern Lives,* fragments of whose lives could only be located within the inks of colonial archives, the subjects whom I concern about did leave something on their account. The arguments built in this thesis depart primarily from four Indies/Malay Muslims' travel accounts, including Abdul Kadir bin Munshi (hereafter Abdullah), Raden Demang Panji Nagara, Dja Endar Muda, and Raden Wiranata Kusuma, respectively.[20] It is essential to bear in mind that these figures were elites who had the entire agency on their account. They came from elites figures in society, which the British and Dutch governments also recognized. Nevertheless, their roots as Malay/Indies distinguished their perspectives from that of Dutch and British perspectives. While Abdullah and Raden will bring us how *en route* to Mecca was like during the era of sailing ships, Wiranata Kusuma's account portrays how

[19] The Times, August 14, 1880 (accessed September 2, 2020)
[20] The brief backgrounds on these four figures will be discussed in subsequent chapter. See Chapter 2: Placing the Malay/Indies Narratives on the Indian Ocean Framework.

steamships supremely dominate hajj transport. Although the age of steam has started at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was not until the Suez Canal opening before steamships entirely replaced the sailing ships as a prime mode of transporting Southeast Asian pilgrims.

This thesis simultaneously consults into a variety of sources such as newspapers and colonial records in the hope of getting a complete picture of the pertained subject. Hopefully, dealing with numerous kinds of materials would eventually get us to what we consider comprehensive history. Newspapers employed here all had been digitalized and are germane as they highlight significant occurrences that happened during the period as mentioned above. I mainly consult with the newspaper of English provenance such as "*The Times*" and "*The Straits Magazines*." Those two newspapers mainly pointed out events pertinent to *en route* incidents such as shipwrecks and diseases prevalent in the ships. Lastly, I turn to colonial records to complement my findings. In fact, the only way to evoke subaltern people's voices is by turning to colonial archives themselves.[21] Here, I employ a collection of colonial archives published by the Indonesian National Archive (Arsip Nasional), Jakarta. Therein we hope to get snapshots of pilgrims' experiences and difficulties that often come in testimonies or letters. Employing the colonial archives alongside travel accounts is essential to get a better sense of what maritime journeys looked like in the age of steam and print. It could add up some narratives that are not presented through the lens of Muslims' travelogues. By juxtaposing a wide variety of sources, it would help get comprehensive pictures of the maritime voyage in the late part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

It is equally paramount to determine the scope of both temporal and spatial frameworks. This thesis's temporal thresholds correspond primarily with James Gelvin and Nile Green's work on *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, which argues that between 1850 and 1930 marked an era where humans interactions had started to become highly intensified.[22] Whereas, the spatial boundaries extend from where pilgrims started the journey, the ports they called at

[21] Although the diaries employed here were written by the indigenous, they were of elites of which reflect how they experienced the Hajj voyage. They could obviously undergo the comfort in a ship despite the fact that it was routinely associated with anything but comfort. There are some scholars specifically attend to the issue of representation. See Clare Anderson. *Subaltern Lives Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790-1920*. Critical Perspectives on Empire.(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sowande M. Mustakeem. *Slavery at Sea.* Vol. 82. The New Black Studies Series (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

[22] James L Gelvin,, and Nile Green. *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*. 1st ed. (Berkerley: University of California Press, 2014). From around 1850s, the arrival of print technologies became prime enabler to the increasing of publishing in vernacular languages around the Indian Ocean. See Green, N. The Waves of Heterotopia.

along the Indian Ocean basin, including the quarantine in Kamaran Island. The embarkation point of Indies pilgrims mainly was from more critical ports such as Batavia and Singapore. While Batavia mainly served the Indies pilgrims, Singapore served pilgrims emanated from Singapore and its surrounding area, including Malay pilgrims.

III. Approaches and Methods

This thesis incorporates mainly socio-historical modes of investigation, whose aim is to zoom in on the social conditions pervasive on the decks of pilgrim ships. Here, I argue that these temporary societies are pretty much working in the same fashion as land-based societies where power and class are distinct categories. Steam decks, too, were categorized into several different classes where pauper pilgrims mostly lodged on open spaces while the wealthy ones occupied the cabin.

Approaches and methods employed depend on what type of sources and which phenomenon is being foregrounded. There are at least two kinds of sources utilized in this thesis. First, when dealing with colonial archives to evoke the absence of subaltern voices, I consult with the method of reading both along and against the grain. Here, Here, I engage primarily with what Anne Laura Stoler, in her seminal work *Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance*, has argued that the employment of method of reading against the grain must have been taken after having read it first along the grain.[23] Secondly, I both read newspapers and travel diaries by taking into account what has been inscribed on the texts. Here, I employ the textual analysis method.

Although it is best perceived to consult into a thematic approach when dealing with social aspects embedded in the Hajj transportation, this thesis instead corresponds with a chronological narrative on account it mainly deals with a sequence of events. In doing so, the thesis structure will be divided into three chapters where each of the chapters quintessentially represents the process of Hajj transportation itself—embarkation and *en route* voyage, including stoppings along with the Indian Ocean ports. This thesis will be divided into three chapters, as follow:

[23] Ann Laura Stoler. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance." *Archives & Museum Informatics* 2, no. 1-2 (2002): 87-109.

Chapter one aims to provide insights into the preliminary aspects of Hajj transports, including Hajj regulations and the involvement of the Arab brokers. This chapter highlights the involvement of Arab brokers and the kinds of mistreatments they engendered to the pilgrims.

Chapter two examines the *en-route* journey, which takes place mainly on the ocean. Within this chapter, we will discover the pertained issues related to the Hajj voyage by the sea. It covers mostly the condition on the Hajj ships as recounted by pilgrims' accounts and newspapers. As argued by Sugata Bose, the travel accounts of "encounters and connection" provide unimpeded access to both "direct observation" and "subsequent representation."[24] Therefore, we would witness the distinct features present in the Hajj vessel, such as overcrowding and widespread diseases. In this chapter, I also incorporate Keane's story, a British Christian disguised as a Muslim who embarked on a return journey to India. Therein, we will witness how race and class did not intersect. It is better to present the compare and contrast methods to glean some information on its real event.

While chapter two has focused entirely on the ocean, we will shift our focus on lands where pilgrims were calling at in chapter three. This chapter ultimately predicated on both Abdullah and Wiranata Kusuma accounts. While having called at ports in the Indian subcontinent, Abdullah managed to explore the city and simultaneously engaged with the indigenous people. Meanwhile, Wiranata Kusuma will provide us with insights related to his experience in Kamaran Island, a quarantine post reserved for pilgrims from both the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia.

[24] Nile Green, *The Waves of Heterotopia,* 846-74.

Chapter 1: The Preliminary Aspects in Hajj Voyage

This chapter provides an extensive overview of the preliminary process in Hajj transportation, including colonial regulations and Arab brokers, which influence how Indies/Malay Muslims undertake the Hajj voyage in much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Inserting these subjects into the narrative is essential, given it sheds light upon the first stage of the voyage to Mecca. This chapter argues that Indies/Malay Muslims had already received mistreatment from the very beginning of their passage to Mecca.

I. Hajj and the Regulations in Colonial Indonesia

> Every Arab from Mecca, as well as every Javan who had returned from a pilgrimage thither, assumed on Java the character of a saint, and the credulity of the common people was such that they too often attributed to such persons supernatural powers. Thus respected it was not difficult for them to rouse the country to rebellion and they became the most dangerous instrument in the hands of the native authorities opposed to the Dutch interests.[25]

Undertaking Hajj from Indonesia has had a long history. When Stamford Raffles came to Java on August 1811, he noticed that most people here had already followed Mohameddan tenets. Tagliacozzo emphasized that it is difficult to determine the exact date of when Muslims in the archipelago began to wind their ways to Hijaz, given no extant Malay document was dated before the sixteenth century.[26] However, it can be suggested that the earliest presence of Indies/Malay Muslims in the Hijaz was probably concomitant with the birth of the first Islamic kingdom in Indonesia, the Samudera Pasai sultanate, in the thirteenth century.[27] It was not long after Dutch arrival in the archipelago at the end of the sixteenth century that they started to notice the presence of Indies Hajjis. By the 1600s, Hajjis could be found in a number of places in the archipelago, such as Banda in 1612, Bantam, and West Java in 1642.[28] Although undertaking Hajj from the eighteenth century onwards was no longer perceived as a striking phenomenon,

[25] Thomas S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, Vol. II, (London: 1830), 3.
[26] Tagliacozzo. *The Longest Journey*, 21
[27] Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia*, 84
[28] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, 22

both East India Company (VOC) and Dutch concurrently still had a vague idea about the Hajj and what Muslims might have done during their time in the Hijaz.

Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century, the Dutch had already made careful remarks on Muslims undertaking the Hajj, which was cataloged into the VOC's documents with the name; *bedevaart*. In 1651, the VOC issued a stringent regulation against Muslim communities in which they were prohibited from exercising either public or secret congregations.[29] Although these rules were not implemented thoughtfully, the VOC was still very cautious about Muslims going to the Hijaz. This cautious act against Muslims going to Hajj continued even so until the turn of the twentieth century. This was done so that the Dutch could place unscathed dominance over trade, commerce, and primarily upon the shipping industry.[30]

The Dutch continued to keep a careful eye on Muslim subjects who went to Mecca throughout their sovereignty. Before the turn of the nineteenth century, it was only from a smaller group of Muslims consisting mostly of wealthy merchants, nobles, and religious preachers that could afford to make the westbound voyage. However, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the voyage became sufficiently affordable to the middle and lower-class Muslims.[31] In 1825, some 200 Muslims from Batavia came before the resident to notify their intention to make the pilgrimage and therefore demanded the travel permit (*reispas).*[32] Accordingly, the year 1825 was believed to mark the beginning of the commercial pilgrimage, which Hajj pilgrimage started to be systematically managed. In the same year, the Hajj travel's ordinance was stipulated, which bound Muslims who wanted to make a pilgrimage to pay f110 for the travel pass. Muslims who failed to do so were deemed to pay f1000 for the fine, which ten times higher than the initial price.[33] The obligation to supply for the pass travel was, in fact, stipulated first by governor general Herman W. Daendels in 1810 upon the fact that they viewed Muslims who had undertaken the Hajj as religious preachers. Fears over not knowing anything

[29] Dr. F. de Haan, *Priangan,* 3rd vol., ed. (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappern; 1912), 13 as cited in Vredenbregt, *The Haddj,* 95.
[30] Eisenberger, *Indië En De Bedevaart Naar Mekka,*16.
[31] An extensive scholarship about the Indonesia economic history in colonial era see: Anne Booth. *The Indonesian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A History of Missed Opportunities*. New Ed.] ed. A Modern Economic History of Southeast Asia 197426018 (Basingstoke [etc.]: Palgrave, 2001).
[32] Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia,* 126.
[33] Karel Steenbrink and Mohammad Rasjidi. *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 236.

about the Hajj practice made the colonial administrators take a tough act on the pilgrimage of which Muslims are obliged to supply themselves with travel passes before their voyage.[34]

However, the ordinance of 1825 was viewed as slanted given it was only applied for Muslims in Java and Madura, and the fact that Muslims had to pay an exorbitant price for the fine alone imposed the colonial government to modify the law in 1831. Instead of paying an initial fine of f1000, Muslims had only to pay double the ticket price, which was f220. The modification of the 1825 Hajj ordinance was also brought upon the fact that Muslims could still dodge the colonial administrator by sailing off through Sumatera's ports, which eventually intensified unauthorized pilgrims.[35] Later under Governor-General Albertus J. Duymaer van Twist, the 1825 and 1831 Hajj ordinances were abolished and replaced by 1852 law that although pass travel was still customary, it was to be given free of charge and fine was annulled. Nevertheless, Duymaer instructed his subordinates within the regions of Java, Madura, and Palembang to keep track of pilgrims' names which "had left for Mecca or returned from Mecca" and, if necessary, to keep a careful eye on what pilgrims had done after they returned from the pilgrimage.[36]

Although the government has reacted as if she against Muslims undertaking the Hajj, the Dutch did not entirely forbid Muslims from taking a pilgrimage. In fact, on the grounds of political disruption that currently occurred in Hijaz, the government deliberately encouraged her subjects to visit Mecca so they would dissipate the illusion of the Ummah power.[37] As it had turned out, the Javanese who long resided in Mecca also shared their resentment over the Ottoman government who currently ruled the Hijaz. Along with the shipping agents, leaders in Hijaz, such as Sharif of Mecca, established a quasi-monopoly on the ticket price. Until the Saudi government came into rule in 1924, the Hijaz was considered still a dangerous place.[38]

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[34] Vredenbregt, *The Haddj*, 97.
[35] Ibid., 99.
[36] Eisenberger, *Indië En De Bedevaart Naar Mekka*, 188; See also how the Dutch responses to the pilgrimage in general in Michael F. Laffan. "Arab Priests and Pliant Pilgrims." In *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, 53-62. Routledge, 2003.
[37] *The Indian Haj*, The Times, August 17, 1882, (accessed on September 5, 2020).
[38] The political disruption had long ensued between the Ottoman empires which had ruled Hijaz since 1516. There existed political unrest in the Hijaz from 1883 between the Ottoman empires and Sultan Abdulhamid II. This was incited primarily of the epidemic disease that widespread in the Hijaz. For many newcomers especially Indies Muslims, they cast the rulers of Hijaz to be filled with corrupt officials. Sylvia Chiffoleau. "Economics: Agents, Pilgrims, and Profits." Chapter. In *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, edited by Eric Tagliacozzo and Shawkat M. Toorawa, 155–74. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). doi:10.1017/CBO9781139343794.010; Michael F. Laffan, "Arab Priest and Pliant Pilgrims," 41-43

In 1859, however, new regulations and procedures were introduced to replace the 1852 ordinance. It seemed that Governor-General Charles F. Pahud was affected by the Mutiny Rebellion that occurred in India in 1857, where thousands of Europeans were killed.[39] Moreover, the rising figures in Hajj participation between 1858 and 1959 further intensified Dutch fear. The Dutch government was afraid that the Indies pilgrims would eventually engage with the Indian rebels in the Hijaz.[40]

Following are some striking points made from 1859 Hajj ordinances:

1. Muslims who wished to make a pilgrimage to Mecca had to supply themselves with proof of sufficient financial statements stamped by the Regents. The statement had to include that Muslims had sufficient funds for both the journey and the return journey. Moreover, a family that was left behind should well-taken care of while the pilgrims were away.
2. Pilgrims had to undergo an examination to prove their knowledge of the Hajj rites once they return from Mecca. Those who failed the tests would get their Hajj title withdrawn.[41]

The above points of the 1859 Hajj regulation drew critiques from many, especially from C. Snouck Hurgronje, who viewed these constraints could, in fact, bring reverse effect to the government.[42] Moreover, due to the high expansion of steamship and the Suez Canal opening in the late 1860s, all the Hajj regulations on travel restriction proved fruitless.[43] There also remained feasible cracks inside the system where pilgrims could still obtain Hajj title as long as they pass the exam despite having not sailed to Mecca.[44] Moreover, not all Muslims who had undertaken pilgrimage was familiar with the Islamic tenets. Although by the 1840s, both mosques and *pesantren* (religious schools) were relatively omnipresent in Java, it could not hinder the fact that Muslims, in general, only knew little knowledge on Islamic tenets.[45] Snouck Hurgronje viewed the 1859 Hajj regulations as vulnerable where it could not contain the possibilities to one manipulating the process of embarkation. As I have noted above, aspirant

[39] Karel Steenbrink and Mohammad Rasjidi. *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*, 236-7
[40] Michael F. Laffan, "Arab Priest and Pliant Pilgrims," in *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, 38.
[41] Staatsblad 1859 as cited in Salomo Keyzer. *De Bedevaart Der Inlanders Naar Mekka: Volledige Beschrijving Van Alles Wat Op De Bedevaart En De Bedevaart-gangers Uit Nederlandsch-Indië Betrekking Heeft.*(Nieuwe Uitgaaf. ed. Leiden: Kolff, 1871), 56-7
[42] Vredenbregt, *The Haddj*, 100.
[43] Alexanderson, K. "Kongsi Tiga." in *Subversive Seas*, 31-71
[44] S. Keijzer, *De Bedevaart naar Mekka*, 56.
[45] M. C. Ricklefs, "Middle East Connection and Reform and Revival Movements among the *putihan* in 19th century Java, in *Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement, and the 'longue Durée*'. (Stanford, CA: Singapore: Stanford University Press; National University of Singapore (NUS): NUS Press, 2009), 114.

pilgrims had to show sufficient funds on their account, and it was during this time, pilgrim brokers often manipulated pilgrims.[46]

As I have noted above, anyone could obtain the Hajj title so long as they could pass the Hajj exam. Consequently, there increased what thus called Hajj Singapore, a title which bears to Muslims who did not perform Hajj in Mecca. This situation occurred due to a money shortage, and because therein Muslims already pledged the contract with the agents, they had to work to pay off their debt.[47] Despite the controversy surrounding the 1859 Hajj regulations, it remained on the act until fin de siècle, and by the turn of the twentieth century, it was therefore totally abolished.[48] The renewal of the 1859 Hajj Ordinance issued in 1890, where pilgrims were prohibited from wearing Arab garments, received heavy critics from Snouck Hurgronje and K.F. Holle because; (1) Hajj garments might be different in each region, and (2) this prohibition would only bring a chaotic result. The government feared that a quasi-Arab look would bring adverse impact to the government in the wake of Pan-Islamism.

Nonetheless, the governor-general eventually did not pass the 1890 proposal and let the returning pilgrim wear their Hajj garments.[49] In 1922, the new ordinance was introduced where it became obligatory for Muslims to supply themselves with "return tickets" to embark for Mecca. Six years later, due to political havoc pervasive in the Indies, the 1922 Hajj ordinance was thus annulled and replaced by the 1928 decree that whoever appeared suspicious engendering law and order in instability was denied from going to Mecca.[50]

II. The Involvement of Arab Brokers

Let us take a closer look at various aspects surrounding the Hajj embarkation process, such as frauds and desertion in Singapore. As I have noted above, the year 1825 marked the beginning of systematic pilgrimage transportation where for the first time, a special vessel was allocated to carry pilgrims from the archipelago.[51] Since then, throughout the nineteenth-century, pilgrimage

[46] Steenbrink. *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19,* 237.
[47] Ricklefs, "Middle East Connection and Reform and Revival Movements among the *putihan* in 19th century Java," 114.
[48] Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19.* 237
[49] Ibid., 242-243.
[50] Vredenbregt, *The Haddj,* 103.
[51] Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia,* 133-4.

conveyance was very much in the hands of Arab-Hadramis.[52] They not necessarily owned the vessel but often chartered it from British ship owners and turned it into Hajj carriage, especially during the Hajj season. The Arab-Hadramis also brought fundamental changes to the ways Indies Muslims undertook the Hajj. They served primarily as middlemen who guided Muslims during a long voyage or Muslims' sojourn in the Holy Land.[53] Both Arab and Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia were generally perceived to have dominated intermediate trade networks. Not only did they serve as merchants, but on several occasions, they also served as moneylenders, ship owners, and real estate owners.[54] In this case, the Arab-Hadramis dominated the interregional trade of Hajj shipping from Southeast Asia.

Hajj conveyance's business was believed to have brought a good prospect; hence, by the mid-nineteenth century, British-men likewise started to engage in the business alongside the Arabs. In 1858, a British steamer dropped anchor at Batavia, which would embark herself to Mecca.[55] As I have noted in the Introduction, although steam technology had started to operate since the beginning of the nineteenth century, it would only become popular by the mid-nineteenth onwards on account of the establishment of the Suez Canal. Later in chapter 2, we will also note that both Abdullah and Raden still boarded the sailing ship (*zeilschip*) on their voyage to the Red Sea in the 1850s. The colonial government's direct involvement in the Hajj shipping industry was only started in the late nineteenth century. In this case, the government worked with private companies to provide conveyances for Indies and Malay Muslims. The Dutch government rendered a quasi-authority to the private companies to manage the Hajj, which in most cases took this chance to abuse their privilege. Those private companies often referred to as intermediaries took this chance to milk out every penny from the Indies/Malay Muslims. It is such an irony that despite the fact the Hajj agents were mostly Muslims—people who shared the same religious tenets—were the ones who engendered pain to their Muslim compatriots.

[52] Their dominance started to get obscured by the Fin de siècle on account that the government assigned Dutch companies to manage the Hajj transportation. See Kris Alexanderson. "Kongsi Tiga." In *Subversive Seas*, 31-71. 2019.
[53] Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia*, 126-127.
[54] Ulrike Freitag and W. G. Clarence-Smith, "Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s." In Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia ; Vol. 57. 14700330X. (Leiden [etc.]: Brill, 1997), 97.
[55] Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia*, 134.

Before we address the extent of mistreatments sustained by the pilgrims, it is paramount to attend first to the subjects engendering distress to the pilgrims. However, let us first examine when exactly did those Arabs start to involve in the Hajj conveyance. As I have noted above, the involvement of Arabs in the Hajj conveyance marked the beginning of commercial Hajj. In 1825, Syaikh Umar Bugis assigned a particular vessel that would only carry passengers for a Mecca pilgrimage.[56] The term often used to refer to thereof subjects was the Hajj brokers. On many occasions, the Hajj brokers were mainly based in Singapore, but their power extended beyond Singapore. The Hajj brokers often assigned their representatives across the Indies archipelago, especially in Java and Sumatera. They often worked with the local authority to get Muslims to the Hijaz. Not only would they provide a conveyance for the therein Muslims, but also they would guide Muslims during their journey in the Hijaz. Before they could manage the Hajj conveyance, they first pledged a permit to *Amir* in Mecca. Those who did this are called the *mutawiifun*. Once they obtained the permit, they thus would employ representatives overseas known as *wakil* or *kepala-djoemaah.*

In most cases, these *wakils* were of mixed families of Arab-Jawi marriage, so they were familiar with the vernacular region they allocated to. Each ethnicity would be allocated with one *wakil* who familiar with their vernacular language. According to one pilgrim's testimony about the *wakil*, they were as evil as a leech. Following is how one pilgrim describes the *wakil* or *kepala-djoemaah.*

> .. an evil person—more evil than a leech. It is not merely his intention to such the blood of his victim but, if he is smart, to suck their bones and skull dry too. The *kepala-djoemaah* is far from the family (*kandang)* of the Prophet; even further than a robber or burglar. His speech is as sweet as sugar, and he is always ready to serve, saying '[Do it] for God and the blessing of Mecca and Medina. Don't worry, the shipping agent is my friend. We have known each other for ages. I [even] have a few shares in the company. Come! Let's book our tickets together.[57]

Nevertheless, money is still money, and because this field attracts revenue engendered the Hajj business vulnerable to power abuse. Impediments experienced by Indies and Malay

[56] Putuhena, *Historiografi Haji Indonesia,* 134.
[57] *Bintang Hindia,* vo. 1. No. 20, 3 October 1903 as cited and translated by Laffan in *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia,* 48.

Muslims were varied, including frauds, extortions, and neglects. Once the agents received the passage money from the passengers, they would often leave them destitute. Hence, those pilgrims would remain in Singapore because they already spent all their travel expenses on their agents. While those agents would take such measures to coax Muslims to make the pilgrimage, they were also the ones who would eventually leave the pilgrims once they reached their purposes. It is noted that the Arab agents would personally go around Java to persuade Indies Muslims to make Hajj by using their assistance. In 1896, some *syechs* were spotted in Bogor, Priangan, and Sukabumi to persuade Muslims to go with their service.[58]

On many occasions, the aspirant pilgrims could not help but involuntarily contracted themselves into servitudes to their agents so that they could repay their passage ticket. Slavery was a common occurrence in Hajj enterprise. Details on these tyrannical practices can be found in several official documents. Those documents illuminate in detailed the extent to which Muslims sustained from this so-called indentured labor-practice. In one missive from the Dutch colonial foreign ministry, it is noted that the issue of forced labor had been put on the table since 1886. This issue was brought upon the fact that the Firm Al-Segoff—one of the biggest Hajj firms based in Singapore—had invariably put the pauper pilgrims into difficulties. Pilgrims have customarily tied themselves to a five to ten-year labor contract to work as indentured labor in Johor or cities in Malacca.[59]Al-Segoff also owned a plantation in Cocob Island that was frequently in shortage of labor forces. Therefore, to tackle thereof issue, the Firm involuntarily entrapped pilgrims into a temporal contract. The pilgrims could not help but accept their destiny because; (1) after arriving in Singapore, the pilgrims did not have any penny left in their hands; hence working was the only way to obtain money, (2) despite having enough money, pilgrims could not still go onboard since their passport was on the hands of the agents. Once pilgrims involved themselves in the labor contract, it would be difficult to escape due to the exorbitant interest the agents would impose. These pilgrims would remain in Singapore for years, or if their family could pay off all their debt, they could carry on their journey westward to the Hijaz, or for the returning pilgrim, they could travel back to their hometown.[60] However, this could not be applied to every condition since, despite having finished the contract, sometimes the Hajj

[58]Magetsari, Noerhadi, and Arsip Nasional. *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial: Agen Herklots Dan Firma Alsegoff & Co*. Penerbitan Naskah Sumber 193441152. (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional, 2001), 11.
[59]Arsip Nasional, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial,* 98-99.
[60]Ibid., 103-05.

aspirant would remain on the Island because those agents would not let them free on the pretext they still have debt on their account.[61]

As I have noted earlier, frauds and extortions were common occurrences in the Hajj enterprise. Both Malay and Indies Muslims were inclined to start off their voyage from Singapore. Given thereof pilgrims had only a little knowledge about the embarkation scheme in Singapore, they tended to get swindled a lot.[62] Staatsblad 1872 no. 179 detailed that the passage price for an adult was f 95 and whereas for children f 47.50. However, the agent often raised the passage price. Hence, we can see that pilgrims would often pay a different price for one regular ticket. One pilgrim from Java named Raden Adiningrat testified this fraud scheme explaining that he had paid f 450 for three passengers. He was then informed that was not enough and had to pay an extra cost f 22.5 or f 7.5 each to embark on the vessel. Later, he found that other passengers did not pay the same price as he did.[63]

Continuous suffering endured by Muslim pilgrims was, in fact, not only engendered by the agents' actions but also incurred by the colonial administrators. Besides firm Al-segoff, a private agent called Herklot's firm also responsible for getting many Indies and Malay Muslims into destitution. Based in Singapore, the extent of his business extended to Java. In order to get Muslims boarding his assigned vessels, he often employed a cunning way. In 1893, one pilgrim from Cilegon sent a missive to the Governor-General, lamenting how they were being restrained from boarding the vessel because the therein Wedana (local authority) resisted issuing the passage passport. It turned out the Wedana was in connivance with one of the Herklots agents that the Muslims could only allow for boarding on the ship under the Herklots firm. The deal for this complicit is that the Wedana's family, including his in-law, could make a pilgrimage without getting any charge and would be facilitated with good service onboard.[64] Another example of pilgrim's exploitation was prevalent in Singapore, where the Consul of the Straits Settlements forced pilgrims to pay an amount of two and a half guilders to stamp the passport.[65]

[61]Ibid., 155.
[62]Ibid., 8-9. A report from the Dutch colonial in Singapore illuminated that the Herklots agent voluntarily let his agent (*syech)* to swindle the Jawi Muslims once they arrived in Singapore.
[63]Ibid., 35-36.
[64] Ibid., 15-16.
[65] Anthony Reid, "Merchant imperialist: W.H. Read and the Dutch consulate in the Straits Settlements," in Brook Barrington (ed.) *Empires, imperialism and Southeast Asia: Essays in honour of Nicholas Tarling,* Melbourne: Monash Asia Institute, 1997b, 34-59.

The private agents would not have sustained this business without aid from the colonial government. Those agents would personally visit the resident or Wedana to solicit help in finding Muslims to go on Hajj. In 1893, one of Herklots' representatives named Haji Ahmad Saleh Bagong from Singapore visited Mandor Saipan in Batavia in searching for the Muslims who wanted to go on pilgrimage.[66] Through this complicity, the colonial administrator could glean as much of illegal profit from its subject.

Although it appeared as if, as notified through exemplifications mentioned above, the government could not become careless enough about her subjects' well-being, it was, in fact, proved otherwise. Details on some documents illuminate the extent to which the government had constrain feasible ill-treatment engendered by thereof agents. In this regard, Snouck Hurgronje emerged as the government's extended hands in dealing with the Indies Muslims' welfare. Every now and then, he would relay the pilgrims' condition to the government and kinds of necessary actions that should be taken to protect the pilgrims from their agents' mistreatments. In this respect, the concern was meant for Muslims in Singapore and Muslims who reside in the Hijaz.[67] In 1895, some 124 Hajj aspirants having dwindled into exertion with Firm Alsegoff were freed by the Colonial Foreign Ministry. They thus were sent off with *Steamship Ocampo* to their hometown.[68]

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the preliminary aspect of the Hajj voyage from the Netherlands East Indies in much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It illustrated how colonial interest shaped how Muslims from the archipelago made their way to the Hijaz. It simultaneously illustrated how the Hajj regulation changed over the course of a century at the peak of colonial reign. It is evident that although the government seemed reluctant to render as much control to the Hajj transportation, given the little knowledge they had, the Hajj business indubitably was a profit attractor. Therefore, the regulation enacted was often inclined toward profit-making while attempting to eschew Indies subjects from the radical view that was currently pervasive in the Hijaz. Central to this discussion is the involvement of Arab-Hadrami, who provided conveyance

[66] Arsip Nasional, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia*, 21.
[67] Translated letters from Snouck Hurgronje can be viewed in Arsip Nasional, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial*, 113, 118-21, 162, 169.
[68] Ibid., 145.

and guidance for Indies/Malay Muslims. However, most of the time, they were the ones who put therein Muslims under challenging situations. Although it is thought that government bodies were to protect Muslims from such evil behavior, often they are also found to have complicit with the Hajj agent merely for profit gain.

Chapter 2: Hajj at Sea

This chapter explores some of the inherent dimensions pervasive in Hajj maritime transportation in two distinct periods: the era of sailing and steamship. In so doing, the chapter is divided into four major sub-topics, including (1) life at sea, as portrayed in newspapers, (2) Indies and Malay narratives, (3) life at sea in sailing boat accounts, and (4) life at sea in steamship accounts. Presenting these narratives to the table is essential as they represent how Hajj at sea was like in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Doing so reveals that the oceanic venture was intensely ingrained with a sequence of unending discomforts and perils, which was not only engendered by the course of human error but also due to environmental conditions. The chapter also contends that while Muslims boarded the ship was categorized as a temporary society, its structure reflected the in-land-based communities where power and class became distinct categories.

I. Life at Sea

This section will look at various aspects that embedded the Hajj transportation, including cramped spaces, disasters, and diseases onboard. This part of the text will focus on typical characteristics pervasive on Hajj vessels by looking at how the nineteenth and twentieth-century newspapers documented this event.

I.1. Cramped Spaces

On February 15, 1854, as circulated in the *Singapore Free Press and Merchantile Advertiser* newspaper, a vessel belonged to an Arab trader had carried approximately a thousand passengers embarked for Mecca. Although details concerning both the ship's name and size remained unrevealed, the vessel appeared to be overweight with burdens. Stowed into the ship were human freight and a large quantity of inanimate cargo.[69] The article further illuminated that the nature of overcrowding in the passenger ships bound for the Red Sea and vice versa had attracted public attention. However, measures to prevent such incidents were never being taken seriously by the Strait authorities. Given that the majority of Muslims embarked from Singapore were not under

[69] Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, February 15, 1854, Page 1 (accessed October 25, 2020).

British subject, the Strait authorities were reluctant to enact such rules, resulting in more and more Hajj vessels appeared to be unseaworthy.[70]

As I have noted in Chapter 1, the passenger ships conveyed the pilgrims embarked from Singapore were generally belonged or charted by the Arab traders. In maximizing the profit, the merchants inclined to load as many passengers inside the vessel more than what it could bear, which inevitably led to a range of discomforts such as cramped conditions, lack of proper circulation, and spread of diseases. The Hajj vessel, whose name remained unknown, was reported to have sailed to Karimons when she experienced "some smart breezed, which caused the ill-balanced vessel very nearly to go over on her beam ends." Eventually, the ship was forced to return to Singapore to avoid further problems. Besides the rough weather condition, the ship was also laden with an excessive number of passengers. Thus, having docked back to Singapore, some well-off passengers decided to leave the vessel while the pauper ones, having wasted their whole means on the passage money, preferred to continue the journey.[71]

Remarks on Hajj ships' cramped condition had been laid on the table for a few years, but no serious action had been taken for most Muslims who went on Hajj was not under British subjects. They were mostly from Dutch Indies subject on account to evade government rules thence was apt to assemble in Singapore before leaving for Mecca. Chronicled in *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* newspaper, an Arab trader who was not involved in Hajj traffic detailed the condition pertained to the Hajj passenger ship's real-life situation. Having stayed in Mecca for six years, he observed what appeared to be prevalent in Hajj ships bound for Jeddah. He detailed many Hajj vessels carried Muslims from Strait Settlement were deemed unseaworthy and "brought by unscrupulous Arab traders at a cheap rate and patched in the slightest manner possible." Hence, such vessels were routinely understood not to endure inclement weather and forcibly to touch at nearest ports for repairs and, on many occasions, had to detain for months before finally ready to re-employed. While the Westbound voyage generally took place for two and a half months, due to constant stoppage, which varied between seven to twelve ports, vessels were only to arrive in Mecca after four months. In this case, Muslims had to sustain a multiplicity of discomforts. Although Muslims were promised to be supplied with water and fire-wood on board, they were insufficient to cater for the whole voyage.

[70] The Strait Times, 2 January 1855, page 4 (accessed October 25, 2020).
[71] Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, February 15, 1854, page 1, (accessed October 25, 2020).

Additionally, pilgrims would still be charged with extra money to pay for those essential supplies. When vessels touched at different ports, he remarked, "both wood and water are altogether withheld," and Muslims had to pay for exorbitant money to obtain those basic furnishes. Not only was there provision shortage, on account of being overburden with passengers varied from four hundred to one thousand, but also "the ships become extremely filthy, and disease is soon generated." If a Muslim fell sick and wished for a room with better air condition, he would be charged with "an exorbitant sum for the privileged." This situation is also applied to deceased people where if friends of deceased people wanted to wash the deceased in an Islamic way, they would be charged a hefty price. In the case of friendless deceased, the corpse would just be thrown overboard like "a dead dog."[72]

The interior design of Hajj vessels quintessentially became the prime medium to the spread of contagious disease. Seeing how Muslims were packed into such confined spaces inevitably instigated many contagious diseases, creating a horror episode at Sea. These draw concerns by many, especially Snouck Hurgronje, who noted that the Indies Muslims experienced the injustice. Onboard, as Snouck Hurgronje detailed, Muslims were being packed like fish that barely even spaces to lie down.[73] This affected the colonial government, for the cholera pandemic was already pervasive in the Hijaz.

Moreover, the disease was often brought along to the colony by the ship, thereby forcing the government to take stringent action on this particular matter. For instance, the Dutch Indies government, since the 1880s, enacted a range of ordinances regarding the Hajj marine traffic. First, regarding the Hajj vessel's size, it had to be 1.52 meters square in height, and the minimum space per passenger between decks was 0.84-meter square, and the surface of the deck had to be 0.37-meter square, which applied to every vessel embark and disembark from Indies ports. The vessel had to have enough room for sleep, safety materials, and adequate ventilation. Secondly, to withstand the cholera epidemic, from 1927, Muslims had to undergo inoculation against cholera, typhoid, fever, and small-pox. Hajj vessels were required to be provided with a doctor on board in case there spread of disease.[74] Lastly, food was provided in ships under the Dutch flag. For instance, *Stoomvaart Mij Nederland,* at the end of the nineteenth century, supplied each

[72] Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, November 12, 1857, 3 (accessed October 26, 2020).
[73] Snouck Hurgronje. *Kumpulan Karangan Snouck Hurgronje VIII*. (Jakarta: INIS, 1993), 109.
[74]Kris Alexanderson. *Subversive Seas: Anticolonial Networks across the Twentieth-century Dutch Empire*. 2019, 31-32.

passenger with food onboard. Passengers would be provided with food such as rice and meat. To supplementing the diet, each pilgrim also would be supplied with rations such as; salted fish for 0.25 kg, coffee 0.03 kg, tea 0.02 kg, sugar 0.10 kg.[75]

Two of the most pronounced issues on overcrowding situations were found in "Day Dream" and "Samoa," vessels. The incident in the "Day Dream" ship even led to serious thinking to reconfigure the future system of Hajj maritime transportation. In 1869, the Master Attendant at Cochin recounted the state of pilgrim ship leaving from ports of Singapore, Malacca, and Sumatera. He explained that the Hajj ship leaving for the Red Sea was "in utter defiance of all Rules and Regulations in which these vessels are placed before leaving the Straits," he continued that the captains of these ships were very well-known about the route; hence they attempted to evade British supervision by not sailing through the British ports.[76] Initially, the ship was only permitted to carry 216 passengers. Nevertheless, in Singapore, she "took 150 passengers, added another 23 from Malacca, 50 from Penang, 189 from Pedier, 63 from Passangan, 91 from Jonkow," amounting to 613 passengers in total.[77] Thomas Connell, the shipmate of the *Day Dream* on January 29, 1869, testified to Cochin's Master Attendant regarding the condition onboard, delineating that the ship was already overburdening with passengers. Additionally, the ship proved to be also laden with some cargo, including rice, sugar, and oil. When anchored at Allepey (Alappuzha) for replenishing the supplies, several passengers had already succumbed to death.[78]

Due to the excessive amount of people on board, Muslims were forcibly cramped together in such close space. Cochin's Master Attendant named R. S. Ellis remarked that "pilgrims were [being] stowed away in the holds-in the cabins-in a house on deck-and on the deck itself," which inevitably generated a range of contagious diseases and ailments.[79] In a similar vein, Connell, having boarded the *Day Dream*, detailed the horrid condition pervasive on board which "the stench arising from the hold was insufferable."[80] It was not very surprising for

[75] Arsip Nasional. *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial*, 31.
[76] The Master Attendant's job was to judge if a vessel passes the criterion to sail or not. This means vessels were required to be seaworthy and shall only carry passengers on the number Master Attendant determined. See Anthony Green and Mohd Raman Daud. *Kapal Haj: Singapore and the Hajj by Sea* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2019), 130.
[77] The Strait Times, 22 May 1869, page 5 (accessed October 25, 2020).
[78] A report written by the ship's mate Thomas Connell as cited in Green and Daud, *Kapal Haji*, 132-33.
[79] The Strait Times, 22 May 1869, page 5 (accessed October 25, 2020).
[80] Green and Daud, *Kapal Haji*, 133.

Ellis explained, "the ship was so full that it was impossible to keep it clean, or for the people to move or even lie down."[81] Although we could not know how many women or children on board, Connell predicted that almost 100 women were on board. Connell chronicled that "a small temporary house, a little better than a box, was put on board." The "box" size was about "10 feet in length and 10 in breadth and 3 to 4 feet high" and was inhibited by nearly forty women. A Similar house was placed and inhibited by about "24 women and their husbands."[82] The issue of "*Day Dream's*" excessive overcrowding eventually generated attention from the "Emigration Commissioners" that started to seriously consider taking serious action to prevent such unfavorable occasion in the future. It was finally decided that pilgrims' ships shall be licensed with a certificate before leaving for the Red Sea and shall not load pilgrims exceeding the numbers stated in the license. [83]

Another case of excessive overcrowding was experienced by an English steamship boarding approximately 3000 passengers on board. The ship *Samoa* was approximately 5000 tons [burthen], disembarking from Jeddah between July 20 and August 10, 1893.[84] An English captain, Adam, operated the ship. *Samoa* initially would convey a total of 3000 return pilgrims, but due to the excessive amount of people on board, some decided not to board the ship. Samoa's issue generated concern within the Dutch Foreign Ministry, which decided to send off another ship for the remaining pilgrims. Although two other ships were already sent to take the remaining pilgrims, *Samoa* was still experiencing excessiveness where much of the pilgrims sustained a multitude of related sea-sickness conditions. It was reported that 61 passengers were dead along the way.[85]

I.2. Disaster Onboard

Contrary to popular beliefs that the ocean in steamship days had become relatively subdued, we could still notice many shipwreck incidents incurred by unpredictable weather conditions. The Indian Ocean has a specific season called monsoon, often accompanied by strong winds and erratic currents. Since the primordial era, sailors have been dealt with these seasonal conditions and thus understood how to operate them. The preferable time to cross the Indian Ocean if

[81] The Strait Times, 22 May 1869, page 5. (accessed October 25, 2020).
[82] Green and Daud, *Kapal Haji,* 132-33.
[83] The Strait Times, 4 December 1869, page 4 (accessed October 25, 2020).
[84] Arsip Nasional, *Biro Perjalanan Haji di Indonesia Masa Kolonial,* 51.
[85] Ibid.., 69.

someone was to embark from Singapore was between October and January.[86] Both Abdullah and Raden's vessels employed this method to traverse the Indian Ocean. However, it should be noticed that the ocean could be fickle where they would still meet with natural disasters despite traveling at the best time.[87]

The newspaper served as the best option to trace the state of nautical incidents pervasive in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' Indian Ocean. Those newspapers chronicled a broad range of shipwreck incidents, including Hajj transportation bound for the Red Sea. The most pronounced incident was the *Jeddah* steamship's desertion in 1880, boarding with almost 900 Southeast Asian passengers onboard. The ship was reportedly abandoned by a ship captain named Joseph Lewis Clark and its crew after he purportedly noticed the ship was about to be foundered. The issue was so pronounced that the case was brought before the British government in India for further investigation. This appalling incident involved a few numbers of white people who supposedly looked after almost a thousand innocent souls on board; instead were deplorably running away after knowing the ship was on the brink of her fate. The issue was so phenomenal that it became the basis of Joseph Conrad's novel *Lord Jim.*[88]

We soon notice through a series of in-depth coverage presented in the Times Newspaper how Western audiences perceived this staggering incident involving not only the Southeast Asian Muslims but also a small number of Western crew onboard. The *Jeddah* steamship left for the Red Sea from Penang in 1880, loading as many as a thousand Muslims. The ship was laden with the ship's crews onboard, including the captain with his wife, the chief engineer, the assistant engineer, and 16 natives. The *Jeddah* was a screw steamer of 1,541 tons [burthen], built-in 1872, and owned by the Singapore Steamship Company. The ship was purportedly foundered in the Cape of Guardafui on August 8, but the report appeared to be erroneous and later was noticed it was stowed to Aden by the *Antenor* steamer. News about the *Jeddah* steamship's desertion was first heard from Reuter's Telegram two days after it was reported missing, and later on August 11, Lloyd's agent at Aden reported the ship's actual condition and its passengers.[89] The news was so pronounced that it became highlights for a half year in *The Times* newspaper after its initial incident. The allegation revealed that the ship was abandoned

[86] Green and Daud, *Kapal Haji,* 76.
[87] See Alpers, Edward A. *The Indian Ocean in World History*. New Oxford World History. 2014.
[88] Joseph Conrad. *Lord Jim*. (Project Gutenberg, 2005).
[89] The Times, August 12, 1880 (accessed September 4, 2020).

because the captain was in danger.[90] The investigation revealed that the *Jeddah* had sustained from technical problems where the engines broke down "in consequence of the boilers shifting from their seats."[91]

Before truths came into light, there is some allegation of how the ship could eventually beset her fate. *The Times*, February 24, 1881, recounted, the crew had purposely left the passengers behind due to allegations that the passengers would ignite a revolt against the ship's crew. The truth disclosed that the ship was met with calamity when reaching the Cape of Guardafui located in Africa's easternmost tip due to the engines' breaking. The ship first experienced a leak in the "supply pipes in the bottom." Having learned the ship would not make it to the end destination, the "master and officers determined to abandon the vessel in the middle of the night." Passengers soon learned about this incident and restrained everyone from leaving the vessel by smashing the lifeboat, engendering some of the ship's crews drowned. The remaining crew successfully escaped the ship and was towed by the *Scindia* steam about six hours after their initial fleeing.[92]

The *Jeddah* incident prompted two different reactions, one of which viewed that this incident occurred nothing but due to Muslims' wretchedness. Captain Henry Carter, of Obelisk Fame, having heard about the incident, described the abandonment of *Jeddah* as only taken due to "a natural instinct" to protect themselves from "perils of a more dreadful kind." Before retiring from Pilgrim traffic a year before the *Jeddah* incident, he chronicled a similar experience in which he attributed Muslims as "fanatics and wretched beings." He compared the Muslim passage as far worse than "was ever found onboard a slaver."[93] He continuously attributed Muslims of Bedouins, Arab-Persian, and Turcomans as wretched souls who in nature were very wicked and fanatics. He further delineated upon realities experienced by Muslims on deck vessels where pilgrims were "cooped up on the deck of a small vessel for 18 to 20 days, with no room to move, and little to no fresh air to breathe." Hence, engendering the already debilitating

[90] The Times, February 24, 1881 (accessed September 4, 2020).
[91] The Times, August 28, 1880 (accessed September 4, 2020).
[92] The Times, August 28, 1880 (accessed September 4, 2020).
[93] This was not the first time the Hajj vessel's situation was attributed to the horror that previously existed in "Middle Passage." On the news chronicled in The Times, April 14, 1874, on the foundered incident of British Steamer loaded with Algerian pilgrims attributed the Hajj vessel as "an amount of suffering is frequently entailed that could perhaps only be compared to the horrors of the "Middle Passage" in the days when the slave trade flourished." An extensive scholarship on how slavery at sea was like in the eighteenth century Atlantic Ocean, see: Sowande M Mustakeem. *Slavery at Sea*. Vol. 82. The New Black Studies Series. (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

condition sustained by pilgrims. Upon ten days of the voyage, Carter recounted, "I lost seven pilgrims and I firmly believe that prompt medical treatment by a doctor would have saved them all." There surged an upheaval allegedly ignited by Bedouins, Arab-Persian, and Turcomans in which below deck fire was ignited on King Arthur steam where he manned. Through this incident, he was convinced that Muslims were of "the utterly savage nature." He generally ascribed Muslim vessels as horrendous in which "no Christian has ever dreamt of."[94]

Contrary to what Captain Carter believed regarding Muslims' disposition, chronicled in *The Times* on August 16, 1880, George Campbell wrote a letter to *The Times* to counteract the argument prompted by Captain Carter, who referred to Muslims as "wretched fanatics." Although he somewhat agreed that if Bedouins and Turcoman Muslims were to put into such a situation, they would likely act defensive against their opponents. Nevertheless, he detailed the situation was in no way could apply to the "ordinary pilgrims from the English and Dutch East Indies," whose in nature were generally considered "decent and quiet with no special fanaticism." Remarks on the Javanese's natural good disposition were also shared by Captain J. H. Brown, who went on Hajj passage recollected that "I always found the Javanese very easy to handle, polite, and clean in their personal habits."[95] Considering most thence Muslims were not accustomed to an oceanic voyage; hence it would be very understood that they would be somewhat helpless. Thus, revolts were considered a natural reaction showed by Muslims. Captain Carter also nudged that this was not the first time the Hajj shipwrecks' incidents were brought before the Indian government.[96]

I.3. Looming Diseases

Transmission of diseases proved to be accelerated quickly at sea, for the vessel was the only terrain where passengers could move back and forth, causing Muslims to suffer from all kinds of weakening diseases. Deaths persisted in almost pilgrim's traffic. In fact, both *en route* and return voyage was invariably accompanied by deaths. Muslims knew beforehand about the exigency of hazardous dangers, but it did not inherently prevent them from going in such a pious venture. In fact, the Indies government was deliberately letting Muslims know about critical situations pervasive in the Hijaz.

[94] The Times, August 14, 1880 (accessed September 4, 2020).
[95] Recollection of Captain J. H. Brown's as cited in Green and Daud, *Kapal Haji*, 91.
[96] The Times, August 16, 1880 (accessed September 4, 2020).

The Strait Times, February 18, 1908, detailed that nineteenth deaths had occurred on board. The steamer *Pakling* boarded "588 pilgrims, including four infants had arrived in Singapore on February 17, 1908. Dr. Morgan charged as the medical man on board detailed that "there had been ten deaths from non-contagious diseases, and nine from small-pox, between Jeddah and Penang." No deaths appeared between Penang and Singapore, but twenty passengers suffered from small-pox.[97] The unthinkable and simultaneously unprecedented situations persisted on pilgrim's ship where a Muslim passenger was reported to have committed suicide. Chronicled in *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser,* on July 21, 1904, a Javanese passenger had committed suicide by jumping overboard. However, further information did not detail the cause of the incident. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that the action had something to do with the arduous and exhausting voyage pilgrim had undergone, both *en-route* and the return journey. Suicide is not inherently an action that Islam, in principle, favored because Muslims believed that should someone commit suicide, they would inherently go to hell.

While the cholera epidemic was so prevalent throughout much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was not the only reason that caused Muslims to succumb to deaths. Such a lengthy voyage could generate various ailments that were spawned by a multitude of causes. Besides cholera, diseases such as small-pox, dysentery, and fatigue were also pervasive on Hajj ships. It is also essential to bear in mind that Muslims often brought their preexisting condition with them, which added to their vulnerability in contracting contagious diseases due to cramped conditions. As chronicled in *The Strait Times,* March 5, 1908, a steamer returned from Jeddah with 970 Muslims on board had experienced four deaths caused by various reasons such as "chronic bronchitis, senile decay, and heart disease."[98]

Environmental conditions and the state of the ships were the prime reasons diseases transmitted and disseminated rapidly. Since the Hajj voyage took a long time on board, Muslims were very susceptible to the diseases caused by sweltering weather conditions and lack of sanitation. Close confinement on board also engendered the already fatigue condition pilgrims sustained. In subsequent sub-section, we shall see how Abdullah and Wiranata Kusuma described this incident engendered by the weather's rapid change.

[97] The Strait Times, February 18, 1908, 7 (accessed September 24, 2020).
[98] The Strait Times, March 5, 1908, 7 ((accessed September 24, 2020).

II. Indies and Malay Narratives

Abdullah was fifty-eight years old when he began traveling to the West to perform the Hajj pilgrimage in January 1854. Initially, he would have to perform the pilgrimage the same year had he not passed away from the disease after arriving in Mecca. Despite having not performed the pilgrimage, Abdullah managed to leave a permanent legacy in the form of a travel diary detailing his "liminal stage" to Mecca.[99] Had he lived a little longer, the diary would probably extend to the actual pilgrimage rites in Mecca hence would have eventually accelerated him as the first Malay person to engage with personal experience of the Hajj voyage.[100] Nevertheless, Abdullah is still celebrated as the most prominent figure in Malay literature owing to him being the first person who wrote an extensive narration on the Hajj oceanic experience.[101] Simultaneously, through Abdullah's accounts, Malay literature became familiar with the concept of realism, which was previously understood to be fraught with themes such as mysticism and transcendentalism.[102] The theme in his account is closed to the Western literary concept, which foregrounded personal experience.

Concerning Raden's account, we do not know much about his background besides the fact that he was of male elite Sundanese. Unlike Abdullah's account, Raden's narrative has remained unpublished and is currently kept in Indonesia National Library (PNRI) in Jakarta, thereby remained a single manuscript. His story came into a light upon efforts undertook by Henri Chambert-Loir in which he collected extant Hajj manuscripts from ancient to modern era Indonesia. They were published in two volumes and containing a broad range of themes of thence Hajj narratives, one of which is the unpublished account of Raden Nagara. As I have noted in the introduction, we can still legitimately cast the book as a published primary source as the narratives compiled in those books remained inherently the same as the original manuscripts.

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[99] In this case, I borrow the expression of pilgrimage as liminal stage from Victor Turner. Liminal stage can be interpreted as a "state of transition between one stage and the next." Hence, voyaging to Mecca can be perceived as liminal stage. See Victor Turner. "The Center out There: Pilgrim's goal." *History of Religions* 12, no. 3 (1973): 191-230.

[100] Abdullah passed away in Mecca, May 1854. Given that he had experienced a long, arduous voyage, it was likely that Abdullah contracted with cholera on board.

[101] It shall be recognized that prior to his seminal account of "*Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Mekah",* he had written many literary works, including *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan*. He was recognized as the founding father of modern Malay literature. See: Abd Allāh B. ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al Munšī, ʿ and Kassim Bin Ahmad. *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah: Ke Kelantan Dan Ke Judah*. Cet.ke-7 (Ejaan Baru) ed. Siri Kajian Sastera Fajar Bakti. Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti, 1981. p. xiii

[102] Ibid., xi

What Chambert-Loir has done besides transliterating the original source was to add an- in-depth analysis to the text while simultaneously yield a brief background of the pertinent accounts.

Raden made a way to the Indian Ocean water in 1852. He brought along twenty-four other persons with him where the journey started from the Sumedang port in West Java. In the 1850s, while steamship was not entirely cast as rare occurrences—as Abdullah detailed that steamship anchored for the first time in Singapore port in 1840s—it had not yet catered for Hajj transportation, not until 1860s.[103] Numerous stoppages across the Indian Ocean marked the distinctive category featured in the age of sail. Muslims had to wait for favorable weather conditions in order to continue their journey. Both Abdullah and Raden transpired similar ways of reaching the port of Jeddah. Not only did they undertake a lengthy way of passage, but also they had to reside in some ports for a considerable time waiting for any ship that would convey them to the end journey.

Shifting our attention to the steamship era, both Dja Endar Muda and Wiranata Kusuma traversed the Indian Ocean in the early years of the twentieth century. The former went on Hajj in 1903 through the port of Padang, Sumatera. While the latter, having held a significant position in the body of colonial administrator which he served as regent (*bupati*) of Bandung in 1922, undertook the Hajj pilgrimage in 1924 from the Batavia port. The large scale of crowds that ushered his departure inherently signified his importance. His family and a range of significant figures such as the army commandant (*legercommandant*), the resident, the assistant-resident, and the mayor (*Burgermeister*) bid farewell to Wiranata Kusuma at the Bandung station

Let us now take a closer look at how they foregrounded their narratives and contextualized them to the bigger narration of the Indian Ocean. It is important to bear in mind that those travel accounts indelibly refracted the entrenched colonial government power image. In this case, the colonial government shaped both direct and indirect how Muslims formed their travel accounts. Both Abdullah and Wiranata Kusuma were known as good subjects to their government, given their importance in the colonial administrators. The former was a literary figure, and despite his role was related solely to the creation of Malay literature, it did not deny the fact that Abdullah's link was tied directly to his connection to the Strait government. Having served as Bandung's regent, Wiranata Kusuma was encouraged by the Dutch administrator to

[103] See The Strait Times, 31 January 1863. The Hajj passenger ships during this period constituted of sailing and steamships. The first appearance of the steamship in the Strait Settlements was in August 1845. See: Anthony Green and Raman Daud. *Kapal Haji,* 148.

record his journey to Mecca so that future Indies Muslims could employ his diary as a means of guidance.[104] Another male elite native who traversed the Indian Ocean at the turn of the twentieth century was Dja Endar Muda. Having served as a teacher in Sumatera, he went on Hajj in 1903. The story upon his embarkation to Mecca was published in the local newspaper named Bintang Hindia.

Regarding Hajj accounts' pattern, it should be noticed that each account inherently imparts different themes but generally takes shape in a similar category where it started from the beginning of departure, the *en-route* journey, and was later acclimatized in the destined goal. This aligns with what both Barbara Metcalf and Turner said about the patterns of pilgrimage. Metcalf argued that the Hajj travel accounts broadly take shape in similar forms, which—"beginning with departure, climaxing in arrival and at destined goal," and if necessary to include the "journey home."[105] This pattern is applied to Wiranata Kusuma and Dja Endar Muda's stories, in which the stories set out from the *en-route* voyage until they make the pilgrimage rituals in Mecca.[106] In a similar vein, Victor Turner added that the pilgrimage's liminal stage constituted a chain of "social drama and social enterprise."[107] Hajj vessels refracted the social terrain where a broad range of people from different cultures and backgrounds interacted and mingled. In Wiranata Kusuma's account, he occasionally engaged himself with Muslims onboard, throwing talks here and there to different people from various decks.

The liminal stage of pilgrimage enables us to chart social relations in which Muslims engaged within the community or beyond, in this case, within the site of the Hajj vessel. However, it is essential to bear in mind that the four accounts are not pure travel diaries per se, given that they lack personal narratives. Besides Wiranatakusuma's account, other narratives seemed a bit rigid in tone. Their concerns were more on details but not necessarily personal narratives. Raden's account rested primarily on the rigid descriptions such as the length of the journey between his hometown and the Red Sea. In comparison, Abdullah and Dja Endar Muda did include few personal observations toward the surrounding areas.

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[104] Henry Chambert-Loir. *Naik Haji Di Masa Silam, Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482-1964. Jilid 2: 1900-1950* (Jakarta: École Française D'Extrême-Orient (EFEO): Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (KPG), 2013), 555.
[105] Barbara D. Metcalf, "The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian accounts of the hajj," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 87.
[106] As I have noted before, Abdullah would have written an extensive Hajj narrative had he lived a little longer.
[107] Victor Turner. "The Center out There," 192.

III. Life at sea in sailing boats

In this sub-section, we trace the oceanic dimension of Hajj transportation as narrated by Raden and Abdullah. We shall notice soon how inherently distinct these two narratives were from each other. Details featured in Raden's account rested primarily on the duration it took to arrive at each port he called at while simultaneously chronicling some details, including kinds of money used in each place he visited. He did not engage with a personal experience he transpired onboard, the kind of people he encountered, etc. On Abdullah's account, stories delineated were predicated mainly on his own observation towards the external world. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of these two narratives helped us add to our understanding of Hajj transportation in the days of sailings, detailed through the first actor's lens.[108]

It is crucial to bear in mind that the moment Dutch Indies Muslims applied for a permit to undertake Hajj, they were already segregated according to their ethnicity and linguistic groups.[109] This had to do with the fact that Indies Muslims were constituted of diverse groups, coming from different parts of the archipelago with culture and language dissimilar to each other. Both Raden and Abdullah did not specifically mention the kinds of ethnicity who undertook the journey with them, but it can be securely said that they were British and Dutch Indies subject. Whereas, in the case of Abdullah's voyage, although he attempted not to indicate the arrangement of ethnic prevalence, his delineation indicates that there was a Habsyi (Ethiopia) undertook the voyage. From the 1860s, the Hajj passports featured details like "the name of the ship, the birthplace," and in addition to "the most recent abode of the pilgrims.[110] Since pilgrimage traffic was handled directly by the Indies government, pilgrims did not have to undertake the journey by stopping at many ports. Instead, pilgrims would only touch in at fewer ports but in considerably large ports. The official ports for embarkation in Indies included Batavia, Padang (West Sumatera), and Sabang (Aceh).[111]

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[108] It is indeed hard to trace the voice of subaltern even inside the narratives of the elitists. This kind of impediment was also shared by Pier Larson on his study about the Madagascar creole document. Pier M. Larson. 1995, The International Journal of African Historical Studies , Vol. 28, No. 2, P. 295-325 : Fig., Krt., Tab.

[109]Michael Laffan. *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia the Umma below the Winds* (London;New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 48.

[110] C. Spat. Gouvernement En Bedevaart. (Amsterdam: De Bussy, 1912), 340-42 as cited in Michel Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia the Umma below the Winds,* 38.

[111] Henri Chambert-Loir. *Naik Haji Di Masa Silam, Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482-1964. Jilid 1: 1482-1890* (Jakarta: École Française D'Extrême-Orient (EFEO): Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2013), 374.

Let us now consider ways in which both Raden and Abdullah recounted their stories. We shall notice how different these two people were in articulating their journeys. Raden was preoccupied with small details in his journey. However, there existed a paradox where although he seemed to be very careful with details such as dates and the length of his stops in every place, yet could not help him from being anachronistic about the date. Nevertheless, his account is still significant in reconfiguring the Hajj pilgrimage's route in the days before the onset of the steamship in Hajj traffic. Although it is hard to trace any evidence of direct engagement with the passengers on board during his en route voyage, the text still indicates that intermingling had existed. To take an instance, he occasionally referred to his travel companions as "aspirant" (*jamaah*).[112]

As we already know, occasional stops at different ports across the Indian Ocean had characterized sailing ships' days. We shall recognize that Muslims had to spend many weeks or even months in a foreign land in order to wait for a perfect season to sail hence with different ships for every journey. In Raden's voyage, he boarded the ship operated by an Arab to Singapore and boarded another Arab vessel from Singapore to Jeddah. The number of his stoppages until he finally reached Jeddah was thirteen stops, yet he did not inherently call in at every place. The ship would only pass the land to replenish the amenities without having to dock at its port. Since setting out from Sumedang, Raden spent considerable time in big ports such as Cirebon, Riau, and Singapore. The ship made an occasional stop to replenish provisions such as water, food, and woods. He brought many food provisions on board, including dry sticky rice, a myriad of sweetmeats, dry fish, and some drugs. Through his delineation, we noticed that the ship was not only for passengers but also for inanimate cargo, mainly from native materials. It would sell along the passage. He recalled once passengers on board, they would not do anything but eat and drink.[113]

The most striking point he made is the way he explained the arrangement of the ship. He recalled that although passengers paid the same amount of money for the ticket, it had not included the onboard space. Passengers still had to pay for space on decks. He recalled the onboard decks were comprised of three different compartments. The first compartment was called *Kamil*, a room with space for a wardrobe and food and drink. The second one, named

[112] Henri Chambert-Loir. *Naik Haji Di Masa Silam, Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482-1964. Jilid 1: 1482-1890*, 374.
[113] Ibid., 375.

Mutawasit, had everything but the area for food. In the third class, called *Miskin*, the passengers were not provided with anything. Beds were also being rent out. Beds for Kamil were 15 pasmat for men, and 18 *pasmat* for women, respectively. Mutawasit 12 *pasmat*, and Miskin for eight *pasmat*.[114]

In Abdullah's voyage, he departed from Singapore embarked in a vessel both owned and operated by an Arab. He went on a Hajj journey in 1854 with a vessel named Subla al-Salam.[115] An excellent observational skill underscored Abdullah's account. When the ship encountered disaster, he recounted in metaphorical saying that "every casket on deck was being thrown erratically. Those in left catapulted to the right side of the ship, and the other way around until the morning peeked out."[116] Rough weather and currents appeared to be their worst enemy following their journey until Jeddah. Although the sea voyage in the days of sail entailed a considerable time, the ship often made an occasional stop at every port across the Indian Ocean. However, it did not necessarily mean that the vessel would anchor at every island she called at. Instead, the vessel occasionally would anchor quite far from the shore, and the native would bring their commodity to people on board. Abdullah experienced this when reaching Gali island, where some local merchants carry their products such as sea commodities (a numerous kind of fish), fruits such as pineapples and limes, and other non-food commodities such as rings made of stones and diamonds.[117]

Another episode of onboard discomfort beset when they about to set off from Cape of Comorin where the giant and undulating waves erratically hit the ship, causing horrendous wails from passengers who kept shouting Allah Allah Allah for mercy and succor. He recalled, "for no one would ever imagine but Allah how arduous and strenuous the waves were as if they were about to be swollen by the mother earth." The torment prevailed all night long, engendering everyone to think nothing but death. He recounted how the ship looked like she was about to be gulped down by the strenuous waves that were so high that it reached the vessel's mast. The scary sound of wind reverberated through the ship, making the journey could not be any horror. Amidst those arduous circumstances, the sailors still attempted to get the water out of the holds

[114] Ibid., 375-376.
[115] The original Jawi text was Subla al-Salam but was corrected by Chambert-Loir as he cited from Che-Ross who discovered the name of the text from the Singapore newspaper at the time. See, footnote 2 in *Naik Haji Masa Silam,* 392.
[116] Kasim Ahmad, *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, 92.
[117] Ibid., 93.

and decks. The cabins' situation was nothing but passengers throw up everywhere and the smell of vomit emitted from the rooms.[118] These situations would not reside after three nights, and only after the ship was utterly off from the Gamri Island, those horror episodes ended

Abdullah also added how Muslims became more vulnerable significantly when the weather changed rapidly. The situation was exacerbated when the ship experienced a shortage of drinking water in which he detailed, "should they see no shore within two days, there will be no water to drink." When the ship was about to reach Mukha, the sudden gust of gales accompanied by ocean squall broke through the vessel, engendering the already fatigue condition of pilgrims worsened. Twenty-three passengers reported having been succumbed to diseases, while more than three people eventually died.[119] From Abdullah and Raden's experiences, we can learn that sailing in the days of sailing represented the typical characteristics of a long-distance journey. It was mainly from Abdullah's voyage that we can infer that we understand that traversing the Indian Ocean water with sailing boats were vulnerable to the damage incurred by a natural disaster, such as a violent gust of winds.

IV. Life at sea in Steamship Era

This section will look at how the Hajj voyage was like during the steam days. This investigation took place in the early decades of the twentieth century and was narrated primarily in accordance with accounts penned by Dja Endar and Wiranata Kusuma. This last sub-section of chapter two will also incorporate an account penned by an Englishman who embarked to India after finishing pilgrimage in Mecca. Incorporating the Englishman account is imperative as it sheds light upon the similarities and comparisons experienced by Muslim passengers, regardless of race and ethnicity.

The twentieth-century oceanic characteristic was underscored by a better and relatively safe compared to its predecessor. Hence, the Hajj traffic was no longer dependent on the Indian Ocean weather, making travel by sea could be done at any time of the year. Owing to Dja Endar Muda and Wiranata Kusuma's keen observational skills, we could glean some information upon how life was like onboard and how it was different from its preceding times.

[118] Ibid., 94-5.
[119] Kasim Ahmad, *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah,* 106-7.

Dja Endar Muda went on a Hajj voyage in 1903 from Padang with the Dutch steamer. The total of passengers who boarded the ship was about a thousand which the majority came from Java.[120] As a Batak born in Padang, Dja Endar was appointed as an interpreter to the passengers *en route* to Jeddah. This suggested two things; first, regardless of ethnicity, Muslims had adopted Malay as a lingua franca. Second, Dja Endar Muda himself was proficient in many languages, thereby made him the best person to bridge the interaction between passengers. However, Dja Endar Muda never detailed whether there prevailed language obstacles on board or not. He explained that the Dutch East Indies subjects had two options to convey to Mecca: British or Dutch steamer. These two choices both have ups and downs, according to Dja Endar. He explained although the Dutch steamers were well-known to be somewhat stricter in terms of their regulation than the British counterparts, its service still outrivaled the British ones. Weighing on these two choices, Dja Endar Muda was apt to choose the Dutch steamer for the reasons presented below.

Having boarded the Dutch steamship, Dja Endar Muda highlighted significant differences between the Dutch and the British steamships. Given he was going too overboard in magnifying the Dutch steamers' service, we wondered if there prevailed any hidden agenda at play. Reading his account rendered us the impression that the Dutch management on Hajj transportation was nothing but excellent. Soon, through Wiranata Kusuma's lens, we shall notice there was also a crack in the Dutch management service.

Following are ways in which he recounted the Dutch steamer's service and compared it to its British counterparts. He described the benefit of boarding the Dutch steamer as pilgrims did not have to worry about the shortage of provision for the ship catered with a wide variety of meals, such as curry with fish and eggs. Dja Endar Muda further noticed that passengers had to cater to themselves if they boarded the British steamers. Only water and fire were provided; hence, when pilgrims wanted to cook, fights inevitably occurred.[121] Given that pilgrims had to supply themselves with fire and provision, it added to their discomfort over the already excessive baggage they had brought along. Although necessary supplies such as water were promised to be given free of charge, it was often insufficient. Lastly, Dja Endar added that the British captains

[120] Henri Chambert-Loir. *Naik Haji Di Masa Silam, Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482-1964. Jilid 2: 1900-1950*, 487.
[121] Ibid., 486-488.

more often than not would not care less enough about passengers' well-being."[122] Their motivation was rested primarily on profit, not the passengers' safety.

Regarding the account penned by Wiranata Kusuma, we can sufficiently say that he was the best among the four at delineating how mundane life might have liked on board. It was through Wiranata Kusuma's account that the voices of subaltern subjects eventually gained momentum. Wiranata Kusuma occasionally inserted his engagement with people on board, allowing us to know how the most ordinary Muslims perceived the voyage. It also rendered us knowledge over how a temporary community was like *en route* to Mecca. The extent of Wirantakusuma's account went further by stressing out the pervasiveness of gender and ethnicity, something that we could not gather from three previous accounts. Through Wiranata Kusuma's story, we could finally envisage the mundane characteristic of life on board, explaining the social drama on board by including one actor and other human beings.

Having boarded the Dutch steam from Batavia's port in 1924, Wiranata Kusuma lodged in a private cabin, thereby indelibly suggested his privileged position in society. As his diary stated, voyaging to Mecca marked his first time going abroad. It was routinely understood that the only reason the Indies would go abroad was by going on pilgrimage. The total passengers on board were amounting to 1100 passengers, constituting a wide range of ethnicities across the archipelago. There boarded Muslims from Celebes, Surabaya, Madura, and Padang. Two doctors also accompanied the passengers on board. Embarking from Padang was 250 people of Minangkabau. Besides ethnic diversity, there also existed a variety of age groups.[123] Onboard not only there were adults, but also children. He noticed that as soon as passengers were on board, they started to gather to their own group, Javanese to Javanese, Sumba to Sumba, etc. This had to do with the fact that Muslims, having left their hometown for the first time, found consolation among their own group of people.[124] Besides this very reason, this arrangement of ethnic separation was also something that was predestined beforehand. The ship captain would divide passengers into several compartments which each compartment would lodge two hundred passengers each. A leader will be chosen to maintain cleanliness and order en route to Jeddah of

[122]Ibid., 488.
[123]G. A Van Bovene and A. Wiranata Koesoema. *Perdjalanan Saja Ke Mekah*. Tjétakan Ke-2. ed. Serie Uitgaven Door Bemiddeling Der Commissie Voor De Volkslectuur; No. 719 186878524. Weltevreden, 1927, 4.
[124]Bovene and Wiranata Koesoema. *Perdjalanan Saja Ke Mekah*, 6.

each compartment. As Wiranata Kusuma agreed, this kind of division reminds him of how communities in general work where compartments refracted the inland communities.

Moreover, those districts were under one leader who was Wiranata Kusuma himself. His job was to oversee the work of each district. Although such attempts had been tried to mirror the real community, Wiranata Kusuma recalled regardless of how much effort he had put into maintaining the situation under control; there would still some mischievous passengers recklessly violate the rules. For example, even though it was generally understood that smoking on deck was prohibited, some passengers still smoked, engendering a possible threat for all passengers on board. Smoking was pervasively understood to be the reason for an incident such as a fire. Given that ships were susceptible to fire, passengers were encouraged not to smoke on decks. Regardless of some uneventful incident on board, Wiranata Kusuma still regarded life on board as pretty amicable. Wiranata Kusuma explained that he was still amazed at how, despite having emanated from a diverse cultural background, each group representation would still listen to his command. It was the duty of each pilgrim to maintain *rust en orde* on board.

Every morning, Wiranata Kusuma would attend to his people as an appointed leader and see how they were doing. As delineated in his account, upon attending to every compartment, he noticed a family lived on hold of the ship under the tarpaulin with little to no light. He noticed the father had merrily taught his four children the pilgrimage rites so that they could memorize by the time they wore *ihram* clothes.[125] The common feature of life on board was pilgrims were busily memorizing and reciting the pilgrimage *manasik.* Although the onboard experiences were understood to be fraught with difficulties, Wiranata Kusuma agreed it was still enjoyable in general. The old guys often throw a joke to ameliorate a situation that already very gloomy.[126] Passengers often spent their days together on the deck, sharing a story. The decks became the prime terrain where conversation and interaction occurred. Regardless of ethnicity, Muslims often enjoyed each other company when they talked about their hometown. Pilgrims were also excited about the prospect of arriving in Mecca.[127]

In addition to the interaction that ensued between passengers, Wiranata Kusuma also shared his interaction with the ship's crew. They would often discuss the matter that currently occurs in the world when they were on board. For instance, the vessel received a telegram from

[125] Ibid., 7.
[126] Ibid., 9.
[127] Ibid.,12.

Indies that there occurred a train incident in Surabaya. The topics of the current incident often became the highlight of the conversation.[128]

Wiranata Kusuma also highlighted a dramatic episode that occurred in the Hajj transportation. As I have noted above, there were two doctors on board. Every morning, doctors in charge named Dr. Palthe and Dr. Polak would examine each pilgrim's physical condition. During the examination, Muslims were asked to go on below decks to lining up for getting the examination. However, this arrangement further created an uncomfortable situation for Muslims forced to reside in such cramped spaces. Wiranata Kusuma remarked that the holds' air circulation was so filthy that sunlight could not penetrate the room. In this case, Muslims were afflicted the most since that supposedly medical check-up was turned into a site where bacteria and germs proliferated, creating a high transmission of contagious diseases. Whereas Wiranata Kusuma wondered why the deck did not become the examination place, given it was an open space where cool air and smooth breeze could enhance Muslims' conditions. This suggested that the captain or anyone in charge did not predict that such an unfavorable situation would incur onboard. Nevertheless, the unforeseen situation was still a significant threat in any oceanic voyage. Despite exerting the best efforts to prevent such issues, disaster and disease could still linger on the Hajj vessels.[129]

The last part of this chapter attempts to unfold how a non-native Southeast Asian transpired the Hajj passage full of return pilgrims. Putting this narrative on the table is imperative, given it provides a different perspective. We thus shall witness that regardless of race and ethnicity, the on-deck experience was still the same. This applied if one is lodged in the third passenger class. Keane's case is interesting since, despite being British, he lodged in the third passenger class among primarily pauper pilgrims and couped up together on the decks.[130] Hence, in this case, a magnificent Western that is commonly attributed as a superior race did not fit the category that Edward Said said about orientalism.[131] Keane's travel account shared the same notions as recounted by the newspapers and Southeast Asian travel accounts that the Hajj vessel

[128] Ibid., 8.
[129] Ibid., 4-5.
[130] John Keane *My Journey to Medinah: Describing a Pilgrimage to Medinah, Performed by the Author Disguised as a Mohammedan*. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1881, p. 180
[131] The main idea about orientalism lay upon the fact that the Orient or the East was less superior than that of the West. See Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Repr. with a New Pref. ed. Penguin Classics. London [etc.]: Penguin, 2003.

was inherently entrenched with terrors and diseases. Owing to Keane's keen observation, we could envisage how Muslims, in general, experienced the return voyage from Mecca.

In the late nineteenth century, John F. Keane, having finished the pilgrimage in Mecca, embarked on the Hajj's return voyage among other Indian Muslims. He disguised himself as a Muslim under the name Hajj Mohammed Amin. A brief introduction to the figure, he was an author of "*Six Months in Mecca*" and son to Rev. William Keane, "a serial canon of the Cathedral, Calcutta."[132] Keane had spent seven years living among Muslims, including had served three years as a sailor in pilgrims' ships. A close exposure within the Muslim community compounded his knowledge of Islamic customs and language.

About one thousand and four hundred Indian pilgrims were onboard in return passage to India, including fifty wealthy Muslims who occupied the first-class cabins. The passage entailed twenty-one days to arrive in Bombay. [133] From Keane's diary, we can glean information about the ethnic and race variations on board. There were Indians, British, Arabs, and Africans on board. As detailed by Keane, pilgrims were conveyed with lighters to board the steam, which anchored quite far from the shore. Conveyed in the ship was not only human cargo but also living animals. An incident occurred when the ship's crews, constituted of Arabs and Negroes, attempted to carry the three horses to the ship. Their legs were tied up, and their eyes were blindfolded. Upon heaving them on board, two horses were acting out, causing them to flounder. Seeing this, Keane thus appeared to be a hero, saving the remaining horse. He thus untied that horse and, together with the ship crews, lifted the horse to the steam. The other two horses fell in the sea. As Keane described, "poor fellow, it was he who had brought me away from detested Meccah."[134] Once onboard, Keane got rid of his Arab garments and presenting himself in the most English manner. Due to his new appearance, the ship officers have mistaken him as the shipowner, which he soon explained about the circumstances. He also got a chance to meet the ship's commander, which he learned he was lodged in the first-class cabins. Despite his superheroic action, Keane did not receive any special treatment from the crew. As he chronicled along the passage to Mecca, the ship's commander "could see but little of me during the time we were on board."[135]

[132] Ibid., 211.
[133] Ibid., 180.
[134] Ibid., 178.
[135] Ibid., 180.

In general, Keane perceived the Hajj voyage by sea to be fraught with hardships and difficulties. It was evident in the third class cabin, passengers—men, women, children—were cooped up together with little to no space even to lie down. No wonder that as he described that "to many of the pilgrims, the sea voyage has greater terrors than the land journey."[136] Besides overcrowding, the passengers had to endure various discomforts such as sea-sickness and lack of sanitation on board. As Keane recounted, pilgrims were cramped together on "filthy decks" and "do not received as much care or attention as cattle would under similar circumstances."[137] He added that "not a day passed without its death," which accentuated how arduous the sea voyage might have been. One morning, as he recalled, "three corpses were dragged up from the foul lower-deck."[138] The reeks of the deaths and livings were compounded together on the below decks causing the unbearable stench.

Amid those unfavorable conditions on board, the nature of human characters unfolded. As we have noted about the British ship's service, only water and fire were supplied by the ship. Pilgrims often fight over those necessary provisions, leaving the weaker passengers without water for days. Keane also recounted how the weaker pilgrims had to sustain unfairness from the more vigorous and greedy pilgrims and the ship crews themselves. As Keane described, those English sailors treated pilgrims "with brutality and harshness such as they would never have the boldness to show towards the meekest of their own countrymen." On one occasion, having lost her ticket, she was kicked in the mouth. Keane detailed, having overheard the English crew's conversation, he was shocked over how they so pompously enjoyed the tragedy beset the pilgrims. Due to the inclement weather conditions, twelve pilgrims were wiped overboard, and all the properties and supplies kept on deck were also being swept.[139] Keane concluded that sea travel under the English flags was infamous with overcrowding and mismanagement on board.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the Hajj ships' principal characteristics in two distinctive periods: the era of sailing and steamship. Through the juxtaposition of various sources, it was inferred that the Hajj travel by sea was invariably underscored with numerous hardships and discomforts. Both

[136] Ibid., 180.
[137] Ibid., 199.
[138] Ibid., 180-81.
[139] Ibid., 199-201.

newspapers and travel accounts highlighted Hajj ships' dramatic events, including weather conditions, overcrowding, and widespread diseases. Muslims were often forced to couped up on both the decks and lower-decks with filthy sanitation and lack of fresh air. Additionally, the excessive number of passengers on board could generate a range of contagious illnesses, eventually leading to deaths. The account of Wiranatakusuma suggested that the community on board refracted the image of an in-land society where class and power were distinct categories.

Chapter 3: Pilgrims' Encounters: Communities, Environment, Cholera, and Quarantine

This chapter attempts to shed light on how pilgrims perceived and experienced the stoppings along the Indian Ocean basin. In this case, pilgrims would contact the world of difference, constituting diverse communities, environments, and cultural backgrounds. In so doing, this chapter will be divided into two sub-chapters: (1) the Indian Ocean community as delineated by Abdullah, and (2) the cholera epidemic and quarantine in the early decades of the twentieth century as experienced by Wiranatakusuma. This chapter concurs with the idea opined by Edward Simpson that the Indian Ocean communities constituted of an arena of difference.[140]

I. Abdullah's encounter with the Indian Ocean Community

As we have noted in the previous chapter, the sailing age characteristic was underscored by many stops along the way to Jeddah. On his *en route* to Mecca, Abdullah had to call at many ports, including Calicut and Aden. Having touched at different ports, Abdullah took his time to explore the cities. Historically, the Indian Ocean communities were underpinned by multifaceted ethnicities, religions, and cultures. In this case, port cities served as the focal point where cultural and commercial interactions mingled and coalesced. Kenneth Mcpherson also amplified this notion, who viewed the port cities served as the "agents of the social, cultural, and economic interchange."[141]

Turning our attention back to Abdullah, it is worth noticing that his writing style is peculiar. While it is hard to notice direct engagement with the communities he visited, his account contained a keen observation of the surrounding nature and environment. While a voyage to Mecca was cast as his first experience to far-flung lands, it was not inherently the first time he had engaged with the broader communities. Having lived almost his life in Singapore, which was known as the cauldron of pluralism, Abdullah was therefore familiar with the world of difference. Moreover, as I have noted in the previous chapter, Abdullah had had a close

[140] Indian Ocean communities were previously thought to be tied with the "elements of commonality." According to Sugata Bose, a religious activity like pilgrimage was among those elements. A scholar like Edward Simpson defied this notion in which he argued that the Indian Ocean societies were, in fact, constituted of the world of inequality. He emphasized the fact that travel around these waters created "hierarchical and divided societies." See: Sugata Bose. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge, MA [etc.]: Harvard University Press, 2006; Edwards Simpson, "Indian Ocean,' in Gita Dharampal-Frick, Monika Kirloskar-Steinbach, Rachel Dwyer, and Jahnavi Phalkey, eds., *Key Concepts in Modern Indian Studies* (New York, 2015), 116.

[141] Kenneth Mcpherson, "Port Cities as Nodal Points of Change: The Indian Ocean, 1890s–1920s." *In Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, 1890--1920, 75. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, p. 75

engagement with the British government, which underpinned his association with broader communities. Despite his preceding interaction with the world of difference, Abdullah could not refrain from experiencing a culture shock while visiting foreign lands.

Abdullah's first touch was in Alfiah (Alappuzha), a city located in southwestern India.[142] Having stayed only six days in Alappuzha was already sufficient to leave a memorable yet shocking experience to him. His stop thence also indelibly marked his direct engagement with the wider Indian Ocean community. Abdullah was shocked when he went on shore, seeing most women close to the state of utter naked. As he detailed, "hundreds to thousands of women, young or old, were unclothed, and their breasts were dangling down."[143] Unlike their Hindu counterparts, Abdullah recounted that Muslim women wore amicable garments. A similar encounter also happened when he visited Calicut in which he observed that the majority of thence women did not wear anything on their bodies.[144] Another incredible experience was when he noticed that almost half of the indigenous people were begging alms from the foreigners.[145]

Even though his overall experience in Alappuzha was cast as bewildering ones as he had to witness something that he considered uncivilized, he was still stunned by other things surrounded that area. He recalled there were ten mosques in Alappuzha in which only two were used.[146] Abdullah did not further explain what happened to the other eight mosques. It can be suggested that the other mosques were probably abandoned.

He also paid attention to the surrounding environments, including its flora and fauna, as he recounted that there were many wild animals, including elephants, tigers, rhinos, boar, and wolves. Moreover, as he recounted, various birds such as peacocks and ravens were native to the region. He also added that besides the natives, newcomers settled in the area coming from neighboring areas such as Keling and Maman. The Indian merchant caste, Ceti, could also be found there, doing business ventures with migrant merchants or indigenous people.[147]

While he was in Alappuzha, he also took his time to walk further inside the land. Walking three days from Alappuzha, he arrived at the land which King Tirwanenda Puram ruled.

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[142] Abd Allāh B Munšī and Kassim Bin Ahmad. *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah: Ke Kelantan Dan Ke Judah*. Cet.ke-7 (Ejaan Baru) ed. Siri Kajian Sastera Fajar Bakti. (Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti, 1981), 99.
[143] Kasim Ahmad, *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*, 96.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid., 97-8.
[146] Ibid., 101.
[147] Ibid., 97.

The kingdom was under the British government's direct rule; hence as Abdullah recounted, the kingdom had to pay tribute as much as eight *licum* or 800,000 *rupiahs*. There prevailed a peculiar custom in which commodities like salt, tobacco, black pepper, and elephant tusks were forbidden to bring inside. This is reasonable for commodities such as black pepper and elephant tusk were native in this area.[148]

From Alappuzha, Abdullah plied his way up to Calicut. He boarded the vessel in which was laden with other fifty Bengal Muslims.[149] When the vessel was about to reach the coast, Abdullah noticed the highest tower, which turned out to be a lighthouse made of bricks. It was placed to guide every ship that would anchor during the nighttime. He stayed in Calicut for eight days.[150] Abdullah's first impression of Calicut was that it was grand. Unlike Alappuzha, Calicut was more cosmopolitan.[151] He described the city as much more prominent than Alappuzha.

Moreover, the city's arrangement was well-order, reflecting today's cosmopolitan city. One of the many things that had him perplexed was that the city had a mosque that had been around for five hundred years. Even though Abdullah did not explicitly mention the mosque's name, other literary works revealed the mosque name, Nakhudah Mithqal, also known as Mitqalpalli.[152]

[148] Ibid., 96-97.
[149] Ibid., 99.
[150] Ibid., 104.
[151] Calicut started to emerge as an entrepôt within the India's southwest coast in the early fourteenth century. Having visited the city in the 1330s, a Chinese traveler Wang Dayuan described the city as the main port for the foreigners in the Western Ocean, catering for the trade across the Arabian Sea. Around the same time, Ibn Battutah delineated Calicut as a one of the largest ports to have been visited by "merchants from China, Java, Ceylon, the Maldives, Yemen, and Persia." See R. Ptak, "Wang Dayuan," in G. Berkemer (ed.), *Exploration in the History of South Asia. Essays in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001), 49; Defrémery and Sanguinetti (eds. And trans.), *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* IV, 88-9; Gibb and Beckingham (trans.), *Travels of Ibn Battuta,* IV, 99-100 as cited in Sebastian R Prange, *Monsoon Islam*. Cambridge Oceanic Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. 43
[152] Abd Allāh B Munšī, *Kisah Pelayaran* Abdullah, p. 135. The mosque was considered as the grandest mosque in Calicut. It is situated in the Kuttichara neighborhood, not too far from the main harbor. The mosque was argued to be around since the fourteen century in which upon his visit to Calicut, Ibn Batuta made remarks on the city, "And in this town (Calicut) lives widely known nakhudah Mithqal, who possesses vast wealth and many ships for his trade with India, China, Yemen, and Persia.

Figure 3.1 The fourteen-century built mosque "Mitqalpalli" in Calicut
Image copyright by Sebastian R Prange.[153]

Abdullah made the last touch in at Mocha before reaching Jeddah. Similar to his last journey, Abdullah's interest rested primarily on the appearance of the city. A brief visit in Mocha had him perplexed because most of the city's edifices were grand and tall. With regards to the food, as he described, it was served in a large portion and at a reasonable price. People who settled there mostly were Arabs and Bedouins, but a small portion of Hindus could also be found there.

To conclude, Abdullah's account did not specify direct engagement with peoples or societies. Indeed, now and then, Abdullah often indeliberately mentioned whom he traveled with but did not further describe the figures. Rather than indulge with society in general, Abdullah's account rested primarily on his observation towards the surrounding areas. Abdullah's overall

[153] Sebastian R Prange. *Monsoon Islam*. Cambridge Oceanic Histories. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 132.

impression of the Indian Ocean communities was mixed. His account was not entirely predicated on negative things. Indeed, he was baffled by the fact that Hindu women did not wear anything on their bodies, but he was also overwhelmed by certain cities' grandness, such as Calicut and Mocha. His account did not explicitly mention the Indian Ocean community as a whole.

II. Cholera Epidemic and Kamaran Quarantine

This sub-chapter will rest primarily on Wiranatakusuma's account during his stay for quarantine in Kamaran Island in 1924. From the late nineteenth century, Kamaran Island, located on the southern tip of the Red Sea, turned into a barrier arena for blocking cholera spread from the south, including the South and Southeast Asia. Making a quarantine post was first proposed during the third International Sanitary Conference of 1866 in Istanbul. At the time, a series of arrangements were reached, including measures to prevent "the murderous waves of cholera" that had crippled the world since it was first reported in 1830.[154]

As we have noted in the previous chapter, cholera was widespread in the nineteenth century and continued even so until the twentieth century. Hence, the cholera epidemic was cast as a global concern that drew reaction from many countries to solve this imminent problem. In so doing, the International Sanitary Conference was convened to discuss measures to deal with the cholera epidemic. The first International Sanitary Conference was held for the first time in Paris in 1851. Until the turn of the twentieth century, the International Sanitary Conference was held ten times, where three of them incited tangible results. The conference's primary concern was to learn and find measures to combat the cholera epidemic pervasive, particularly in Europe and Asia.

In the nineteenth century, cholera was first spotted in Europe, in Russia in 1829, and then quickly spread to Poland and Austria. Cholera was first discovered in the Hijaz in 1821, eight years early before it finally arrived in Europe.[155] The origin of the disease agreed to have originated from India, in which it was spread through overland travels.[156] Although cholera had been pervasive around Europe even before 1865, it was not until the 1865 cholera outbreak that

[154] Mark Harrison. "Quarantine, Pilgrimage, and Colonial Trade: India 1866-1900." *The Indian Economic and Social History* Review 29, no. 2 (1992): 117-44; Norman Howard-Jones. *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences, 1851-1938*. History of International Public Health ; No. 1. 811921387. Geneva: Albany: World Health Organization ; Available from Q, 1975, 30.
[155] Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey,* 135.
[156] Mark Harrison. "Quarantine, Pilgrimage, and Colonial Trade: India 1866-1900." 117-44; Norman Howard-Jones. *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences, 1851-1938*, 9-11.

the imperial government eventually started to take the tough act to curb the disease's spread. This had to do because 1865 was a greater pilgrimage, meaning more Muslims from far-flung lands went on to make a pilgrimage in the Hijaz. A similar situation was repeated in 1885 when the year cast as a greater pilgrimage, which eventually increased the number of people who died from the cholera outbreak. The British Indian government began to increase its surveillance in the Red Sea after the cholera outbreak in 1865.[157]

In adherence to the International Sanitary agreements, the Dutch East Indies government also followed the disease's measures. Muslim subjects from the Dutch Indies had to undergo a screening test upon arriving at Kamaran Island. For pilgrims from South and Southeast Asia, Kamaran was their entry point before entering the Jeddah port. Pilgrims would undergo a series of medical screenings against contagious diseases such as cholera, typhoid, and fever before eventually proceed to their end destination. Under the old system, pilgrims had to remain at the quarantine post for ten days despite how healthy they might have been.[158] Soon after pilgrims reached the shore, both vessel and pilgrims (pilgrims' belongings include) would be showered in Lysol, which believed to extinguish the bacteria proliferated on board. The system was updated in the 1894 International Sanitary Conference in which should no cholera occurred during the voyage, pilgrims did not have to detain on the island and would only undergo inspection onshore.[159] The island was under Ottoman supervision, but after the British forcibly acquired the Island in a bomb invasion of 1915, Kamaran became the British control.[160]

Now let us take a closer look at how Wiranatakusuma experienced and perceived the Kamaran quarantine during his 24-hour stop at the island. It is crucial to bear in mind that his privilege as a Bandung regent inherently influenced how he experienced his whole journey at Kamaran Island. We should not, therefore, oversimplify his whole experience to be applicable to such ordinary pilgrims. During his time on the island, he was always accompanied by the Indian doctor, which underscoring his privileged status. While his privilege was perceived to be eased his whole experience, Wiranatakusuma nonetheless would still meet an array of discomforts. His account suggested quarantine confinement was no better than the onboard situation fraught with

[157] Michael C. Law. "Empire and The Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1908." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008): 269-90.
[158] The Times, June 6, 1885 (accessed September 2, 2020)
[159] The Times, April 5, 1894 (accessed September 4, 2020)
[160] Gülden Sariyildiz, and Oya Dağlar Macar. "Cholera, Pilgrimage, and International Politics of Sanitation." In *Plague and Contagion in the Islamic Mediterranean*, 243. Arc Humanities Press, 2017, 270.

unending discomfort, ignited by lack of overall sanitary both on foods or living conditions. Although the quarantine was intended to break the cholera epidemic chain, it became a hotpot of various unsanitary conditions. As Wiranatakusuma recalled, seeing how unhygienic the native inhabitants were, it was not very surprising that pilgrims could barely regain their health.

Wiranatakusuma's complaints about the overall service even began when his vessel was about to anchor at the island. Upon disembarking from the port, a *stoombarkast* come to fetch the passengers down. He described the state of the boat in which was far from clean. Given the harbor of Kamaran Island was not suitable for docking, the steamer anchored quite far from the shore.[161] The general impression over the Island was far from satisfactory. The inhabitants, who mostly were Africans and Arabs, looked foul and shabby. Upon arriving at the island, Wiranatakusuma recounted, "there had been sick people everywhere, and Arab and African women on their dirty clothes wondered about the island."[162] His account suggested that not even once had he seen any native inhabitants who carried basic hygiene rules. Rudimentary facilities such as quarantine bedrooms and toilets were filthy hence emitted unbearable stench.[163]

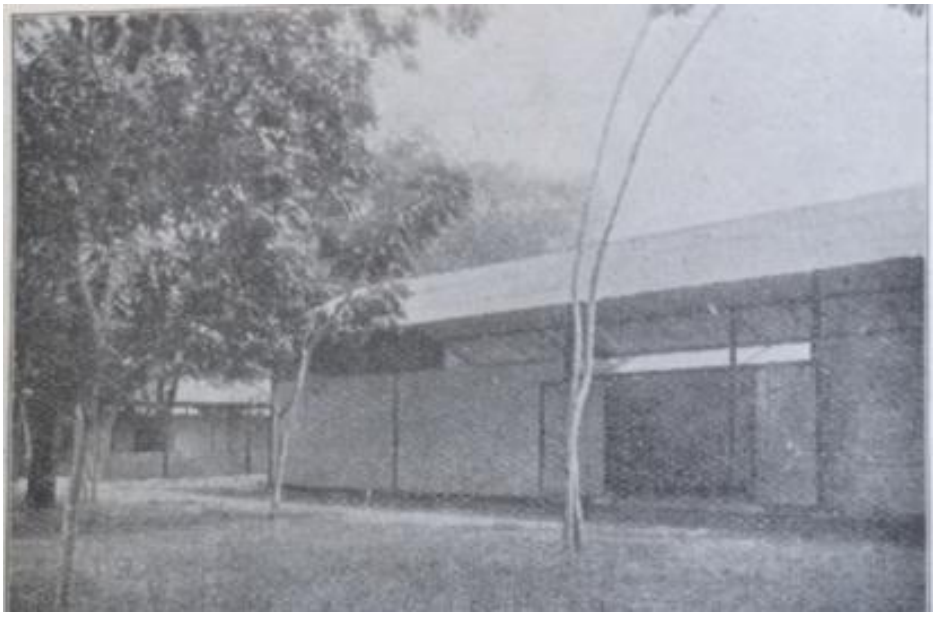

Figure 3.2 The quarantine ward at Kamaran Island
Source: Bovene and Wiranata Koesoema. *Perdjalanan Saja Ke Mekah*, 18.

[161] Bovene and Wiranata Koesoema. *Perdjalanan Saja Ke Mekah*, 15.
[162] Ibid., 16.
[163] Ibid., 20.

He also highlighted a staggering experience when he paid a visit to a local restaurant owned by Moroccan. At the time, he was accompanied by an Indian doctor. Knowing nothing but a little of the local custom and traditions, it is inevitable that Wiranatakusuma was experiencing a culture shock. He recalled that when he was offered the food, he could not help but noticed the way Moroccan man served the food was far from hygiene. The food was also from his liking where although the Moroccan cast the food to be delicious, for Wiranatakusuma, it almost made his stomach upset.[164]

While Wiranatakusuma's broad experiences were fraught with complaints and discomforts, we should recognize how good he was at depicting the real situation on Kamaran island. From Wiranatakusuma observation, we could glean knowledge upon the ethnic variation that resided on the island. As he explained, besides the two doctors on board, pilgrims were fetched by two British Indian doctors. There was a Hindu female doctor of which was assigned to inspect the female pilgrims. In addition to Arabs and Africans, there were also Moroccans, Indians, Malays, and Indies (Javanese, Batak, Sundanese, etc.). It vouched to say that Kamaran served as the center of cholera control and a nexus of humans intermingling. As Wiranatakusuma recounted, the island was inhabited by approximately 600 people. Besides the wards for quarantine, there was also a residential area and few shops and restaurants.[165] The quarantine area was fenced up and guarded by the Arabs and African polices.

Conclusion

This chapter revealed the experiences of stopping at various places in the Indian Ocean as observed and recounted by Abdullah and Wiranatakusuma. Abdullah's experience was centered on the nineteenth century, underscored by occasional touching at different ports along the Indian Ocean basin. His account revealed diverse kinds of communities, nature, and the environment. Despite coming from Singapore, which was known as a melting pot of pluralism, he could not restrain himself from experiencing the cultural difference when he visited Alappuzha. A similar experience was also shared by Wiranatakusuma on his brief journey at Kamaran island for quarantine purposes. Having stayed there only for twenty-four hours was sufficient to leave

[164] Ibid., 20.

[165] See also Gülden Sariyildiz, and Oya Dağlar Macar. "Cholera, Pilgrimage, and International Politics of Sanitation." In *Plague and Contagion in the Islamic Mediterranean*, 243. Arc Humanities Press, 2017.

remarkable yet striking experiences. He cast the quarantine post's overall journey to be fraught with discomfort, including inadequate maintenance of quarantine facilities. Regarding diversity, he did mention that many ethnicities resided on Kamaran station, including Arabs, Morrocans, Indies, and Malays.

Conclusion

The nineteenth-century witnessed an increase in the number of Muslims who plied to Hijaz from far-flung lands. Owing primarily to the advent of the steamship and better sea-voyage service, the length of passage could be reduced significantly. However, steamship reserved for the Hajj traffic had only been operating from the 1860s. Before the ubiquitous steamships, sailing boats owned mostly by Arabs had been catering for Hajj transportation. Moreover, the nineteenth century was also marked by a surge in printing in vernacular languages. Hence, Muslims began documenting their voyage in the form of travel diaries in which later can be published and read by the broader public.

This thesis has given a voice that is often expunged in the grand narrative of colonial Hajj. It mainly dealt with the social aspect embedded in the Hajj oceanic transportation laden with Muslims from British and Netherlands East Indies. It sought how life on board was like in the two distinct periods; sailing boats and steamships. This thesis highlighted a range of characteristics pervasive on board, from everyday facts to a series of ship disasters. The thesis revealed the typical characteristic that adorned the oceanic voyage. It highlighted the fact that the moving societies of Hajj vessels inherently reflected the in-land communities where hierarchy and class distinctions were common categories. Pilgrims with better financial means could secure suitable lodgings on board, whereas the pauper passengers frequently lodged on the ship's decks. This thesis also revealed the Hajj agents played significant roles in transporting Muslims to the Red Sea.

In the early years of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Hajj voyage was still relatively a private enterprise. Singapore tended to be the starting point of the Hajj voyage, where Muslims from diverse places in the archipelago would congregate therein. It generally took months or even a year for pilgrims before eventually reaching the Jeddah port. The nineteenth-century Hajj voyage was also underscored by occasional stops along the Indian Ocean basin. Abdullah and Raden were among many who had to. Sailing in the dawn of the sailing era, both Abdullah and Raden had to undergo a long, arduous passage to fulfill a religious duty. This characteristic would no longer exist in the *fin de siècle* when the steamships came into domination.

In the late nineteenth century, the Dutch Indies government started to pay attention to her Muslim subjects' increased movement. In this case, the colonial government inadvertently

showed binary attitudes in dealing with Hajj regulations. On the one hand, the government wanted to facilitate Hajj transportation but was also scared lest such massive mobility of Muslims would escalate cholera dissemination. Although Pan-Islamism had only begun to poke the government stability at the turn of the twentieth century, it was still unsettling to the government sovereignty on account of the 1865 Sepoy rebellion in India. The government feared such an incident would inspire the Indies' subjects to go against the government if they let them went to the Hijaz, which was considered a confluence of Indian rebels.

Nonetheless, from the late nineteenth century, the government began to involve in the Hajj enterprise by regulating its transportation. Working with the private agents, the government attempted to control the stream of Indies Muslims who went to the Hijaz. While the Dutch believed to have had significantly controlled the flow of Muslims bound for the Red Sea, Indies Muslims still had options in choosing the kinds of voyage they wanted. Indies Muslims often evaded colonial regulation by sailing to Singapore. Therein was cast as the confluence of Hajj agents who provided service for Muslims transportation. Ironically, despite sharing religious beliefs, the Hajj agents incurred unending difficulties for the pilgrims. Swindling was a common characteristic of Hajj transportation. Their agents promised pilgrims to go onboard if they handed a large sum of money but were left in Singapore after they got their aims. Thus, these Muslims were called "Hajj Singapore" because they have spent all their expenses in Singapore and therefore could not carry on their journey to the Red Sea.

The Hajj voyage in the steamship era was represented through the accounts of Dja Endar Muda and Wiranatakusuma. They both plied to the Red Sea in the early decades of the twentieth century. Their accounts suggested that although the passage length had been cut, the onboard situations were still underscored by many discomforts. Pilgrims would still experience a range of discomforts instigated by natural conditions and worsened by the ship's filthy state. Given the shipowner wanted to acquire as much profit, they tended to load as many passengers on the ship. Most Hajj ships were proved to be unseaworthy. When encountering unfavorable weather situations, vessels would often meet in danger. In addition to natural disasters, overcrowding and lack of sanitation also became the prime concerns. These unfavorable circumstances could generate numerous diseases, such as cholera and small-pox. Due to a lack of adequate sanitation and continuous exposure to on-deck winds, it would eventually exacerbate Muslims' health.

This thesis has also incorporated dimensions that extend the on-deck situations. In the days of sailing, pilgrims would often call at diverse ports waiting for favorable seasons. This occurred to Abdullah in which he incorporated his experiences while touching at numerous places in the Indian Ocean. A similar situation also occurred to Wiranatakusuma, where he had to undergo quarantine at the Kamaran Island in 1924. What emerged from their accounts signified that the Indian Ocean communities, which Sugata Bose and other scholars thought to be tied with the aspect of communality, were constituted of a world of difference. This applied to Abdullah and Wiranata Kusuma as their accounts revealed the engagement with the Indian Ocean communities. Abdullah as his account suggests that it was his first encounter with a community which had different cultural value with where he came from. Seeing naked women for the first time indeed would impart a surprise reaction. This was an example where the Indian Ocean community constituted with the aspect of difference. Wiranata Kusuma also shared a similar reaction through his observation in Kamaran Island that they were different in hygiene or food preference.

Central to this thesis was how Indies and Malay Muslims experienced the voyage to Mecca during two distinct periods; sailing boats and steamships. First, before the Hajj enterprise was under the Dutch government's direct supervision, it was the Arab-Hadramis traders who dominated the business. Second, both sailing and steamship periods were fraught with discomfort and difficulties in the Hajj oceanic voyage. The characteristic of life on board was marked by class hierarchy, where the wealthy one resided on the cabins while the pauper pilgrims resided on the deck. Third, the Indian Ocean community, which was previously thought to be tied with communality, was constituted of a world of difference.

The thesis has included a reflection on how Muslims experienced the arduous sea voyage. I limited myself to the stories told by four elite pilgrims and the public source like newspapers. Adding an outside voice like the disguised British was also crucial because it gave us a better comparison. Being a Western did not dismiss the fact that he had to lodge in a third passenger class. This thesis's findings have shed light on Hajj's scholarship, which previously was mainly investigated through the gaze of political or economic dimensions. Juxtaposing those kinds of sources had rendered us sufficient insight about Hajj at sea. What emerged most of this investigation is the Hajj travel by sea was invariably underscored by struggling and turbulence. Both public newspapers and travelogues highlighted dramatic incidents that were pervasive *en*

route to Mecca while obscuring most mundane characteristics on the Hajj vessel. Therefore, a future investigation needs to incorporate various sources to render us a complete picture of the Hajj oceanic transportation.

Moreover, if we want to focus on a mere subaltern people, we have to look elsewhere. Travel diaries represented only a fragment of a more complicated story. We could turn to the other actors who were also involved in the Hajj voyage. Incorporating ship journals written by captain and ship registers which mostly incorporated the pilgrims' testimonies, could be employed for future inquiry.

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