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THE WORKING OF THE EARLY LAND RENT SYSTEM IN WEST JAVA

“I cannot but look upon the accomplishment of this undertaking as the most conspicuous and important under my administration; and in its success or otherwise I am willing to stand or fall”.¹ Thus Raffles wrote to Lord Minto on 13 February 1814, with reference to the new land rent system which was then being introduced into Java to replace the Dutch system of forced deliveries and contingents. Three years later in *The History of Java*, he left no doubt in the minds of his readers that the system had been successful. “In the course of the years 1814 and 1815”, he wrote, “the new system was introduced into *Bantam*, *Chérison*, and the eastern districts, over a population of a million and a half of cultivators, not only without disturbance and opposition, but to the satisfaction of all classes of the natives, and to the manifest increase of the public revenue derivable from land. In several journies which I undertook into the different provinces, for the purposes of examining in person the effect of the progressive system of reform which I had the happiness to introduce, and of lending the sanction of official authority to such modifications of it as local circumstances might render advisable, I was a pleased spectator of its beneficial tendency, and of the security and satisfaction it universally diffused”.² The documentary evidence in the India Office Library, London, and the State Archives (*Arsip Negara*), Djakarta, which relates to the land rent system in west Java, would appear to warrant a somewhat different conclusion.

In February 1813 the lowlands of Bantam lying to the north and west of the Great Post Road from Tjikandi, through Onderandi

¹ Lady Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*... (London, 1830), 225.

² T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java* (London, 1817), I, 159. All future references to this book are to the second edition of 1830.

(Undarandir), Serang, Tjiligon (Tjilegon), Anjir (Anjer), Tjarita, and including Tjaringin, were leased out on a *zamindari* basis to *pěngerans*, *těměnggongs*, *arias*, *ngaběhis*, and other members of the rural nobility, at an annual rental of 19,941 Spanish dollars.³ The lessees engaged either to cultivate the lands themselves, or to sublet them at a moderate, fixed rent to the peasants, but on no occasion to hire them out to other Indonesian rulers at advance rates. They also agreed not to levy taxes on, or demand services from the people on their lands.⁴ In the following month, when the Sultan of Bantam ceded the highlands to the government in consideration of an annuity of 10,000 Spanish dollars payable in monthly instalments from the local revenues,⁵ Raffles advised the British Resident, Major Udney Yule, to pursue a similar policy to that already adopted in the lowlands, and grant leases in the highlands to a renter class on an annual or triennial basis, whichever were deemed the more satisfactory. "An equitable and moderate land rent now established throughout the country in lieu of the feudal services, forced deliveries, and arbitrary taxes heretofore demanded," Raffles continued, "cannot fail to ensure to the cultivator the fruits of his industry, and induce habits of civilization, while the immediate interference of the European authority may be expected in a short period to establish a vigilant police of which the country, particularly the highlands, stands so much in need." It was to remain a matter for future consideration whether or not the monopolies on the coast were to be abolished, and the duties at the various ports to be collected by the government instead of being farmed out to the individuals. But independent of these considerations, and the general establishment of a land rent system, Raffles considered that a substantial increase in the local revenues was possible if an opium farm were established in the highlands, as well as in the Lampungs, in order to counter clandestine importations of that commodity. In the meantime, Yule was instructed to pay for all pepper, cotton, rattans, and hemp delivered to the government storehouses at Serang, on the explicit understanding that this arrangement was not

³ For details of the 1813 land rent assessment of the lowlands of Bantam, see J. Bastin, "Raffles' Ideas on the Land Rent System in Java", *VKI*, XIV (1954), 109.

⁴ M. L. van Deventer, *Het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java en Onderhoorigheden sedert 1811* (The Hague, 1891), I, 16-17; *Java Public Consultations*, 12 March 1813 (India Office Library, London).

⁵ *Java Public Consultations*, 21 April 1815 (India Office Library, London); [W. B. Bergsma], *Eindresumé van het . . . Onderzoek naar de Rechten van den Inlander op den Grond op Java en Madoera* (Batavia, 1876-96), II, Bijl. A, 16.

to interfere with the principle of free cultivation established by the land rent system, but was merely to provide an accessible and ready market for the benefit of the local producers.⁶

Towards the end of May 1813 Yule made his first report on the Bantam highlands. He explained that as he had been unable to find any Indonesian rulers willing to rent districts on condition of residing on them, he had been forced to conclude that the lands would have to be "let out . . . without any intermediate rank between the Government and peasantry." Moreover, as the cultivators in these districts had already made advances to the Sultan before the cession to the British government, arrangements for establishing a fixed moneyed rent in the highlands would have to be suspended until the beginning of 1814. Yule recommended that until then, the balance due for 1813 should be accepted not only in specie but also in *padi*, at the rate of 13 Spanish dollars per *tjiang* of 2,400 *katis*.⁷ The government's reply to these suggestions was that where it was deemed unnecessary to establish Indonesian rulers as a renter class, lands should be leased as closely to the cultivators as possible.⁸ During the remainder of the year attention was concentrated upon completing a survey of the highland districts preparatory to the full introduction of the land rent system in the following year.

In the lowlands, meanwhile, the half-yearly land rents due on 1 July 1813 were all paid to the government on time, with exception of rents from the four eastern districts of Tanara, Pontang, Tambakbaya, and Trate [?]. In this part of the Bantam Residency, drought conditions resulted in an entire failure of the rice crops, with a consequent deficiency of 1,625 Spanish dollars in the land rent collections.⁹ Yule hoped that part of these arrears would be realized from the second crops during the remainder of 1813, but in fact the total deficit for the lowlands had increased threefold to 9,957 Java rupees before the year was out.¹⁰

⁶ Assey to Yule, 26 March 1813, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, 12 June 1813 (India Office Library, London).

⁷ Yule to Assey, 28 May 1813, *Java Public Consultations*, 7 June 1813 (India Office Library, London).

⁸ Marginal reply to *ibid.*, dated 20 June 1813.

⁹ Yule to Assey, 2 August 1813, *Original Documents 1813*, Revenue Department, E.T. 75 (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta).

¹⁰ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 147. Extracts from a variant report are printed in S. van Deventer, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Landelijk Stelsel op Java* (Zalt-Bommel, 1865-6), I, 363-6.

Early in 1814, Yule forwarded to the government at Batavia a schedule of both the Bantam lowlands and highlands, giving a complete and revised land rent assessment for the new year. The lands had been divided into "farms" — 331 in the lowlands, and 393 in the highlands, — each of which in the northern highlands contained on an average about thirty-four Indonesian families.¹¹ The "farms" were all let out to *mandors*, or heads of villages, except the district of Tjilegon in the lowlands, where the Malay "kapitan", who had held the district on lease during the previous year, had been so energetic in turning "a wilderness [in]to a garden", that Yule thought special consideration should be shown to him. His lease was therefore continued.¹² Otherwise, the land rent system in Bantam was organized during 1814 entirely on the village basis.¹³ The total revenue assessment for the year, including a sum of 18,012 Spanish dollars derived from the sale of other farms and bazaars, was calculated at 58,142 Spanish dollars.¹⁴ The assessment for the lowlands was increased by some 6,000 Spanish dollars beyond the figure of the previous year to 26,598 Spanish dollars, and the highlands assessment was established at 13,532 Spanish dollars. An unusual feature of the assessment of the

¹¹ This average is calculated from a separate "Schedule of the Northern Districts of the Highlands of Bantam, exhibiting the Number of Farms and the Number of Families, and the amount of Monied rent for which each has been let for the year 1814...", *Original Documents 1813*, Revenue Department E.T. 75 (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta). The number of families involved in the other highland districts, and in the lowlands, was not given in the table printed below. However, Yule's "Table of the Districts of Coast Lands Bantam..." [Nov. 1812], *Mackenzie Collection (Miscellaneous)* 1 no. 13 (India Office Library, London) listed 15,186 families in the lowlands.

¹² Marginal note to "Schedule of the Bantam Districts exhibiting the Number of Farms and the amount of Monied Rents for which each has been let for the year 1814". *Original Documents 1814*, Revenue Department, E.T. 58, (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta).

¹³ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 148-9.

¹⁴ The assessment was therefore 40,130 Spanish dollars, which is the figure, in Java rupees, given by the General-Inspectorate of the Land Revenue (Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 148n.) J. de Bruijn's figure of 98,846 Java rupees is obviously incorrect, as are the figures in J. Bastin *The Native Policies of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java and Sumatra: An Economic Interpretation* (Oxford, 1957), 53, where, in order to reconcile De Bruijn's figures with those given by Raffles in *Substance of a Minute recorded... on the Introduction of an Improved System of Internal Management and the Establishment of a Land Rental on the Island of Java...* (London, 1814), 24, and Lady Raffles, *Memoir*, 218, I went against the actual sense of the text. It is now clear that Raffles' statement that the Bantam "territorial revenues" for 1814 amounted to 100,000 Java rupees was meant to include the sale of farms, bazaars, *et cetera*.

highlands was the stipulation that 100,000 [?] pepper vines were to be planted as part of the land rent obligation.¹⁵ It is evident from this, that an effort was being made to re-establish in the highlands the lucrative pepper culture which had declined during the Napoleonic Wars;¹⁶ but how exactly a stipulation which enforced planting was capable of being reconciled with the principle of free cultivation, so often insisted upon by the British government, is not easy to see.

Details of the 1814 land rent assessment of the Bantam lowlands and highlands are given in the following tables.¹⁷

Of the total 1814 land rent assessment of 40,130 Spanish dollars, or 88,287 Java rupees, all except 674 Java rupees appears to have been collected.¹⁸ In February 1814 when reporting that great promptness had been shown by many of the lowlands cultivators in coming forward with their half-yearly rents, Yule expressed concern at the tardiness exhibited in this respect by the people in the hills, and doubted whether returns would be received from some of the highland districts.¹⁹ According to J. de Bruijn, who reported on the Bantam Residency to the Dutch Commissioners-General in 1817, the southern highland districts were never surveyed during the British administration because piratical incursions into that part of the country produced general insecurity, and caused depopulation.²⁰ Undoubtedly the small arrears in the 1814 land rent collection occurred in these districts.

At the beginning of 1815 the detailed, or *ryotwari* land rent system, the principles of which Raffles had outlined in his minute of 11 February 1814,²¹ was supposed to be introduced into Bantam. Unfortunately, the cadastral survey, which was an essential prerequisite for the introduction of the system, had not proceeded very far by the beginning

¹⁵ Marginal note to "Schedule of the Bantam Districts... 1814", *Original Documents 1814*, Revenue Department, E.T. 58, (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta). The total figure is difficult to decipher, but the number specified for the northern districts of the highlands was 34,500 vines.

¹⁶ H. W. Daendels, *Staat der Nederlandsche Oostindische Bezittingen, onder het Bestuur van den Gouverneur-Generaal Herman Willem Daendels... in de jaren 1808-1811* (The Hague, 1814), 12; Raffles, *History of Java*, I, 146.

¹⁷ The tables are based on "Schedule of the Bantam Districts... 1814", *Original Documents 1814*, Revenue Department, E.T. 58 (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta). The 1813 figures come from a more detailed table printed in Bastin, *VKI*, XIV, 109.

¹⁸ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 148.

¹⁹ Yule to Assey, 5 February 1814, *Original Documents 1814*, Revenue Department, E.T. 58 (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta).

²⁰ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 148-9.

²¹ Raffles, *Substance of a Minute*, 1-215.

LOWLANDS

DISTRICTS	Number of farms	Assessment of land rent			
		1814		1813	
		Spanish dollars	Sts.	Spanish dollars	Sts.
Tjilegon	4	2,500		1,813	
Tjiroas (Tjiruas)	54	1,742	33	1,284	36
Kalodran	14	1,153		981	
Panchahiran [?] (Panjairan)	21	1,485		1,091	
Tjibening	8	399		221	
Anjir (Anjer)	33	2,305		1,038	16
Serang	27	1,172		563	32
Jawana (Djawana)	6	118		28	
Bantam	17	510		298	44
Trate	16	779		{ with Sardang 3,057	48
Bodjonagara	13	1,652	33		16
Sardang [?] (Serdang)	32	3,383	33	[see Trate]	
Tambakbaya	19	2,452	33	2,219	6
Ragas	13	1,107		1,507	
Onderandi (Undarandir)	10	301		207	
Tjikandi	7	211		121	
Pontang	21	2,518		2,194	
Tanara [?]	9	752		887	
Tjarita	7	455		72	
[Tjaringin ?]	?	[1,602]		1,421	
Total :	331	26,598		19,941	

HIGHLANDS *

DISTRICTS	Number of farms	Assessment of land rent 1814	
		Spanish dollars	Sts.
Baros	49	1,021	33
Tjiamas (Tjiomas)	33	1,452	
Tjimanok (Tjimanuk)	15	750	
Lanchar [?]	20	1,123	
Tjadasari	24	602	
Tjekek	20	453	
Pandiglang (Pandeglang)	19	237	
Konchang (Kontjang) [?]	16	615	
Tjipete	13	399	
Pakam	17	634	
Kolilit (Kolelet)	11	361	
Pamarayan	12	451	
Parunkujang (Parung-Kudjang)	14	200	
Bojong	1	100	
Sajira (Sadjira)	1	500	
Somang (Samang)	1	300	
Binwangan (Binuangeun)	18	683	
Tjiangasa (Tjianggasa)	20	1,430	
Mines (Menes)	15	456	
Panimbang	9	309	
Kananga	25	545	
Parayan [?]	22	231	
Kosik (Tjikeusik ?)	18	680	
Total :	393	13,532	33

* The alternative modern spelling of place names given in round brackets has been added by Dr. H. J. de Graaf.

of the new year. As late as March 1815 Yule informed the government that although he had surveyed most of the lowlands except Tjarita and Tjaringin, and had made considerable progress in surveying the districts around Gunong Karang, his general progress in registering the quantities, descriptions, and other particulars of the lands, had been "very trifling when compared to the whole extent of the district", and he feared that it would be impossible for him to complete the survey for several months. As there were very few districts, or even villages, where the land annexed to them had been completely rented out, he was unable to give anything more than an estimate of the expected land rent yield under the *ryotwari* system. However, on the basis of what had already been achieved, he predicted that the 1815 assessment would exceed that of the previous year "in a very extraordinary degree", and reported that the people in general were very satisfied with the principles of individual property established by the new system, even allowing that the rents proposed by the government were "moderate and easy".²²

What in effect Yule had surveyed by March 1815 were the lands of some 356 (of a total of 458) villages in the Tjilegon, Sardang (Serdang), Jawana (Djawana), Panchahiran (Panjairan), Baros, Tjekek, Tjadasari, Kalodran, Tjibening, Bantam, Serang, Tjiroas (Tjiruas), Tambakbaya, Pontang, Pakam, Tjiamas, and Anjir (Anjer) districts. He had granted leases to 14,703 cultivators in these districts, at an estimated rent of 145,831 Java rupees. According to a statistical table printed in *The History of Java*, some 23,719 leases were finally granted in these districts, and, in the whole Residency of Bantam, a total of 41,444 leases.²³ Obviously, therefore, the survey of the additional districts, and the granting of the additional leases, must have kept Yule busy during the remainder of 1815. Thus while in theory the *ryotwari* system was supposed to have been functioning in Bantam during that year, in practice the greater part of the country continued under the village system. No further reports on the land rent system in Bantam were apparently made by Yule; certainly there are none among the revenue documents at Djakarta, and the Accountant-General, J. G. Bauer, testified in May 1817 that no regular statements of land rent assessments were made by Yule during 1815—16.²⁴ We are,

²² Yule to Assey, 3 March 1815, *Revenue Stukken 1815*, E.T. 63 (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta).

²³ Raffles, *History of Java*, II, 268-9.

²⁴ Van Deventer, *Landelijk Stelsel op Java*, I, 364.

therefore, entirely dependent on a number of Dutch reports of 1817 for information on the Bantam land rent system during these years, and especially upon the report of J. de Bruijn, who took control of the Bantam Residency from the British in the latter half of 1816.

According to De Bruijn, the total 1815 land rent assessment for Bantam was 349,271 Java rupees, which was an increase of nearly four times that of the previous year! But of this amount only 160,211 Java rupees were received, so that the arrears in the land rent collection for that year amounted to 189,060 Java rupees.²⁵ Then, in the following year, the system was continued on the same basis, but until August 1816, when the British administration ceased, only 812 Java rupees had been collected. De Bruijn estimated that at that time the land rent arrears amounted to 549,150 Java rupees.²⁶ Figures from other sources suggest that this estimate of arrears is not much exaggerated.

In May 1817 Bauer stated that until the end of July 1816 some 995 Java rupees had been received in payment of land rents for that year (that is, 183 Java rupees more than De Bruijn allowed), and another 2,586 Java rupees were paid in by December. The total receipts from the land rents of Bantam during 1816 amounted, therefore, to 3,581 Java rupees. Another report, compiled by both British and Dutch officials some time earlier, stated that until the cession of Java to the Netherlands, a total of 59,182 Java rupees had been collected as part of the 1815 land rent arrears in Bantam, and that between August and December 1816 another 7,650 Java rupees had been paid to the Dutch collectors. If the 1815 assessment was continued at the same level for 1816, as stated by De Bruijn, then the total assessment of the land rents of Bantam for these two years may be calculated at 698,542 Java rupees. And if each of the collections mentioned above are accepted as *separate* items, when clearly they overlap, then we would be safe in assuming that the total maximum amount realized from the Bantam land rent system during 1815 and 1816 was 230,624 Java rupees. As the resultant total arrears of 467,918 Java rupees are only 81,232 Java rupees less than De Bruijn's figure of 549,150 rupees, we may average the two figures, and for convenience take the round figure of half-a-million Java rupees as constituting the total arrears in the Bantam land rents during the British administration.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 149 appears to confuse arrears with collections.

²⁶ Van Deventer, *Landelijk Stelsel op Java*, I, 364-5.

The reason for this enormous deficit was due, among other things, to the extraordinarily high assessment of the lands. The rates of hire established by Yule for a *jung* (2,000 square roods) of each kind of land were 66 Java rupees on the first quality *sawahs*, 37:2 Java rupees on the second quality, and 25:2 Java rupees on the third quality. On the first quality *tegals*, the rates were 37:2 Java rupees, on the second quality 25:2 Java rupees, and on the third quality 14 Java rupees.²⁷

It was not only a matter of excessive rates being charged for the lands; what was equally important was the unavailability of specie with which to pay the rents. As early as 3 March 1815 Yule had warned the government that despite favourable appearances, it was impossible to expect all rents to be paid in cash, "for such is the poverty of the inhabitants that . . . all the money in the district would be [in-] sufficient to pay a third of the revenue". He therefore recommended that besides *padi*, other articles such as pepper, betelnut, coffee, and stick lac, should be received in payment of the land rents.²⁸ But from the later severe strictures passed by De Bruijn on the stubborn attachment of the Indonesian peasants to rice cultivation, and the sacrifice which this entailed in the matter of production of lucrative commodities like pepper, coffee, sugar, indigo, and cotton for the world market,²⁹ as well as from the direct statement of the General-Inspectorate of Land Revenues in April 1818 that all cultures, except that of rice, were in a state of decline,³⁰ it would appear that during the British administration land rents in Bantam were paid for the most part in *padi*, or specie. It is possible, however, to infer from a report of the Netherlands-Indies Council of Finance written on 11 July 1817 that the pepper monopoly was continued by the British Resident in Bantam contrary to the regulations which enjoined freedom of cultivation,³¹ so that some rents from the highland districts may have been paid in pepper.

The liberal principles established by the government conflicted with reality in another way. According to these principles the cultivator, once he had paid his annual rent, was freed from all further obligations either to the European, or to the higher Indonesian authorities; indeed, the whole justification for the land rent system was that it did away

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 365.

²⁸ *Revenue Stukken 1815*, E.T. 63 (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta).

²⁹ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 152-3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 152n.

³¹ F. de Haan, "Personalial der periode van het Engelsch bestuur over Java 1811-1816", *BKI*, 92 (1935), 668.

with all the arbitrary impositions which previously had been laid upon the peasantry, and established in its place a system of regular and fixed taxation. And yet what happened in practice was that the old system of hiring out bazaars and farms to the highest bidders, often Chinese, continued. A whole host of minor farms were auctioned by the government in 1813,³² and although a number of these were later abolished, nevertheless farms for the sale of gambier, tobacco, fish, and other produce, continued throughout the period of British rule. The auctioning of these farms, together with the leasing of the bazaars, led to "heavy and irregular" taxation, and, according to De Bruijn, had a pernicious influence on the Indonesian small-scale trade. It was, he stated, absolutely incompatible with the land rent system, because the cultivator, who had already paid rent for the use of land necessary to raise produce for the local market, had in addition to meet the levies imposed at the bazaars by persons who had hired them from the government. The result was that the cultivators in Bantam were double-taxed, despite the paper regulations of the British Lieutenant-Governor.³³

Equally, if not more important than all of these reasons for the failure of the land rent system in Bantam, was the defective administrative machinery established by the regulations of February 1814. The regulations contained "many fine and useful arrangements", which if they had been exactly observed would doubtless have attained the object of a regular and equitable system of taxation; but unfortunately in Bantam the means were lacking to put them into operation as the Indonesian rulers were either unwilling to co-operate or were unsuited to the duties laid upon them.³⁴ Yule had informed the government early in 1815 that although the people seemed happy with the *ryotwari* system of collection, the *mandors*, and other petty chiefs of the villages were opposed to the system and were throwing obstacles in the way to its introduction.³⁵ As the burden of the administration of the land rent system fell upon these particular chiefs, their opposition was a vital factor in accounting for its eventual failure. Yet, even with the best will in the world, these village chiefs were incapable of carrying out the tasks imposed on them. Paragraph fourteen of the 1814 regulations enjoined them to furnish the Collectors with full accounts and

³² *Java Government Gazette* (Batavia, 1812-16) 5 December 1812.

³³ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 153-4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 150-1.

³⁵ Yule to Assey, 3 March 1815, *Revenue Stukken 1815*, E.T. 63 (*Arsip Negara*, Djakarta).

fact, they could neither read or write. The consequence was that Indonesian writers had to be called in, but as there was only one of these to each district, which often included many widely scattered villages, it is easy to understand the resultant entanglements in the accounts. These increased in proportion as the *mandors* and writers joined together in concocting false reports in order to enrich themselves at the expense of the government and the people.³⁶

These criticisms of the Bantam land rent system made by De Bruijn appear to be incontrovertible, not only because he was long familiar with conditions in that part of Java, having occupied the position of *Landdrost* at the time of the British conquest,³⁷ but also because he was himself an enthusiastic supporter of the land rent idea. He informed the Commissioners-General that in his view it was to be much preferred to any other system which could be devised, but recommended the lowering of the assessment by one-third, and the appointment of sufficient European revenue officers to administer the system. Moreover, unlike other Dutchmen who favoured a continuation of the land rent system, De Bruijn supported the *ryotwari* method of collection as the only one which could promise permanent advantage. "... [I]t has seemed to me," he wrote to the Commissioners-General in 1817, "that this part of the administration introduced and put into operation by the British Government of Java is highly useful and important and that, although there are still many defects to redress, nevertheless the late British administration, by the first introduction of the land rent system, has rendered to the Netherlands Government a principal and essential service, from which in future the most salutary results will originate, [because] it is ... beyond all doubt that the land rent, modified and improved on a well considered and regulated plan, is the only true and sufficient way to pour out the rich produce of these remote regions into the lap of the Motherland ..."³⁸

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³⁶ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 151.

³⁷ De Bruijn forwarded a useful "Memoir" on Bantam to Raffles on 30 September 1811, as a guide to the new administration. (*Mackenzie Collection (Private)*, 4 No. 7) (India Office Library, London).

³⁸ Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag over Java*, I, 160-1.