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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 - ~~xxxxxx~~ 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~~arrangement 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.■

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~~ 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 ~~movement~~ ^{movement} 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 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.