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On His Netherlands Majesty's Service: The Remarkable Journeys of the Dutch Corvette-of-war *Pollux* in the Indies/Indonesia and Around the World, 1824-1838

Au service de sa Majesté des Pays-Bas : les voyages remarquables de la corvette de guerre néerlandaise Pollux aux Indes/Indonésie et autour du monde, 1824-1838

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Introduction

Visitors to Amsterdam interested in a different dining experience could until recently take their meal on board a former Dutch maritime training vessel, the three-masted sailing bark (*barkschip*) *Pollux*. For long (1940-84) anchored at Prins Hendrikkade (Oosterdok) and then (1984-99) near the Maritime Museum (*Het Scheepvaartmuseum*) on the Kattenburgerplein,¹ this sailing ship, built at the Rederij Verschure in Amsterdam and launched on 9 September 1940, is the successor to a line of Dutch warships and training vessels bearing this name which have served in the Dutch Navy since at least the mid-eighteenth century.² After the Dutch restoration to their East Indies colony on 19 August 1816 following the Napoleonic Wars (1803-15), at least three naval vessels named the *Pollux* have served in the Dutch East Indies fleet: a schooner/yacht, a bark (*barkschip*), and, most famous of all, a corvette-of-war (Dutch: *oorlogskorvet*) (1824-38). It is with the last that this essay is concerned.

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1. Originally called 'Pollux Eten en Drinken' (2006-2014), this restaurant located at Pier 6 of the NSDM Wharf in Amsterdam-Noord, closed in October 2014 and reopened in May 2015 as the Pollux-Pacific restaurant specialising in Indo-Asian food, see <https://www.dutch-amsterdam.nl/205-pollux>.

2. The earliest reference to a warship in the Dutch navy with the name *Pollux* can be traced to the Seven Years War (1756-63) when the frigate *Pollux* (Captain Jan Jacob van Hoey) helped to guard Dutch neutrality and freedom of navigation for its merchant marine, see *Amsterdamse Courant*, 22-09-1759; and *Middelburgse Courant*, 25-09-1759.

Plate 1 – The *Pollux* at anchor in Nuku Hiva Island in the Marquesas Islands (post-1880, French Polynesia) in late May 1825 during its maiden voyage around the world with the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen* from Texel to Java via Cape Horn (23 August 1824–30 August 1825) and then back to Texel (1 April–30 November 1827). Image taken from Pieter Troost Gzn, *Aanteekeningen gehouden op eene reis om de wereld; met het Fregat de Maria Reigersberg [sic] en de Korvet Pollux, in de Jaren 1824, 1825, en 1826* (Rotterdam: De Weduwe J. Allart, 1829), p.172 facing.

The Corvette, its Captain and its Maiden Voyage: Halfway Round the World, 1824-25

This corvette *Pollux* was laid down at the state shipyard—Rijkswerf—in Rotterdam in November 1822 and constructed by the Rotterdam shipbuilder, Pieter Glavimans (c.1720-87). Launched two years later on 13 March 1824 (Plates 1 and 2), it entered Dutch naval service on 16 May 1824. With a length of 36 meters and a beam of 10 meters, it carried 28 guns (two six-pounder bow

Plate 2 – One of a set of three designs for the *Pollux* signed by the then 81-year-old Dutch Minister of the Marine, Joan Cornelis van der Hoop (1742-1825; in office 1781-95, 1813-25), in the Dutch Navy Ministry in The Hague on 23 November 1823, NL-HaNA_4_MST_235_002.

guns, and 26 32-pounder carronades), although after 1832, only ten remained, as we will see shortly.³ It had a crew complement of 150 officers and men. Its first commanding officer, Christiaan Eeg (1774-1832), appointed on 16 April 1824, was a Dutchman of Danish descent—his father, a Dane, also named Christiaan (1736-1811), born in Copenhagen, listed his profession as ‘pirate hunter’ (*coureur des mers*), was close family with the shipbuilder, Pieter Glavimans (c. 1720-87), whose daughter, Elisabeth Glavimans (1746-1805), he married. Pieter’s other children, Katharina (born 1749) and Jannetje (born 1747), served as his grandson, the future Captain (*kapitein-ter-zee*’s), godparents when he was baptised in the Remonstrant Church in Rotterdam on 22 August 1774.⁴

After joining the Dutch navy in September 1808, Eeg rose rapidly becoming a First Lieutenant (*luitenant-ter-zee eerste klasse*) on 11 July 1814 and *kapitein-ter-zee* fifteen years later (1 July 1829).⁵ Together with Flag Captain Fredrik (sic)

3. <http://warshipsresearch.weblog.nl/warships/2009/2008/dutch-warships-1.html>, accessed 1-08-2011.

4. <http://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-hajenius/1230.php>, accessed 10-08-2011.

5. NL-HaNA2.12.14_5_0047 and 4_14_0071 (*Register* and *Staat van Dienst* Christiaan Eeg).

Coertzen (1771-1832) of the frigate, *Maria Reigersbergen* (Plate 3), he achieved almost immediate fame when he was selected to make a 30,000 nautical mile round-the-world voyage via the Guinea Coast (St George Del Mina, also spelt Elmina), Uruguay (Montevideo) and Argentina (Buenos Aires), Cape Horn, Chile (Valparaíso), Peru (Lima) and the South Pacific (Nuku Hiva, Marquesas, post -1880 French Polynesia) in 1824-26 in his newly launched vessel. This epic voyage, which resulted in the discovery by the *Pollux* on 14 June 1825 of a previously unknown island in the South Pacific, Fenua Tapu (*Nederlandsch Eiland* / Netherlands Island), an islet of the Nui atoll in the current Pacific Ocean State of Tuvalu,⁶ became the subject of a best-selling account by the naval officer, First Lieutenant Pieter Troost (1791-1846), who accompanied the voyage. Entitled, *Aanteekeningen gehouden op eene reis om de wereld; met het Fregat de Maria Reigersberg [sic] en de Korvet Pollux, in de Jaren 1824, 1825, en 1826* [Notes made during a voyage around the world with the Frigate *Maria Reigersberg* [sic] and the Corvette *Pollux* in the Years 1824, 1825 and 1826], it was published by De Weduwe J. Allart in Rotterdam in 1829, and was widely advertised in the Dutch press, its sales boosted by its many fine line drawings and illustrations. These included an oil painting of the two ships under sail in stormy weather on 10 February 1825 after rounding Cape Horn by the Maltese-born artist, Nicolas Cammillieri (c. 1762-1860), and sketches and maps drawn by Troost himself. The book made both the *Maria Reigersbergen* and the *Pollux* household names in the Netherlands in the late 1820s.

Arrival in Wartime Java: Floating Prison and Coastal Patrols, 1825-27

But the romantic image portrayed in Troost's travel account was very different from the reality which confronted the officers and crew of the two warships when they eventually reached Surabaya on 30 August 1825.⁷ There they learnt that the Java War (1825-30) had just broken out (20 July 1825) and the Dutch were in disarray: Yogyakarta was under close siege by Diponegoro's forces, the ruler of Surakarta, Pakubuwono VI (r. 1823-30), was not dependable, and Diponegoro's ally on the north coast, Pangeran Serang II (c. 1794-1852), and his much-feared mother, Raden Ayu Serang (c. 1766-1855), were threatening Semarang. With an estimated force of 10-12,000 men and women fighters they had briefly (24-26 August) cut the vital trans-Java posting road (*postweg*) linking Batavia (post-1945, Jakarta) and Surabaya between Kandal and Pekalongan, a development which caused the Dutch to seek urgent help from the Sultans of Madura

6. On the discovery of Fenua Tapu (*Nederlandsch Eiland*), see Acda 1983:296-99. Contemporary press reports in *Utrechtse Volksblad*, 10-02-1826; and *The Australian*, 25-11-1826. Troost's sketches of the island and map can be found in Troost 1829:Plates VI-VIII. The last stage of the return voyage from Batavia to Texel (5 June-19 September 1826) only involved the *Maria Reigersbergen*, see *Bataviasche Courant*, 5-06-1826, 14-2-1827; *Middelburgse Courant*, 28-09-1826.

7. *Bataviasche Courant*, 7-09-1825.

Plate 3 – The Frigate *Maria Reigersbergen* and Corvette *Pollux* in stormy weather west of Cape Horn on 10 February 1825, beating upwind toward Valparaíso in Chile where they docked on 27–28 February, painting by Nicolas Cammilleri (c.1762–1860) in Pieter Troost Gzn, *Aanteekeningen gehouden op eene reis om de wereld* (1829), p.178, Image II.

(Pamekasan) and Sumenep. 3,600 Madurese pikemen (1,600 from Sumenep along with 350 infantry) were rushed to Semarang arriving on the very day (3 September) that a 400-strong force under command of Captain Hendrik Frederik Buschkens (1795–1869) was cut to pieces by Raden Ayu Serang's forces at the village of Dombo to the south of Demak (3 September). In their panicked flight back to Semarang, Buschkens' column lost nearly half its men, including 50 European sailors from the frigate, *Javaan*,⁸ anchored in Semarang, and a similar number of European infantry and local (*pribumi*) cavalry, along with twelve of the fifteen volunteers (*vrijwilligers*) from European agency houses in Semarang. On the night of 3–4 September 1825, Serang's forces encamped just two leagues

8. Launched in 1824 at Rembang on the north coast of Java, *Javaan* was built as an experiment with locally produced teak. Armed with 44 guns, it was commissioned into the Dutch navy on 15 October 1824, and saw service in Semarang at the beginning of the Java War (August–September 1825). It was then sent to the Netherlands in 1826 where it was dispatched to the Mediterranean (1827). After three years naval service in European waters, it returned to the Netherlands in September 1830 for refit and repair. But the costs were deemed to exceed *Javaan*'s continued value as a naval asset and it was scrapped sometime before 1 January 1834 when it is no longer listed on the Dutch Navy lists. Vermeulen 1966:7.

(three kilometers) from the centre of Semarang. If they had pressed home their attack, the principal Dutch city in Central Java might have fallen.⁹

The arrival of the *Maria Reigersbergen* and *Pollux* thus came at a very opportune moment for the hard-pressed Dutch commanders. Their arrival was celebrated in the Dutch press,¹⁰ the *Nederlandse Staatscourant* (4-02-1826) editorialising that:

“The unexpected arrival of this considerable force in Surabaya will provide the opportunity to temporarily base all other troops away from [that place] and therefore comes in very useful indeed [*Deze onverwacht aanzienlijke magt op Soerabaija aankomende zal gelegenheid geven om van daar tijdelijk alle andere troepen te kunnen ligten en komt dus uitnemend te pas*].”

The warships' first task was to transport the remaining 171 troops from the Surabaya garrison to Semarang, where they arrived on 8 September 1825 in time to repulse the last of Serang's forces from the environs of the city and later (17 November) to take part in the Dutch attack on his base in Purwodadi in the regency (*kabupaten*) of Grobogan.¹¹ At the same time, once in Semarang, they were also both immediately given a more sinister role—namely acting as floating prisons to house the former Regent (*bupati*) of Semarang, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V (c. 1775-1826; in office 1809-22) (Plate 4), and his eldest son, Raden Mas Saleh (post-1815, Raden Tumenggung Ario Notodiningrat, c. 1800-72), who had previously served as *bupati* of Probolinggo in the Eastern Salient (Oosthoek) of Java (1817-c.1821) and Lasem (c.1821-24).¹² After receiving two and a half years (1812-15) of high school education in Calcutta (Kolkata) on the initiative of the former British Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles (in office 1811-16), where he became fluent in English, Raden Mas Saleh (Notodiningrat) seemed to have a bright career before him. But his prospects were blighted both by his outspoken anglophile sentiments and the pull of his younger brother, Raden Mas Sukur (c. 1802-pre-March 1856; post-1825, Raden Hasan Mahmud's),

9. The desperate situation in Central Java in August and early September 1825 is described in detail in Infantry Captain Johannes (Jan) Baptiste Nicolaus van Theunissen's (1794-1827), 'Memorie over de Java Oorlog [Memorial on the Java War], a wartime diary 1825-27 written by a Surabaya-based infantry officer covering the first two years of the war, kept in the De Stuers Private Archive (Folder 68 no.337) in the Landgoed De Wiersse, Gelderland. I wish to record my gratitude to Peter and Laura Gatacre of Landgoed De Wiersse for permission to consult this archive in July 2017.

10. *Bataviasche Courant*, 7-09-1825, 14-09-1825, 28-09-1825; *Nederlandse Staatscourant*, 4-02-1826.

11. *Bataviasche Courant*, 14-09-1825. NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0122 (Logbook *Pollux*) mentions that in the attack on Purwodadi on 17 November a corporal, two marines and a sailor died. On the location of Purwodadi, see Schoel 1931:6.

12. *Nederlandse Staatscourant*, 4-02-1826. Kraus 2018:xxii.

identity as a Javanese Muslim. With the Java War raging in Central Java, Sukur had joined Pangeran Serang's forces to the south of Semarang in late August, his decision bringing immediate degradation, imprisonment and shame on the rest of his family.¹³ This was especially the case for his father and elder brother, who were thought—rightly—by the Dutch authorities to have been privy to his actions.¹⁴ Arrested in early September 1825 for being “privy to the rioting in Java” by the Resident of Semarang, Hendrik Jacob Domis (1782-1842; in office 1822-27), Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son were embarked on 9 September on the newly arrived warships where they were held separately, the first on the *Maria Reigersbergen* and the second on the *Pollux*. These vessels were now tasked as guardships (*wachtschepen*) in Semarang harbour where they remained at anchor for the next three months until December 1825, their elite Javanese prisoners having to endure the vicissitudes of shipboard arrest on a pitching and heaving sailing ship. As the gales of the oncoming West monsoon battered the north coast of Java with the *Pollux* losing her anchor on 4 November in the surging seas,¹⁵ Raden Mas Saleh (Notodiningrat) wrote in perfect English to Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1778-1848; in office 1816-26) from the *Pollux* on 15 December:

“I beg leave to address Your Excellency with these few lines, earnestly requesting of Your Excellency's goodness and generosity to take into consideration [...] the hard and unpleasant situation I am in by being on board ship in the present disagreeable Rainy or West Monsoon, which for these last three days [12-15 December] has blown so hard that I could scarcely stir out of my bed. And yet I am given to understand that it will still blow harder in the course of a few days more. Then, really, I know not how I shall endure it. May I beg, therefore, Your Excellency's kindness and humanity to remove me (before that dreadful time arrives) on shore, whether at Semarang, Pekalongan or Sumenep, or at the Fort of Orange [either Benteng Prins Oranje in the Poncol District of Semarang or Fort Prins van Oranje in Surabaya] should Your Excellency still deem it necessary to continue my imprisonment there.”¹⁶

On 23 December, eight days after this missive was sent,¹⁷ Raden Mas Saleh (Notodiningrat) was transferred to the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen*, which would transport both himself and his father to Surabaya on 1 February 1826.¹⁸

13. Carey 2008:364, 616.

14. NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0121 (Logbook *Pollux*) states that ‘*beiden waaren als verdagt van met de samenrottingen op Java bekend te zijn* [both were suspected of being familiar with the rioting in Java]’.

15. NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0121 (Logbook *Pollux*).

16. Soekanto, *Dua Raden Saleh, dua nasionalis dalam abad ke-19; Suatu halaman dari sejarah nasional Indonesia* (Djakarta: Poesaka Aseli, 1951), pp.23-24.

17. NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0123 (Logbook *Pollux*).

18. *Bataviasche Courant*, 8-02-1826 (refers to *Maria Reigersbergen*'s departure); 15-

Plate 4 – “Javanese Grandee and a Servant”, possibly a painting of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo, *bupati* of Semarang (c.1775-1826; in office, 1809-22), at his official residence in Torboyo (Semarang) circa 1811/12 by the young British artist, John Newman (c. 1795-1818), who was active in Java from 1811 to 1813. Watercolour on paper 18.3 x 32.7 cm. Photo courtesy of the British Library, London.

There they arrived on 4 February and were held for a further three weeks until 27 February when they were transferred to another guardship (*wachtschip*), the frigate (1808-24), *Dageraad*, before being released back to Semarang. There Suroadimenggolo went to an early grave (15 November 1826),¹⁹ after what was described in his obituary notice, written by Resident Domis, as ‘a lengthy decline’ (*eene langdurige sukkeling*), a condition hastened by his long months as a seaborne detainee on successive Dutch warships.

With the transfer of Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son to the *Dageraad* on 27 February 1826, the *Maria Reigersbergen* stayed on in Surabaya until the end of March 1826,²⁰ when it parted company with the *Pollux*, sailing west to Semarang and Batavia. On 5 June 1826, it eventually departed for the final leg of its round-the-world tour back to the naval dockyard at Den Helder, a journey of 11,354 nautical miles which it would complete in record time (108 days, 5 June-20 September 1826), an average of 105 nautical miles a day.²¹ The *Pollux*, meanwhile, remained in Surabaya, which would be its main base

02-1826 (refers to its arrival in Surabaya).

19. *Bataviasche Courant*, 6-12-1826.

20. *Bataviasche Courant*, 22-03-1826.

21. *Bataviasche Courant*, 7-06-1826, reported the *Maria Reigersbergen*’s departure from Batavia on 5 June 1826; while the *Middelburgse Courant*, 28-09-1826, reported that it had sailed past Dover heading for Texel on 19 September.

for the coming nine months until 29 September 1826, when it was tasked with undertaking an expedition to Pacitan with a detachment of 50 Madurese troops under Second Lieutenant François Auguste Schnorbusch (1796-1830) sent to quell a long-running uprising under Diponegoro's designated local commander, Amat Daris.²² In those nine months, the *Pollux* undertook regular sweeps along Java's north coast to the west—referred to as “*kruistochten* [cruises/patrols]” in the press reports—presumably designed to ‘show the flag’ and deter would-be arms smugglers, particularly British and Americans, seeking for ways to sell weapons to Diponegoro's forces.²³ It also transported troops between Surabaya and Semarang.²⁴

The drill when the *Pollux* encountered a vessel deemed potentially hostile or suspicious was described by the German army officer, Second Lieutenant Julius Heinrich Knoerle (1795-1833), tasked with accompanying Diponegoro to Manado on board the *Pollux* on his voyage into exile in May-June 1830. In his shipboard diary (Knoerle 1835:149-50, 156), Knoerle described how, when the corvette had just cleared the point of Ujung Pangkah near Gresik and was sailing along the north coast of Madura on 18 May 1830, “we saw a barque [three-masted trading vessel/schooner] a quarter of a mile in front of us heading westward. Our commander [Christiaan Eeg] ordered six guns in the battery to be loaded with shot,” The second occurred nine days later on 27 May 1830 when *Pollux* was crossing the Banda Sea from Flores towards the Wakatobi Islands off Southeastern Sulawesi. This time instead of just loading the battery, Eeg sent out an investigation party to inspect the ship's log and question its British captain:

22. See Christopher Reinhart (ed.), *Antara Lawu dan Wilis: Arkeologi, Sejarah dan Legenda Madiun Raya Berdasarkan Catatan Lucien Adam (Residen Madiun 1934-38)* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2021), pp.302-5. Captain Eeg's instructions and the 29 September 1826 departure from Surabaya through the Bali Straits for the Bay of Pacitan are mentioned in *Bataviasche Courant*, 11-10-1826. The *Pollux*'s ship's log, NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0150-0153, gives a detailed description of the corvette's 9-day stay in Pacitan Bay (14-23 October) where extraordinary precautions were initially undertaken, including flying the flag of a neutral country (? Denmark), when it entered the Bay on 14 October to avoid inciting the insurgents, only to find that the local *bupati*, Kiai Tumenggung Jogokaryo (in office 1819-26), working with the Dutch cash-crop estates overseer (*opziener*), Frederik Hartmann van Vlissingen (in office, 1825-circa 1830), had managed to clear Diponegoro's forces from Pacitan before the *Pollux*'s arrival. See further footnote 125.

23. On Dutch fears of foreign arms smuggling by the British and American traders, particular along Java's remote south coast, see *Journal* 1853-54:81; *Javasche Courant*, 21-08-1828; Carey 2019:285-6 note 166; 2021, Bagian II catatan 124.

24. See *Bataviasche Courant*, 22-03-1826, for a reference to the *Pollux* as a troop transport.

“A barque hove into view. Colonel²⁵ Eeg sent a sloop with an officer on board to this vessel. Diponegoro went up on the foredeck and asked me to accompany him. The speedy passage of our sloop which as it were cleft flying through the glassy mirror-like surface of the sea, caught the attention of the [Prince] and he laughed at the picturesquely fine view of the crew dressed in white, transmitting his joy to all of us. The ship before us was the *Regret* under the command of Captain [John] Kerr which had sailed from Banda on the 13th [sic. 15th] of May and was bound for Batavia [where it docked on 5 June] with a cargo of spices.”

These inspection patrols resumed for the *Pollux* following a brief stopover in Batavia (29 October-3 November 1826) after the completion of its Pacitan expedition (14-23 October).²⁶ By 16 November, the corvette was back at its Surabaya base.²⁷ There it remained until early March 1827 when it was directed to the shipyard repair facilities on Pulau Onrust in the Bay of Batavia. By now, three years had elapsed since its 24 March 1824 launch from the Rijkswerf (Dutch state shipyard) in Rotterdam and it had sailed nearly 30,000 nautical miles.²⁸ It was time for a refit. But Onrust did not have the facilities required to overhaul such a state-of-the-art vessel. In the same press report, which mentioned its presence at Onrust, came the news (13 March 1827) that it was being immediately ordered to return to the Netherlands.²⁹ Only the Dutch naval dockyard at Den Helder could provide the services required for a complete refit. But, given its less than prime condition, would it survive the return journey?

Homeward Bound: Surviving a Hurricane, April-November 1827

On 1 April 1827, *Pollux* weighed anchor and sailed out of Batavia Bay to begin its long journey back to the motherland.³⁰ It was carrying two senior naval officers from other commands as passengers,³¹ along with seven civilians and scores of troops from the Netherlands returning home. With its 150-strong crew complement, the small corvette had nearly 200 people aboard

25. ‘Colonel’ is how naval officers of *kapitein-ter-zee* rank are addressed in the Dutch navy.

26. The *Pollux*’s presence in Batavia on 1 November 1826 is mentioned in the *Journal de la Province de Limburg*, 16-03-1826; and its departure for Surabaya on 3 November 1826 in *Bataviasche Courant*, 8-11-1826.

27. *Bataviasche Courant*, 29-11-1826.

28. These included in nautical miles: (1) Texel to Elmina (3,915); (2) Elmina to Valparaíso (6,462); (3) Valparaíso to French Polynesia (4,256); (4) French Polynesia to Semarang via Ambon (5,869). Thus 20,502 nautical miles before *Pollux* even began its duties in the Indies/Indonesia from 30 August 1825 to 13 March 1827.

29. *Bataviasche Courant*, 14-03-1827.

30. *Bataviasche Courant*, 3-04-1827.

31. These were *kapitein-ter-zee* (later Vice-Admiral) Jean-Daniel Musquetier (1766-1831) and *luitenant-ter-zee eerste klasse*, G.H.C. Lutkens (died 1842), see *Bataviasche Courant*, 3-04-1827.

when it made its way through the Sunda Straits in the first week of April 1827. Little did the assembled company know what awaited them. It would be nine months before they set foot on Dutch soil, an epic voyage which almost ended in disaster. On 4/5 June, when it was just east of Cape Agulhas, the southernmost point of Africa, the *Pollux* ran into a violent westerly storm which blew at hurricane force,³² the sort which had sent both Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge's (1760-1807; East Indies Squadron commander, 1805-1807) flagship, HMS *Blenheim*, and his lead escort vessel, a recently captured Dutch frigate, H.M.S. *Java* (Captain The Honourable George Pigot), to the bottom with all hands just two decades previously (February 1807) (Plate 5).³³ The corvette survived—by dint of good seamanship—losing its foremast, bowsprit and rudder. But the ship's helmsman (*stuurman*) strongly urged Eeg that the exhausted ship's crew should be allowed to recuperate while emergency repairs were carried out at a convenient port.³⁴ As the westerly gale made it impossible to make Cape Town, and since Madagascar lacked suitable repair facilities, the *Pollux*'s commanding officer decided to head for Mauritius, a distance of 2,231 nautical miles. The journey, undertaken with a jury-rigged foremast and temporary rudder, took three weeks (6-30 June), and the *Pollux* eventually entered Port Louis on 1 July. It would spend the next five weeks (1 July–3 August) in the Mauritius capital undergoing repairs, which cost the Dutch Ministry of Marine and Colonies 34,575 guilders (US\$367,000 in today's [2021] money), with a further 15,000 guilders (US\$150,000) for revictualling.³⁵ By 3 August everything was complete. The corvette sailed the following day.³⁶ The home journey, which *Pollux*'s sister ship on the round-the-world tour, *Maria Reigersbergen*, had completed in just 108 days, would take more than twice as long (244 days), an average of just 46.5 nautical miles a day, and it would only dock at the naval dockyard of Nieuwediep in Den

32. NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0186-0187 (Logbook *Pollux*) described as 'een vliegende storm' with huge seas.

33. On the storm which struck the *Pollux*, see *Dagblad van 's-Gravenhage*, 3-12-1827; and *L'éclaircur politique; Journal de la province de Limbourg* (Maastricht), 5-12-1827 (*Pollux* [...] *a essuyé une grande tempête*). On the loss of HMS *Blenheim* with all hands in early February 1807 to the west of Rodrigues Island, see Gossett 1986:58.

34. NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0187-0188 (Logbook *Pollux*).

35. NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0193-0194 (Logbook *Pollux*). All currency conversions use the historical currency conversion website "Measuring Worth" (Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1270 to [the] Present- Measuring Worth), which can be found at: <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/>.

36. *Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant*, 6-10-1827; *Leydse Courant*, 9-11-1827; *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 17-11-1827; NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0196 (Logbook *Pollux*).

Plate 5 – “The Loss of H.M.S. *Blenheim* and H.M.S. *Java* in a Hurricane off Rodriguez [sic Rodrigues Island 500 nautical miles east of Mauritius], the Brig *Harrier* Escaping, February 1807” by Thomas Buttersworth (1768-1842), c.1820. Oil on canvas, 31.8 x 44.5 cm. Photograph courtesy of Christies, London.

Helder on 30 November 1827.³⁷ By then, the hardships endured on the home journey had sent one of its youngest officer cadets, the seventeen-year-old midshipman (*Adelborst der eerste klasse*) Tegnagel, to an early grave.³⁸

Return to the Indies and Diponegoro’s Exile Journey, 16 November 1829-19 June 1830

The rigours of three years at the helm as the ship’s commanding officer were now mitigated for Eeg when he was given a 20-month (5 December 1827-29 July 1829) leave of absence while his ship was put out of commission pending repairs. During this time *Pollux* was given a complete overhaul at the Nieuwediep naval shipyard in Den Helder, the work only being completed in late August 1829.³⁹ Gazetted as Captain (*kapitein-ter-zee*) on 1 July 1829, Eeg was now (29 July

37. *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 4-12-1827.

38. *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 11-12-1827 (obituary notice for Henri Louis Marguerite Baron Gansneb, genaamd Tegnagel [1810-27], who died four days out of Port Louis, Mauritius, on 8 August 1827).

39. *Middelburgse Courant*, 25-08-1829. The naval shipyard proper at Den Helder was known post-1822 as Willemsoord. It replaced the former Nieuwe Werk alias Kielplaats.

Plate 6 – The six-week voyage of the *Pollux* with Diponegoro from Batavia to Manado from 3 May–12 June 1830, and his subsequent voyage to Makassar on the three-masted schooner *Circe* from 20 June–11 July 1833. Map drawn by J. Wilbur Wright, Oxford.

1829) tasked with sailing his corvette back to the Indies—the *Pollux* departed Den Helder on 16 November 1829⁴⁰—with the commander of the Dutch Indies fleet (*Commandant en chef Zijner Majesteits Zeemagt in Oostindiën*), kapitein-luitenant-ter-zee (Commander) Johan Friederich Christiaan Wardenburg (1776–1839), as his principal passenger.⁴¹ Little did the Rotterdam-born Eeg know that just over a month after his arrival in Batavia on 22 March 1830,⁴² he would be given an even more extraordinary assignment, namely the transport of the principal leader of the recently ended (28 March 1830) Java War, Prince Diponegoro (1785–1855) (Plate 7), and his 19-strong party, into exile in Manado in North Sulawesi.

The *Pollux*'s presence in Indies waters was reported on 20 March 1830 when it was seen passing through the Sunda Straits and two days later it had anchored in Batavia roads.⁴³ Following its return, the *Pollux* undertook one sortie—most likely for training purposes for its sea cadets—through the Sunda Strait between 5–11 April 1830.⁴⁴ By the time it returned, Diponegoro and his party had already arrived in the colonial capital from Semarang (8 April)

40. *Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant*, 19-11-1829 and *Leydse Courant*, 20-11-1829, reported *Pollux*'s sailing past Texel on 16 November 1829 having departed Den Helder.

41. *Dagblad van 's-Gravenhage*, 20-11-1829.

42. *Javasche Courant*, 25-03-1830.

43. *Javasche Courant*, 23-03-1830, 25-03-1830.

44. *Javasche Courant*, 10-04-1830 (reporting departure of *Pollux* on 5 April 1830 and its passage through the Sunda Strait); and *Javasche Courant*, 15-04-1830 (reporting return of *Pollux* to Batavia roads on 11 April 1830).

Plate 7 – Pencil sketch of Diponegoro by Adrianus Johannes (Jan) Bik. It shows him dressed in the ‘priestly’ garments which he wore during the Java War, namely a turban, an open-necked *kabaya* (cotton shirt) and a *jubah* (loose outer robe). A sash hangs over his right shoulder and his *pusaka kris* (heirloom dagger), Kanjeng Kiai Bondoyudo (Sir Duelling Without Weapons), is stuck in his flowered silk waist band. The slightly sunken cheeks, which accentuate the prince’s high cheek bones, were the result of successive bouts of malaria from which he had been suffering since his wanderings in the jungles of Bagelen and Banyumas at the end of the war. Photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

on the steamship, *SS Van der Capellen*, captained by the young Scotsman, Andrew Davidson (c.1809-31), whose brother, George Frank, would pen a vivid account of the prince’s landing in the colonial capital.⁴⁵ For the next three and a half weeks (8 April-3 May), Diponegoro was held in the Town Hall (*Stadhuis*). There he was under the supervision of the Batavia magistrate (*baljuw*), Adrianus Johannes (Jan) Bik (1790-1872), an accomplished artist who made a fine pencil sketch of his prisoner during his period of detention.

The prince’s extended stay in the colonial capital was due to the temporary illness of the newly arrived Governor-General, Johannes van den Bosch (in office, 1830-34). Since a formal decision (*besluit*) regarding Diponegoro’s exile destination and the conditions in which he would be held needed to be formalised, this could only be accomplished on 30 April 1830, when Van den Bosch had sufficiently recovered to review and sign the document.⁴⁶ Even before that decision had been taken, however, the *Pollux* had already been designated as the warship tasked with transporting Diponegoro and his party during their exile journey, its choice being made on the basis of its recent

45. Davidson 1846:9. “What a joyous place Batavia was in those days,” Davidson wrote, “with everybody thriving and the place alive and bustling with an active set of merchants from all parts of the world,” Bosma 2007:283.

46. Carey 2008:706-7, referencing *Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal buiten rade* [Decision of the Governor-General without the Council of the Indies], 30-04-1830 no.1.

refit in Nieuwediep (Den Helder), and the fact that it had very appropriate accommodation for Diponegoro, his three family members (wife, sister and brother-in-law) and thirteen followers. These were the '*Voorkajuit* [Fore Cabin],' recently used by Commander Wardenburg, and its two directly adjoining cabins, the first able to house the prince's immediate family, and the second, a long berth with multiple bunks, all his followers.⁴⁷

On the morning of 27 April, the Governor-General's military adjutant, Second-Lieutenant Knoerle (in office, 1829-31), had received his secret orders directly from Van den Bosch. These related to his mission as officer escort during the prince's voyage to Manado.⁴⁸ Knoerle's selection for this politically important mission was because of his supposed knowledge of Javanese, the Dutch military translator whom Diponegoro greatly respected, Captain Johan Jacob Roeps (1805-40), not being available because of his imminent home leave (early July 1830).⁴⁹ At the same time, the prince had been insistent to the Dutch authorities that he should be accompanied by an officer who could converse with him in his mother tongue rather than in Malay which he spoke poorly and which he found deeply distasteful.⁵⁰

On the afternoon of that same Tuesday, 27 April 1830, just a week before the corvette sailed for Manado, Knoerle came on board to inspect the facilities and to meet with Captain Eeg to discuss the details of the forthcoming journey as well as its political implications. By this time, a special allowance of 400 Indies guilders in silver money (US\$ 5,000 in present-day [2021] money) had been made available by the Director-General of Finances to defray the costs of the prince's six-week voyage to Manado.⁵¹ Three days later, on 30 April, with the Governor-General's official *besluit* (decision) in his pocket, Knoerle went to the *Stadhuis* to meet with Diponegoro and brief him about their forthcoming journey. By the following morning (1 May), the German officer had embarked permanently on the corvette to put everything in readiness. Although it had originally been envisaged that the prince would also embark with his party on the same day, there was a delay due to the need to prepare the *Voorkajuit* and its two adjoining cabins for the exiled leader and his party.⁵²

47. Knoerle 1835:166-67.

48. Carey 2008:711.

49. Carey 2008:711 note 160; Louw and De Klerck 1894-1908, II:283 note 2.

50. Carey 2008:106-7, 109, 711 note 161.

51. Carey 2008:710.

52. Carey 2008:716-7 note 176.

The *Pollux* also had to take on six weeks' supply of fresh water and food, no stopovers being envisaged because of the political sensitivities surrounding the corvette's principal passenger.⁵³ Eventually, at eight o'clock on the morning of Monday, 3 May, Diponegoro and his 19 followers came on board, accompanied by Roeps and the same Batavian city administration officials who had greeted the prince on his arrival from Semarang. They were met by Captain Eeg, his junior officers and the ship's doctor, Surgeon Major Hermanus Schillet (1794-1861), an expert on cholera,⁵⁴ whom the prince took an instant liking to because his face reminded him of the former British Resident, John Crawford (1783-1868; in office, 1811-14/1816), whom the prince greatly admired because of his fluency in Javanese.⁵⁵

Once the prince's luggage had been loaded, the city officials took their leave. Knoerle then saw to the furnishing of Diponegoro's cabin and repeated again the assurances given to him at the *Stadhuys* regarding the respect which would be paid to the women in his party. The prince had apparently shown particular anxiety that his two "*raden ayu* [noblewomen]" – namely his wife, Raden Ayu Retnoningsih (c. 1810-85) and younger sister, Raden Ayu Dipowiyono (born c.1806) – might be insulted or otherwise taken advantage of by the Dutch crew.⁵⁶ There being no wind the corvette rode at anchor for almost a day and a night (3-4 May), much to Diponegoro's annoyance. But, at five o'clock the following morning, 4 May, a light breeze began to blow off the land and the corvette set sail as the first streaks of dawn stole over the Bay of Batavia. A new chapter in the prince's life had begun. He would never set foot on the island of his birth again. A quarter of a century of exile and imprisonment lay before him.

Although the *Pollux*'s departure with Diponegoro and his party was reported in the official Indies government newspaper, *De Javasche Courant*, of 6 May 1830, no mention was made of its destination (Manado). The only information given was that Captain Eeg had 'set a northerly course [*koersstellende om de noord*]'.⁵⁷ At the same time, the Netherlands press seemed to be giving out intentionally misleading information. Thus, the Limburg provincial journal, *L'éclairateur politique*, wrote that "Diponegoro has been embarked on the ship

53. Carey 2008:712 note 166.

54. Schillet 1832.

55. Carey 2008:109, 375-6, 713.

56. Carey 2008:713, quoting Knoerle who may have had the officers rather than the crew in mind here, as the latter recruited from the dregs of Dutch society, would have been flogged if they had interfered with—or so much as looked at—Diponegoro's womenfolk, whereas the officers might have felt that since these '*raden ayu*' were just 'native women [*inlandsch vrouwen*],' anything might be permitted with them.

57. *Javasche Courant*, 6-05-1830.

Pollux to be transported to the Molucca [Maluku] Islands.”⁵⁸ Other Dutch newspapers followed suit.⁵⁹ It was only a full year later, seemingly as a result of a report from one of the officers on the *Pollux*, that the full story of what had actually happened to Diponegoro began to break. The politically well-connected French-language newspaper, *Journal de la Haye* (Journal of The Hague), relayed this officer’s information on 31 May 1831 as follows:⁶⁰

“Diponegoro was taken on board the corvette *Pollux* to be transported from [sic] the Celebes [Sulawesi] to Manado. He is accompanied by the Adjutant to the Governor General, Mr. [Julius Heinrich] Knoerle. An officer belonging to the crew of this corvette tells us that this adjutant has gained the entire confidence of Diponegoro, that he spent whole days with him and that we can expect that this officer will have gathered several unknown details and made important discoveries regarding the events which preceded and accompanied the last war. At least this officer [Knoerle] has always been distinguished by an extraordinary aptitude for dealing with the natives and for gaining their confidence. Diponegoro is now in the fort of Manado [Fort Nieuw Amsterdam] where Mr. [Daniel François Willem] Pietermaat is Resident [in office 1827-31]. Kiai Mojo [circa 1792-1849; Diponegoro’s chief religious adviser during the Java War], along with 62 other people in his retinue, has been relegated to the interior of the island [North Sulawesi], to Tondano.”

Even then, the earlier Dutch colonial government concocted story, which pretended that Diponegoro had been transported to the Moluccas (Maluku) to live out his exile in a small Dutch fort there,⁶¹ persisted. Thus, in January 1848,

58. *L’éclaircur politique, journal de la province de Limbourg*, 21-09-1830, “Diepo-Negoro a été embarqué sur le vaisseau le *Pollux* pour être transporté aux îles des Moluques.” Similar misinformation can be found in the *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18-09-1830; *Binnenlandse Berigten*, 20-09-1830; *Middelburgse Courant*, 21-09-1830 and *Overrijsselsche Courant*, 21-09-1830.

59. *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18-09-1830, *Binnenlandsche Berigten*, 20-09-1830; *Middelburgse Courant*, 21-09-1830; and *Overrijsselsche Courant*, 21-09-1830.

60. *Journal de la Haye*, 31-05-1831, “Diepo Negoro a été embarqué sur la corvette *Pollux* pour être transporté de Célèbes à Menado. Il est accompagné de l’adjutant du gouverneur-général, M. Knaele [Knoerle]. Un officier appartenant à l’équipage de cette corvette nous mande que cet adjutant a gagné toute la confiance de Diepo Negoro [Diponegoro], qu’il passait avec lui des journées entières et qu’on peut s’attendre que cet officier aura recueilli plusieurs particularités inconnues et fait des découvertes importantes sur les évènements qui ont précédé et accompagné la dernière guerre. Du moins cet officier s’est toujours distingué par une aptitude extraordinaire pour se conduire avec les indigènes et pour gagner leur confiance. Diepo Negoro se trouve maintenant au fort de Menado où M. Pietermaat est Résident. Kyai Modjo [Kiai Mojo], avec 62 autres personnes de sa suite a été rélégué dans l’intérieur de l’île à Tandano [Tondano].” The Dutch provincial press, *Groninger Courant* and *Leydse Courant*, 3-06-1831, ran with the same story, as did the *Curaçoasche Courant* (Willemstad), 3-12-1831, seven months later.

61. On the Dutch forts in Maluku at this time, see *Forts in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Mendikbud, 2012), p.12 (‘Distribution Map of forts’), which lists Fort Oranje

just before the outbreak of the February 1848 Revolution in Paris, an article appeared in the French press fiercely critical of the way in which the prince was being treated in exile. It spoke of him being held “in the Moluccas [Maluku]”.⁶²

“[Enclosed] between the four walls in a little fort, separated from his family, closely watched, denied the means of writing either to the governor-general or to whoever else, treated over the past eighteen years with a harshness and a cruel severity little worthy of the government of this country [the Netherlands].

Until the late Dutch colonial period (1816-42), knowledge of what had actually happened to Diponegoro following his transport to his *oubliette* in the eastern seas of the Dutch East Indies on the *Pollux* on 3 May 1830 remained garbled. Even someone as well informed as the nationalist leader and educator, Ki Hadjar Dewantoro (Suwardi Suryaningrat, 1889-1959), could still get the date of the prince's death in 1855 wrong by a month (8 February not 8 January), when he called for it to be remembered nationwide as a day of national commemoration in March 1923.⁶³

(Ternate), Fort Nieuw Victoria and Fort Amsterdam (Ambon), Fort Nassau and Fort Belgica (Banda), and Fort Duurstede (Saparua).

62. Carey 1982:3, [(*Enfermé*) dans un petit fort entre quatre murs, séparé de tous les siens, gardé à vue, privé des moyens d'écrire au gouverneur-général ou à qui que ce soit, traité depuis dix-huit ans avec une dureté et une sévérité peu digne et peu honorable pour le gouvernement de ce pays]. See further Carey 2008:741. In 1982, the present writer speculated that the article may have come from the pen of Raden Mas Saleh (Notodiningrat's) cousin, the famous nineteenth-century painter, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (c. 1811-80), then a part-time resident in Paris (1845-50). But there is no evidence for this. In fact, the painter was in Dresden at the time the article appeared in early January 1848 staying with his friend Major Friedrich Anton Serre (1789-1863) and it would have been political folly for him to attack the Dutch authorities in this way. Instead, it seems more likely that it may have been written by the radical publicist / journalist, Adrien Jean Eliza Engelbert van Bevervoorde tot Ôldemeule (1819-51), who wrote in French, was involved in a number of radical dailies (*Le Courrier Batave*, *De Hydra* and *De Burger*), and had a father, Hendricus Johannes (born 1791), who had served in the Java War (1825-30) and had witnessed Diponegoro's arrest. He was also close to Jonkheer Regnerus Livius van Andringa de Kempenaer (1804-54), who had written to the Dutch king, Willem II (r. 1840-49) on 16 January 1848 about Diponegoro being treated in exile in 'a cruel and ruthless manner [*op eene wreede en onmeedogende wijze wordt behandeld*],' see Hugenholtz 2008:287.

63. *Het Nieuws van het Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 12 March 1923: 'Honorable Brothers! For us all the 8 February is of the utmost importance. It is a day of commemoration, that is to say a day of sadness for a son of this country. In particular for the Javanese. Why? Because on the 8 February the great Prince Diponegoro died. On 8 February 1855, our hero died in the town of Makassar where he was exiled. Let us all remember this day with emotion—and let us halt our businesses temporarily—such as schools. And tell all our friends about the importance of this day [*Geëerde broeders! — Voor ons allen is de achtste Februari van hoog belang. Die dag is een herdenkingsdag, dat wil zeggen een dag van droefenis voor het kind*

What then of Diponegoro and his journey on the *Pollux*? Nearly six weeks at sea—much of it becalmed—would not be a pleasant experience. The prince's reference to this purgatorial odyssey in his autobiographical chronicle (*babad*) is suitably laconic.⁶⁴

XLIII.308. The sails were set and [we] left / Batavia for Manado, / but there was no wind / and the boat was exceedingly slow. 309 [...] many of the accursed [Dutch crew and soldiers] were sick / and died / on board ship. / The sultan was troubled at heart. 310. Maybe we will all be damned and not reach / Manado? / We speak no further of this. / They arrived in Manado. 311. Two and a half months long [sic] / was the sultan [Diponegoro's] journey / from Batavia to Manado / because there was no wind

Knoerle's own shipboard diary closely echoes the spirit of Diponegoro's account. At seven in the morning of the first day (4 May), for example, the prince summoned his German officer escort to his cabin and requested he be taken on deck, one of only six occasions, according to Knoerle, during the whole forty-day voyage when the exiled leader came up from his cabin.⁶⁵ "The compass, the ship with sails set on high (Plate 8) and the motion of the vessel" caught the prince's delighted attention, and he would later express particular interest in the sea chart of Makassar and the navigational methods used by the ship's officers to plot and steer the *Pollux*'s course as they sailed towards their final destination along the southeastern coast of Sulawesi (Plate 6).⁶⁶

But death, which stalked the ship daily, had already shown its grim face:

"The detachment of [50] troops had one dead who at that moment was sent overboard. The burial ceremony caused the prince to ask whether the deceased had been a captain. On [my] answer that he was an ordinary soldier, Diponegoro asked why we paid more attention to a dead than a living person?"⁶⁷

des lands. Vooral voor den Javaan. Waarom? Omdat den achtsten Februari de groote Pangeran Diponegoro overleed. Op den 8sten Februari 1855 is onze held overleden in de stad Makassar, waarheen hij was verbannen. Laat ons allen dien dag gedenken in ontroering — laat ons de bedrijven tijdelijk doen rusten — zooals de scholen. En vertelt het belang van dezen dag aan al onze vrienden],"

64. LOr 6545d (G.A.J. Hazeu private collection, *Babad Dipanagara*, autobiography written in Manado, 1831-32), IV:425, XLIII (Maskumambang) 308-11. *nulya babar layar mangkat sing Betawi / mring Menadhu ika / mapan datan angsal angin / langkung remben kang baita. 309. lawan laknat mapan kathah ingkang sakit / myang kang modar / sajroning baita sami / susah kang tyasing sri nalendra. 310. bokmenawa telas jidhet* tan dumugi / ing Menadhu ika / mangkana wus tan winarni / ing Menadhu sampun prapta. 311. mapan ngantos kalih tengah wulan iki / lampahnya nalendra / Menadhu saking Betawi / sabab tan wonten anginnya. ** Rusche 1908-09, II:266 has "pejah," I have followed the sense of that correction in the translation.

65. Knoerle 1835:167-8.

66. Knoerle 1835:156-7.

67. Carey 2008:716.

Plate 8 – A view of the deck of the Corvette *Triton*, the sister ship of the *Pollux* launched at the *Marinewerf* (naval dockyard) in Amsterdam a year later in 1825, during its voyage to Timor and West Papua in 1828, by the Utrecht-born artist, Pieter van Oort (1804-34). Van Oort has drawn himself into his painting sitting to the right with a black hat and crossed legs. Watercolour on paper 36 x 41 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Dutch Navy Museum, Den Helder.

In the first five days alone, four died, the ceremonies for the burials – the slow march of the honour guard of soldiers and the muffled drums – being heard distinctly by the prince in his cabin below the quarter (poop) deck. Contemplating this daily toll in mortality, a result of the shocking shipboard conditions for ordinary seamen and soldiers alike, Diponegoro burst out in bitter contempt at the supposed superiority of Western medicine and medical practitioners which Knoerle had tried to impress on him.⁶⁸

“How can you speak to me about your Dutch doctors and medicines [...] [when] every day we have dead men on board this vessel who are thrown into the sea? How suspicious [you] Europeans are about [your] doctors!”

Eschewing the ministrations of the ship’s doctor, Surgeon-Major Schillet, for his periodic malarial fevers, the prince continued to treat himself throughout the sea voyage to Manado with Javanese herbal potions (*jamu*) such as *beras-*

⁶⁸. Carey 2008:117.

kencur and *kedawung*⁶⁹ and restricted his diet on some days to dry sweet potato (*ubi kering*) to counteract the effects of sea sickness.⁷⁰ Given what happened to the *Pollux*'s crew on the corvette's final return journey to the Netherlands in May-October 1832, when nearly a third of the ship's officers and crew died of scurvy, Diponegoro's scepticism regarding the efficacy of early 19th century European doctors and their medical techniques would seem to have been prescient. Indeed, when it came to a high-protein diet and knowledge of how to maintain physical health through the consumption of stem and root tubers (sweet potatoes, potatoes, yams and cassava), rhizomes (bamboos, ginger and turmeric), fruits, herbal remedies, and personal hygiene, Javanese culture was more advanced than that of the West at this time. Indeed, it would have been hard to imagine Diponegoro succumbing to scurvy, even on board a Dutch warship! His addiction to *sirih* (betelnut) alone would have ensured that he would have had a sufficiently large daily intake of Vitamin C through his mastication of *sirih* leaves to avoid contracting the disease.⁷¹

Another aspect of life on board the *Pollux* which particularly shocked Diponegoro was the extreme brutality of the treatment of ordinary seamen by the officers and quartermasters, especially when it came to punishing them for minor infractions:⁷²

"At 10 o'clock in the morning. On board the corvette a sailor had to be punished, because people said he had been insolent. The man wished to assert his innocence, and then two quartermasters were called, to execute the punishment with blows from a rope. The sailor thereupon drew a knife from his satchel and with the exclamation, "I am innocent, so help me God!" he gave himself two gashes in the neck. Diponegoro learnt of this occurrence and asked how it was possible to punish a man of whose guilt people were not convinced. In everything that [he] expressed during the course of our conversation about this matter, [he] gave evidence of deep religious feelings. He steadfastly pitied the sailor whom he said must be a pure man (*ingkang manah wonten suci*), and who could certainly reckon on God's mercy.

He spoke about the way he and his father at Jogja had always tried to bestow justice on the Javanese and that they had always started on the principle that no-one should be punished who was not clearly convicted of committing a crime. Diponegoro called the two young Javanese (intimate retainers /*panakawan*), Roto and Bantengwareng, amongst his following into his cabin and asked me; "Would you consign one of these to a punishment when you did not have the firm proof that a crime had been committed?"

69. *Kedawung* is the Javanese name for the tree *Barkia roxburghii* G., the seeds and leaves of which are used as a well-known Javanese remedy for colic and other stomach ailments, see Sastroamidjojo 1967:196 no. 160, illustration 51.

70. Carey 2008:117 note 71.

71. On Diponegoro's addiction to betelnut chewing (*sirih*), see Carey 2008:122. A discussion of the medicinal properties of Indonesian plants and dietary intake can be found in Sastroamidjojo 1967.

72. Knoerle 1835:154-5.

According to Tico Onderwater, a specialist on Dutch naval history, “it is true that extreme brutality was everyday practice on board men-of-war at this time. The Royal Netherlands Navy had great difficulties manning these ships and only the lowest tiers of society could be persuaded to join the service as ordinary seamen. As a result, officers felt that they had to rely on extreme measures to maintain order. The Dutch navy only abolished corporal punishment in 1879, whereas the army and civil justice systems had got rid of such practices decades earlier.”⁷³ This attitude recalls what the Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) is supposed to have said of his men during the Napoleonic Wars, “I don’t know if they frighten the enemy, but they certainly scare the hell out of me!”

Although the clash of cultures was stark, Diponegoro did enter into contact with a number of the ship’s officers through Knoerle. This resulted in the prince being lent books and provided with bottles of vintage wine paid for by his officer escort. Although he did not read the books lent him, but only looked at the illustrations, one of the second lieutenants (*luitenant-ter-zee der tweede klasse*), Barend van den Broek (1802-30), who would die seven months later (12 December 1830) in the assault on the fortified stronghold of Narras (Pariaman) during the Padri War (1803-37) in West Sumatra, lent the prince a richly illustrated romance by Torquato Tasso (1544-95) *Gerusalemme Liberata* (“The Liberated Jerusalem”) (Parma & Ferrara, 1581). Describing the 1099 siege of Jerusalem, it recounted in high-flown language an imaginative account of the Christian conquest of the holy city from its Muslim defenders at the end of the First Crusade (1095-99).⁷⁴

Another of the *Pollux*’s officer cadets, then still a nineteen-year-old midshipman (*Adelborst der eerste klasse*), who had dealings with Diponegoro, was Adriaan David van der Gon Netscher (1811-97) (Plate 9).⁷⁵ In later life an anti-slavery campaigner (with special focus on the Dutch West Indies) and a much-admired water-colour painter (aquarellist) and travel-writer, Netscher provided the prince with two bottles of the sweet Constantia white wine from South Africa which he liked so much (Plate 10⁷⁶). Alone of all the *Pollux*’s officers on this voyage to

73. Electronic communication, T.A. Onderwater, 5 July 2021. I wish to record my thanks here to Tico Onderwater for his unstinting help with this article.

74. Carey 2008:110.

75. Knoerle 1835:169-70.

76. The prince had seemingly developed his own highly personal interpretation of Quranic teachings regarding alcohol consumption, as Knoerle (1835:169) explains:

“Pangeran Diponegoro mentioned that [he] was very willing to fortify himself by the use of sweet wine. [...] [He] continued on this subject, arguing that the Prophet’s prohibition against the consumption of wine was applied [only] to those wines which possess an intoxicating effect, as is the case with Madeira and red wine. But that in the Prophet’s prohibition, those wines whose salutary and curative effects are well known, such as the sweet wines, are absolutely not included.”

Professor Azyumardi Azra has commented on Diponegoro’s arguments in support

Plate 9 – Adriaan David van der Gon Netscher (1811-97), naval officer, Dutch anti-slavery campaigner, travel-writer and aquarellist, who served as a midshipman on the *Pollux* during Diponegoro's voyage to Manado in May-June 1830. Photograph courtesy of the RKD Netherlands Institute for Art History, Den Haag.

Manado, the teenage midshipman would achieve fame in his lifetime and merit a substantial entry in the Dutch Dictionary of National Biography.⁷⁷

Netscher was also the beneficiary of a curious stroke of luck related in part to the culture of violence and physical punishment meted out to officers and men in the Dutch Navy at this time. After serving on the *Pollux* since 22 August 1829 in preparation for its 16 November 1829 sailing to the Indies/Indonesia, Netscher was accused of a disciplinary offence—not specified in his Service

of selected wine drinking (ie involving sweet white wine) as follows (personal communication, Jakarta, 15-10-2021):

“There are three Qur'anic verses (*al-Baqarah* 219, *al-Nisa'* 43, and *al-Maidah* 90) on discouraging, though not completely banning, the drinking of *khamr* (intoxicating drink, equivalent to *arak* [rice wine] in present-day Indonesia). But ulama are divided as to whether ‘wine’ is included in *khamr*. In fact, most do not include it. Secondly, they are also divided on whether or not Muslims can drink wine; some say that it is licit for Muslims to drink wine or any kind of alcohol as long as one does not get drunk. Others maintain that it is absolutely *haram* to drink alcohol even so much as a drop. But it is quite common among Sufi circles and those, like Diponegoro, who belonged to one of the mystical brotherhoods (*tariqah*) [in his case the Shattāriyya] to consume wine or some other kind of alcoholic drink in order to achieve ecstasy in their Sufistic practices. So, I think Pangeran Diponegoro followed this [custom]. It is quite common also among Indonesian Muslims to consume *arak* made from ‘air beras’ or ‘gula aren’ etc.”

For a discussion of wine-drinking amongst Indian Muslims, see Ahmed 2016.

77. Molhuysen & Blok 1911-37, I:363.

Record (*Stamboek*)—and ordered to undergo a physical punishment. Described as a ‘debasement penalty’ (*vernederende straf*), he petitioned the newly arrived director of the Indies Marine, Captain-commander Wardenburg, to be allowed to escape such public humiliation by moving from his midshipman’s assignment on the *Pollux* to a new post on another corvette, the *De Leije* (Commander Aart J.J. van Lutsenburg).⁷⁸ This was sanctioned by Wardenburg and Netscher moved to the *De Leije* on 15 August 1830.⁷⁹ His departure from the *Pollux* at this time meant that he escaped the corvette’s bloody assault on the Padris in West Sumatra (Padang-Pariaman) in December 1830, which claimed the life of his brother officer Van den Broek, and still more pertinently, removed him from participating in the *Pollux*’s disastrous 23 May–23 October 1832 final return voyage to the Netherlands, when 40 of the ship’s crew, including the captain (Christiaan Eeg), the first officer (Frederik Jacob Anthonie Hugenholtz, 1792–1832)⁸⁰ and a young Second Lieutenant (Willem August Spengler, 1803–32)⁸¹ died of scurvy, the last almost within sight of the Netherlands coast.

Not all the *Pollux*’s officers were as generous and accommodating as Van den Broek and Netscher when it came to providing reading material and the product of the grape to Diponegoro. The prince’s favourite wine was without doubt *vin de Constance*—the same wine provided by Netscher—from the world-famous Groot and Klein Constantia vineyards in the Western Cape (South Africa). A wine of kings, said to be the favourite of Frederick the Great of Prussia (r. 1740–88), Willem I of the Netherlands (r. 1813–40) and the Emperor Napoleon (1769–1821; r. 1804–14), who had it supplied to him in his St. Helena exile (1815–21), it was also celebrated in the novels of Jane Austen (1775–1817) set in the era of the Napoleonic Wars. Diponegoro had acquired a taste for it during his visits to the Yogyakarta Resident’s retreat at Bedoyo on the slopes of Mount Merapi just before the Java War, during the incumbency of Anthonie Hendrik Smissaert, whose wife, Clara Elisabeth (*née* Von Liebeherr, 1785–1869), always served it when the prince was present.⁸² He regarded this wine as a form of medicine (*tomboh*) and fortifier to restore his strength following his recurrent bouts of malarial fever. The *Pollux*’s first officer, First Lieutenant Hugenholtz, initially provided just one bottle of Constantia. When pressed by Knoerle to provide a whole case (12 bottles) in return for payment in money, kind or gifts, Hugenholtz demurred even though, according to Knoerle, the *Pollux*’s First Officer had two

78. NL-HaNA 2.12.14_5_0367, 22_0094 (*Register and Staat van Dienst* Van der Gon Netscher).

79. *Besluit Commandant-en-chef ZM Zeemagt in Oostindiën*, 24 November 1830 no.22, cited in NL-HaNA 2.12.14_22_0094 (*Staat van Dienst* Netscher).

80. NL-HaNA 2.12.14_17_0198, 12_14_0199, 12_14_2000 (*Register and Staat van Dienst* Hugenholtz).

81. NL-HaNA 2.12.14_26-1723 (*Staat van Dienst* Spengler).

82. Louw and De Klerck, 1894–1909, V:743; Carey 2008:718 note 186.

Plate 10 – Vintage *vin de Constance* (Constantia) which Diponegoro drank on board the Corvette *Pollux* en route from Batavia to Manado, 3 May – 12 June 2020. The Prince’s liking for this ‘wine of emperors and kings’ was shared by a number of prominent contemporaries (or near contemporaries) including the Emperor Napoleon, Frederick the Great of Prussia, King Willem I of the Netherlands, and the writers, Jane Austen, Charles Dickens and Charles Baudelaire (1821-67). The prince clearly had very good taste in wine as in so many other things.

“anchors [*anker*]” (one ‘anchor’ = 9.25 imperial gallons) of *vin de Constance* in his cabin,⁸³ amounting to some 74 liters, of which he was being asked to spare just under ten liters if one includes the bottle already provided!⁸⁴ The mind boggles at such quantities and such mean-mindedness.

Buoyed by wine but not much else—all other rations were running dangerously low and the *Pollux*’s passengers and crew forced to survive on potatoes (many of which were rotting by the time the ship reached Manado) with little additional meat and no fresh vegetables—the corvette eventually cast anchor in the Bay of Manado on Saturday, 12 June 1830. The epic six-week passage from Batavia to Manado was at an end. At ten o’clock the following morning Diponegoro and his nineteen-strong party were transferred to Fort Nieuw Amsterdam (Plate 11). There they would remain for the next three years (13 June-20 June 1833) until their secret transfer to Makassar on board the Dutch navy schooner, *Circe* (Plate 6). During these three years, confined in four-room house in the Dutch fort and rarely going out into the surrounding town, the prince would create a masterpiece—his autobiographical chronicle, the *Babad Dipanagara*. Written in just nine months (20 May 1831-3 February 1832), the first third of its 43 cantos would tell the history of Java from the fall of Majapahit (circa 1527) to the prince’s birth in Yogyakarta (11 November 1785) and then the detailed story of his life up to his arrival in Manado. Covering some 1,150 folio pages in Javanese *macapat* verse

83. This stash of wine was apparently shared between Hugenholtz and his brother officer, Barend van den Broek, according to Knoerle, ‘Aantekeningen’ (for full citation see footnote 90), entry for 1 June 1830.

84. Knoerle 1835:169-70; Carey (forthcoming).

Plate 11 – ‘Fort Nieuw Amsterdam,’ Manado (completed in 1705) where Diponegoro was kept between June 1830 and June 1833. The Resident’s house in which he had his accommodation can be seen through the open gateway. The fort was later destroyed by an earthquake in 1932 followed by US/Allied bombing on 7 December 1944. Photograph probably taken in the 1910s, courtesy of Leiden University Library (UBL).

written in Arabic script (*pégon*), it would be recognised 181 years later (18 June 2013) by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as a Memory of the World manuscript.⁸⁵

On 19 June 1830, just a week after the arrival of the *Pollux*, the corvette’s commanding officer and ship’s officers came to the fort in their white dress uniforms to take their formal leave of Diponegoro. They were returning the next day to Batavia via Surabaya, a journey which would be completed in just nineteen days (20 June–9 July 1830). Some fifty-three soldiers, under the command of Second-Lieutenant Cornelis Bosman (born Leiden 1796)⁸⁶ remained behind to guard the prince. Unfortunately, this junior officer, unlike Roeps and Knoerle, lacked the diplomatic and linguistic skills needed to handle the prince. Within weeks, his “rough and inconsiderate” behaviour had caused the Resident of Manado, Pietermaat (in office 1827–31), to arrange his transfer to Ternate where the 40-strong garrison was in need of an additional officer. In his autobiographical *babad*, Diponegoro mentions this courtesy

⁸⁵. Carey 2019:xi, xxvi–xxviii.

⁸⁶. NL-HaNA_2_1.13.04_387_0076 (*Staat van Dienst* Cornelis Bosman).

visit and the conversation which took place between himself and Knoerle and Captain Eeg. After confirming his monthly stipend of 600 guilders (US\$6,500 in present-day [2021] money), the commander of the *Pollux* suggested that the prince might have a personal message for the Governor-General. Perhaps he would like to send a letter back to Java which he could take for him? “No”, Diponegoro replied, “I have no desire to send a letter for I cannot write [...] just send my regards to General Van den Bosch!”⁸⁷

Mission Accomplished and War against the Padris, July 1830-December 1831

The relief on board the *Pollux* amongst the officers and crew after the completion of their six-week non-stop marathon and the successful discharge of their task of transporting the Java War leader into exile must have been palpable. Now revictualled and with a strong following wind, the corvette completed the 1,253 nautical mile journey from Manado to Surabaya in just 19 days (20 June-9 July), an average of 66 nautical miles a day, a much swifter passage than the modest 45 nautical miles a day it had achieved on the longer—1,800 nautical mile—outward journey. After its swift return journey to Java, the *Pollux* remained five days in Surabaya (9-14 July 1830)⁸⁸ before returning to Batavia where it entered port on 19 July.⁸⁹ By then Knoerle’s secret report of his day-to-day interactions with Diponegoro was in the hands of the Governor-General whose heavy blue pencil markings can be seen on the original in his private collection in the Dutch National Archives.⁹⁰ The German officer had sensibly used the 19-day return journey from Manado to finish his shipboard diary and dispatch it to the Governor-General by express post with a covering letter dated the same day (9 July) as the *Pollux*’s arrival in the East Javanese port. By this time, he had received news of his promotion to the rank of First Lieutenant, a style he now gave himself when he signed off on his covering letter to his superior.⁹¹

For the next four months until early December 1830, when Eeg received orders to deploy *Pollux* as a naval support vessel for the Dutch assault on Padri fortified positions in the interior of Padang-Pariaman on the West Coast of Sumatra, the corvette remained in Batavia as a guardship (*wachtschip*) with

87. Carey 2008:724.

88. *Javasche Courant*, 20-07-1830, 24-07-1830.

89. *Javasche Courant*, 22-07-1830.

90. Knoerle, Julius Heinrich. ‘Aanteekeningen gehouden door den 2e Luit Knoerle betreffende de dagelyksche verkeerling van dien officier met den Prins van Djocjakarta, Diepo Negoro, gedurende eene reis van Batavia naar Menado, het exil van den genoemden Prins,’ Manado, 20-6-1830. NL-HaNA, Bosch, J. van den, 2.21.028, inv. nr. 391, 1830.

91. Knoerle 1835:175. See also *Binnenlandsche Berigten*, 17-09-1830 on the appointment of First Lieutenant Albert Hendrik Wendelin de Kock (1808-91) and Julius Heinrich Knoerle as Military Adjutants to Governor-General van den Bosch.

occasional sorties through the Sunda Strait and points west and north.⁹² As we have seen, during the operations in West Sumatra involving members of the *Pollux*'s crew, forty of whom (nearly a third of the ship's complement) perished, one of Eeg's brother officers died. The captain immediately wrote an obituary notice which was published in the *Javasche Courant* on 8 February 1831:

"On the 12th of this month [December 1830], during the storming of the fortified kampung of Narras [near Pariaman], on the west coast of Sumatra, the highly meritorious Second Lieutenant B[arend] van den Broek, was [killed] under the front gate of the fort (*benteng*). [He was shot] with a rifle bullet above the left breast plate, which immediately struck him down dead. I regret, along with his comrades [brother officers], a good and courageous officer, whose value I have learnt to appreciate over the past 11 years when he served at intervals under my orders and whom I have got to know well. He leaves behind a mother and sister, whose considerable support he was and who will mourn [his passing] inconsolably.

Pollux, in the roads of Pariaman, 15 December 1831.

Following the disaster at Narras the decision was taken not to pursue the campaign and the *Pollux* was back in Batavia by 3 February 1831, only to leave 17 days later (20 February-1 March) to transport further troop reinforcements for the Dutch war against the Padris in West Sumatra.⁹³ It then returned briefly to Batavia (1-6 March) before moving on to Surabaya where it arrived on 10 March.⁹⁴ There it remained for the best part of the next three months (10 March-18 May 1831), surviving a local epidemic, probably cholera, which it did by cancelling all shore leave for its crew and moving further out to sea in the Madura Strait while the epidemic raged in the East Javanese port. According to the *Javasche Courant*, some 15 percent (48,217) of the 311,192-strong Surabaya population contracted the disease and just over 100 lives (0.002 percent of those infected) lost—distinctly mild compared to the previous cholera epidemic a decade earlier in April-November 1821 when seven percent of the population of the city together with Madura and the Oosthoek (Java's Eastern Salient) had succumbed.⁹⁵

92. *Javasche Courant*, 26-07-1830 and 9-09-1830 (refer to the *Pollux* leaving Batavia in a westerly direction on 26-07-1830; and heading north on 8-09-1830). Both sorties were of short duration.

93. *Javasche Courant*, 5-02-1831 (reference to *Pollux*'s return to Batavia); 22-02-1831 (reference to *Pollux* leaving for West with troops: 'koerstellende om de West met Z.M. troepen').

94. *Javasche Courant*, 19-03-1831.

95. *Javasche Courant*, 19-05-1831. On the mortality figures in Surabaya for the 1821 cholera epidemic where 76 people were reported dying every day in mid-June 1821. The seven percent mortality figure for Surabaya, Madura and the Oosthoek is given in Muller 1832:3; and Carey 1986:133 note 288; 2008:494-5.

On 18 May, *Pollux* left Surabaya for Batavia once again where it remained between 23 May and mid-July, making just one sortie to the West, possibly either another training exercise for its cadets through the Sunda Strait or the beginning of its survey operations in Merak Bay (2-6 June 1831).⁹⁶ In mid-July, the corvette was briefly tasked with transporting the Commandant-Director of the Netherlands Indies Marine, Captain-commander Wardenburg, from Rembang (23 July), where he may have been inspecting the local shipbuilding industry, the north coast port being one of the places where teakwood three-masted schooners and frigates had been laid down, most recently the frigate *Javaan* (footnote 8), which had seen service in Semarang in August-September 1825.⁹⁷ *Pollux* brought him first to Semarang (25-29 July), where he spent four days inspecting the naval facilities in Tanjung Mas and Torboyo, and then on to Batavia (1 August), where he resumed his naval command functions.⁹⁸

There followed another two and a half month period (1 August-19 October) where the *Pollux* hardly stirred from its Batavia anchorage, apart from one rather longer sortie to the West (30 August-21 September) probably linked with its ongoing survey of Merak Bay. It may also have carried out further troop transport duties and naval support operations for the Dutch war effort against the Padris in West Sumatra.⁹⁹ Again between 19 October and early January 1831, the corvette was involved in the same naval back-up roles, and assisted during the Dutch assault on the Padri rock redoubt at Ujung Raja near Katiagan in West Pasaman (Pasaman Barat) Regency (*kabupaten*) in December 1831.¹⁰⁰

96. *Javasche Courant*, 26-05-1831 (reports *Pollux* entering Batavia on 23-05-1831). Then all numbers of the *Javasche Courant* from 31-05-1831 to 9-07-1831 which refer to *Pollux* at anchor in Batavia roads with the exception of the period 2-6 June 1831 when it was on its 'cruise to the West' (*kruistogt naar het West*), see *Javasche Courant*, 4-06-1831 and 9-06-1831. For a reference to *Pollux*'s survey operations in Merak Bay in 1831, see Vermeulen 1966:412.

97. Carey 1984:9; 2008:164 note 18. Another example of such a three-masted schooner was the 14-gun *Circe* which the Dutch Indies navy used to transport Diponegoro from Manado to Makassar on 20 June-11 July 1833. It served from circa 1825 to 1852, see Vermeulen 1966:336.

98. *Javasche Courant*, 2-08-1831 (reports 25 July arrival of *Pollux* in Semarang from Rembang with Wardenburg); *Javasche Courant*, 4-08-1831, 6-08-1831 (reports departure of *Pollux* from Semarang with Wardenburg on 29 July and arrival in Batavia on 1 August 1831).

99. *Javasche Courant*, 1-09-1831 (refers to *Pollux* leaving Batavia and sailing West); and *Javasche Courant*, 22-09-1831 (refers to *Pollux* at anchor again in Batavia).

100. *Journal de la Haye*, 20-06-1832: "Le 4 décembre il était parti de Padang, une escadrille composée de la corvette de S. M. Pollux, capitaine Eeg et de quelques autres bâtimens de guerre de moindre grandeur. Cette expédition était dirigée contre Katiagan, et avait principalement pour but de punir les Padries d'avoir fait des incursions dans nos districts, et de réprimer la contrebande. Cette expédition a été couronnée du plus brillant succès par la prise du rocher d'Oedjong Radja près de

“On 4 December a squadron left Padang made up of the corvette [...] *Pollux*, [commanded by] Captain Eeg, and a few other smaller warships. This expedition was directed against Katiagan [Pasaman Barat], and its main object was to punish the Padris for having made incursions into our districts, and to suppress smuggling. This expedition was crowned with the most brilliant success with the capture of the rock of Ujung Raja near Katiagan, on which the enemy had mainly entrenched himself. Fortunately, the ships had already returned to Padang on 17 December [1831]. It was the Resident [and Military Commander of Sumatra’s West Coast], Lieutenant-Colonel [Cornelis Pieter Jacob] Elout [1795-1843; in office, 1830-35] who was in charge of the expedition. [Our] troops were made up of Dutch and Ambonese soldiers under the command of Major [Andreas Victor] Michiels [1797-1849]. It was he who, after having silenced the enemy cannon by the fire of our ships, set out to storm the entrenchments which had been raised on the rock [outcrop] and which art and nature had also made very strong. After the capture of Ujung Raja, the Padris fled into the woods, so that our people did not have much difficulty destroying their *bentengs* [forts]. In seizing the artillery which was there, he set fire to their canoes (*prauw*), which were under construction.”

On 12 January 1832, after an absence of three months *Pollux* was back in Batavia.¹⁰¹ By this time, Eeg’s contribution to the Dutch war effort in West Sumatra had been recognised by his investiture with the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridderorde der Nederlandsche Leeuw*) given personally by the Dutch monarch, Willem I, on 7 October 1831.¹⁰²

The Belgian Revolt and the Voyage of Death, 1831-32

Pollux appears to have remained at anchor in the colonial capital on duties as a guardship (*wachtship*) for the next four months without any further sorties. In early May, however, it was recalled back to the Netherlands as a matter of urgency to present itself to the Dutch naval base in Vlissingen (Flushing) in Zeeland and assist in the blockade of the Scheldt. Unbeknownst to the officers and men of the *Pollux*, half a world away in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-30) events had taken place which had radically altered

Katiagan, sur lequel l'ennemi s'était principalement retranché. Déjà le 17 décembre les vaisseaux étaient heureusement retournés à Padang. C'est le lieutenant-colonel et résident Elout qui commandait en chef l'expédition. Les troupes de débarquement composées de Néerlandais et de soldats d'Amboine étaient sous les ordres du major Michiels. C'est lui qui, après avoir fait taire le canon ennemi par le feu de nos vaisseaux fit prendre d'assaut les retranchements qu'on avait élevés sur le rocher et que l'art et la nature rendaient également très forts. Après la prise d'Oedjong-Radja, les Padries s'étaient enfuis dans les bois, de manière que les nôtres n'avaient pas eu beaucoup de peine à détruire leurs bentengs, à s'emparer de l'artillerie qui s'y trouvait et à mettre le feu à leurs pirogues (prauwen), qui étaient en construction.”

101. *Javasche Courant*, 20-10-1831 (refers to *Pollux* leaving Batavia in a northerly direction with troops aboard); *Javasche Courant*, 12-01-1832, reports *Pollux* arriving back in Batavia after a 12-week absence).

102. NL-HaNA 2.12.14_5_0047 and 4_14_0071 (*Register and Staat van Dienst Eeg*).

the balance of power in the Low Countries. Exasperated by the same Dutch quest for immediate profit which had led to such suffering in south-central Java before the Java War, the inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands had risen in revolt after an insurrection in Brussels on 24 August 1830 and Belgian independence had been proclaimed (4 October 1830). Despite the pressures from the great powers and the elevation of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as the new Belgian monarch (21 July 1831, reigned 1831-1865), the Dutch king, Willem I, steadfastly refused to disarm. A series of military engagements had ensued culminating in the “Ten Days’ Campaign” (2-12 August 1831) by the Dutch Army which led to a French expeditionary force entering Belgium to support the nationalists. The great citadel of Antwerp was bombarded, and a Dutch garrison under General David Hendrik Chassé (1765-1849)—nicknamed *Général Baionette* (General Bayonet) by Napoleon because of his predilection for that weapon in close combat—forced to endure a heroic two-year siege (December 1830-December 1832). It even seemed for a time, following Antwerp’s fall in December 1832, that the French might cross the Dutch-Belgian border into Zeeland. With a European war looming, all available military assets now had to be withdrawn from the Indies/Indonesia for the defence of the motherland.

Thus, it was that on the morning of 23 May 1832, *Pollux* weighed anchor from Batavia for the last time heading for the Sunda Strait. As had been the case in 1827, a number of returning Dutch troops were on board making the ship’s tight quarters seem even more cramped.¹⁰³ Whereas, the corvette’s previous return journey (1 April-30 November 1827) had nearly ended in disaster, an even grimmer fate now awaited the officers and men of the corvette’s last homeward voyage. On the final leg of the journey from the South Atlantic to Vlissingen from 23 August to 23 October 1832 a third of its crew (40 sailors and NCOs) along with its captain, First Officer and a young Second Lieutenant succumbed to scurvy (Plate 12). Indeed, the remaining sailors were so weakened by scurvy that they had severe difficulty entering the navigation channel at the mouth of the Scheldt and bringing the ship into port in Vlissingen. A day before the *Pollux* docked, it hit a sandbank—the Banjaard—at the entrance to the Scheldt and could only be refloated by throwing 18 out of its 28 cannons overboard.¹⁰⁴

How did this tragedy happen? Unlike July 1827, when *Pollux* had been hit by a hurricane, scurvy was not an Act of God. In fact, the Scots doctor, James Lind (1716-94), a pioneer of naval hygiene in the Royal Navy, had already developed the theory that citrus fruits cured scurvy by the third quarter of the eighteenth century. And his methods were largely adopted in the British

103. *Javasche Courant*, 24-05-1832 reports *Pollux*’s final departure from Batavia for the Netherlands with an undisclosed number of troops (*Zijn Majesteits Troepen*).

104. *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 25-10-1832.

senior service with lemon (and later lime) juice being mixed with the daily Rum ration by the early nineteenth century—hence the American epithet for British sailors as ‘limeys’. Although other navies, like the Dutch, seem to have forgotten and reinvented this cure more than once, its implementation still depended on the medical knowledge of individual ship’s doctors.¹⁰⁵ In *Pollux*’s case this was Surgeon-Major Schillet. A specialist in cholera not diet, it was his duty to insist on administering citrus fruits. But the attitude of the commander and the possibilities of obtaining such fruit also mattered. And here the tense international situation may have played a part in the tragedy. Whereas, on previous homeward bound voyages, before the Belgian crisis broke in late August 1830, Dutch warships and troop transports had taken advantage of the repair and revictualling facilities at a number of British-controlled ports, including St. Helena¹⁰⁶ conveniently situated at a near halfway point between Batavia and the Netherlands,¹⁰⁷ Mauritius, where *Pollux* underwent emergency repairs in July-August 1827, and Cape Town and Simonstown in South Africa, the last an important naval base, the threat of imminent war with Britain over Belgian independence now dictated caution. Captain Eeg may have calculated that the *Pollux* ran the risk of being impounded by the British authorities if war broke out while the corvette was in a British port.

Sadly, the *Pollux*’s ship’s log only exists for its first four years of service between 1824 and 1827, possibly because of the fire which destroyed many of the records kept in the Dutch Navy Ministry in the Lange Voorhout, The Hague, in 1844¹⁰⁸ so there is no way we can check this against the official record, but it seems almost certain that the corvette did not stop over and revictual at St. Helena as it passed through the South Atlantic in late August 1832. Taking an average daily distance of 73.7 nautical miles a day for the 11,354 nautical mile voyage which the *Pollux* covered in 154 days, this would mean that it arrived at the latitude of St Helena (15.9650° South) around 23 August 1832. Once it had sailed past this point, there remained another 61 days of sailing to cover the remaining 4,497 nautical miles to Vlissingen. It was precisely on this final leg of the voyage that the disease began to take

105. According to Dutch naval historian, Tico Onderwater, “scurvy often appeared as secondary disease, occurring next to diseases as dysentery, diarrhoea and beriberi. Only with the passage from sail to steam power, scurvy became a rarity, since travel time became much shorter”, Electronic communication, T.A. Onderwater, 5 July 2021.

106. See Carey 2021:58, referencing Errembault de Dudzele et d’Orroir’s (1789-1830) stopover on his final home voyage on the transport *Maria* from Batavia to Hellevoetsluis (17 May-15 September 1830).

107. Batavia to St Helena is 6,857 nautical miles; St Helena to Vlissingen is 4,497 nautical miles, making a total of 11,354 nautical miles for the total sea journey from Batavia to Vlissingen.

108. NL-HaNA 2.12.03 3601. It can be downloaded at: <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.12.03/invnr/3601/file>.

Plate 12 – Page from the journal of the Royal Navy Surgeon, Henry Walsh Mahon (1809-78), showing the effects of scurvy, from his time aboard HM Convict Ship *Barrosa*. Photograph courtesy of the National Archives UK.

hold. Captain Eeg died first on 7 September, followed by his First Officer, Hugenholtz, five days later, on 12 September.¹⁰⁹ This suggests that it was precisely the failure to revictual in St Helena around 23 August which sealed the fate of the ship's crew. If new supplies, particularly of citrus fruit, had been brought on board at that time, then the tragedy which overwhelmed *Pollux* on its last homeward voyage could almost certainly have been avoided.

The tortures endured by the corvette's crew as they struggled through the last eight weeks of their five-month voyage can only be imagined. In those desperate days, as hideously disfigured bodies were thrown overboard almost every day, the emaciated survivors might have recalled the scenes of horror and death depicted in Théodore Géricault's *Le radeau de la Méduse* [The Raft of the Medusa] (1818-19). A vitamin C deficiency, scurvy leads to anaemia,

¹⁰⁹ NL-HaNA 2.12.14_5_0047, 4_14_0071 (*Register and Staat van Dienst Eeg*); NL-HaNA 2.12.14_17_0198, 12_14_0199, 12_14_2000 (*Register and Staat van Dienst Hugenholtz*).

debility, exhaustion, spontaneous bleeding, pain in the limbs—especially the legs—swelling in some parts of the body, and often ulceration of the gums and loss of teeth. Death usually follows within three weeks after the onset of the first symptoms. Given the agonising pains of the disease, extinction of the life force could be seen as a merciful release. Believers in fate might also surmise a certain *Schadenfreude* on the part of the *Pollux*'s former elite Javanese prisoners, Raden Mas Saleh (Notodiningrat) and Diponegoro, not to speak of those done to death in the naval bombardments and attacks on the Padri strongholds of Narras (12 December 1830) and Ujung Raja (Katiagan) (mid-December 1831) in West Sumatra, as the corvette, now a ship of death, limped into port in Vlissingen (Plate 13) on 23 October 1832.

Pollux's third officer, Second Lieutenant (post-1849, *kapitein-luitenant-ter-zee*) Jonkheer Constantin George van Hoogenhouck Tulleken (1802-59), was now in temporary command.¹¹⁰ The son of a Vice-Admiral,¹¹¹ Tulleken appears to have risen to the challenge of taking over command of the *Pollux* following the deaths in quick succession of the ship's captain and First Officer. But his severely weakened and depleted crew faced multiple challenges, not least when they eventually reached the mouth of the Scheldt on 22 October. There they noted the unmistakable presence of a British warship blockading the navigation canal¹¹² and received a warning from an American ship that hostilities between the Netherlands and Britain over Belgian independence might already have broken out.¹¹³

“Concerning the corvette *Pollux*, which arrived at Vlissingen on this day [23 October 1832], the following detail has been related, which again testifies to the heroic spirit which animates Dutch sailors. Approaching the [navigation] channel [of the Scheldt], the *Pollux* encountered an American ship, [...] whose

110. NL-HaNA2.12.14_27-1787 (*Staat van Dienst* Tulleken). See also Van der Aa 1852-78, 8.2:1125.

111. This was Vice-Admiral Jan Hoogenhouck Tulleken (1762-1851), who participated in the battle of Doggersbank (1781) during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-84), see Van der Aa 1867, VIII.2:1125.

112. *Leeuwaarder Courant*, 13-11-1832, refers to the presence of the British warship.

113. *Utrechtsche Courant*, 3-11-1832, “Dezer [23 October 1832] te Vlissingen binnengekomen korvet de *Pollux*, verneemt men de navolgende bijzonderheid, welke opnieuw getuigt van den heldhaftigen geest, die Neêrlands zeelieden bezielt: het kanaal naderende, ontmoette de *Pollux* één Amerikaanse schip, en door den kapitein van dat schip gewaarschuwd zijnde om op zijne hoede te zijn, uithoorend gelijk die kapitein meende, de vijandelijkheden tusschen Engeland en Holland reeds moesten zijn uitgebarsten, zoo liet de luitenant Tulleken, de *Pollux* kommanderende, zijne overhebbende meestal zieke manschap op het dek zamentekomen, deelde hen mede, wat hij vernomen had, en stelde hen voor om, daar te zwak waren om zich te kunnen verdedigen, in geval zij door eenig vijandelijk schip mogten aangetast worden, dadelijk op zoodanig schip aan te loopen en zich met hetzelfde in de lucht te laten vliegen; welk voorstel dadelijk door allen met geestdrift werd goedgekeurd!”

captain [...] warned [Tulleken] to be on his guard, [...] as [he] believed, hostilities between England and Holland must have already broken out. So, [...] Tulleken, commanding the *Pollux*, [summoned] his mostly sick crew on deck. When they had assembled, he told them what he had heard, and suggested that, since they were too weak ever to defend themselves, should they be attacked by an enemy ship, they should immediately go up to it [...] and take it upon themselves [...] to send everyone sky high [by firing the *Pollux*'s powder magazine], which proposal was approved with enthusiasm by all!"

The plight of the *Pollux* and Tulleken's bravery caught the public imagination in the Netherlands. Indeed, it came hard on the heels of Second Lieutenant Jan Carel Josephus ('Itz') van Speyk's (1802-31) heroic action twenty months earlier on 5 February 1831 when he had blown up his gunboat (*kanoneerboot* no.2) with all its crew and a large number of the attacking mob in Antwerp rather than allow it to fall into Belgian hands.¹¹⁴ Tulleken would have been well aware of Van Speyk's heroic action when he summoned his sick crew on the *Pollux* to prepare for a similar act of self-immolation against the British. Dutch well-wishers of the gallant lieutenant probably made the connection too: those in Haarlem even clubbed together to send him letters of support and monetary gifts – discretely referred to as *extra oorlam* ('extra rum / jenever / gin rations')—sailor's wages at this time being paid partly in drink. These Tulleken politely refused. He informed the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant* readership on 8 November that he had just been doing his duty and could not accept any monetary gifts.¹¹⁵ Bringing the *Pollux* home after both his superiors had been struck down by scurvy was what was expected of him as a serving officer in the Dutch navy. But heroics were not the only emotion on display in the Dutch press that day. In the same number of the Haarlem newspaper in which Tulleken's statement had appeared, the human impact of the losses endured by the *Pollux* was also starkly evidenced: in the Family News (*Familiebericht*) section, First Lieutenant Hugenholtz's widow, Alberta Stoffelina Geertruida Bruinier (1798-1857), took out an obituary notice to mourn her husband's passing.¹¹⁶ Although she did not mention this, she was now left with three young children, two sons aged seven and four years respectively, and a very young daughter, born on 1 April 1830, Jacoba Stoffelina Anthonia, then still a toddler of thirty-one months, whom her late husband had never even met.¹¹⁷ Other obituary notices followed from the grieving parents of Second Lieutenant

114. Van der Aa 1852-78, 17.2:900-901; Molhuysen and Blok 1911-37, V:786.

115. *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 8-11-1832.

116. *Ibid.*

117. *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 8-04-1830; 10-04-1830 (refers to the birth of Hugenholtz's youngest child, a girl, Jacoba). He also had two sons, Jan Albert Hendrik (1825-74) and Petrus Conradus Arnoldus (1828-1903), the first of whom served in the Dutch navy, rising to the rank of Captain-commander (*kapitein-luitenant-ter-zee*) and serving as ad interim Governor of the Dutch Gold Coast between 8 June and 17 September 1871.

Willem August Spengler (1803-32), their beloved second son, and the Amsterdam-based widow of Captain Christiaan Eeg, Catharina Margaretha Amesz (1778-1836), whose only son, Christian Jan (1802-68), had already followed his father into the navy and would end his career as a captain (*kapitein-ter-zee*) in command of the armed brig *Mercur* (Mercury) in 1851.¹¹⁸

Last Years as a Floating Battery, 1832-38

The *Pollux*'s days were now numbered. After docking in Vlissingen on 23 October 1832, the corvette would scarcely move from the Dutch naval base for the remaining six years of her life while it served as a blockade ship (*blokschip*). A new commanding officer seemingly of Swiss origin, First Lieutenant E.F. du Fés (also spelt Dufez), who was immediately promoted to Commander (*Kapitein-luitenant-ter-zee*), was appointed in late February 1833, taking up his command on 1 March and serving for nineteen months until 1 December 1834.¹¹⁹ On 25 March, it was towed into position at the mouth of the Scheldt by the steam tug *De Beurs van Amsterdam* to take part in the Dutch blockade of the strategic waterway as negotiations continued over the status of the newly independent Belgium. By this time, it had become little more than a floating battery with its fire power diminished—its ordnance still only numbered ten 32-pounder cannon, the battery guns flung overboard to refloat the corvette as it entered the Scheldt on 22 October 1832 never being restored.

Throughout the rest of 1833 and 1834, *Pollux* continued the same blockade duties with other Dutch warships on the Scheldt,¹²⁰ usually being towed into position by steam barges or tugs rather than required to manoeuvre under its own sail.¹²¹ Four years later, on 15 April 1838, it was still listed as part of His Netherlands Majesty's Navy (*Koninklijke Nederlandsche Marine*).¹²² But by then it had become surplus to requirements. The age of sail had been overtaken by the age of steam. A warship which could not manoeuvre under its own power in a narrow waterway like the Scheldt was now a liability. At the same time, the political tensions over Belgian independence, which had required the *Pollux*'s

118. *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 30-10-1832 (Spengler obituary); 3-11-1832 (Eeg obituary). See also *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30-10-1832, 3-11-1832, 6-11-1832; and *Nederlandse Staatscourant*, 17-07-1833 (Eeg obituary notices).

119. *Overijsselsche Courant*, 26-02-1833 (refers to Dufez's appointment on or around 22 February 1833).

120. On the *Pollux*'s movements on the Scheldt in 1833-34, see *Middelburgse Courant*, 7-03-1833, 25-03-1834, 18-1-1834, 27-11-1834; *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 26-03-1833, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22-03-1833, *Overijsselsche Courant*, 20-12-1833; *Leeuwaarder Courant*, 31-12-1833; *Bredasche Courant*, 3-01-1834; *Journal de la Haye*, 13-04-1833.

121. See *Middelburgse Courant*, 18-11-1834, 27-11-1834, reference the Corvettes *Pollux* and *Comet* being towed out from Vlissingen by the steam barge (*stoompakket*), *Surinam*.

122. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 15-04-1838.

Plate 13 – ‘View of Vlissingen from the sea, 1662 [*Zicht op Vlissingen vanuit zee, 1662*]’ by Petrus Segars. Photograph courtesy of the Zeeuws Maritiem MuZEEum [sic], Vlissingen.

urgent presence on the Scheldt in 1832, were now a thing of the past. In late 1838, negotiations had begun in London between the principal powers of the Concert of Europe (Austria, France, Russia and the United Kingdom) and the two parties in dispute (the Netherlands and Belgium), which would result on 19 April 1839, in the Treaty of London, also known as the Treaty of Separation. Signed by the Dutch king, Willem I, and the recently installed Belgian monarch, Leopold I, this formally recognised Belgian independence with the newly established kingdom’s neutrality and sovereignty being guaranteed by the Concert of Europe powers, a guarantee which would remain in place until 4 August 1914, when the German invasion of Belgium and Luxemburg triggered World War I (1914-18).

As the negotiations for Belgian independence commenced in London, quietly and without fanfare, *Pollux* was decommissioned. The ship was broken at the Naval Dockyard at Vlissingen, only its name continuing to have a resonance until the present era.¹²³ The corvette’s fourteen-year service in the Dutch navy had come to an end. So too did a ship whose short life had spanned

123. On the break-up of the *Pollux*, see <http://warshipresearch.weblog.nl/warships/2009/2008/dutch-warships-1.html>, accessed 1 August 2011; and Vermeulen 1966:16.

the violent beginnings of the high colonial era in the Dutch East Indies. Silent witness to drama and tragedy in equal measure, its ship's log was stuff of a novel or at least a naval version of *Servitude et Grandeur Militaires* [Glory and Submission: Aspects of Military Life, 1835], Alfred de Vigny's (1797-1863) meditation on that "almost barbaric profession of warfare" which caused him to "love the majesty of human suffering,"

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Appendix

The Corvette-of-war (*kuilkorvet*) *Pollux*, 1824-38: Key Dates

27 May 1822 – *Besluit* (Official Decision) 27-05-1822 no.7 of Dutch Navy Minister, Joan Cornelis van der Hoop (in office, 1781-95, 1813-25), orders the building of the *kuilkorvet* (corvette-of-war) *Pollux* with an armament of 28 guns at the Dutch state shipyard, Rijkswerf, in Rotterdam

November 1822 – laid down at the Rijkswerf in Rotterdam under the supervision of the Rotterdam shipbuilder, Pieter Glavimans (c. 1720-87)

13 March 1824 – launched in Rotterdam

16 May 1824 – enters Dutch naval service with Lieutenant-Commander (*kapitein-luitenant-ter-zee*) Christiaan Eeg as its first captain. He serves two terms (16 May 1824 to 15 December 1827; and 16 August 1829 to 7 September 1832, when he dies at sea)

29 July 1824 – leaves Hellevoetsluis for the Nieuwediep naval dockyard at Den Helder for its final fitting out before its voyage to the Netherlands-Indies via Tenerife, Elmina (Dutch Guinea Coast, West Africa), Uruguay (Montevideo), Argentina (Buenos Aires), Cape Horn, Chile (Valparaíso), Venezuela (now Peru) (Cherillos). Nuku Hiva (Islas Marquesas), Ambon, Surabaya and Semarang

31 July 1824 – arrives in Nieuwediep, Den Helder

23 August 1824 – leaves Nieuwediep, Den Helder, with the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen* (Captain Fredrik [sic] Coertzen, 1771-1832) (Plate 3) for a voyage around the world, which has a dual purpose (1) showing the Dutch flag in South American ports; and (2) establishing trade relations with countries around Cape Horn (Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru)

mid-September 1824 – arrives Santa Cruz (Tenerife)

13 October 1824 – arrives St George d'Elmina (Kust van Guinea, Guinea Coast)

24 October 1824 – departs St George d'Elmina

6 December 1824 – arrives Montevideo (Uruguay)

10 December 1824 – arrives Buenos Aires (Argentina)

early January 1825 – departs Buenos Aires

3 February 1825 – rounds Cape Horn

10 February 1825 – encounters heavy storm West of Cape Horn (Plate 3)

28 February 1825 – arrives Valparaíso (Chile) where *Pollux* joins *Maria Reigersbergen* which has arrived some days earlier

21 March 1825 – departs Valparaíso

early April 1825 – arrives Chorrillos (Lima), then part of Venezuela, now the capital of Peru. The *Pollux*'s First Officer, First Lieutenant (*luitenant-ter-zee-der-eerste-klasse*), H.F. Tengbergen goes into Lima to meet Simón Bolívar (1783-1830), alias 'The Liberator (*El Libertador*)', the first President of Gran Colombia (in office, 1819-1830) and sixth President of Peru (in office, 1824-27), to pay a courtesy visit and open trade negotiations, but he is unavailable.

10 April 1825 – leaves Chorrillos (Lima)

15 May 1825 – arrives Bay of Anna Maria on the island of Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas, then known as the Washington Islands (post-1880, French Polynesia) (Plate 1)

late May 1825 – departs Nuku Hiva

13 June 1825 – crosses the Equator

14 June 1825 – discovers Fenua Tapu, which Captain Eeg renames *Nederlandsch Eiland* (Netherlands Island), an islet of the Nui atoll in the current Pacific Ocean State of Tuvalu

2 August 1825 – arrives Ambon with many sick sailors on board

10 August 1825 – leaves Ambon

30 August 1825 – arrives Surabaya and becomes part of the auxiliary Dutch naval squadron (*auxiliair eskader*) in the Netherlands Indies under Rear-Admiral (*schout-bij-nacht*) James John Melvill van Carnbée (1776-1837; in office, 1825-27)

5 September 1825 – departs Surabaya with the *Maria Reigersbergen* and a detachment of 171 Dutch infantry from the expeditionary force (*divisie*) sent from South Sulawesi (Makassar) on transports (frigates and corvettes) arranged by Captain (*kapitein-ter-zee*) Pieter Pietersen of the Sulawesi (Makassar) squadron,¹²⁴ of which 64 sail with the *Pollux*

124. See Nahuys van Burgst 1835-36, II:9.

8 September 1825 – arrives Semarang and serves for three months as a *wachtship* (guardship) and floating prison

9 September 1825 – the eldest son of the former *bupati* of Semarang, Kiai Tumenggung Suroadimenggolo V (in office, 1809-22) (Plate 4), Raden Ario Notodiningrat, the former *bupati* of Probolinggo (1817-c.1821) and Lasem (c.1821-24), is brought on board as a state prisoner (*staatsgevangene*). His father is held on the *Maria Reigersbergen*, which also serves as a *wachtschip* and floating prison. Notodiningrat is transferred to the *Maria Reigersbergen* to join his father on 23 December

26 December 1825 – leaves Semarang

28 December 1825 – arrives Surabaya and once more becomes part of the auxiliary naval squadron (*auxiliair eskader*) under the command of Rear-Admiral J.J. Melvill von Carnbée, where it performs patrol and search (*kruistochten*) operations along the north coast and in the eastern approaches to Java

19 April 1826 – death of Midshipman First Class (*adelborst-ter-eerste-klasse*), L.K van Groin

29 September 1826 – leaves Surabaya for military support and survey operations in Pacitan

14-23 October 1826 – ten-day mission in Pacitan¹²⁵

16 November 1826 – returns to Surabaya after a six-day stop-over in Batavia (29 October – 3 November)

early March 1827 – leaves Surabaya for Batavia

13 March 1827 – arrives naval dockyard at Pulau Onrust (Bay of Batavia) for repairs but because too extensive ordered back to the Netherlands (Den Helder)

1 April 1827 – leaves Batavia for Den Helder

5-6 June 1827 – caught in a violent storm east of Cape Agulhas (South Africa) (Plate 5), sustains extensive damage to rigging, bowsprit and rudder and sails back to Mauritius

1 July/3 August 1827 – in Port Louis (Mauritius) for emergency repairs

¹²⁵. A translation of the relevant pages of the ship's log in Indonesian can be found in Karsono Hardjoseputro 2021:245-59.

4 August 1827 – leaves Port Louis to resume return journey to the Netherlands

8 August 1827 – Midshipman First Class (*adelborst-der-eerste-klasse*) H.L.M. baron Gansneb genaamd Tengnagel (1810-27) dies at sea

30 November 1827 – arrives at the naval dockyard at Nieuwediep, Den Helder, for repairs and refit (5 December 1827 - end August 1829)

16 August 1829 – Captain (*kapitein-ter-zee*) Chrstiaan Egg re-appointed as the *Pollux*'s commander for a second and last time (16 August 1829 – 7 September 1832)

17 November 1829 – sails from Nieuwediep (Den Helder) for Batavia with newly appointed captain-commander of auxiliary Dutch naval squadron in East Indies, J.F.C. Wardenburg (1776-1839, in office 1830-?)

22 March 1830 – arrives Batavia and placed in the auxiliary naval squadron (*auxiliair eskader*) of Captain-commander Anthon Willem de Man (1773-1861, in office 1827-30) and post-31 March 1830 under Captain-commander Wardenburg

4 May 1830 – leaves Batavia with Prince Diponegoro (1785-1855) and 19 family and followers bound for exile in Manado

12 June 1830 – arrival in Manado

20 June 1830 – leaves Manado for Surabaya

9 July 1830 – arrives Surabaya

14 July 1830 – leaves Surabaya for Batavia

19 July 1830 – arrives Batavia where it serves as a guardship (*wachtship*) with intermissions until 5 May 1832

early December 1830 – leaves Batavia for Padang-Pariaman (West Coast Sumatra) to participate in the war against the Padris (1803-37)

12 December 1830 – 40 of the *Pollux*'s crew and one officer, Second Lieutenant Barend van den Broek, die in attack on fortified Padri kampung of Narras near Pariaman

3 February 1831 – arrives in Batavia

20 February/1 March 1831 – on troop transport duties to Padang-Pariaman

1 March 1831 – returns to Batavia

6 March 1831 – leaves for Surabaya

10 March 1831 – arrives Surabaya

10 March/18 May 1831 – as *wachtschip* (guardship) in Surabaya

18 May 1831 – leaves Surabaya

23 May 1831 – arrives Batavia

23 May/mid-July 1831 – as *wachtschip* (guardship) in Batavia

2-6 June 1831 – on training operations in Sunda Strait, possibly start of Merak Bay survey

mid-July 1831 – leaves Batavia for Rembang to collect commander of Indies auxiliary squadron (*auxiliair eskader*). J.F.C. Wardenburg

23 July 1831 – leaves Rembang with Captain-commander J.F.C. Wardenburg

25-29 July 1831 – in Semarang (Tanjung Mas harbour) on inspection duties with Captain-commander J.F.C. Wardenburg

29 July 1831 – leaves Semarang

1 August 1831 – arrives Batavia

1 August/19 October 1831 – as *wachtschip* (guardship) in Batavia

30 August/21 September 1831 – survey of Merak Bay in Sunda Strait

19 October 1831 – leaves Batavia for Padang-Pariaman

19 October 1831/early Jan 1832 on naval support duties in West Sumatra

4-31 December 1831 – participates in assault on fortified Padri position at Ujung Raja (Katiagan), Pasaman Barat regency

4 January 1832 – leaves Padang-Pariaman

12 January 1832 – arrives Batavia

12 January/22 May 1832 – as *wachtschip* (guardship) Batavia

23 May 1832 – leaves Batavia for Vlissingen

late August/23 October 1832 – forty members of the ship's crew succumb to scurvy

7 September 1832 – Captain Eeg dies of scurvy in the South Atlantic and Second Lieutenant (*luitenant-ter-zee-der-tweede-klasse*) Constantin George van Hoogenhouck Tulleken (1802-59), takes temporary command (see footnote 114)

12 September 1832 – First Officer Frederik Jacob Anthony Hugenholtz (1792-1832) dies of scurvy in the South Atlantic

18 October 1832 – Second Lieutenant (*luitenant-ter-zee-der-tweede-klasse*) Willem August Spengler (1803-32) dies of scurvy in the English Channel just as the *Pollux* is five days sailing from Vlissingen

22 October 1832 – arrives at the mouth of the Scheldt and finds the entrance to the navigation channel blockaded by a British warship. While trying to sail round the British vessel, the *Pollux* hits the Banjaard sandbank and has to jettison 18 of its 28 naval guns to refloat itself

23 October 1832 – arrives in Vlissingen and undergoes repairs in the naval dockyard

1 March 1833/1 December 1834 – First Lieutenant E.F. du Fés (also spelt Dufez) is appointed as the *Pollux*'s captain with the rank of captain-commander (*kapitein-luitenant-ter-zee*)

1 March 1833/1838 – assigned as a blockade ship (*blokschip*) on the Scheldt
late 1838 – decommissioned and broken up in the naval dockyard at Vlissingen