

MALAYSIA / INDONESIA.

Lecture I - from c. 1800 to the end of the "Cultuur System"

Last lecture on Indonesia ( nos. VI - VII, second term ) - ~~reached the date of the~~  
dissolution of the Dutch E.I.C. ( 31st December 1799 ). Now that the Dutch state had  
responsibility for the govt. of the East Indies, an acute controversy broke out over  
just how this should be done. Liberal opinion in the Netherlands wanted to change  
over to direct administration and also wanted to abolish the ~~forced~~ " contingencies  
and forced deliveries " system. Their ideas found their most important ~~an~~ expression  
in the report of Dirk van Hogendorp, a former governor of one of the provinces of  
Java. His ideas were opposed by a more conservative group represented by Nederburgh,  
who argued that the natives were naturally lazy and that for their own good and also  
for Dutch products had to be compelled to grow things. Eventually it was the conserv-  
ative group which carried the day and the old V.O.C. system continued ~~a~~ more or less  
unchanged for a decade or more. However new forces from Europe, originating in the  
ideas of the 18th century Enlightenment, the French ~~rev.~~ and the wars wh. followed it,  
and the industrial ~~progress~~ <sup>rev. in</sup> England, were soon to lead to sweeping changes in the  
colonies. The process of change was begun in 1808 when Herman Willem Daendels ~~became~~  
to Java. He was a Dutchman by birth but a Napoleonic marshal by career, and was <sup>made</sup> given  
Governor-General of the Dutch possessions ~~dictatorial powers over the Dutch colony~~ in Indonesia ~~when~~ after the Batavian Republic  
was replaced by a new monarchy in the Netherlands - the new king being Louis Bon-  
aparte, Napoleon's brother. Daendels was given dictatorial powers so that he could  
swiftly and thoroughly reorganize the admin. and strengthen the military defences of  
Java in the French interest. He was a man of great personal energy - known as the  
" Thundering Marshall " and was determined to govern rather than merely keep control.  
He built barracks, hospitals, gun foundries, new roads, ships, etc. To get money for  
all these enterprises he increased the forced cultivation of coffee to a tremendous  
extent. He also thoroughly reorganized the ~~great~~ governmental structure of Indonesia  
- the Javanese regents, whom Hogendorp had described as " ignorant, idle, and extort-  
ionate " were reduced to the position of civil servants, officers of the Dutch king  
and subordinate to Dutch officials. They still, however, derived their income from  
the land and the people and not from salaries. Daendels also made a determined effort

to stamp out corruption among the Dutch officials themselves. His high-handed methods, however good their results might have been, nevertheless made him a lot of enemies / both among the Dutch and among the Jav. princes and eventually King Louis recalled him. His successor, however, arrived just in time to perform the unhappy duty of handing over the ~~islands~~ <sup>island</sup> to the English. It was just Daendel's success in building up the military strength of Java that led to the British takeover - they wanted to spoil Napoleon's plans for encircling Brit.

2a).

Vlekke says that the British campaign with respect to Java was planned simply as a punitive expedition to expel the enemy, destroy their forts, capture their arms and ammunitions and then just leave the ~~the~~ colony to the natives. However the men who were sent to carry out these orders had other ideas. / i.e. Minto and Raffles -

<sup>\* Palembang</sup>  
Madura, Sumbawa, Bantan, S. Sumatra and Borneo. Led to one "Very ugly incident" after Raffles was made Lieutenant Gov. of the Dutch possessions in Indonesia (Hall) - when the Sultan of Palembang learned of the British landing, he massacred the Dutch garrison and the women and children - Raffles had written to him previously urging him to "expel and annihilate all Hollanders". When the Sultan refused to recognize Brit. overlordship - said he had already expelled the Dutch. Raffles sent an exped. to est. control (Sultan fled, replaced by his bro). - tin-bearing islands of Bangka and Billiton ceded to the British.

Raffles, as Lieutenant-Governor of Java and the other Dutch possessions, continued the trend towards a more direct administration started by Daendels. In his relations with Indonesian princes, for instance: in 1813 the Sultanate of Banten was abolished and its whole territory annexed. The Sultanate of Tjeribon was treated in the same way. He approved of the measures wh. Daendels had taken in regard to the Jav. regents (see Raffles' History of Java, vol. I p. 271f) and went even further in the same direction, depriving the Regents of "all political or other undue influence" and not allowing them any magisterial or revenue powers, so that they were almost completely excluded from any say in the govt. and admin. of Java. But <sup>Raffles</sup> ~~his~~ most important innovation was the introduction of a general land tax <sup>or rent</sup> which was to be paid in tax. The intention of this tax was to make a change from the old tribute-type system of the "contingencies and forced deliveries" ~~in~~ where the govt. itself collected and sold the agric. products of the land, to a more modern

rent = o. like the Thai system

(Jogja, Solo)



of slaves - e.g. forbad trading in slaves and also the ancient institution of debt slavery. He was v. interested in the history and civ. of Java - see his monumental History of Java and during his period as Lieutenant-Governor the Batavian Soc. of Arts and Sciences became a much more active concern than it had been before. For an account of Raffles by a Malayan who helped him in his Malay studies see Hikayat Abdullah, trans. A.H. Hill, JRASMB, 28, 1955. pp. 72-6. However Raffles was not equally admired by all his own countrymen - for instance the commander-in-chief of the Brit. forces, General Willespie, repeatedly disagreed with him and on returning to E.I.C. H.Q. in India made allegations against him ( for instance, he said that Raffles had used his position to line his own pocket ). The E.I.C. actually conducted an inquiry into Raffles' conduct and he was cleared of these charges, but nevertheless they were sufficiently dissatisfied with his performance in office to recall him from Java. his admin. pay its way - ( his type of indictment seems to be a common fate for colonial innovators - cf. Warren Hastings and Daendels ).

= true,  
but:  
generally  
permitted

Despite Raffles' recommendations that the British shld. try to hang on to the island, his successor in office, M John Fendall, handed it back to the Dutch in August 1816. The restored Dutch régime on Java retained Raffles' land-rent system, and ~~even further curbed the~~ influence of the Java Regents by refusing to allow them the right to hereditary succession in the office - son ~~of the Regent~~ would h'ever normally succeed, but only if the Dutch govt. was satisfied with him. Also made arrangements for the Regents to receive a fixed salary - reduced their opportunities for extortion. Raffles' measures against slavery were confirmed. The forced coffee cultivation in the Priangan district was maintained, as it had been by Daendels and Raffles, because of financial difficulties - the colony was still not paying its way. What would have happened if the situation had remained peaceful is hard to say, because the situation suddenly blew up with the outbreak of the Java War, a holocaust which ravaged Java for 5 years between 1825 and 1830. The chief of

\* The progress in the direction of direct govt. can be measured by the fact that in 1808 about 60% of Java was under direct Dutch rule but by 1830 this had increased to 93%.

-ORO

the rebel leaders was prince Dipanagara of the Jav. principality of Jogjakarta. When Dipanagara's father, ~~xxxxxx~~ Mangkubuwana III, had died in 1814, he had been succeeded by Dipanagara's younger brother, whose mother was a queen of higher rank than Dipanagara's. However Raffles had promised Dipanagara that he would succeed to the throne if it happened that his brother died before him. The brother did die first, but by that time the Dutch were back and they put his 2-yr old son on the throne - Fall syas they must have been genuinely ignorant of Raffles' promise because they made Dipanagara one of the guardians of the young sultan. However Dipanagara did not rebel out of disappointment over the succession - what finally induced him to rebel was the decision of the Dutch govt. to make a road over part of his property where there was a sacred tomb. Dipanagara's autobiography gives a ~~xxx~~ fascinating insight into his motivation - ~~xxxxxxx~~ religion - a syncretism of Islamic orthodoxy and / the older Jav. tradition - seems to have been the most important force behind his actions. In his youth he moved from one "pesantren" to another, and frequently went up to the mts. to perform asceticism in lonely caves. In his autobiography he describes many visions which appeared to him - for instance that of Sunan Kalidjaga, ~~x~~ the 16th cent. wali assoc. w. the conversion of Java to Islam. On one occasion when he was engaged in meditation a man appeared and summoned him to appear before the Ratu Adil - Berg associates the Ratu Adil w. Jav. Buddhism - says he is actually the bodhisattva Maitreya, but in Dipanagara's autobiography he is an Islamic figure - dressed like an Arab, and says to Dipanagara "you will lead my warriors on Java, and if anyone should ask you, your mandate is the Quran". This meeting was accompanied by all sorts of weird phenomena - bats and owls screeching, the sea burning, a great thundering noise etc. and the Ratu Adil's face is described as too bright for a man to be able to look at it.

During the 5 years of the war, there were no pitched battles - Dipanagara and his allies were fairly good at guerrilla tactics - took the Dutch quite a while to get the upper hand. In 1829 Dipanagara's 2 chief allies surrendered, and in 1830 Dipanagara agreed to negotiate and was treacherously arrested by the Dutch general at their meeting. He was banished to Celebes and died there in 1855 (wrote his autobiography in exile).

As may be imagined, the Java War did not improve the financial sit. of the Dutch colonial govt. The new Governor-General, Johannes van den Bosch, who arrived in 1830, was appointed because of his previous career record - had been sent on a special mission to restore prosperity to the Dutch West Indies in 1827, and had managed to make this colony yield a large annual profit to the Netherlands. He was not an admirer of the ideas of Daendels andaffles, and immediately upon arrival he introduced what is now known for all time as the " Culture System " ( ntl. to do w. culture - translation of Dutch " cultuurstelsel " - means the ~~initial~~ <sup>arrangements for</sup> cultivation, i.e agriculture ). Its main provisions harked back to the system of the Dutch E.I.C. ( "Contingencies and Forced Deliveries " ) \* in that the Javanese were required to deliver specified quantities of export produce ( or else to provide the land and labour necessary to do this, wh. came to the same thing ). There was a slight difference under van den Bosch's scheme in that the govt. itself no longer exported the products as the Dutch E.I.C. had done - this was now done by a semi-official body, the NHM ( Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij, i.e, the Neth. Trading Co. ) , but despite this the central fact remains that van den Bosch had returned to the old tribute system. The govt. of Java was once again to be a machine for collecting export produce to ship back to Europe. In the same spirit, he took measures to restore the position of the Jav. Regents - thought that the unrest ( Java War etc. ) / the erosion of their authority had contributed to He did not approve of the way they had been reduced to the status of govt. servants, and even been transferred from place to place, so that they lost much of their influence they had had in the trad. Jav. situation. He therefore recognized the principle of hereditary succession in the Regencies, and went back to the old system whereby they derived their income from the possession of large land-holdings and from rights to peasant labour, instead of getting salaries. ~~am~~

The " Culture System " lasted for some 3-4 decades and did just what van den Bosch had hope for - it not only made the colony pay but as time went on it provided a larger and larger proportion of the Dutch domestic budget. As early as 1833, acc. to Hall, a profit of 3 million guilders was paid into the Dutch treasury. As more and more products ( van den Bosch had begun w. indigo and sugar, but later / were added to the list of those wh. had to be grown for the govt on coffee, tea, tobacco, pepper, cinnamon, cotton etc. were added ) enormous quantities of produce flowed into Holland. This revived Dutch shipping, made Amsterdam

a great entrepot for tropical products, and the profits made paid off Holland's public debt. ~~There~~ An admiring Englishman, J.B. Money, wrote a book called Java, or How to Manage a Colony ( publ. 1861 ).

What was the effect of the " Culture System " on the Javanese? Had certain bad features - the peasant had to grow the govt. export crops before starting on the crops wh. were to feed him and his family ( i.e. the rice crop ) and although van den Bosch had laid down that not more than 66 days a year was to be spent on growing the govt. crops, at least 90 days was required to grow coffee, and in addition there ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> still the corvée ( forced labour ) requirement by wh. the govt. did its roadbuilding etc. - ~~in~~ the peasant could end up working 200 days a year for the govt. and so cld. not grow much for himself. During the yrs. 1848-50 there was widespread famine in Central Java for this reason. However, Furnivall says that our picture of the Culture System ~~is~~ has been painted for us by the Liberals who subsequently put an end to it, and they deliberately painted it in v. dark colours. Hall says that the popl of Java increased from 6 to 9 ~~mil~~ and a half m. under the Culture System, ~~and~~ rice cultivation did increase when you take the overall figures, and also the introd. of new ~~export~~ export crops did benefit the Javanese.

The famines of the 1840s made quite an impact on the Netherlands, and from this time on Dutch liberals began a long and bitter campaign against the Culture System. " Liberal " is rather an ambiguous word - includes not only those who for humanitarian reasons wanted a more liberal or free society for the Javanese but also those who were " liberals " only in the sense that they were advocates of free ~~private~~ enterprise - and therefore against the Dutch govt.'s monopolies in Indonesia - wanted to open up the colony to private enterprise. In 1860 the <sup>movement</sup> ~~agitation~~ for the abolition of the " Culture System " ~~was~~ gained momentum by the publication of 2 works. The first was a novel ~~by~~ called Max Havelaar, written by an ex-Indon. govt. official Edward Douwes Dekker, who wrote under the pseudonym Multatuli ( " I have born much " ). The ~~is~~ story of the book is based on Douwes Dekker's own career - describes the fate of an official who is dismissed because he tried to protect the natives from the oppression practised under the Culture System. D.D. was particularly strongly against the Dutch practice of getting the Regents to do their extortion for them - gives a very vivid and emotional portrait of one arbitrary tyrant, apparently taken from a

real-life "agent" ( see de Haan ). The second publication was a pamphlet of Isaac Franssen v. der Putte, entitled The Regulation of Sugar Contracts in Java. V.d. Putte had been employed by a sugar factory dealing with the product of ~~suikar~~ forced cultivation and had afterwards, as a tobacco planter in the extreme east of Java, become acquainted with free cultivation. In his writings he displayed a v. thorough knowledge of the operation of the Culture System and he said that the famines of the 1840s had aroused the public conscience and that people were shocked at ~~the~~ the ~~oppression~~ oppression of the Javanese and now was the time to do sth. He said that natural disasters, local misgovernment and abuses, etc. were not the real problems - the primary cause of the bad sit. was the Culture System itself, wh. was " rooted in unrighteousness ". Although people might say that if ~~this~~ the Culture System were to be abolished the Netherlands would lose the v. large Indonesian contribution to its budget, he was convinced that wise reforms and the liberation of land and labour, would furnish equally large contributions out of direct taxation. This of course is highly reminiscent of Raffles' ideas, and indeed many of the Dutch liberals, for instance Thorbecke, who ~~led~~ led the Liberal Govt. wh. came to office in 1862, ~~regard~~ regarded Raffles with some veneration. Thorbecke made v.d. Putte Minister of Colonies and during the time he held that post ( 1863-6 ) things began to move in the direction of free enterprise.

effe - in Praanger lands

regent class

Hikayat Abdullah

biographies of Raffles