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JAVA;

OR,

HOW TO MANAGE A COLONY.

VOL. I.

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Λύραν μὲν ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταται, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι.—PLUTARCH'S *Themistocles.*

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JAVA;

OR,

HOW TO MANAGE A COLONY.

SHOWING

A PRACTICAL SOLUTION OF THE QUESTIONS
NOW AFFECTING BRITISH INDIA.

BY

J. W. B. MONEY,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
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LONDON:
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Dedicated to the Memory of

THAT GREAT STATESMAN,

GENERAL JOHANNES VAN DEN BOSCH,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

FROM 1830 TO 1834,

AUTHOR OF THE JAVA CULTURE SYSTEM,

THE RESULTS OF WHICH ARE DESCRIBED IN THE FOLLOWING

PAGES.

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PREFACE.

The following pages describe a country and a people whose present state is but little known, and whose system of government is generally misunderstood and maligned. The condition of Java is the best vindication of the Dutch East Indian policy, but a more accurate knowledge both of the country and of the system may be of paramount importance to the future of our Empire in the East.

India is now at the crisis of her fate, either to enter gradually the great comity of nations, or to sink back into the semi-barbarism of two thousand years of discord and oppression. This hangs on the continuance of English rule. The late rebellion revealed the rottenness of our present hold upon the country, except by the maintenance of a European force, which the undeveloped resources of India are incompetent to support. Not only have the expenses suddenly increased so far beyond

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the revenue, as to cause a large deficit, and great increase of debt, but the stationary condition of the people, and the inelasticity of the production of the country, offer no scope for the largely increased resources which our continued rule and the expanding ideas of the country's necessities must require. The vital question therefore is to enable India to pass through the next fifty years without exhaustion, and under circumstances to make its retention not only possible but convenient to England.

It is for this reason that the example of Java may be so useful.

A quarter of a century ago Java was, and had been for many years in a condition similar to the present chronic state of India. Poverty, crime, and dissatisfaction among the Natives, failing means and general discontent among the Europeans, a large debt and yearly deficit in the income of the country, both trade and revenue at the same low figure per head of the population, and absence of good feeling between European and Native existed in Java till 1832, as they now exist in India.

A new system was then inaugurated, which, in twenty-five years, quadrupled the revenue, paid off the debt, changed the yearly deficit to a large yearly surplus, trebled the trade, improved the adminis-

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tration, diminished crime and litigation, gave peace, security, and affluence to the people, combined the interests of European and Native, and, more wonderful still, nearly doubled an Oriental population, and gave contentment with the rule of their foreign conquerors to ten millions of a conquered Mussulman race. The only English aim it did not attain was, what the Dutch had no wish to secure, the religious and intellectual elevation of the Native. But those benefits were all obtained by means not only compatible with that object, but which have involuntarily operated in that direction, and have so far produced a firmer and more natural basis for future improvement than is shown by any of the results of our educational and missionary efforts in India.

These are the great desiderata of India, the conditions of continued English rule, and of increasing light and civilization to the people. A knowledge of the means by which these ends were attained in Java cannot but be useful to English statesmen, whatever may be thought of the application of similar processes to India.

These benefits are due to the culture system, established by General Van den Bosch in 1832, acting on the relics of the English rule in Java,

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as modified by the Dutch on their return in 1816.

The chief results of General Van den Bosch's policy in 25 years may be thus specified.

The revenue raised from 24 millions of florins, equal to 2 millions sterling, to 115 millions of florins, equal to 9½ millions sterling.

Instead of the former yearly deficit, a yearly net surplus revenue of upwards of 45 millions of florins, equal to 3¾ millions sterling, out of a gross revenue of 9½ millions sterling.

Net surplus revenue paid to Holland to a far larger amount than the principal and interest both of the old debt and of all advances for the culture system.

The unproductive expenditure for the administration of the country raised from about 2 millions sterling to about 3 millions sterling, with a corresponding increase in the number and efficiency of the public servants.

The reproductive expenditure for public works, and for developing the resources of the country, raised from a mere trifle to over 2 millions sterling annually.

The imports raised from a yearly average of about 1⅝ millions sterling to over 5 millions sterling.

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The exports raised from a yearly average of about 2 millions sterling to over 8½ millions sterling.

Crime and litigation so diminished, that the judicial sittings of the local courts are reduced to an average of about 30 days in the year.

The population raised from about 6 millions in poverty, paying a revenue of about 2 millions sterling, or 6*s.* 8*d.* per head, to 11½ millions of the richest peasantry in the East, paying a revenue of 9½ millions sterling, or 16*s.* 6*d.* per head.

Those who are best acquainted with the results of the culture system in Java have called its author the master of statesmen, and I have ventured to apply to him the proud vaunt of Themistocles which stands as a motto to this book.

Let any statesman among his peers, whose measures have produced larger results for the good of his country, and for the welfare of the people under his rule, bear away the palm from General Van den Bosch.

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JAVA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

BATAVIA—JAVA POSTING—ROADS—COUNTRY INNS—TJIANDJOER RACES—BANDONG—JAVA NAUTCH—BANDONG STAG HUNT—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—EUROPEANS—NATIVE CHIEFS—PEASANTRY—COTTAGES—MISTAKEN IDEA OF NATIVE HATRED OF THE DUTCH—THE JAVA ADMINISTRATION AT LEAST SUCCESSFUL—MISTAKEN CHARGES OF SECRECY—OF TYRANNY—REAL GROUNDS FOR CENSURE—ADVANTAGES OF THE CULTURE SYSTEM—SOURCES OF MY INFORMATION.

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THE Mutiny in India called attention to the real working of the Company's Government, and to the benefits and disadvantages of the existing state of things, in the Native as well as in the European point of view.

Every branch of the administration was discussed, and different changes proposed, which, however admirable, were all untried and uncertain in their results. What seemed most certain was, that the present system was satisfactory neither to Europeans nor to Natives, to rich nor to poor, that the expenses of India were increasing faster than the revenue, that

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the mutiny was partly social as well as military, and that the feeling between European and Native had been long growing less cordial, and was intensely embittered by the rebellion. It was clear that some change was desirable; there was no doubt what were the pet grievances of both Native and European, or that money was the great want of the state, but it seemed impossible to abolish the Native grievances without diminishing or imperilling the revenue, or to increase the revenue without adding to the general discontent.

These questions were argued as if the English Government of India were a subject on which any inquiry or experience but our own was unattainable. We were clearly the first of European powers ruling Orientals, and the idea of learning from the French, the Dutch, or the Spanish Oriental colonies probably occurred to as few as did the idea of correcting our system by that of Aurungzebe or Akbar.

Four years' residence in Calcutta, and a habit of inquiring into Native ideas on different subjects, had made me tolerably acquainted with the general outline of things in India, and with the wishes and grievances of the Natives of Bengal, while the general discussion of Anglo-Indian theories at that time put me *au fait* as to the proposed alterations. In the middle of these discussions, my wife's health requiring change, we selected Java for a trip in the summer of 1858, more from hearing that it was a

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beautiful island, with a fine climate, easy travelling, and an opera, than with any idea of acquiring useful information from an examination of the Dutch colonial system.

Before leaving Calcutta I made inquiries, and found that the English information, on the subject of the Dutch East Indies, was generally limited to a recollection of Sir Stamford Raffles's account of Java in 1815. The impression seemed to be, that the produce of the island, beyond what was necessary for the consumption of the people, was still taken by Government under severe penalties; that such portions of the spices as exceeded the demand were still destroyed by the Dutch, to maintain a higher price for the remainder; that no trade with foreigners was allowed; and that the Natives were oppressed by forced labour, and by other hardships and exactions. I could find but one recent work, with the affected title of "De Zieke Reisige" (Dutch for "The Sick Traveller"), or "Rambles in Java in 1852 by a Bengal Civilian," containing descriptions of the goodness of the roads, the beauty of the scenery, the wonderful costume and alleged want of delicacy of the Dutch, both ladies and gentlemen, and the abominable Dutch cookery, which, according to this Bengal civilian's own account, had driven him from the island, leaving a great part of its beauties unexplored. This book is a source of constant annoyance to the English traveller in Java. The author, judging

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everything by Anglo-Indian ideas, writes of the manners and costumes of the Europeans there, who have adopted habits suited to a hot country, in a manner which has not only caused general indignation throughout the island, but has shut the doors of every house against English strangers, during the familiar hours of homely deshabille.

On our arrival at Singapore I renewed my inquiries, but our countrymen there seemed hardly better acquainted with the state of Java. They told me that the Dutch Colonial Government was a secret, monopolizing, and tyrannical Government, of which little was known, except that it was said to be hated by its Native subjects, who only wanted encouragement to throw off the Dutch yoke and to return to English rule.

We arrived in Java, therefore, expecting to find an oppressed and poverty-stricken people, with general marks of misgovernment by the Europeans, and of discontent among the Natives.

Batavia.—On landing at Batavia, the capital of Java, we found a state of things not easily reconcileable with these anticipations. A large and flourishing mercantile community of English, French, and Germans, with general comfort and apparent cheerfulness among the Natives in the town, somewhat contradicted the accounts we had heard. The lower classes, composed of Chinese, Javanese, and Malays, were evidently well off, but there are no

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Natives in Batavia living in the luxury, and displaying the pomp, of the rich Baboos in Calcutta.

Batavia itself is one of the cleanest and prettiest of cities. The lower or business part of the town, where the tide rises and falls in the canals, and which is near the seashore marshes, was formerly very unhealthy, and is still objectionable at night. The upper or European part, where the hotels, the clubs, the opera, and the concert rooms are situated, is some two miles from the Lower Town; the canals there are clear flowing streams; and epidemical disease is now rare, even in the Lower Town, and almost unknown in the Upper.

The frightful periodical mortality, which made Batavia a by-word under our rule, called for large sanitary measures. Such have been strictly carried out by the Dutch since their return, till continual cleaning, sweeping, and draining have made the most deadly city in the world an agreeable and healthy residence.

The municipal regulations on this head, though stringent, are cheerfully complied with, experience having shown their effect in diminishing disease. Cleanliness and tidiness are enforced with that scrupulous care peculiar to the Dutch; while the appearance of the streets and houses affords ample testimony to their constant observance of the excellent Dutch proverb, that "Paint costs nothing." Every house and wall, and even the native mat huts,

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must be whitewashed twice a year; while dirt, neglect, and the accumulation of refuse are punishable by fine as petty police offences. This penalty, which applies equally to unoccupied premises, is strictly enforced in every case in which a violation of a law so essential to the health of the community is discovered by the numerous European police of the capital; so that all buildings and yards, as well as all garden and other grounds within the city, have necessarily to be kept clean and in good order. The streets are alternately swept and watered three times a day, and, above all, the drains are carefully attended to, and constantly flushed. During the whole period of our stay in Batavia, we were never offended by any of those offensive smells so frequent in other Eastern cities.

Batavia has none of the fine houses which give Calcutta the name of the City of Palaces; for Java being subject to earthquakes, the houses are built of only one story, and consequently have nothing grand or imposing in their appearance. That perfect order and strict cleanliness, however, in which they are kept, compensates in a great measure for their inferiority of size.

The Dutch have carried their love of canals with them to the East; and, as in the towns of Holland, a canal forms the centre of every principal street in Batavia. The carriage way on each bank of the canal is bordered by rows of trees, and is backed by villas

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and gardens. The villas are low, tile-roofed, one-storied houses, as bright and dazzling as green paint and whitewash can make them. The gardens are generally laid out in plots of beautiful flowers, set in emerald-green turf, the rich and variegated colours of which are brought out by contrast with the bright yellow of the neatly-kept gravel drives. The houses and gardens are not shut in by high walls of masonry, as in Indian towns, but are open to the road, from which they are only divided by a ditch, and by a low, well-clipt Hibiscus hedge, or by a light railing of small posts, with pendent black chains. The large trees, in the Batavia streets, form as peculiar a feature of the town as those on the Paris Boulevards used to do before they were cut down, to be made into barricades.

The trees, planted at regular intervals between the roadway and the canal, are generally young, but many of those which overhang the gardens are the most magnificent specimens I have seen of tropical vegetation. They are of various kinds, but all selected for beauty of form and of foliage. The palm species, from which our only English conception of tropical vegetation is derived, is carefully excluded; but the peepul, the acacia, and other large and leafy Indian forest trees have a few representatives. The great majority of these trees, however, are of kinds peculiar to the Eastern Archipelago, with whose names and species I am

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unacquainted. A great favourite, and perhaps the handsomest of all, is a magnificent species, with bright leaves, like those of the silver birch, while in height, in spread, and in mass of foliage, it resembles, but exceeds, the largest elm. These trees generally stand on each side of the entrance from the street into the grounds, spreading their giant arms and their dense shade across the road, and over a large portion of the garden. Man and beast, flowers and turf, all seem equally to luxuriate in their shade; while at a little distance, the sparkling of their leaves in the sun, as they rustle in the breeze, makes them sometimes appear like large pillars of light.

The European houses in Java are all built with deep front and back verandas, joined, through the centre of the house, by a wide, open gallery, with rooms on each side. The usual sitting room in the evening is the front veranda, in which, always brilliantly lighted up, the family collect after dinner to receive visits. The whole interior of the house is lit with argand lamps, an unusual number of which give light to the apartment in which the family are sitting, eight hanging and four moderator lamps frequently burning in the front veranda alone. Driving at night along the streets of Batavia, in the European quarter, you are carried past a succession of such houses, lighted as if for an illumination, with the family visible in the front veranda, a short

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distance from the road, all, quite regardless of lookers-on, engaged in their usual occupations, some reading, some working, and others talking.

The usual dinner hour is half-past six, and from eight till eleven are the visiting hours. At certain houses there are fixed evenings in the week for general reception, but a visit is always welcome on other days, when the family are at home. The custom is for young men, after dinner, to drive along the streets, whence, observing which of their friends' houses are lighted up, they are enabled, without the trouble of previous inquiry, and without giving offence to those whose houses are passed by, to determine where their evenings may be spent.

I was astonished to find that the English in Batavia apparently looked upon their residence in the island with pleasure, and did not consider it necessary to abuse the country, or to bewail their exile from England. Some even, of large Oriental experience, went so far as to say that, for a Dutch burgher, Java was the earthly paradise, and that, although strangers do not there possess the same advantages as Dutchmen, it was a more agreeable abode, and both as healthy and as profitable for Englishmen as British India. One English gentleman, indeed, who had long lived in Batavia, was indignant at any comparison with Calcutta, saying that during three weeks there spent he had never been able to breathe comfortably; but he only laughed

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when I suggested that the reason might be, that he had inhaled mephitic air so long as to be unable to endure a purer atmosphere. Monsieur de Castelnau, the distinguished traveller who headed the French exploring expedition through South America, and who was passing through Batavia on a special mission to Siam, declared that our dispute about the relative healthiness and comfort of Calcutta and Batavia as residences, was a strong instance of the force of habit, and reminded him of the fever-struck dwellers on the Mississippi, who, though shaking with ague, would never admit that the locality where they lived was unhealthy, but always pointed to some spot further off, along the river, as the place where the fever and ague were so bad.

Though the English public may perhaps agree with Monsieur de Castelnau, my Indian readers will reject the comparison with the scorn which it deserves, when I inform them that, at Batavia and along the coast, the heat is no greater than at Madras, and that the hilly interior of Java is blessed with the delicious climate of the Neelgheries.

After a short stay in Batavia, we proceeded to make a trip through the hilly interior of the western end of the island, among high mountains, still smoking volcanoes, grand and rugged scenery, variegated by the dense foliage and the beautiful flowers of the Java forests. The exhilarating, bracing air peculiar to the highlands of tropical countries, the

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diversified impressions produced by change of scene, and, more than all, the ease and comfort of travelling in Java, are admirably adapted to Indian invalids.

Java Posting.—The means of locomotion in Java are as good as they were on the Continent before railways were introduced, and the contrast with India in that respect cannot but strike an Englishman with surprise and regret. The Dutch Government takes a comprehensive view of the duties of the State in this respect, although, like that of India, it derives no direct benefit from the traffic which it thus encourages. In Java, all who are able to afford the expense post in their own carriages with government horses. The traveller pays for the horses at the post-office, the expenses, which are considerable, being about four shillings a mile. The chief local European official, the resident, regulates the traffic along the road, so as to secure to each set of post-horses six hours' rest between each journey. Notice of each traveller's movements is sent on beforehand to the other residents, that they may make such preparations as will prevent the traveller from being delayed by a counter traffic so large or so frequent as to interfere with the supply of post-horses.

At the end of each stage, which is generally only five miles, there is a large tile-roofed shed, built across the road, sufficiently high for a well-laden coach to pass under. The coachman pulls up to

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change horses beneath this, so that the traveller can get out of the carriage where he is protected from the heat of the sun. On each side of the shed are good stables, with raised brick and mortar flooring, and the neat cottage of the Native in charge of the posting-station, to whom all complaints are to be made, and who is bound to render immediate assistance. The horses stand ready harnessed, under the shed, at the time of your expected arrival, with their accoutrements in perfect order, all blacked and polished, and in excellent repair. The change of horses is effected nearly as quickly as it used to be in a fast coach in the best of the old coaching days, and unless the traveller wishes to alight for refreshment, the journey is continued without much more than a minute's interruption.

We used frequently to avail ourselves of the opportunity of getting out under this large shed, and while they were changing horses, we made a most enjoyable breakfast. The large wooden table which stands at one side was soon decked by the willing natives with the large, clean, freshly-cut leaves of the plantain tree. On these the fresh bread, the hard-boiled eggs, the cold chicken, and the bottle of claret, which we had brought from our last night's resting-place, made a tempting display. The post-master's cottage supplied milk and hot water for the tea, and generally also fresh eggs for an omelet. These, and a most commendable Lyons sausage,

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which had accompanied us all the way from Batavia, were rendered doubly acceptable by the improving health and growing appetite of our dear invalid. We used to return to our comfortable English barouche, and to emerge from the protection of the shed into the bright sunny landscape beyond, with grateful hearts and in a happy spirit. L'illustrissima Dona Carolina Maria de Pinto de Cruz, our Portuguese maid, was sent to sit with her mistress inside, and a cigar, in the covered rumble of the carriage, formed the pleasant but prosaic close to our poetic repast.

If the traveller has no carriage of his own, which is requisite in posting, he can easily buy one at any of the large towns, for many good English second-hand ones are sent out yearly to Java, where a great demand for them exists, as well by the Dutch in the island as by travellers. After having finished his journey he has no difficulty in selling his carriage again with more or less loss. Ours cost us 850 florins, or £70 16*s.* 8*d.*, and we were lucky enough on our return to Batavia to sell it for 800, but after travelling in the interior a carriage generally sells for from 200 to 300 florins less than was given for it.

The form universally used is a barouche on C springs. Iron rods are fitted to the back of the front seat, which are carried over and screw on to bolts fastened to the front of the hood, and over

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which a moveable thick double tarpaulin is fitted, falling at the sides, and capable of being buttoned to the edge of the hood. This protects all inside during the heat of the day or in case of rain, but, in the morning and evening, the iron rods and tarpaulin are taken down and stowed away, the hood is thrown back, and you travel, through beautiful scenery, in your comfortable open English barouche, with six Java ponies galloping merrily along with you at ten miles an hour. A mat hood is fastened on the rumble behind, to protect its occupants during the day. Below, on irons projecting from over the axle of the hind wheels, is fixed a long broad board, about eighteen inches from the ground, on which the three grooms, or loopers, for the three pair of Java ponies, jump up behind the carriage. The coachman drives the whole six in hand, as on the Continent, chiefly by great cracking of his whip, but the grooms watch the horses from their board, which protrudes enough to enable them to see along the side of the carriage, and, when necessary, they jump down, run forward, and flog up the ponies with the short cart whip which each groom carries.

The expenditure of horse flesh on the roads, and generally throughout the island, owing to the active habits which the Dutch system has introduced among the better classes of Natives, exceeds the produce of Java, and large importations of ponies are made

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yearly from the neighbouring island of Sandalwood, and from the province of Maugkassar in the island of Celebes. These and the Java ponies are excellent animals, strong, sturdy, and fleet, generally from twelve to thirteen hands high, larger and lighter made than Burmah ponies, and hardly so stout, but in other respects much like them.

If you travel by night, an excellent kind of torch throws a bright light over the carriage and horses, and over the road in front, without inconveniencing the traveller either by smell or by smoke. It is made of long thin slits of dry bamboo, tied up into a pole as thick as a strong man's arm, and about eight feet long. This torch burns brightly, and is kept alight by the quick passage through the air, being held high up by one of the grooms behind, who leans it over to one side to let the sparks and burning embers fall clear of the carriage.

As the whole hilly interior of the island is very broken, with deep gorges and rushing streams, the constant help of buffaloes, and of coolies, is required in the steep passes, and of ferry boats in crossing the mountain torrents. Admirable arrangements are made for the immediate supply of all such requirements, and generally for forwarding the traveller on his journey without delay. Every part of the road is in charge of a petty native official, answerable that everything is kept in constant preparation, and punishable for all shortcomings, while the

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whole is kept in a high state of efficiency by continuous European supervision, and by the frequent unannounced passage of the high European and native officials of the district.

The Dutch Government considers it one of the first duties of the State to facilitate the locomotion of the country by rendering it as easy and agreeable as possible, even though the expense of so doing should exceed the return, and the State consequently derive no benefit from this source. Notwithstanding the high price of Government posting and the large relative number of Europeans in Java, the traffic of the country is not sufficient to repay the Government outlay. Where there is most travelling, as near Batavia and the other capitals, private individuals or companies put post horses on the road, which they let out for half the Government price, or one florin (one shilling and eightpence English) per mile instead of two, which, with presents for the grooms and the buffalo men, brings Government posting to about 4s. per mile. This of course reduces the demand for the Government post horses, just where the large traffic would make the posting profitable, and would help to cover the loss on other districts where there is less travelling. Though the expenses of Government on the roads, and on posting establishments, thus exceed the receipts, the Dutch say that the indirect benefits gained by every Government, from easy and constant traffic, are

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such as to make the direct loss a matter of little comparative importance.

This outlay on island traffic is all the more praiseworthy, since Java requires it far less than India. It is a long narrow island. Its area is, with Madura, about 52,000 square miles, or somewhat less than England and Wales, the combined area of which is about 58,000 square miles; but its length of 666 miles is rather greater than that of England and Scotland together, which are 635 miles. Its breadth varies from 56 to 136 miles, so that no part of the interior is very far from the sea, which is as native an element to Dutchman and to Malay as to ourselves, and a few roads to the sea-coast would have given Java much better communication than India now enjoys. As it is, most of the traffic between the three capitals of Batavia, Samarang, and Soerabaja (pronounced Soorabaya) goes by sea.

Roads.—The main roads through the whole length of the island, and across it in some places, were originally made, at the beginning of this century, by Marshal Daendels, who had learnt the importance of roads from Napoleon; and the other cross roads have been made at different periods since we restored Java to the Dutch in 1816. Along the chief lines of communication the roads are double, one for cattle, and one for horse and carriage traffic. The carriage roads are macada-

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mized, and both the carriage and cattle roads are kept in excellent order. With the exception of the few short lines of railway in India, Java posting is the only civilized mode of land travelling in the East.

Country Inns.—Every twenty, thirty, or forty miles the traveller comes to a civil station, where he invariably finds a comfortable country inn, well supplied with wine, beer, European as well as Native vegetables, good fresh bread, excellent poultry of all kinds, and occasionally beef.

The hotels are all kept by Europeans appointed by Government, who are paid a monthly stipend to keep up a comfortable, well-provided hotel for the convenience of travellers, at fixed prices, the scale of which is hung up in each room. The cookery, however, is very unsuited to English tastes, and I should recommend any invalid or delicate lady, going from India to Java, to take with her an active Portuguese ayah and a good mug cook. All admit the Java cooks to be so bad that the hotel-keepers are only too glad to let the Indian cook prepare the dinner, and if he likes to stay in Java, when his master leaves, he can at once get employment at high wages. A Portuguese ayah is less troublesome than an English maid, as she can stand the sun, and absence of caste is indispensable to make servants, travelling in Java, anything but a nuisance. Most Europeans there speak French more or less, while none but the most

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highly educated gentlemen speak English, so that if either the ayah or the cook came from one of the French settlements in India, where the Natives talk French, the convenience of the whole party would be much promoted. The ayah and cook would travel in the rumble behind, and the cook would also be useful in packing the carriage, about which a reasonable amount of luggage can be easily disposed.

The light swing of a good English barouche, the change of place and of scenery without effort or fatigue, and the delicious climate of the hilly interior, act like magic on an invalid.

The morning journeys in the open carriage over the mountain passes, stamp on the memory many a picture of gorges and of towering crags to mingle with and to rival the recollections of Switzerland. The former, however, far exceed the latter, in the beautiful accessories of dense Eastern foliage, and of bright tropical flowers, sparkling in a far more pearly dew, and in the magnificence of a far more lordly sun, throwing the first rays of his rising power over chequered field and broken valley below. The merry gallop of the horses gladdens the heart, and calls back colour and brightness to the faded cheek and eye that so lately seemed as if never to bloom again. The beautiful scenery and the fresh crispy air add zest to returning health and to reviving hope.

The regulations adopted to facilitate travelling in Java prevent those irritating delays and petty annoy-

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ances which nowhere more frequently or more rudely break the charm of scenery and of clime than in the gorgeous realms of Hindostan.

Riding horses and palanquins are also provided for travellers in Java; the former being used chiefly by young men who wish to avoid expense in travelling, the cost, with coolies to carry their luggage, being only about threepence or fourpence per mile. Palanquins and sedan-chairs are used only in cross districts where there are neither roads nor post horses, but as these are to be obtained along all the ordinary lines of communication, this mode of travelling is but seldom resorted to. The riding of post horses from stage to stage is unknown in India, palanquins or palkees being the ordinary means of locomotion over the largest portion of our Eastern territories. The palkee of Java, however, is superior to that of India in ease and security. The chief peculiarity which strikes the Anglo-Indian is that the European officials in Java do not consider it beneath their dignity to take care, as required by Government, that even the humblest palkee traveller who has paid for his journey shall find the bearers awaiting his arrival at every stage. These are provided and kept in attendance by the petty native manager of the post stage, to whom complaints can be made, and who, being responsible for any default, is bound at once to repair any mismanagement that may be brought to his notice. How superior is this to travelling in India,

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where, whether in palanquin or in dawk carriage, so much discomfort and delay have to be endured, and where, to meet the deficiencies of those wretched caravansaries called dawk bungalows, the traveller is compelled to carry with him his own supplies. The disgraceful condition of our Indian means of locomotion may be further estimated from the fact that, with the exception of the grand trunk road, most of the Indian roads are unmetalled, and impassable for wheeled carriages, while the traffic and the means provided for its transit are still in the barbarous and imperfect state in which we found them one hundred years ago.

Under Native rule, if the roads were bad and progress slow, the only means of transit being a rude box carried on men's shoulders, the authority of the local officials extended to both the roads and the bearers, and was exercised in favonr of the traveller. At present in Bengal even this security is wanting, palanquin travelling being in the hands of the post-office authorities, who have no power or influence over the people, no control over the state of the roads, and no interest in rendering the journey rapid and easy to the traveller.

The Indian postal authorities, when taking your money, give you a notice that, "although Government permits certain arrangements to be made for your convenience, it derives no benefit from the traffic, and that neither it nor its servants can

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be answerable for the inconveniences incident to travelling." I will do our Indian postal authorities the justice to say that, at least near Calcutta, they are careful not to disappoint the traveller who may be anticipating those inconveniences of which they have spoken, and which will certainly be experienced by him. The taking of the money, however, is the main point with them; your subsequent journey is apparently left much to hap-hazard. Some postal Native servant will be permitted to make such arrangements for you as he pleases, and you will probably find that while at some stages bearers are ready for you, at others you will be set down in the middle of the road, with the intimation that there are none. You will then have to stay there for some hours, till you have succeeded in bribing some men out of the next village to carry you on. The native post-office clerks, who are supposed to provide porters for your palanquin, live at the station towns, and are not even under the control of the European officials there, so that there is no one to whom complaint can be made, or through whom immediate remedy can be obtained. At the same time, the repair of the roads is not confided to the local authorities at the termini between which the roads run, but each part of a road is under the officials of the district within whose nominal limits it happens to be situated. The consequence of thus neglecting to place the roads and the traffic upon

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them under the care of some department of the Indian Government, or of some local official, is seen in the present deplorable state of Indian communication. The condition of the roads, indeed, is partly due to want of funds, but the traffic is greatly impeded by sheer neglect. For this the Indian Government is directly blameable, and, still more so, for the absence of all control over the post-office authorities, who, after taking your money on the pretence of providing for your transit, practically give you up to be plundered by Native clerks and bearers, without even a Native local official of the lowest rank to appeal to through a journey of sixty or seventy miles. After having paid Government once for your journey, you often, at least in Bengal, have to pay much of it over a second time to the bearers, who have been cheated by the Native post-office clerk, while complaint seldom brings any remedy. I know of numerous cases in which claims have been made on Government for money thus actually paid twice over, on the roads within eighty miles of Calcutta, and I have only heard of one instance in which even a high European official ever received back anything from the post-office, and never of any case in which the malpractices of the post-office clerks were traced back to the culprit and punished.

When I asked in Java whether, if you had to pay over again for bearers or for ponies, the money you

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originally paid to Government would be returned to you, I was told that such a thing could hardly occur; but that, if it did, not only would your money be returned to you, but the most searching scrutiny would be made personally by the European and Native officials, and that the Native Regent and Wedana would soon discover where the fault lay, when woe betide the Native who had dared to appropriate money given him to pay to others, or even to reduce that payment by the slightest amount.

The abominable Dustooree habit formerly existed in Java, as it still does in India. It consists in every Native, through whom any payment is made to another, levying toll on the money passing through his hands. The Dutch resisted it, and by making every instance of it punishable as a petty theft, under the Regent's or Resident's police powers, at last succeeded in abolishing it. The consequence was, that the grinding of the peasant, or the reduction of the poor man's salary, involved results which were not willingly braved for such small gains, and that gradually the habit died out. Now in Java, therefore, the peasant or trader generally gets what you pay for him, without being mulcted by your servants, and without consequently charging more than he will take, to cover the perquisite which he knows your servants will exact.

Tjiandjoer Races.—During our journey in the

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interior, I associated with the Dutch officials, planters, and landed proprietors, as well as with Englishmen settled in Java, many of whom were then travelling along the same road as ourselves for the Tjiandjoer races. These we were fortunate enough to see, and were astonished to find horses, trained by the neighbouring regents and other Native chiefs, competing with the horses of Europeans with success. The Regent of Tjiandjoer and the Regent of Bandong, who had come to Tjiandjoer for the race week, each gave a cup; and they or some of their chiefs had horses entered for most of the races.

The evening after our arrival, we English were invited to meet the other Europeans and the Native chiefs at the Regent's, to draw for the running horses in a lottery. I found a large assembly of men at the Regent's house, which was comfortably furnished, and arranged in the manner of the European houses in Java. The Regents and the Europeans took their seats round a table at one end of the long room, and a number of Native chiefs were seated on chairs at the other end. The chiefs did not approach the end of the room where the Regents were, as that would have involved the necessity of going down on their knees, the only position in which any Native of inferior rank can approach a Regent; but the Europeans went among the chiefs at their end of the room, shaking hands, renewing old acquaintances,

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and talking and laughing in a friendly and cordial manner. I saw the Resident, the only man there of higher rank than the Regents, holding a long and lively confabulation with, apparently, one of the least exalted of the chiefs.

The whole scene was an instance of the genuineness and cordiality of the friendly intercourse between European and Native, with which I was much struck.

A lottery was drawn for each race, amid much laughing at the unfortunate drawers of blanks. The whole conversation was in Malay, which most of the Europeans there, even the English, spoke well, but which the Dutch seemed to speak like their mother tongue; jokes flew about in Malay, from Native to European, and *vice versâ,* amid shouts of laughter. I was lucky enough to draw a horse in one of the races. After the lottery was over, the horses drawn were successively put up for sale by auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder, who paid the amount of the bid, minus a small discount for the race fund, to the drawer of the horse. As I could not understand the bidding, which was all carried on in Malay, I entrusted the sale of my horse to one of the Dutch gentlemen, who managed it for me so successfully, as to repay me for all the other lottery tickets which I had drawn blank.

It did not, however, need any polyglot acquirements to understand the state of feeling between

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Natives and Europeans, which was, to me, the most important part of the scene.

The two days' races showed the same state of friendly feeling, and of intercourse between Europeans and chiefs, who walked about the stables together, till the latter retired to their private stands, whence they could see the races, with their wives and families, without the etiquette and restraint caused by the presence of the Regents and the official Europeans. In the race-stand, which was very prettily ornamented with flags and flowers, and set out with sofas, chairs, and tables covered with refreshments, were the Europeans, gentlemen and ladies, as well as the two Regents and their chief or State wives, who sat among us with unveiled faces, perfectly at their ease.

The Natives of Java are all Mussulmans, and the higher classes do not generally allow their women to be seen, though the seclusion is much less strict than in India; but the Regent's chief wife, who is always a woman of the highest birth—generally another Regent's daughter—seems to form an exception to this rule. At all the Regent's parties she receives the European ladies and gentlemen, and goes unveiled at all times both at home and abroad. Many of the State wives ride well, and accompany their husbands out hunting, sitting astride like Persian women, but without any pretence of covering their faces. Pride seems to be the cause of this

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curious exception, it being assumed that a woman of such high rank, both by birth and marriage, cannot be looked on but with the eyes of respect.

With the Regents and their wives were one or two of their half-grown children, as well as their numerous Native attendants and a court dwarf to each Regent. The Regent's immediate people of high rank, such as his Wuzeer and Jacksa, or minister of justice, did not squat on the floor like the servants, but sat on chairs at the back of the stand, unless called by the Regent, when they approached him, like all others, on their knees. I was amused to see the Regent of Bandong's son and heir, a boy about ten years old, when called by the Regent of Tjiandjoer, whose daughter is the Regent of Bandong's wife, approach crawling on his knees, and when the old man lifted him to his feet and held him by his side talking to him, the boy was constantly trying to get down on his knees again.

The Regent of Tjiandjoer is a fine, kind, fatherly old man, and the open affection which he and his good homely old State wife showed to their daughter, and to her gallant and energetic husband, was a very agreeable sight. The Ranee of Bandong has no children, but has adopted the Regent of Bandong's son by one of his other wives, and the old people treat this adopted son as if he were their own grandchild.

After the old Ranee of Tjiandjoer had shaken

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hands with all the Europeans, and she and the Ranee of Bandong had had good long talks, in Malay, with the European ladies and gentlemen present, they retired to a sofa at the side, and had a quiet chat together, chewing their betel-nut and using their gold spittoons unconcernedly, but looking out sharply to see if either of their husbands' horses were winning. When at last one did win, it was quite pleasant to see the old Ranee, whose fat nut-brown face shone with glee and delight as the European ladies all ran to congratulate her, shaking hands warmly with each, and displaying two rows of coal-black teeth, in a broad grin of honest joy at her husband's or son-in-law's success.

Bandong.—When the Tjiandjoer races were over, we continued our journey to Bandong, situate in a plain some 2400 feet above the level of the sea, surrounded by lofty mountains and volcanoes, and the head quarters of sport in the western part of the island.

The Regent and Ranee of Bandong, with their family, returned home at the same time, travelling in comfortable English barouches with post horses, but escorted, from stage to stage, by a mounted retinue of the local Native officials. We met them often at the houses of the Europeans, where they are constant guests, as well as at the Regent's house, where the Europeans are frequently entertained. On the occasion of a nautch, or native ballet, to which all

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the ladies of the station came as well as the gentlemen, we were taken by the Ranee over the private apartments, which are but seldom seen by Europeans. The public apartments are arranged in the European manner, but the private apartments were richly furnished with thick carpets, and with broad divans and pillows, with a great display of krisses, and other Native arms, rich dresses, and ornaments. These were the private rooms of the State Ranee, who showed us over them, but the beauties of the Regent's harem live apart, secluded in small houses scattered about the grounds.

Java Nautch.—The nautch was danced by six of the Regent's private Bayadères, in a manner differing from that of the dancing girls in India, slower, and chiefly consisting of a series of graceful positions and of movements of the arms and hands. Instead of remaining on one spot, they moved slowly in two bodies about the room, performing a series of pantomimic dramas. Of those we saw, the prettiest was a scene representing six brothers, who in one of the civil wars had taken opposite sides, and who, meeting in battle, described their contending emotions of brotherly love and duty to their respective parties. The manner in which they pointed their arrows at each other, and then let them drop from natural affection, would not have discredited the boards of Her Majesty's Theatre. The dress of these Bayadères is pretty; a kind of gold tiara is worn on the head;

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a gold corset, tight over the hips, drawn in at the waist, and crossing the breast just under the arms, leaves the shoulders and bust free; the Malay petticoat or sarong, folded close round the body, shows the movements of the lower limbs, and falls below the calf, and the naked feet and arms are set off with a few bracelets and bangles. The dancing girls were young, with lithe graceful forms, and with as pretty faces as the ugly Malay type of countenance admits of. The musical performers, who, in India, destroy all illusion by banging their discordant instruments close behind the dancer, and obtruding their dirty persons on the scene, are in Java kept out of sight, and the dancers have the stage to themselves. The music, which mostly consists of slow movements on large metal harmonicons, is well modulated and pleasing. Altogether the Regent of Bandong's nautch was by far the best I have seen in the East.

Bandong Stag Hunt.—We were fortunate also in seeing, at Bandong, one of the grand autumn stag hunts peculiar to the Preanger. Most of the Europeans in the neighbourhood, whether official or otherwise, joined in the sport, together with about five hundred mounted Natives, including the Regent himself, and almost every Native official of the regency, and large numbers of the peasantry. Many of the horses were of Arab or Australian blood, though the great majority of the Natives rode mere Java ponies, and all were ridden without stirrups, and

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either barebacked, or with a mere pad. Each man carried by his side the goluck, or Java knife, some two feet long, like a short sword.

We rode in detached groups over a large grassy plain, and whenever a deer, buck, or doe started out of the long grass, the nearest group rode at it. The running was taken up by every group the game came near, till it was caught and cut down, by the first man who could succeed in striking it across the back with his knife. The head and neck are the sporting perquisite of the man who cuts it down, the body belongs to the Regent as lord of the country and of the game. Every man in the field rode as fairly and independently as an English farmer, regardless of any rank but the Regent's; European and Native jostled and hustled for the first cut, in good humour and without rudeness, but the Natives' horses were so good, and they rode so well and so boldly, that not a single European there got a head. Between 8 A.M. and noon we killed forty-nine deer of the large Scotch red-deer kind; but I was told that the number was much smaller than usual, and that, at these grand hunts, which occur periodically in September and October, after the grass has been burnt, there have been sometimes hundreds killed in a day.

We then adjourned to breakfast in a summer-house, on the top of a hill well out in the plain, where the European ladies had been watching the sport.

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The breakfast was given by the Regent, who himself presided, eating and drinking like the rest, and who formally offered to each European a share of the venison, which had been brought in by mounted buffaloes, employed to beat the more swampy and jungly parts of the ground.

The long lines of buffaloes beating the jungle, the gaudy dresses, and the brightly gilt mushroom-shaped hats, of the Natives galloping in different directions, with perhaps a dozen deer on foot at the same time, the deep blue sky, the glowing sunshine, and the bright tinted hills surrounding the plain, made altogether one of the prettiest scenes it has ever been my lot to witness.

State of the Country.—I made various expeditions to see the scenery and plantations, besides several shooting excursions after rhinoceros, wild cattle, and deer, all of which are numerous about Bandong, and thus I had many opportunities of seeing out-of-the-way parts of the country. These excursions, together with the general kindness and hospitality of both officials and planters, my being fortunately able to speak French and German, and the pains taken to answer my interminable questions, and to give me information, enabled me to form an opinion on the state of the country and of its inhabitants.

Europeans.—The European planters and landed proprietors are men of education and refinement, holding social positions by family and by fortune,

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equal to the Dutch civilians or to the Indian civil servants. Their plantations and estates show much careful management, with considerable outlay in improving the cultivation, and in adding to the material welfare of their tenants and work-people. The Europeans of all classes, who are relatively more numerous in Java than in India, speak the native languages fluently, and English, as well as Dutch, associate on friendly and equal terms with the high Native officials, and treat the other Natives with consideration and kindness.

Native Chiefs.—The Natives of rank are all chiefs, and either present or expectant salaried servants of the Dutch Government; but with the exception of the chiefs in the Preanger districts, and some very few in other parts of the island, none of them are landed proprietors. They are active, frank co-operators with the Europeans in business and in sport. The Regent was consulted about the shooting expeditions, and sent orders to the local chiefs to get beaters and trackers for us, and to furnish us with horses and buffaloes when required. I was astonished to find that it was not the Dutch officials, but really the Regent and his chiefs, who governed the regency, though under the supervision of the European authorities; and few points of contrast with India struck me more than the personally stirring habits of the chiefs, who, so far from being sunk in sloth and sensuality as in Raffles' time, are now actively engaged,

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with considerable energy, in officially governing the people under European superintendence.

The extravagant Javan forms of respect are, with some small modifications, still rendered to all in the manner described in Raffles' "History of Java," Natives of equal rank bowing politely to each other, and all squatting down at the approach of a European or of a Native superior. Near Batavia, where the influence of the Native chiefs is counterbalanced by the large number of Europeans, these forms are not so generally observed as in the interior, where the Native officials exact their strict performance, both towards Europeans and themselves, alleging the maintenance of the old customary forms of respect to be indispensable to a due regard for authority.

Peasantry.—The lower classes of Natives are fairly industrious, the Native cultivation is excellent, and the artificial works of terracing and irrigation are extensive and well looked after, while the people are cheerful, apparently happy, and the richest peasantry I have seen in any country but North America. Beggars, whether religious or from want, must be very scarce, for we did not see one during our whole stay in the island; the general prosperity, with the strong ties of family affection and mutual support, which are the most honourable characteristics of Indian races, leaving but few objects, in Java, for the large charity inculcated and practised by all good Mussulmans.

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Cottages.—The peasants' huts around Bandong, even in out-of-the-way places, are as good as the shop-keepers' huts in Indian villages. They are tile or thatch-roofed buildings with plank or mat walls, supported on wooden frames, and raised a foot or two from the ground by short stone or brick pillars. Each hut stands in its own compound or yard, surrounded by a low Hibiscus hedge, the entrance through which is generally by a swing bamboo gate under an arch of creepers. The same enclosure contains queer upright, lozenge-shaped, mat storehouses for grain, also raised on supports, and open stables, with brick flooring and projecting roofs. The huts are comfortably furnished, according to Native ideas, with many utensils and household articles, and every peasant is clothed from head to foot, except when actually labouring in the fields. I was assured that almost every cottier had his own plough and buffaloes, and that many had likewise a cart and horse; and the number of huts with stables, as well as the numerous buffaloes, carts, and ponies, all over the country, corroborated the assertion.

The most marked peculiarity, however, is the neatness, cleanliness, and good repair of the whole. Every brick or wood post and upright is whitewashed twice a year, while the plank walls are constantly being scrubbed, the mat ones mended, and the roofs repaired. The space round the house is kept free from manure or rubbish, well swept and shaded by trees, and the sur-

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rounding hedge, clipped as close as privet and covered with the red Hibiscus flower, sets off the bright foliage and clean vista within. The bamboo gate and arch are neatly put together and well finished, and any break in the hedge is stopped by a strong durable bamboo fence, which has to be kept up till the hedge itself becomes a real barrier. The various household articles are not littered about, but ranged away neatly in boxes and on shelves. The roads and lanes in Bandong run, for miles, between hedges and cottages in such perfect order, that one is almost inclined to believe that Native makeshifts have given way to proper appliances, and that Native disorder has been superseded by "a place for everything, and everything in its place."

These habits were as foreign to the natives in Java, as in India, till the Dutch made dirt and neglect punishable as petty police offences, enforcing tidiness and constant cleansing and repair, both for sanitary and for civilizing purposes. The exertions and example of the Native chiefs are still more effectual, and the Dutch estimate the character of a Regent, by the state of the cottages in his station town. It is said that the peasants themselves soon learn to appreciate the beauties of cleanliness and order, and voluntarily apply themselves to the improvement of their houses and gardens.

The possession of these material benefits has been acquired by a degree of industry foreign to the Java

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peasant's habits, but exacted of him by his Dutch masters. What the forced labour of the country is will be explained hereafter, but meanwhile my readers must be satisfied with the assurance that the Java peasant enjoys his advantages, without being visibly sensitive to the exactions he is supposed to endure. From what I saw, and from what the English I met in the interior told me, I believe that no country in the East can show so rich or so contented a peasantry as Java, and, though unable myself to speak with the cottier, I was assured by the English that his present condition is a very enviable one, and a great contrast to his former life of poverty and crime, under the old regime of dirt and idleness.

Mistaken Idea of Native Hatred of the Dutch.—One English gentleman, whom I met, had been manager for many years of the Pamanuchan estate, one of the largest of the few private estates in Java. I was told that he had the faculty of making himself much loved by the ryots, and that his services were consequently in great demand, as his management attracted hands to the estate, thereby raising its income and value. I asked him as to the truth of what I had heard, about the Natives hating the Dutch, for that all I had seen led to a contrary conclusion. He told me that some of the landowners, planters, and managers were harsh, or less kind than others, and therefore disliked; but that the limitation of the claim on the cottier, as well as

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the restriction on the European's personal interference with him, prevented active tyranny. He said that the fear of revenge from the vindictive character of the Malay races, and the necessity of attracting hands for cultivation and improvement, caused the peasant to be almost invariably treated with kindness and patience on private estates; and that, on the Government lands, the cottiers were only liable to pay their old accustomed proportions of produce and of labour, the latter of which was frequently remitted when not required for public works. Of Native discontent or dissatisfaction against the Dutch, I did not see a trace, and he assured me he did not believe such a feeling existed in Java. It certainly does exist in Sumatra, in Borneo, and in other half-conquered dependencies, where the despotic conduct, adopted to establish Dutch power, has not been modified by the riches and by the considerate treatment derived by the Natives of Java from the culture and administrative systems. The difference of the rule in Java and in the half-conquered dependencies which have most intercourse with Singapore, is the only way of accounting for the diametrically opposite estimates of Dutch policy made by our countrymen there and in Batavia. In Java, as far as I could see or learn, the Native looked to the European for help and for advice, and the intercourse between them was respectful on one side and kind on the other.

The Java Administration at least successful.—I felt

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convinced that the Dutch administration of the island, except in a few points, was really excellent, and could not but regret that it should be so little known to Englishmen, when, at every step, I met the solution of some present Indian difficulty, which, whether right or wrong, was at least successful.

I was so struck with the contrast in many things, not only to what I expected but to what I had seen in India, that, on my return to Batavia, I addressed myself to Mr. Fraser, the British consul, to test the accuracy of my conclusions, and to learn the explanation of the data on which I had formed them. This Scotch gentleman, whose superior abilities and character are well known to the English Foreign Office, and whose long residence in Java, and thorough knowledge of the people, make him a most competent judge, assured me that the welfare which I had seen in the Preanger and Buitenzorg residencies was not only genuine, but was hardly equal to that in other parts of the island which I had not time to visit. He told me that the general English idea of the Dutch Colonial Government, however true of the old Dutch East India Company's system, which is reprobated by none more heartily than by the modern Dutch, is perfectly false as to the present state of Java and its administration.

I also made inquiries on various subjects from the merchants in Batavia, French and German as well as English, and found a curious agreement among them,

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both in praise and in blame, regarding the policy of the Dutch Government in Java.

Mistaken Charges of Secrecy.—The general ignorance existing in regard to that policy did not arise, it was said, from secrecy; for it was impossible to have a larger or more exhaustive account in minute detail than was yearly published, first in the "Government Gazette," and afterwards in the "Colonial Report," for the previous year, presented to the States-General. These Dutch Parliamentary Blue Books, with which I subsequently made acquaintance, contain certainly such an account of the Dutch East Indies, from year to year, as not a single one of England's colonies can show; and much of the statistical information in this book is derived from the first Dutch Colonial Report, that for 1849, and those for 1854, 1855, and 1857.

The yearly statement of the Colonial Minister to the States-General is also published, together with the discussions thereon, which are not only careful and exhaustive, but of such general interest to the Dutch in Holland as to excite Parliamentary attention, instead of the dispersive effects produced on our Parliament by the Indian budget. The Java budget has the interest of announcing a yearly subsidy, from Java to Holland, generally of about three millions sterling, a subsidy which relieves the members of the States-General, and the people of Holland, from so much personal taxation. This

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announcement secures the attention of the Dutch Parliament to the proper internal government of Java, to its present material and social condition, and to the future prospects of the country from which so important a subsidy is drawn. The home Government is consequently obliged to present to the home Parliament, not merely a financial budget for the colony, but also a full and detailed account of the agricultural, the industrial, the commercial, and the social conditions of Java and of its dependencies. The ample details supplied to the Colonial Minister by the Governor-General, can only be ascertained by examining the wonderful mass of colonial information contained in the yearly published Colonial Reports.

While such are the ample means of information yearly published to the world, the absence of local discussion in the press prevents this knowledge reaching either to the mass of the Dutch, or to the inhabitants of the neighbouring colonies. Practically, Dutch public spirit does not run to print, and the Government of Java, like that of most Continental States, keeps a firm hand on the press; so that the defects and advantage of the political system of the time are not brought to notice by public criticism.

Any idea of secrecy was scouted by my informants, but it was facetiously remarked that the Dutch could hardly be expected to publish in English, and that the Java Government might justly think it unfair,

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that, notwithstanding the minute and ample yearly account given to the world, in Dutch, they should still be called a secret Government, by such of the English as are too ignorant to read Dutch, or too careless to ascertain the real state of facts from those who can.

Of Monopoly.—Anything like Government monopoly, properly so called, exists only, as in India, in opium and salt, and in one other article, gambier, which is imported like opium, for Native consumption, and the limited distribution of which to the people social and sanitary considerations have determined the Government to reserve in its own hands. The exclusive right of exporting the produce of the Java crown lands, given to the Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij, or Netherlands Trading Society, has helped to maintain the old mercantile tradition of Government monopolies in Java. The real relations of Government and of the Trading Society are explained in the subsequent chapter on Trade; but the private merchants in Java complain that about two-thirds of the produce of the island are thus excluded from coming to their hands for export. It was admitted that this produce was obtained by Government from the crown lands, as hereafter explained, and that not only all the produce of the private estates in Java, but a large portion of that raised on the crown lands, came into the hands of the private trade, and was larger than the whole produce for export would

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have been without Government outlay. But though this monopoly of the right of export conferred on one company was blamed, it was admitted that Government itself retained no monopoly whatever, except in the local distribution of salt, of opium, and of gambier, and that the spice monopoly, so frequently imputed to the Java Government, even in late publications, had no existence whatever. Every one, they said, was at perfect liberty to grow any spices he pleased, or to buy and export any spices grown by others, but that, practically, spices paid so much worse than anything else, that they were only grown on the crown lands, the produce of which was exported to Europe for sale on account of the Dutch Government. The fact of the Dutch Government thus being the only seller of spices, has kept up the idea that their former spice monopoly is still in existence; whereas, beyond all doubt, nothing of the kind has existed in Java since the English conquest, or in any part of the Dutch East Indies since 1824, when the spice monopoly, in Amboyna and in the rest of the Molucca group, was abolished. The high differential and protective duties in favour of goods imported direct from Holland, and on produce exported to that country, and the disabilities of foreigners as compared with the Dutch, were blamed by the free-traders, and supported by the protectionists; but excited no more feeling than the Corn Law and the Navigation Laws did, in England,

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before the agitation had begun for their repeal, or than the Alien Act and foreigners' disabilities do at the present day. Whether such laws are wise or foolish is still matter of discussion in Java, but all agree that they do not justify any charge either of monopoly or of tyranny.

Of Tyranny.—As to tyranny I was assured, what indeed I had seen, that the Government was a considerate paternal Government to the Natives, but despotic in its requirements, and selfish in its ends: descending into minute details, and applying great wisdom and knowledge of Native character to secure the material welfare of the people, but, to avoid all risk of discontent and disturbance, refusing them European education, or the opportunities of learning a better creed. There are European schools and missionaries in Java, both under charge of Government, but their action on the Native population is carefully controlled, and put under much restriction. They are chiefly occupied with the half-breeds, and with the other intermediate races at the sea-ports; but in the interior, the Natives are practically denied European education, and are secured against missionary efforts for their conversion. As to Europeans, and particularly foreigners, the passport, police, and security regulations were blamed as tiresome, inconvenient, and useless, but certainly not tyrannical.

The control exercised by Government over Europeans in their dealings with the Natives, was

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called tyrannical interference by some young Dutchmen, the value of whose judgment I did not estimate highly, as they at the same time expressed a wish for the return of English rule, on the flattering grounds, that our free and liberal policy would at once convert the crown lands into private estates, would deprive the Native grandees of all power, and that every European would then be allowed to deal as he liked with the peasantry, instead of, as at present, being tyrannically limited to such means of making money as are neither injurious nor offensive to the Native.

Real Grounds for Censure.—The complaints as to the trade and to the treatment of foreigners are no doubt well founded, and the Dutch regulations on these points are the more deserving of censure as they are purely European questions, where antiquated measures, unsuited to the liberal ideas of the nineteenth century, are both uncalled for, and opposed to the wisdom marking the administration in other respects. Paternal despotism is not a favourite form of Government with Englishmen in the East any more than in England, but a comparison between the present condition of the Natives of India, under an uncontrolling, or, as they consider it, a careless Government, and the material welfare of the Natives of Java, under a judiciously paternal Government, cannot but suggest doubts whether our English ideas of entire freedom of action, for right or wrong,

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are as suited to Orientals as a European modification of the controlling and paternal character which they consider an attribute of all good Government.

A stronger and juster censure is due to the refusal of all the civilizing tendencies of European education to the Native of Java, and to the actual prohibition of attempts, unconnected with Government, to convert him from his debasing Mussulman creed to the exalting light of Christianity.

With these exceptions, the merchants in Batavia, and particularly the English, spoke well of Java and of the Dutch Government.

They said that both the Europeans and the Natives were in a high state of material prosperity; that the interests of the European were much considered by Government; and that large opportunities were supplied to him for profitable employment, both of his capital and his intelligence, while the prejudices of the Native were respected, his ideal of power and of place gratified, and all thus made useful to the state. The different lines marked out for each race, according to their peculiar requirements—gain for the European, power for the Native—prevented competition or clashing interests; while mutual benefits, depending on common labours, secured mutual co-operation and good will between both. The consequence was, they said, a very general contentment on the part of the governed

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with the existing state of things, and on the part of the Government, a large revenue per head, no debt, and a yearly increasing surplus to be sent as tribute to Holland.

Prosperity and contentment among the people, and good will between European and Native, united with a large revenue and surplus income for the state, were so exactly the requirements of India, that I anxiously inquired as to the means by which such ends were achieved. I was told that they were due to the culture system, to the government of the Natives through their old aristocracy, to the absence of competition between European and Native, to the distinctive privileges of the high Natives, and to the exalted prestige of the European.

Advantages of the Culture System.—Of these the most important is the culture system, as the basis on which the material prosperity of both rulers and ruled is founded. It is merely an admirable means of quickly developing the resources of the soil, under such conditions as to secure large direct profits to both Government and people. In the carrying of it out, in Java, Government adopts one principle, to which we should object in India, viz., Government trade competition with the private merchants. But, as will be hereafter shown, that is a mere excrescence on an excellent plan, and totally apart from the wise principles of the culture system, which, in Java, have raised the revenue to 16*s.* 6*d.* per head of gross

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income, with only 1*s.* 6½*d.* per head direct land-tax, instead of, as in India, only about 5*s.* 0½*d.* per head of gross revenue, of which 2*s.* 8¼*d.* per head is taken directly from the soil.

With the same gross revenue per head from India which the Dutch derive from Java, not only without impoverishing the Native peasant but in making him rich, we should have an income, from the 132 millions of people under our direct rule, independent of the Native states, of over 108 millions sterling per annum; not only enough to govern India effectively and to cover it with public works, but leaving surplus enough to pay off the Indian debt, and also to relieve England's taxation, as the surplus revenue from Java now does that of Holland.

It may be said that the result of the attempt to make America contribute to the expenses of England, would prevent the experiment being renewed in India; but, to say nothing of the difference between the Americans and the Natives of India, it will be seen by the revenue tables that the Java surplus of 3 to 3½ millions sterling is about the difference between the reproductive expenditure, the price at which produce is delivered to Government, in repayment of advances, and the East India revenue in Holland, or the price paid for the same produce by the European consumer. In other words, Java does not really pay to Holland anything but a certain amount of coffee, sugar, &c., for which Java receives a large

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return, and it is the European consumer who pays the surplus revenue to Holland. The Java culture system has all the advantages of the present Indian opium system, minus the monopoly and the immorality, and with the additional advantage of enriching Native and European, as well as the Government. No amount of revenue, derived by England from India in that manuer, could be other than a blessing to India, and, as in Java, a cause of attachment instead of rebellion.

As will be shown hereafter, the culture system is carried on entirely by free labour, and this, as well as some other parts of the Dutch policy in Java, might be applied to India, without infringing any principle of English freedom, with great advantage to both Europeans and Natives, and with an immense increase of revenue.

Sources of my Information.—The more I perceived the real, as well as apparent, contrast between the state of the two countries, the more anxious I became to ascertain the real causes of the difference, and to learn the policy which made Java rich, happy, and peaceful, while India was poor, discontented, and in rebellion.

For this information Mr. Fraser referred me to a gentleman whose intimate acquaintance with the whole details of government in Java is only equalled by his talents and courtesy. That gentleman's kindness, and the pains he took in explaining to me

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the Dutch system, demand my warmest personal thanks, though, I am aware, he was also actuated by the hope that the means which had made the happiness of his adopted home might tend to the welfare of the millions of India.

Mr. Ament, whose permission I have for giving him as my chief authority, is a retired civilian of the highest grade. His last appointments in the service were those of Director of Produce and Government Stores, and Director of Revenue and Domains for the Dutch East Indies. His previous career, instead of being confined to the Secretariat, had been spent in various parts of Java, first in the introduction and working of the culture system, and afterwards in the government of a province for many years, as Resident of Cheribon. Both by his antecedents and position, therefore, as well as by his general acquirements, Mr. Ament was perhaps the most competent person to give me the fullest and most reliable details of the nature and results of the culture and revenue systems in Java. I have also to express my gratitude to His Excellency the Governor-General, Monsieur Pahud, who directed every department of Government to supply Mr. Fraser, for my use, with any information required. Monsieur Van Bloemen Waanders, Inspector of Cultures, was so kind as to correct my account of the culture system in some points in which I had misunderstood Mr. Ament, and to supply me with

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much useful information which I had failed to obtain during my stay in Java. My grateful acknowledgments are due to the Director of Finance, M. Diepenheim, and to the Bookkeeper-General, M. Barkmeyer, for many valuable details relating to the Dutch East Indian finances. The accuracy of the particulars given in the chapter on Trade is guaranteed by the Hon. A. Prins, one of the most talented of the Dutch members of council, and by Mr. Fraser, whose position as British Consul, and as an English merchant largely engaged in the Java trade, renders his judgment on all that appertains to commercial matters of conclusive authority. From Mr. Bruyin Kops I obtained much useful information regarding the Dutch East Indian trade. On the important heads of justice and police my best thanks are inadequate to express my obligations to my brother barrister M. der Kinderen, Chief Greffier of the Supreme Court, who communicated to me a paper, written by himself, explaining the judicial system of Dutch India, from which I have derived much of the information now given respecting that system. As the author possesses no professional knowledge on the subjects of the army and navy, such knowledge as he has been enabled to obtain respecting them, may be regarded rather as a guide to future inquiry than anything like a satisfactory account of these most important branches of government in the East.

In the chapters on the Treatment of Europeans,

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and on the Relations of Europeans and Natives, derived chiefly from my own observations in the island, I am bound to acknowledge that my remarks on the passport and security systems, and on the disabilities of foreigners, are considered by Mr. Fraser as too severe on the Dutch Government; but the general tone of the foreigners whom I met in Java is fairly represented by my comments. This, indeed, is one of those subjects on which Mr. Fraser can scarcely be considered a fair judge, his high standing in the best society of Batavia having preserved him from the annoyances suffered by the generality of foreigners. On all other points this book will owe specially to him any little value it may possess as an accurate representation of the country. He directed me to the best sources of information; and if this book should succeed in removing some of the prejudices still entertained against the colonial administration of the Dutch East Indies, to Mr. Fraser and not to me will be due the thanks of his adopted country.

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CHAPTER II.

JAVA BEFORE 1830.

SECTION I.—UNDER THE DUTCH TILL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST IN 1811.

MONOPOLY REVENUE—STATE OF THE PEOPLE—EXPECTED RESULTS OF FREE TRADE AND FREE LABOUR.

SECTION II.—UNDER THE ENGLISH FROM 1811 TO 1816.

NEW STATE OF THE PEOPLE—ENGLISH REVENUE—RIGHTS IN THE SOIL—RYOTWARREE ESTABLISHED—RYOTWARREE RENT—JUSTICE—POLICE—SALE LAWS—THEIR PARTIAL REPEAL BY THE DUTCH.

SECTION III.—UNDER THE DUTCH FROM 1816 TILL 1830.

TRADE—CUSTOMS—SHIPPING—LAND TAX—RYOTWARREE ABOLISHED—OLD LAND TENURE AND RENT UNDER NATIVE RULE—LANDLORD PROPERTY—PEASANT PROPERTY—PRESENT JAVA LAND TENURE—LABOUR RENT—PRODUCE RENT—LARGE EUROPEAN LANDOWNERS—IMPEDIMENTS TO EUROPEAN LANDED PROPERTY IN INDIA—CONTRAST BETWEEN REVENUE LAND SALES IN JAVA AND IN INDIA—DIFFERENT OPERATION OF DECREE LAND SALES IN THE TWO COUNTRIES—BENEFIT TO JAVA OF EUROPEAN LANDOWNERS—NO MIDDLEMEN—REVENUE FROM 1817 TO 1830—POPULATION—DEFICIT AND DEBT—ANALOGY OF JAVA BEFORE 1830 WITH INDIA IN 1856—ATTEMPTS AT RETRENCHMENT—EXPENDITURE STILL IN EXCESS OF INCOME.

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To show clearly the great progress made of late years in Java, it is necessary to revert shortly to the former condition of the island;

1st. Under the Dutch prior to the English conquest in 1811;

2nd. Under the English from 1811 to 1816;

3rd. Under the Dutch, carrying on the English system, to the arrival of General Van den Bosch as Governor-General in 1830.

SECTION I.

UNDER THE DUTCH PRIOR TO THE ENGLISH CONQUEST.

The policy of the Dutch East Indian Government and the state of the people during this first period, as described by Sir Stamford Raffles in his "History of Java," and by Crawfurd in his "History of the Indian Archipelago,"* may be shortly stated as follows.

Monopoly Revenue.—The revenue was entirely derived from monopoly of two kinds, ruthlessly upheld, viz., the *Monopoly of Production* of certain more valuable crops limited in amount, so as to maintain a high price in Europe, and of which all the surplus was destroyed; and *Monopoly of Trade* in all products, which could only be sold at very inadequate prices to the Dutch East India Company, and were

* Raffles' History, Int. xxiii to xxxviii, vol. i. pp. 71, 214, 222, 243, 249, 256, 257, 313; vol. ii. p. 165. Crawfurd's History, vol. ii. pp. 341, 344 to 348, 358 to 361, and *Ibid.* chap. ix. passim. See also vol. iii. chap. 3.

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either exported, or retailed by them for consumption in the island. This monstrous system led to the gradual ruin and destruction of the Dutch East India Company at the end of last century, after which the monopolies were continued by the Dutch Government in a more mitigated form till the English conquest.

State of the People.—The people were left to the uncontrolled oppression of the Native chiefs.

No security was provided for person or property, either of the people against the chiefs, or of the chiefs against the Native ruler, or against each other, or against the Dutch.

The old Native corrupt and vicious administrations of justice and police were maintained, uncontrolled by the Dutch courts, except in the neighbourhood of Batavia, and except in support of the monopoly laws, breaches of which, when committed by Natives, were severely punished, in some cases even with death.

The lower classes were subject to exactions of labour and to forced deliveries, without limit, reason, or mercy.

The result to the people was great misery and constant emigration from the Dutch part of Java into the Native states.

The result to Government was, that the population of the Dutch part of Java, amounting to about three millions* in joint village communities, produced a

* Raffles' History of Java, vol. i. p. 70.

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gross revenue of only two and a half millions of Java rupees in 1805.* This was raised by Marshal Daendels' tyrannical but energetic measures to three and a half millions of rupees in 1810,* just before the English conquest.

It is but right, however, to say, that the Dutch, while admitting their old colonial rule to have been most objectionable in many ways, deny the systematic atrocities imputed to them by Raffles and Crawfurd, both of whom the Dutch say distorted the facts and working of their old Colonial Government, which was only known to these authors by hearsay.† The fact seems to be, that, as the financial difficulties of the Dutch East India Company increased towards the end of last century, and the French Revolution extended its troubles to Holland, the Dutch Colonial Agents resorted to measures of oppression formerly unknown, but the memory of which was rife at the period of our conquest.

Expected Results of Free Trade and Free Labour.—That Dutchmen then, as well as now, were actuated by feelings of kindness to the Natives, and that some of them possessed enlightened views, then rare in any country, is shown by various Dutch publications of the end of last century. Among others those of Mr. Dirk Van Hogendorp contained advanced perceptions

* Raffles' History, vol. i. p. 343.

† Mr. C. J. Temminck's "Coup d'œil général sur les possessions Neerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipelagique," vol. i. p. 13.

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of the advantages of free trade, free labour, and fixity of tenure, which Sir Stamford Raffles quotes with approbation.

Subsequent events will be seen to lend peculiar interest to the following passage from Mr. Hogendorp's book, as translated in the introduction to Raffles' "History of Java" (p. xxxix) :—"When the exclusive and oppressive trade of the Company, the forced deliveries, the feudal services, in short, the whole system of feudal government is done away with, and when the effects of this important revolution are felt in the certain increase of cultivation and trade, then," observes Mr. Hogendorp, "the limits of probability will by no means be exceeded, in estimating the aggregate of the revenues of Java, in progress of time, at twelve millions of rix-dollars, or twenty-four millions of guilders, annually." To which Sir Stamford Raffles, in 1817, after the experience of his own Government, adds (p. 40) :—"This statement, calculated with reference to the comparative produce of the West India Islands, has been generally considered by the colonists as exhibiting a very exaggerated view of what the island could, under any circumstances, afford, and by many as too wild a speculation to deserve attention; but to this it should be added, that the plan on which it was founded, viz., an entire change in the internal management of the country, was considered as equally wild and romantic by those who declaimed the loudest against the possibility of

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these advantages accruing, and that, notwithstanding the doubts then entertained of its practicability, that measure has been actually carried into effect without producing any of the consequences depicted by the advocates of the old system, and, as far as a judgment can yet (in 1817) be formed, with all the advantages anticipated by Mr. Hogendorp."

SECTION II.

UNDER THE ENGLISH FROM 1811 TO 1816.

The account of this second period under the English Government from 1811 to 1816, as described by Sir Stamford Raffles, may be reduced to the following summary.

New State of the People.—The Natives of rank above that of village chiefs were deprived of their old power, and made mere salaried pensioners, or subordinate tax collectors and police superintendents.

The Indian Ryotwarree system, with separate property in the soil, was introduced into Java, and a separate settlement of the land tax was made with each peasant, instead of the former joint property and joint taxation of the old village community.

A system of criminal and civil justice was established after the Indian form, having a European for sole judge, with a jury of Native assessors, whose opinion, when contrary to his own, the European could set aside.

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The old village system was maintained, but improved by making the village chiefs elective, and its action was limited to purposes of police, to petty arbitration, and to village management.

All forced labour and compulsory deliveries were abolished, as well as all monopolies both of production and of export.

The internal trade of the island, both in labour and produce, was freed from every restriction, and the external trade was thrown open to all on payment of the custom dues.

Equality of rights, duties, and imposts was proclaimed for all, without preference of race, creed, or family.

English Revenue.—The English rule was too short for these measures to produce their full effect during its continuance. The result to the people we shall presently see; the result to Government was that our newly introduced land tax bore such a large proportion to the produce of the island, that, even when only partially applied, it raised the revenue from the 3½ millions of Java rupees in 1810 to 7½ millions of Java rupees for the English part of Java and its dependencies in 1815.* Adding 2 millions of Java rupees more for the Native provinces,† we have 9½ millions of Java rupees as the revenue paid in 1815 by the population of Java and its depen-

* Raffles' History, vol. i. p. 343. † *Ibid.* p. 342.

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dencies. Of this 9½ millions, 8½ millions were derived from Java and Madura alone, which on the census population of 1815 (4,615,270)* gives about 3*s*. per head.

This system, in its general features, was like our Indian Ryotwarree system. The manner and the consequences of its application to Java require remark.

Rights in the Soil.—Inquiries were set on foot, soon after our conquest, to ascertain the proprietary rights in the soil of the Native cultivator, the Native chief, and the sovereign.

From this inquiry it resulted that Government was the sole owner of about seven-tenths of the then subject part of the island. The Preanger regents possessed about two-tenths. Private Europeans and Chinese were freehold owners of the whole country around Batavia, which had been sold by the Dutch governors before our conquest. These, together with the crown lands granted to both Europeans and Natives during our rule, made the private estates about one-tenth of the whole. This one-tenth, which to this day comprises all the private estates on the island, lies chiefly in the residencies of Batavia and Buitenzorg near Batavia, and in those of Bantam and Krawang, lying to the western and north-western parts of the island.

* Raffles' History, vol. i. p. 70.

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In the Sunda or Preanger districts, we seem to have recognised and adhered to the old Dutch treaty with the Sundanese regents, and to have left them to govern their country and receive their revenues in their own way, only taking the coffee tax payable by them under that treaty, as will be subsequently explained.

In the rest of the English part of the island the Native chiefs had no proprietary rights in the soil to fall back on for a livelihood as landlords. We were obliged, therefore, to pension them when we deprived them of office. Our determination to do everything ourselves, and our fancied duty to protect the peasant from his own countrymen, made us continue the superior chiefs' salaries and lose their services, while we employed the lesser chiefs merely in subordinate and strictly controlled duties, without prospect of honour or advancement.

Ryotwarree established.—Sir Stamford Raffles' earnest desire to improve the character as well as the condition of the Java peasant, by teaching him habits of industry and self-reliance, seems to have determined his plan of establishing the Ryotwarree system with each actual cultivator. Speaking according to English instead of Anglo-Indian ideas, we proceeded to convert the absolute property, just acquired by the English Government in the Java crown lands, into peasant tenures of specific fields with proprietary rights in the new owners, subject to a land tax in money,

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settled with each peasant individually, and fixed for three years, after which the assessment was to be readjusted. This specific property was further made liable to sale for non-payment of land tax, or in satisfaction of the peasant owner's personal debts.

The Dutch say that these changes were opposed to the ideas both of chiefs and peasants, were founded on misconception of Oriental character, and were only peacefully submitted to for the sake of the new freedom of trade and exemption from the old forced labour. The chiefs of course disliked the loss of the influence and position attached to their former power; and, even to the peasants, protection from the chiefs was counterbalanced by the loss of ready access to authority, and of the support of their superiors. The cottier, moreover, had no idea of, nor any wish for, separate property in land, with individual liabilities and losses or gains as the result of his own free uncontrolled conduct. His habits made him prefer, and use made him feel his strength to consist in, forming part of the village community, with only a vicarious liability to the State through the village chief, with a yearly allotment in severalty of village land, according to the size and labouring capacity of his family, and with joint produce and joint labour on the common village fields under the control and direction of the elected village chief. Security was thus obtained for the supply of his wants according

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to his requirements, not strictly limited to his own capacities, or to the result of his own industry.

When we see such numbers of civilized Europeans yearly becoming Mormons, chiefly from the wish for the security to be derived from association and from dependence on the common stock, irrespective of individual capacities, we cannot wonder at the separate Ryotwarree system with each individual cultivator being generally unsuited to the Java peasant. The Dutch say that so generally was it disliked that, although we made a different settlement with each individual villager for a separate and particular piece of land, the old village system was, in fact, still carried on as before. The rent for the whole village lands was still paid by the village chief as collected by him from the chance occupants for the year, while, as of old, the village lands were still yearly allotted to the villagers by the village chief, according to the size of each man's family, and according to a certain rotation, so as to allow each villager, in his turn, to occupy the better soils. Thus it was mere accident if the villager really occupied and tilled the very fields for which he held a separate lease, and for which he was supposed to pay a separate rent. As, however, according to our energetic English ideas, men of all races *must like* independence, it was fortunate that, in Java, our idiosyncrasy took the form of the Ryotwarree instead of the Zemindary system. Its

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subversion by the Dutch, and a return to the old Native habits after we left, was easier under that system than it would have been if, as in India, we had converted chiefs and tax collectors into land-owners, and had inoculated the temporary recipient and forwarder of land revenue with ideas of fixity of tenure and proprietary rights.

The financial results of the two periods, as exhibited by the table in Raffles' "History of Java,"* show that the revenue had risen from three and a half millions of florins in 1810, to seven and a half millions in 1815. But of this near a million was for tin from Banka, not received by the Dutch for some years before the British conquest, and of the remainder, two and a half millions are for land rent under our Ryotwarree system, which land rent only figures for a little over twenty-three thousand florins in the Dutch revenue of 1810, being in fact merely a quit rent to Government of three-fourths of one per cent. on the value of the European and Chinese private estates.

Previous to the English conquest the Native cottier paid his land rent, not to the Dutch Government, but to his Native chiefs, in whose hands the Dutch had left the practical government of the people. This land rent to the Native chiefs was only for the rice lands; and the Dutch tax on the peasant was limited to his forced labour on other

* Vol. i. p. 343.

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lands in producing articles for export. Crawfurd says that in Java one-half the produce of wet rice lands, and one-third of that of dry lands, were the long-established and well-known shares of the Native Government.* Raffles says that the land rent on wet rice lands rarely exceeded half the produce, and might fall as low as one-fourth, and on dry rice lands varied from one-third to one-fifth of the produce.† Besides this large proportion of the produce for land rent, however, both recount with indignation other unlimited exactions on the peasant by the Native chiefs under the old system. But the Dutch say that the original law of the land was always appealed to by the peasant, though ineffectually, against such spoliation; viz., that the legal reddendum was one-fifth, and one-fifth only, of the produce and of the labour. By old Native custom and law, the peasant owed to the sovereign, or to the grantee from the sovereign, his labour every fifth day, and one-fifth in kind of the produce of his land, and no more.

Ryotwarree Rent.—Raffles gave up the old labour rent of one day's gratuitous work in five, and fixed a money rent on each field, at the proportion of from one-third to one-half of the estimated produce of wet rice lands, and from one-fourth to two-fifths for dry rice lands.‡ He apparently took those pro-

* Vol. iii. p. 51. † Raffles' Hist. vol. i. p. 164.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 176.

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portions from a combination of the former Java rents with the Ryotwarree system in Madras, the subjects of which were then thought comparatively the happiest peasantry in India.

Justice.—The criminal and civil courts, deciding, not according to English laws, but according to the custom of the district, and the system of police through the elected village chiefs, which Sir Stamford Raffles introduced, form the basis of the present admirable systems of judicature and police in Java, described in the regulation set out in the appendix to his "History of Java." To judge by the result in India, however, it seems doubtful whether his system of justice would have given the same universal satisfaction as at present, unless it had been modified by the Dutch and assimilated to Native ideas and requirements.

In India the old Native laws and well-known customs have been superseded by English laws, which, however good, are new and strange. The Englishman who is unfamiliar with Native ideas, or the semi-educated Native deciding according to English ideas, are still the sole sources of justice. They act on fixed rules unsuited to an Oriental society, and their judgments are not considered by the Native community as any test of right, but only of the respective ability and art of the contending suitors and their legal advisers. Distrust of our judges caused us to allow numerous appeals, which,

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added to the diffuseness of Native pleaders and clerks, led to the interminable length and great number of documents in provincial law proceedings, and combine with the stamp law to make our Indian justice strange, uncertain, tedious, and expensive.

In Java the Dutch have not disturbed Raffles' provision as to the old custom being maintained as law. They abolished his sole English judge and powerless jury of assessors, substituting a court composed of one European and two well-paid Natives of good family and high station, having equal voices with the European, but in a preponderating number. They kept unaltered Raffles' procedure, which was simple and quick, with but one appeal in any case. Though they also have a stamp law for judicial proceedings, Java justice is speedy, and not too expensive, while the decision is generally satisfactory, as being in accordance with what the neighbourhood know to be the real rights of the matter in dispute.

Police.—Raffles' Java police system was a clever adaptation of the old village watchmen, and still remains unaltered in its principal features, as will be hereafter shown. Of all the institutions of Java the police perhaps meets the most universal approval, as being very effective, without being burdensome to the subject, or expensive to the State.

The above is the English account of the changes

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made for the benefit of Government and people during our rule in Java, and of the extent and consequences of those changes.

Sale Laws.—But besides the changes mentioned in Sir Stamford Raffles' book, the Dutch say that the English introduced two perfectly new principles into the government of Natives in Java, viz., Government sale of land for arrears of land tax, and judicial sale of land for private debt. These principles have always formed part of our Anglo-Indian system, though one is practically unknown in England to this day, and the other has only come into full operation here of late years. We introduce them, with the spread of our dominion in the East, as the just and necessary consequences of any system of revenue or judicature, not, as they really are and as the Natives know them to be, portentous novelties in Indian life, fraught with destructive consequences to the old proprietors. The Dutch allege that if the English rule had continued in Java, as in India, with the persistent maintenance of those two principles, and without any limitation to the landlord's claim upon his ryot, a very few years would have seen the Chinese money-lender the lord of the soil, with the Java peasant his ground-down and impoverished slave, in fact if not in name.

Their partial Repeal by the Dutch.—The Dutch, on their return to Java, found these two principles established all over the island. They allowed them

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to continue in force for the private estates, mostly held by Europeans, but abolished them with regard both to the lands assigned for the support of Native officials and to the lands held in peasant tenure.

The Dutch boast, as the one thing to be proud of in their rule, that never has the peasant's land, cattle, or plough, been sold by them, either for arrears of land rent, however wilful, or to satisfy the claim of any creditor, who had not stipulated, in mortgage, for its sale as security for his advance.

The individual liability of the land cultivated by the crown cottier, both for Government land rent and for his own debts, was thus abolished, with the happiest results on the contentment of the people.

Before this was effected, however, the peasants in many places had become involved in debts to the Chinese money-lenders, chiefly for advances to pay the large land rent just imposed. But, as before explained, the old joint village system had resisted our well-meant but inapplicable attempts to give the cottier separate property, so that most of these debts had been incurred by the joint village communities, not by individual peasants.

The Dutch say that had our rule continued long enough to enforce the separate property and separate liability, the consequences would have been very pernicious, for that the inhabitants of Java, like most other Orientals, have a particular aversion to usurious money-lenders. The Chinese are generally

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hated on that account. With the usual improvidence of Eastern races, the Natives of Java constantly resort to the money-lender for the means of gratifying any passing wish. They do not, however, the less resent being deprived of their lands or goods by any usurer who has got them into his clutches, and the giving of such powers to the usurer is considered the height of injustice to his debtor, and to his debtor's family. The Dutch attend to these feelings, and refuse to excite discontent by enforcing European ideas of justice and political economy on a society as yet unfitted for their reception. Instead of removing all limit of legal interest, and using the weight and majesty of the law to hand over the debtor with his land and chattels more helplessly into the creditor's grasp, they are weak enough to side with the debtor, often resorting to summary methods of defeating an usurious claim.

SECTION III.

UNDER THE DUTCH FROM 1816 TILL 1830.

This third period extends over the time during which the Dutch, after the restoration of their Government, in 1816, carried on the system established by the English, without any material alteration.

Trade.—They found that the English rulers of Java had not entirely discarded the character of traders. Though the monopolies and forced deli-

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veries had been abolished, Government was still a large recipient of produce, both from the Preanger by treaty, and from the crown cottiers, still generally paying their land tax in kind, on account of the scarcity of coin. Part of this Government produce was sold in the island, but the remainder was still exported to Europe for sale there on account of the English Government of Java. The trade of Java had been thrown open to the ships of all nations, but the English dominion of the seas practically secured a monopoly to English ships till the peace of 1814. Between that time and the cession of the island on the 19th of August, 1816, Dutch, American, and other ships had begun to compete with the English for the trade of the Indian Archipelago.

Customs.—The treaty of London of the 13th of August, 1814, which restored to the Dutch their East Indian possessions, stipulates against the Java customs duties on goods in foreign bottoms being more than double those on goods in Dutch ships. The ideas of the time on these subjects, in England as well as in Holland, were far behind the enlightened free commercial policy which Sir Stamford Raffles had introduced into Java. We cannot, therefore, blame the Dutch Colonial Government for imposing, soon after their return, the full differential duties allowed by the treaty of London.

By Sir Stamford Raffles' advice Singapore was set up as a free port at the entrance of the Dutch East

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Indies, so as to counterbalance in favour of English shipping and commerce the Dutch differential duties. The great success of Singapore induced the Java Government to follow that example in 1848, by making Mangkassar, in the Island of Celebes, a free port, but the superior position of Singapore, at the mouth of the pass from the Indian to the China seas has made it the centre of the trade to the Archipelago, except as regards the Dutch trade, which goes direct to Java by the Straits of Sunda. It was probably owing to the establishment of Singapore, that, notwithstanding the differential duties imposed in 1818, the proportions of Dutch and foreign shipping employed in the Java trade did not materially vary from those in 1819, till after the introduction of the culture system in 1830, from which time the rapid increase of Dutch shipping was due to causes that will be explained in the subsequent chapter on Trade.

Land Tax.—Though Government trade still existed when the Dutch returned to Java, it was insufficient to serve, as formerly, for the main element of revenue. The old exclusive Dutch monopolies were gone for ever. The farms and other old heads of receipts, which had been maintained by the English Government, were insufficient to meet the increased expenses. Raffles' land tax seemed the chief resource for replacing the profits of the old monopolies. He himself remarks that it had not

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come fully into operation when the British left Java, but the proceeds of the tax increased largely afterwards.

Ryotwarree abolished.—The Dutch, however, found the separate settlement with each cottier so unsuited to the Natives of Java, that about two years after their return, they substituted for it the same settlement with the village for the whole village lands. The yearly allotment of lands was then left to be made as before, and the legal fiction of the separate property of each villager in certain specific fields was abolished.

Gradually also between 1818 and 1830 they did away with even this modified form of the Ryotwarree, and reverted to the old system of a smaller proportion of produce with a certain amount of gratuitous labour, instead of a larger proportion of produce without gratuitous labour. They say they were obliged to do so for the following reasons:—

The old land rent, paid by the peasant to the Native sovereign, or to his deputy, was applicable in certain proportions, partly to the Mussulman religion, including the Mahomedan courts of justice and the maintenance both of the fabric and service of the mosques, partly to the Mahomedan schools, and partly to the support of the Native chiefs. Sir Stamford Raffles' land tax all came into the hands of Government, without providing for the Mussul-

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man religion or education. As the regents and chiefs, whom Raffles made mere pensioners, were the spiritual priests as well as the natural leaders of the people, some portion of the produce generally continued to be paid to them for those purposes, which was still continued after the Dutch had restored the Native chiefs to power, and had given them salaries.

Thus the peasant had to pay from one-third to one-half of the produce of wet rice lands, and from one-fourth to two-fifths of the produce of dry rice lands to the Government, besides contributions for religious and educational purposes to his own Native chiefs. The Dutch say that such large proportions of the whole produce of the country are more than the Oriental cultivator can pay, even on the fertile soil of Java, without permanent impoverishment.

Altogether, the Dutch say our system was fast ruining the country. The land tax fell yearly more and more hopelessly into arrear. The cottiers were unable to pay their Ryotwarree rent in money, and were yearly becoming less able to pay the same proportion in kind. The country had lost the benefit of the old gratuitous labour without getting any equivalent. As the Java Government would not sell the cottier's rights in the land, there was no alternative but to forgive such arrears, and start upon a more hopeful plan. Raffles' philanthropical measures had been tried and failed. The Dutch,

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therefore, felt no scruple in abolishing the Ryotwarree system, and in making the remission of arrears the means of returning to the old custom of the country, which it is now time to explain.

Old Land Tenure and Rent under Native Rule.—The old idea under the Native rule was, that the land belonged to the prince, the usufruct of it to the cultivator. The price of the usufruct, or the rent, was one-fifth of the produce, and one-fifth of the peasant's labour, or one day's gratuitous labour in the Java week of five days. The Dutch, in reverting to the old system, logically carried out this idea, holding that they had conquered the prince and not the people, and therefore came into the prince's rights. They, however, reduced the labour rent from one-fifth to one-seventh, substituting one day in the European week of seven days, for one day in the Java week of five days.

The different systems of land tenure in the island all derive from this idea.

Landlord Property.—Where the Dutch are masters by treaty and not by conquest, the produce rent and the labour rent are paid, not to the Dutch but to the Native Princes, as in the Preanger and in Soerakarta and Djokjokarta. In the rest of the island, where the Dutch are masters by conquest, the one-fifth of produce and one-seventh of labour belong to the Dutch Government, except on private estates, where the Government has *pro tanto* granted away

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its rights. There the one-fifth and one-seventh are paid by the peasant to the European or Chinese landowner, and the landowner pays to Government three-fourths of one per cent. per annum on the total value of his estate, equal at most to one-fifth of the net yearly income.

Peasant's Property.—The peasant's property, under the Native system to which the Dutch reverted, is of three kinds.

1st. Village lands belonging jointly to the whole village community, to his share in which every householder has a right. These joint village lands are yearly partitioned and separately allotted to every head of family according to the size of his family, and according to their capacity to cultivate the land so allotted.

2nd. Lands formerly uncultivated, which belong exclusively to the peasant who brings them into cultivation. For these he pays the one-fifth and one-seventh after five years, but is exempt from all payment for them, and from all gratuitous labour whatever, during the first five years.

3rd. Lands which have descended from the first cultivator to his representatives.

The first cultivator, however, and also his representatives, whether by purchase or descent, have, besides the land which is exclusively theirs, their share as householders in the village lands, so long as they choose to claim and cultivate such share, but no

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longer. Either the first cultivator or his descendants can sell any part of such their exclusive land, but only as a peasant holding to some other cultivator, and the purchaser stands in the seller's place, paying his one-fifth and one-seventh. When any holder of such exclusive land dies without heirs, his exclusive land reverts to the common lands of the village within whose boundaries it lies. In some districts, by custom, the first cultivator only holds the land exclusively rent and labour free for six years, when it reverts to the common lands of the village.

Such were the old land tenures and land rent to which the Dutch reverted, with the modification of the old labour rent of one day in five being reduced to the lesser rate of one day in seven. The Java cottier would of course have preferred the reduction of the produce rent without the re-imposition of the labour rent; but, much as the Oriental peasant hates labour, he still more hates parting with money. The return to the old state of things was effected not only without disturbance, but, the Dutch say, without even any visible signs of dissatisfaction.

Present Java Land Tenure.—This simple and well-defined system of land tenure has ever since obtained all through Java, except in the Native states of Soerakarta and Djokjokarta, districts on the Southern Coast of Java, which still maintain a kind of protected and controlled independence, like

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many of the Native states within our Indian territory. There the old one-fifth of produce in kind and one-fifth of labour are still received by the Native princes in the old manner, and applied generally to the old purposes.

The system which the Dutch substituted for our Ryotwarree not only applies to Government lands and to the Preanger, but also to private estates. The landlord's claim for rent, long limited by custom, was in 1836 expressly limited by law to one-fifth of his tenant's produce, and to one day's gratuitous labour in seven. The produce rent on Government land is not expressly limited by law to one-fifth, but is settled at that rate with the village chief for the whole village, and must be paid in money. The one-fifth of produce on private estates is generally taken by the landlords from each cottier in kind. The labour rent on crown lands is mostly employed on the roads and public works. On private estates the labour rent is generally applied by the landowner to the cultivation of such parts of his property as he keeps in his own hand. In other respects the produce and labour rents are paid to Government or to a private landlord as follows:—

Labour Rent.—Every cottier, whether on Government land or on a private estate, gives his one day's gratuitous labour in every seven to his landlord, according to the roster kept by the elected village

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chief. As this gratuitous labour is a part of the rent for land yielding produce, it is not payable by the artisan, or by any one holding house property only. So also, as only one-seventh of labour is due by each family, the head of the family alone is borne on the roster, but any competent grown member of the family, or other substitute, performs the labour for him. Although when the yearly appropriation of village lands takes place, a large family gets more than a small one, still only one-seventh of one man's labour is due by that family, however large. The result very generally is, that, in each village, the householders employ some few day labourers to do the gratuitous labour for the whole village, for which they receive a certain daily payment from the villagers. By constant work on the Government roads and irrigation embankments, or on the landowner's private farm, these men become good hands, the villagers get off their one-seventh of labour for a small payment, and thus every one is satisfied.

Produce Rent.—When the rice crop is ripe, but before it is cut, it is assessed by agreement both as to quantity and value between the cottier tenant and the landlord. In case of agreement both as to quantity and value, the peasant is left to cut down and sell his crop, and has to pay the amount agreed on four months after harvest. If the landlord requires the one-fifth of produce to be paid in

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kind, the tenant must deliver it at the landlord's grange on the property as soon as reaped.

If landlord and tenant cannot agree as to the number of piculs the different fields will yield per bahu, the rest of the villagers are called in, the crop is at once cut down, tied up in geddings or bundles of padi as big as can be held in the two arms, and put up in heaps of five geddings each. The landlord or his agent then takes one gedding from every heap. The villagers get a certain proportion of the geddings for cutting down and stacking the crop, which makes it the tenant's interest to agree to a rather higher assessment in quantity, so as to be left to cut down his crop himself. The landlord is subject to the disadvantage, in thus having the crop cut down by the villagers, of having to carry away his own share, which also induces him not to insist on quite the highest valuation in quantity he thinks the crop can bear.

If the landlord and tenant agree as to quantity, but cannot agree as to the market price, the peasant is left to reap his crop himself, and has to deliver to the landlord one-fifth of the stipulated quantity of padi in kind, for the safe delivery of which the village chief is also responsible.

The value to be agreed on is the current market value of the neighbourhood in full harvest, and when consequently the price is lower than the average throughout the year. The cottier knows that if the

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landlord and he can agree as to value, he will have four months time to pay in. He knows that as soon as the harvest is all in, and the produce rent of the neighbourhood has either been sold on the spot or been sent away for export, produce will rise again to the usual price through the year in his locality. It is the tenant's interest, therefore, to agree to both the assessed quantity and value if not exorbitant, while the landlord's estimate is kept within bounds by the tenant's right to pay the actual one-fifth in kind.

Large European Landowners.—Although, as previously mentioned, the English Government of Java found on inquiry that the Native chiefs did not even claim any proprietary rights in the soil, yet in some few instances considerable tracts of crown land were bestowed by us on Natives as private estates. On the return of the Dutch all our grants and alienations of crown land were recognised, but from that time the Java crown lands have only been leased out, and never granted away. The few Natives, whom we thus made landed proprietors, then entered into the same condition as the old European and Chinese landed proprietors, and their estates became liable to sale for arrears of land tax or for mortgage debt. The reckless and extravagant habits of these Native landowners have gradually alienated most of their properties, and there are now not above half-a-dozen Natives, out of the Preanger and other Native

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states, who are still owners of land. There is no prohibition against any Native buying any private estate which is for sale, but the practice is discouraged by the Dutch Government.

Impediments to European Landed Property in India.—When I told the Dutch that there were hardly any large European estates in India, they naturally wished to know the reason. I explained that a European's estate was liable to be sold during his absence for any accidental neglect of his agent, and that one man's interest in land was liable to be sold for another man's default. I urged that the security of the revenue required this anomaly, when co-sharers' estates remained undivided on the collector's books, or when one estate was an under-tenure of the other. Notwithstanding all I could say, however, the astonishment of the Dutch was so great, and their comments on what they called such perverse and absurd injustice were so strong, that I thought it best to say no more at that time about this little incident in our domestic economy.

Contrast between Revenue Land Sales in Java and in India.—In Java the land tax on private estates is only three-fourths of one per cent. on the value of the property estimated every three years, which can at most come to one-fifth of the net profits. Such a light impost is of course but seldom in arrear, and, when so, is easily realized by mild means. No estate can be sold for arrears of land tax till every

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other means of recovering it has been tried in vain. An absentee proprietor would have full notice before anything of the kind could occur. And no estate is liable for any but its own land tax, or can possibly be lost for the default of others. Such I was told by landowners was the greatest danger their estates could incur.

In India, on the contrary, the land tax on the landholder varies from one-half to three-fourths of the net profits of the estate, except in Bengal, where the great improvement of the country under the perpetual settlement is supposed to have generally reduced the fixed land tax below half the net income. The payment of such a heavy impost can of course only be secured by stringent measures, of which sale of the land for arrears is the most general. If the land tax is not paid by sunset of the last day for payment, and it is not afterwards received, the estate is ordered to be sold.

An absentee may have left ample funds with his manager, or the rents collected from the estate may be far more than is required to pay the land tax, but any neglect or fraud by the agent loses the estate before the absent proprietor knows it to be in danger. In the beginning of this century the revenue sale law was much used in this manner by unjust stewards, in collusion with the Native clerks of the local courts, and many of the large Bengal proprietors were thus robbed of most of their property.

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The estates of co-sharers in India are also sold for the default of any one co-sharer, so long as the shares remain undivided on the collector's books. The impediments in the way of partitioning estates are at the same time so numerous that it can only be done at considerable expense and with great delay.

A revenue land sale also destroys all under-tenures but old peasant tenures dating from last century, and rack-rent leases. Under-tenures could not be partitioned from the parent estate. The great majority of under-tenures, and the most valuable, those for which large foregifts had been given, could not consequently be preserved from the danger of being destroyed by the perhaps wilful default of the head landlord who had received the foregift.

This destruction of co-shares and undertenures was always admitted to be a cause of regret, but it was officially supposed to be the only means of preventing the defaulter, before his default, transferring away the chief benefit of the estate, keeping the onus of the Government land revenue on an inadequate interest retained. Unless co-shares and under-tenures were destroyed, it was said, such small retained interest, when forfeited by the defaulter, would be saddled with so excessive a burden of Government revenue, that no one would take it, while the most beneficial interests in the estate would be practically freed from tax altogether.

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After the Return of the Dutch, this was done to some extent, under the Partition Law. Sharers in an estate applied for division, and for the allotment of Government revenue on the respective shares in certain proportions, which were really very heavy on one share, and very light on the other. After this division and allotment of Government revenue had become unalterable by the lapse of twelve years, default was made of the heavy burdened share. The family then remained in possession of the more valuable portion of the estate very lightly assessed, while Government found that the default only brought it for sale an estate so heavily taxed, that no one would buy it or take it *cum onere.* This fraud threw additional difficulties on the division of estates, as the collector now has to see that the real values of the shares correspond with the proposed allotment of Government revenue.

The fundamental difference is, that the Java land tax is a small proportionate impost, and thus adapts itself naturally and without the possibility of fraud to indefinite subdivisions of property. The Indian land tax on the contrary is a fixed sum, either for ever or for a term, and consequently each separation requires, for the equitable allotment of land tax, a degree of time and attention for which our Indian officials have seldom sufficient leisure.

The evils and difficulties attending the sale of land for non-payment of land tax have been so

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exemplified in Bengal, that the gordian knot has been cut in the Upper Provinces, by not allowing any sales of land on that account, except after reference to the Revenue Board. This practically prevents any revenue land sale there in the case of Natives, but, as the liability to sale still exists, it has not been found to conduce much to the purchase of land in those districts by Europeans.

The effect of such laws in creating much ill-will among the Natives to us and our institutions, and in preventing the acquisition of land by Europeans for permanent settlement, may be easily inferred.

The laws of India have heretofore been made by men of a high calibre, but whose practical experience as rulers necessarily influenced their acts more than their mere philanthropic regard for the ruled. They were legislators without any personal interests in land or in trade, without any experience collateral to that of the great mass of the people under their rule, and with only a theoretical knowledge and imperfect perception of the great consequences involved in their legislation. It is no disparagement to them therefore to say, what cannot be denied, that the practical effect of the Indian laws is more in favour of Government than of the subject, and more adapted to the convenience of the officials than to the welfare of the country.

Any further explanation of the working of the Indian revenue sale law is now unnecessary, as since

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my return from Java the Indian Legislature has for the first time grappled with its difficulties, and by Act XI. of 1859 has removed to a certain degree the above objections. Their mode of doing so is however very illustrative of the common assertion, that the inefficacy of such Indian laws is due to the absence of personal interest in the legislator.

The law producing such results as above was the development of Lord Cornwallis's wise re-enactments by official bureaucrats, who could not realize what serious injury they were inflicting on the people by merely, as they would have said, giving additional security and facility to Government in realizing its land tax. The old prejudice against adventurers and interlopers would probably have made those gentlemen rather approve than otherwise of a law, the practical effect of which was to impede the acquisition of land by Europeans. The monstrous evils of this law continued unchecked for sixty years, till the change of public opinion had begun to look to adventurers and interlopers for prosperity to India. The officials composing the Indian Legislature have at last so far recognised themselves for the servants, instead of the masters, of the public, as to condescend to consult English gentlemen interested in Indian land culture, by whom a partial remedy at least was soon suggested.

An English gentleman and a Native landowner petitioned Government, saying that the Native was

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willing to lease, and the Englishman was willing to take, a large tract of waste land for the purpose of covering it with the sugar date palm, but that the Englishman would not incur the risk of the large outlay, unless he could be secured against the forfeiture of his lease, should the Native fail to pay the Government land tax. This seems to have brought practically home to the Legislative Council the evil effect of the revenue sale law in preventing improvement. The Indigo Planters Association at the same time pointed out the practical remedies for the existing evils. Some of their suggestions were embodied in Act XI. of 1859, which repeals the former sale law, and re-enacts its provisions, subject to the new means of working it with less injustice.

The absentee can now secure his land from sale, through the neglect of his agent, by depositing Government securities sufficient to meet the demand for land tax. Co-sharers and under-tenants can protect their interests from forfeiture, through the default of their co-sharers or landlords, by registering separately and paying a separate land tax on their respective shares or under-tenures. These are great improvements, but the practical adoption of them is still cumbered with difficulties, among which is the usual fond resource of Indian legislators, viz., referring parties to a civil suit. European enterprise will hardly be much encouraged by the necessity of depositing available capital to obtain safety. Native

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carelessness and want of foresight require a simpler machinery, one which will adapt itself to the varying changes of property, instead of requiring trouble and expense to secure the benefit of the law.

Different Operation of Decree Land Sales in the two Countries.—Besides the liability of private estates to sale for arrears of land tax, they are also liable, both in Java and in India, to be sold for the debts of the proprietor. This is much less unsuited to the thrifty and intelligent European and Chinese landowners of Java than to the ignorant and reckless feudal chiefs of India. The operation of this law is now known to be one of the main causes of discontent among the most influential classes of our Native subjects in the East. A small Dutch detail, however, in the mode of executing decrees is even more effective than the difference in civilization, towards preserving the estates of landed proprietors from the grip of the professional usurer. When a money-lender in India once gets the Native landholder into his books, his object is not to receive back the money lent, nor even the high interest on it, but to make it the means of buying his debtor's land as cheap as possible, and far below its real value. For this purpose he professes himself the ready slave of his debtor, only too highly honoured to be allowed to supply the noble landowner's temporary wants. He is perpetually urging upon his debtor that his izzut, or personal dignity, that

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mainspring of Native action, requires extra show and expense, and at the same time offering the means of supplying this extravagance. Should the debtor propose to pay off the debt when the next rents come in, the creditor refuses the money, begs the debtor to keep it, or suggests other ostentatious employment for it. He thus leads the poor flattered landowner blindly into the net, exactly in the manner shown in the old comedies and novels, which portrayed an analogous state of society in Europe. Meanwhile the several loans, with compound interest at twelve per cent., and monthly rests, run up in a manner that would have astonished even Gil Blas' Spanish noble, who borrowed his own money "au denier cinq." The play goes on in true fifteenth century fashion, till the landowner is so involved that his debtor knows he cannot pay. Thereupon the scene changes, and the incongruous machinery of the nineteenth century is called in for the *dénouement*. The cringing creditor suddenly demands his money, sues his debtor, and proceeds to advertise his land for sale. He gives out among the Native community his determination to buy the estate, and that any one who bids against him he shall consider and treat as his deadliest enemy. He has the advantage over all other bidders, of not having to deposit at once a large portion of the purchase-money, and, as the debtor and his family have not the means of doing so, the creditor generally

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buys the estate at the auction sale far below its value. If possible, the estate is bought for less than the original debt, so that the debtor's personal liability for the remainder may be used as an engine for maintaining possession against the ill will of the ruined landowner, and of his old tenants and retainers. The whole object, therefore, is to force the land from the debtor at the lowest possible rate at which the creditor can avoid having his object defeated by being paid his debt.

In Java the usurer is not allowed to attain indirect objects by such means. The law helps him to recover his money and nothing else. The debtor's personalty must be first exhausted. Every article seized must be valued by both debtor and creditor, or by their agents, and the European civil servant, who is obliged to preside at the seizure, decides between them, and fixes without appeal the value of each article. The goods are put up for sale in such order as the debtor chooses to direct, but any article, for which the bidding does not rise to the estimated value, is delivered to the creditor in discharge of so much of his debt. Should the personalty fail to satisfy the claim at these rates, the land may then first be seized. The same process is there carried out; the debtor directs into what lots the land is to be divided, and in what order the lots are to be sold; the value of each lot is estimated, and the creditor has to take such of the lots at that

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value as fail to realize it at the sale. However inconvenient and undesirable the possession of these lots may be to the creditor, he can of course sell them by private contract, so as to realize on the whole the amount of his claim. The debtor feels that he has not had his property sacrificed, and that at least his enemy the creditor has had to pay full value for all he got.

It is evident that if the Indian money-lender knew that he would thus have to pay the full value for the most inconvenient and least valuable part of his debtor's property, his present worst motives for encouraging extravagance would cease. Loans would be made on the ordinary mercantile footing of profit, and not for the collateral object of tricking the landowner out of his land at a very inadequate price.

Benefit to Java of European Landowners.—The security and convenience of real property in Java under these conditions, and the influx of European capital, have so raised the price of land there, that estates can hardly be bought to pay four per cent. The purchaser looks to his own improvements, and to raising the value of the estate by inducing emigration from Government land, to bring the rental up to the ordinary interest for money, which in Java is about eight per cent.

The European landowners and many of the planters are doing all they can to add to the popu-

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lation on their estates. Every landlord knows that any of his peasantry who choose to go over to his neighbour's property can get land, buffaloes, and money at once, and he is also aware that the peasants themselves know it. Every proprietor, therefore, is obliged for his own sake to treat his cottiers with kindness and consideration. The Dutch Government has been often pressed to make this alluring away of peasants an offence. But though the Government suffers more from this cause than any other landholder, inasmuch as there is a constant emigration from crown land to private estates, the Dutch have always wisely refused to interfere with the peasant's free choice of his landlord. They say that if old associations will not prevent his going over, there must be either inconvenience where he is, or great advantages where he is going, so in neither case will they interfere.

No Middlemen.—The system of sub-tenures or middlemen which we have allowed to grow up in India, Putnee, Durputnee, Seputnee, Izara, &c., is unknown in Java. These numerous Native middlemen, who do nothing for the estate or its cultivators, but each of whom lives on the difference between what he pays and what he can underlet the same interest for, are the drones of society. The Dutch say that their existence cannot but be injurious, even where, as in Java, the peasants' payment is limited to a small proportion of the produce, which,

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therefore, is all these middlemen can divide between them. When I explained that we had allowed unlimited numbers of these middlemen to grow up in Bengal, without any practical limit to their exactions for rent, except perhaps in one case in fifty, where the cottier may be still able to prove tenure since last century, the Dutch anticipated my account of the poverty of the Bengal ryots. They suggested, however, that since the Irish famine had shown the danger of numerous middlemen over a cottier peasantry, without any limit to the claim on the peasant, we must have adopted some measures to prevent the further extension of a like state of things in India. I contrived to evade a direct answer to this question by the usual Indian formula, "that it had formerly been forbidden, but was practised by the Natives in spite of the prohibition, till juster and larger views of the rights of property caused its practice to be admitted and legalized."

In Java the peasant is not ground down to a bare subsistence by the ever-increasing exactions of an ever-lengthening series of middlemen. He has only to pay one fixed and unalterable rent, viz., one-fifth of the produce and one-seventh of his labour for nothing. There is still, however, a difference. In the Preanger and in Soerakarta and Djokjokarta the one-fifth of produce is applied in the old way, partly to religion, partly to education, and partly to support of the Native chiefs, and the peasant pays

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no more. In the rest of the island, though the peasant has only to pay one-fifth to his landlord, whether Government or a private person, yet the priests and Native chiefs generally exact some further portion of his produce for religion and education. Though the Dutch do not enforce the latter payment, they wisely abstain from forbidding it, not considering such a customary payment in the light of extortion. At the worst, however, this leaves, as the Java peasant's own, a proportion of his crop far exceeding that retained by the Indian cottier.

Revenue from 1817 *to* 1830.—Though the old monopolies were gone, the Dutch Government on their return in 1816 found most of the other old sources of internal revenue besides the land tax. The Preanger, where the one-fifth and one-seventh were still paid to the regents under the old treaty, continued to supply large quantities of coffee at the low prime cost of three florins and fifty cents per picul. After being dried, cleaned, and sorted, at a further expense of about two florins per picul, this coffee was worth in the market twenty-five or thirty florins per picul. The large coffee plantations also, which had been made by Marshal Daendels, and which had been much neglected during the English rule, were restored.

After the restoration of the island, the Dutch continued the English system of finance without any

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change of importance, except that above described in the land tax. The revenue at first rose rapidly, chiefly from the land tax having come into full operation. The income sprung at once from seven and a half millions of florins in 1814-15, but which did not include the whole of the dependencies restored to the Dutch, to upwards of eighteen millions in 1817. The expenditure rose from about nine millions of florins in 1814-15 to upwards of seventeen millions in 1817. The revenue continued to increase till it attained twenty-nine millions of florins in 1824, but by 1826 the commotion caused by the Java war with the Native powers reduced the revenue to twenty millions of florins, from which it again struggled up to thirty millions in 1833. The yearly revenue of the Dutch East Indies from 1817 to 1830 averaged a little below the sum of twenty-four millions of florins, the income predicted by Mr. Hogendorp, and, as related by Sir Stamford Raffles, then considered an exaggerated estimate of what the island could, under any circumstances, produce. This revenue was, however, only obtained by straining to the uttermost the tax-paying powers of a poor country, and the greatly increased expenditure even exceeded the enlarged income. The great deficit was caused by the Java war, but the chief increase of expenditure arose from the more numerous and more efficient European instruments required for the systems of justice and administration

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introduced by the English. The maintenance of the English system, therefore, necessitated an outlay, which the existing resources of the country were scarcely competent to supply.

Population.—The English census of 1815 gave a population for Java and Madura of 4,615,270. The Dutch census of 1826 gave a population of 5,403,786, or a decimal increase of only about sixteen per cent.

Deficit and Debt.—From 1817 to 1824, there was a considerable surplus of revenue over expenditure. From 1824 to 1833 there was a constant deficit. Altogether, from the return of the Dutch till 1833, the aggregate excess of expenditure over receipts came to 37,700,000 florins, or £3,141,666. This deficit, equal to about one and a half year's income, was supplied by Holland, and thus formed the Java debt. The interest for this debt having to be sent out of the country, was, of course, a greater drain on the finances of Java than a larger amount of debt held in the island would have been.

After the trial and rejection of various schemes for obtaining a larger revenue from an idle and improvident peasant population, who had no money to give, and had but little market for such small portions of their idle crops as were not absolutely absorbed by the land tax and by their own necessities, the limits of taxation seemed to have been reached in Java.

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In fact, the English had introduced a system, representing the enlightened but expensive ideas of the nineteenth century, into a state of society resembling that of Europe from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The Dutch found in Java, as we find in India, that the undeveloped resources of even such fertile countries, in that state of society, will not suffice to meet the exigencies of an administration three centuries more advanced.

The population and revenue of Java were both nearly stationary. There was an increase of expense, a constant deficit, and a yearly growing debt. This debt, external to Java, and therefore exhaustive, had risen in eight years between 1825 and 1833 from nothing to one and a half year's revenue. The people were living in great poverty, with, in some places, a bare subsistence. An increasing deficiency in cattle and other means excited fears as to the future prospects of the country. No rich Native middle or upper class existed as a last resort. There was oppression by the chiefs, and much violent and organized crime among the poor. The Government appeared to be falling into decay. Notwithstanding the large increase of revenue, the Dutch East Indies seemed destined to continue a burden on the small mother country instead of an assistance.

The average revenue of the Dutch East Indies per head from 1817 to 1833 was 7*s.* 1¾*d.* per annum, ranging in different years from 5*s.* 5*d.* up to 9*s.* 3½*d.*

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I could not help smiling when Mr. Ament said to me, "Java, sir, was then in the same miserable condition that India is now," an opinion which I afterwards heard repeated by others. How far this is true I must leave to the decision of those who are better acquainted with the real state of India in all its parts than I can pretend to be. Some points of the analogy, however, are striking, if not even then more favourable to the Dutch than to ourselves.

Analogy of Java before 1830 *with India in* 1856.—The largest revenue of British India previous to my visit to Java was in 1856-57, when it reached rather over 33¼ millions sterling. The population of our Indian territories, exclusive of Native states, is given in Mill's "India in 1858," as about 132 millions of souls. The amount of the Indian revenue for 1856-57 came to 5*s.* 0½*d* per head. The average revenue per head in Java from 1817 to 1833, was therefore more than one-third larger than the Indian revenue per head in 1856.

Of the Java revenue, however, the average land tax from 1821 to 1833 was only 1*s.* 8*d.* per head per annum out of a total average of 7*s.* 1¾*d.*, or less than one-fourth. The Indian land tax in 1856-57 was 2*s.* per head out of 5s. 0½*d.* per head of gross revenue, or between one-half and two-thirds of the whole. The direct compulsory tax per head now in India is therefore more than one-half heavier than the direct

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compulsory tax on the Javanese peasant, at the worst period of the Dutch financial embarrassments in Netherlands India.

At the same period, however, with a poor population, no rich middle class, and consequently but small demand for European articles, the Dutch had found the means of raising by indirect taxation nearly four times the amount of the direct compulsory land revenue. In India as yet every effort has failed to raise the indirect taxation to the same amount as the land tax.

So far the comparison is in favour of the Dutch. But in the broad features, common to Java till 1833, and to India at the present day, of a poor peasantry, organized crime, taxation carried to the limit of the country's ability to bear, an annual deficit, and a large debt, the analogy more nearly justifies the Dutch comparison than is agreeable to admit, and its remedy in Java should be instructive.

Attempts at Retrenchment.—The first vigorous effort to change this state of things was made from 1827 to 1830 by Le Vicomte du Bus de Gisignies, who was sent to Java for that purpose in 1826, as the King of Holland's Commissary-General; an office conferring on the holder a power superior to that of Governor-General, and absolutely untrammelled. Being a man of energy, and determined to achieve his object, so far as the means he saw were adapted to that end, Le Vicomte de Gisignies resorted

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to strong measures for reducing the expenses. He cut down salaries to a degree, which hardly left the Dutch civilian or officer the means of living in an expensive country, as every Oriental country must be to a European of civilized tastes and habit. His reductions, which involved all officials, European or Native, and all branches of the expenditure, were pushed to extreme limits, caused universal dissatisfaction, and, as the Dutch themselves admit, much impaired the efficiency of both the military and civil services.

Expenditure still in Excess of Income.—The expenditure, however, still remained in excess of the income in 1830, and Java would probably have continued a burden on Holland, with its internal condition causing constant anxiety and expense, but for the culture system, to which both the Government and the people owe their present peace and prosperity.

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CHAPTER III.

THE CULTURE SYSTEM.

GENERAL VAN DEN BOSCH—PRINCIPLES OF CULTURE SYSTEM—BUILDING ADVANCE—YEARLY ADVANCE—MODE OF CARRYING OUT THE SYSTEM—DIVISIONS OF THE CULTURE SYSTEM—CONTROL OVER THE RELATIONS OF EUROPEAN AND NATIVE—ARTICLES BEST PRODUCED WITH AND WITHOUT EUROPEAN CONTRACTORS—CONTRACT SUGAR CULTURE—PEASANT'S PROFIT—LAND TAX—CONTRAST IN PEASANT'S PROFITS UNDER OLD AND NEW SYSTEMS—CULTURE WAGES—OFFICIAL PERCENTAGE—COPPER COIN—CONTRACTOR'S PROFIT—PROFIT TO GOVERNMENT—STATISTICS OF SUGAR CULTURE—CONTRACT INDIGO CULTURE—INDEPENDENT PLANTERS—CONTRAST OF JAVA CULTURE SYSTEM WITH EUROPEAN CULTURES IN INDIA—INDIAN INDIGO CULTURE—FORMER MODE OF ESTABLISHING A NEW INDIGO FACTORY—INDIAN LEGISLATION FOR INDIGO CULTURE—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HINDOO COTTIER AND ENGLISH FARMER—MEANS OF MAKING INDIGO CULTURE LESS OBJECTIONABLE—INDIAN COTTON CULTURE.

General Van den Bosch.—At this juncture in 1830 it pleased God, in mercy to a suffering people, to inspire the King of Holland with confidence in apparently the wildest schemer of his realm.

General Van den Bosch was known to entertain projects for the increase of the revenues of Java to

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fabulous proportions. He asserted that, if properly administered, the same small country and population might be made to yield a revenue sufficient to supply the expense of a much more efficient administration, and to give a large surplus to the mother country, with a great increase of welfare to the people of Java. He proposed to offer culture contracts on liberal terms, and large advances of public money without interest to the respectable European inhabitants of Java. His scheme resolved itself into making the crown cottiers plant such portions of the crown lands as were not required to grow rice for their own subsistence, with the colonial products in demand in Europe, and best suited to the soil. He proposed to divide the profits of these more valuable crops in such proportions, between the grower, the manufacturer, and the Government, as to give the two former the larger share, leaving the Government a small direct profit on the culture, besides the large indirect profits certain to accrue from the prosperity of the inhabitants of Java.

General Van den Bosch left Holland in 1830 as Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, taking with him the funds, and also new instruments, in the shape of a number of young Dutchmen of good education, free from the prejudices of the colonial service, and impressed with confidence in his plans, who were to work the new system as contrôleurs.

Principles of Culture System.—The principles on

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which General Van den Bosch founded the success of his plans are said to have been :—

1. Profit to the peasant, so as to make the new culture system acceptable.

2. Profit to the contractor, so as to induce its extension by private enterprise.

3. A percentage to the officials, so as to secure their active support.

4. Personal interest of the village community in its success, so as to secure careful cultivation.

5. Improvement in the tax-payers' means, so as to increase the revenue and facilitate its payment.

The organized plan took effect in the following manner :—

Building Advance.—Every contractor was credited in the books of a branch of the administration, expressly created for the purpose, with a building advance of the amount required to start his manufacture. This was at first calculated at two lacs of florins copper, or 200,000 F. C., equal to £13,888 17*s.* 9½*d.* Of these two lacs of florins copper the contractor was allowed to draw what he required meanwhile for the maintenance of his family, not exceeding 1500 florins copper per mensem. This building advance was made for twelve years, *without interest,* but repayable by instalments of one-tenth in the third and in every succeeding year. It was to be applied by the contractor under Government superintendence in building his mill, in bringing water to it as a motive

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power, and in buying and importing from Europe the proper machinery. A sufficient amount of the gratuitous labour, furnished by the neighbouring peasants to Government, was put at the contractor's disposal for the first two years. He took what timber and materials he required from Government land for nothing. His machinery was imported duty free. And his general supervision was facilitated by the gratuitous use of the Government post horses. The special culture department assisted in procuring machinery from Europe, gave the contractors advice and information, supplied them with the best works relating to their respective manufactures, and applied each man's building advance in a liberal spirit to the preparation of his mill, as the contractor and his supervising official required.

The object sought was to inspire the contractor with the feeling that the advance would be his own in future, and he richer or poorer as it was well or ill applied. He laid it out as he thought best. Provided the supervising contrôleur certified that it was employed in the preparation of the mill, the culture department paid without inquiring as to whether such outlay was judicious or otherwise. This secured the beneficial action of the contractor's private enterprise and care for his own interest in the application of borrowed money, instead of the costly and ineffective results of mere official employment of Government funds.

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Yearly Advance.—General Van den Bosch also undertook that, by the time the mill was ready to work, the surrounding villages should have a certain area planted with the crop to be manufactured ready for cutting. About 400 bahus, or 600 acres, it was calculated, would be generally sufficient to give full employment to the mill. Government was also to advance yearly beforehand to the contractor, *without interest,* the whole sum required for the purchase and manufacture of the crop. These advances were to be repaid to Government in the produce of the mill.

At first the contracts required the manufacturer to deliver to Government the whole produce of his mill at a fixed rate, about one-third above the cost price. These original contracts were afterwards varied. It was made optional with the contractor to insist on Government buying the whole produce of his mill at the contract rates, or only to deliver to Government so much as, at the contract rates, would repay the yearly advance and one-tenth of the original building advance.

The respectable Dutchmen, to whom General Van den Bosch first offered his contracts, estimated the amount of the produce on a given area, and the cost of the manufacture at the old rates, under careless cultivation and idle habits. These, added to the unusually high price to be paid for the raw material, were expected to raise the cost to the full contract rate. The necessity of delivering to Government

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the whole manufactured produce at the contract rates would, in this case, of course leave the contractor no profit, while the repayment of the advances in kind at that rate might even cause the contractor a loss. Such considerations prevented the respectable inhabitants of Java accepting the Government contracts.

The new contractors fortunately were not of a calibre to make these calculations for themselves. They took the contracts on the assurance of the Governor-General that they would make their fortunes, and left him to devise the means to so agreeable an end. His calculations all turned on the different results of industry and idleness. He assumed that high wages, with official encouragement and supervision, would lead to contented and careful cultivation, yielding a proportionately larger produce on a given area. This would increase the material over which to spread the cost of manufacture. There being no interest on the advances, no commission to agency houses, and no outlay for freight or transport, would make the cost of manufacture the only expense to the contractor. By these means General Van den Bosch believed it possible to secure large profits to both grower and manufacturer at contract rates, which should still leave Government a good margin on the sale of the article.

The amount to be paid for the purchase of each

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crop was fixed, so as to make its cultivation more profitable than rice. The expenses of manufacture were estimated at a sum equal to the amount to be paid to the grower. And the contract rate was fixed about one-third higher than the product of those two sums. The product of those two sums would be the yearly advance of Government for the cost price of the whole crop, so that, if the estimates proved correct, the delivery to Government of two-thirds of the manufactured article at the contract rate would repay the yearly advance, leaving the contractor one-third of his manufacture for his profit. As the original and yearly advances were to be made by Government, *without interest*, such surplus would cost the contractor nothing but time and labour.

Mode of carrying out the System.—The crown villages, whose situation and soil seemed best adapted for the success of the enterprise, were selected. During the building of the mill, the official contrôleur was employed in making himself acquainted with the number of the neighbouring Government cottiers, and in examining the village lands suited to the proposed crop. The amount of land required to be under rice, to provide for the wants of the surrounding population, was ascertained. The people were told that this amount of rice land should never be intruded upon. They were further shown the pecuniary advantages to be derived by them from the culture system, without additional labour or

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taxation. The increased facility which it would afford them in paying the Government land rent was also explained. And, lastly, they were ordered to plant one-fifth of their lands with the contractor's crop.

In Java the landlord has the right of directing his tenant's cultivation, according to the old custom of most Eastern nations. The villagers on the crown lands therefore saw nothing either tyrannical or intrusive in this order. To render this new cultivation acceptable, however, the gain to the cultivator was purposely made so large and clear as to be plain to the most ordinary capacity.

General Van den Bosch carefully analysed the popular household institutions of the Javanese, of the well-known old patriarchal character which has always marked the early stages of society in the East. The Native's dawdling idleness, natural to the climate of Java, was also taken into consideration. The culture system was based, not on the improvement, but on the recognition of those facts. A village which set apart one-fifth of its rice fields for the cultivation of a crop suited to the market of Europe, not requiring more labour than the cultivation of rice, was to be exempted from the payment of land rent. The village was further to receive any value above the amount of the remitted land rent which the contractor's crop should turn out to be worth. Bad crops were to be at the risk of the Government, in so far, at least, as these should

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not be owing to want of zeal and labour on the part of the Javanese. And four men were to be told off to do the work of one. It required no evidence to prove that these principles were entirely in the interest of the Javanese, and the plan was thus made acceptable to the peasants.

In working the system, however, it was found, that the remission of the land rent, in return for the contractor's crop, would lead to an unfair taxation of the individuals composing the village community. Some of these by the remission of the land rent to the village, would be relieved from tax without rendering any equivalent. Such would be the case with those who, according to Javanese ideas, were above work and independent, having separate rice fields of their own which they cultivated by day labourers. Those, again, who turned out to work on the contractor's crop (the poorer classes) would be the only members of the community on whom the tax of the whole village would fall. This part therefore of the culture system was only carried into effect in two residencies (Madioen and Kediri). Even there it was very soon abandoned for the present system, which is to collect the land rent from the whole village community, and to pay each man individually for his work on the contractor's crop.

Under this system the land rent on the whole of the village cultivated lands is still taxed, only at the

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old rate and in the old manner, as if all under rice as before. The price of the contractor's crop, on the contrary, is fixed so high, that the money received for its growth, on one-fifth of the village lands, must be more than double the land rent on the whole village lands. This leaves the villagers a large cash balance in hand, after paying their land rent, besides the whole rice produce of the four-fifths of their land for their own consumption. It relieves them from the former necessity of having to meet the Government demand by selling part of their rice crop, probably at inadequate rates, or by borrowing money, certainly at exorbitant interest.

Divisions of the Culture System.—Such are the main features of one branch of the culture system—that carried on by village labour with the intervention of a contractor to manufacture the raw article. The second applies to products which either require no manufacture of the raw material, or in which the treatment of the product for export is easy and simple enough to be carried out by the Native grower; and the third to tea, tobacco, and cochineal.

Control over the Relations of European and Native.—The relations between the European contractor and the Native cultivator were carefully regulated, so as to protect the Native from force, and the European from fraud. Large opportunity and every security and assistance were given to all Europeans seeking wealth by developing the resources

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of the soil. Certain limits were, however, imposed. No European was allowed to seek wealth at pleasure, by foisting his own terms on the Natives, and by using his superior strength, knowledge, and capital, to gain advantages at the Native's expense. On the other hand, the Native was required to assist in developing the resources of the soil. He was held strictly to the fulfilment of his engagements, but was secured large profits for so doing. His share in the culture system, both of labour and reward, was regulated by fixed rules plainly beneficial to him. His cultivation of the contractor's crop was carried out under the orders and supervision of his Native chiefs. The price for the contractor's crop was arranged by him with the European officials. And till the crop was cut and carried to the mill, the contractor neither had nor was allowed to usurp other control over the cultivator, than to report to the officials such neglect or misconduct as he thought likely to injure the crop. By these means, while the European was secured from loss to arise by the Native's evasion or infringement of his engagements, the Native was protected from violence on the part of the European.

Articles best produced with and without European Contractors.—The form of the culture system with the intervention of a contractor has been applied on the crown lands in different parts of Java to sugar, indigo, cochineal, tea, and tobacco.

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The other Government cultures of coffee, cinnamon, and pepper have always been carried on by Native labour without a European contractor. Experience has shown that three principal articles, viz., sugar, tobacco, and tea, can be most profitably produced by means of intelligent European contractors applying large Government funds to their cultivation on crown lands, and to their subsequent treatment by expensive processes. On the other hand, it has been found that Java indigo and cochineal hardly require and cannot bear the expense of a European contractor. Like coffee, cinnamon, and pepper, these articles are most profitably cultivated and prepared by the crown peasants, under the immediate superintendence and control of the Government officials. Practice has suggested modifications in the manner of producing and treating each of these articles under the culture system, but the broad principles of General Van den Bosch's plan are still unchanged.

Its effects upon the country and people, as well as the details of the respective advantages to peasant and contractor, will, however, best be seen by examining the figures of the sugar contracts, by far the most important culture of this kind in Java.

Contract Sugar Culture.—The price to be paid to the villagers was fixed at three and a half florins copper for each picul of sugar produced from the canes grown by them. It was expected that the average yield would be thirty piculs of sugar to the

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bahu of canes. This would give the villagers yearly 105 florins copper per bahu of one and a half acre, or £4 17*s.* 9*d.* per acre. The peasants were told that the canes, when ripe and before they were cut, would be estimated as to their yield by the Taxation Committee, in the same manner as the rice crop was yearly accustomed to be estimated for land rent. The villagers were assured that they should be at once paid three florins copper and fifty doits per picul of the estimated yield. They were also promised that, as soon as their canes had been crushed, they should receive a further sum of three florins copper and fifty doits for every picul of the actual yield above the estimate.

Peasants' Profit.—Let us suppose that the village had 100 bahus or 150 acres of rice land. The villagers were told they must plant one-fifth, or twenty bahus, with sugar cane, which, if they took pains in its cultivation, would probably yield 600 piculs, or thirty piculs of sugar per bahu. At three florins copper fifty doits per picul, this would give 2100 florins copper, which the peasants were to have paid to them in cash by the Government contrôleur before the canes were cut, and which they might keep whether the canes gave the estimated yield or not. The land under sugar was to be taxed for land rent only as if under rice. Thus the amount of the land rent was to remain the same as before, and was of course well known to the

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peasants. As will be seen presently, it could not amount for the whole 100 bahus to more than about half the money to be received for the twenty bahus under sugar.

The vigilance and active exertions of the European and Native officials were secured by a small percentage to each on every picul of sugar made in his district. Under their supervision the canes were carefully cultivated. After a few years' experience and improvement they were found to yield, on the best lands where the sugar mills were first established, an average of forty piculs per bahu, instead of thirty. The villagers actually received in hard cash, for the twenty bahus of canes, first, the value of the estimated yield, say at thirty piculs, 2100 florins copper, and some two or three months later, when the real yield was known, the further sum of 700 florins copper, as the price at the same rate of the extra ten piculs per bahu above the estimate.

This system works well, since, besides enriching the labouring classes, it gives each man an interest in the planter having a good crop, his pay being so much per picul of sugar made at the mill. If the crop does not come to maturity, or is burned or washed away before the canes are ripe, and therefore before the estimation of the yield, the peasants get nothing for their labour. Self-interest thus teaches them to use care and caution to provide against

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accidents. If they had not to receive payment according to the result of the sugar crop, but had only to work for their village to which the land rent had been remitted, and if the bad crops were still taken on account of Government, the ryot could not be expected to care much whether the cane fields succeeded. As it is, the villagers take active precautions against the canes being burnt up for want of irrigation, or washed away by the violent rains for want of protection, and in most cases with success.

But, besides the sums to be received by the villagers according to the out-turn of the sugar crop, they are further paid by the contractor for cutting the canes and carrying them to his mill. For this purpose the contractor has to make agreements with the villagers, which, under the supervision of the contrôleur, are generally made at such rates as to come to about one florin copper per picul of the yield. Thus the villagers further receive from the contractor, in cash on delivery, 800 florins copper for cutting and carrying the canes of their twenty bahus, at forty piculs per bahu. Their actual cash receipts for growing, cutting, and carrying twenty bahus of canes thus become—

	F. C.
Value at estimated yield of 30 piculs . .	2100
Value of surplus yield of 10 piculs. . .	700
For cutting and carrying, at 40 piculs . .	800
Total Florins Copper	3600

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This is equal to 3000 florins silver, or £250, for twenty bahus, or for about thirty acres of land.

The villagers' culture wages for sugar thus vary with the yield from about £7 to over £8 per acre.

Land Tax.—The land rent, as it is more correctly named in Java, is the same as what is called the Ryots' Land Tax to Government in India. The amount of the land rent is not deducted by the Dutch Government out of the culture wages, but most of the villagers doubtless pay it from that source. A comparison of the amount of the culture wages with the ordinary land rent will show approximately the result to the village.

The land rent may vary slightly every year. It is calculated by having the produce of the village lands, when the March rice crop is ripe and before it is cut, yearly estimated by the Taxation Committee. The European contrôleur, the Native chief of the district, the village chief, and a certain number of Native mantries, or petty chiefs, compose this Taxation Committee. These examine the crop on the land in presence of the villagers, and calculate the number of piculs of padi or pari (rice in the husk), and whether of first, second, or third quality, which the crop will give per bahu. The average is about 20 piculs of padi per bahu, and in rare cases it will go as high as 30 piculs. In Java the padi gives about half its own weight in rice, though in India, I am told, the rice is seldom more than two-fifths of

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the padi. This padi is valued at the market price in harvest time, which, in the interior, is generally from two to three florins per picul of first-rate padi, but in the neighbourhood of towns will rise to four or even five florins per picul.

In 1854 the highest average produce of padi in any residency was $30\frac{5}{100}$ piculs per cultivated bahu, while the lowest was $5\frac{92}{100}$ piculs per bahu. The average all round was $17\frac{14}{100}$ piculs per bahu. The highest average price of padi in any residency was four florins eighty doits per picul, and the lowest was one florin thirteen doits per picul. The highest average price all round was three florins five doits per picul, and the lowest average price all round was 1 florin 113 doits per picul. The rice produce all round in 1857 was $17\frac{9}{100}$ piculs per bahu, while in that year the highest average price all round was two florins forty-seven doits per picul, and the lowest average price all round was one florin eighty-five doits per picul. Let us suppose, therefore, that of the eighty bahus under rice ten give per bahu thirty piculs of first-rate padi, worth three florins per picul. Twenty of the other bahus would probably give per bahu twenty piculs of second-rate padi, worth two florins sixty doits per picul. And the remaining fifty bahus may be taken as giving per bahu fifteen piculs of third-rate padi, worth one florin eighty doits per picul. The twenty

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bahus under sugar are calculated as rice land, giving the same quantity and quality as the best of that village land really under rice.

The village land rent account, therefore, would stand as follows:—

			Pic Padi.
30 Bahus (10 Rice and 20 Sugar) at 30 Pic Padi per bahu			900
20 Bahus at 20 Pic Padi per bahu			400
50 Bahus at 15 Pic Padi per bahu			750
Total produce of 100 Bahus . . .			2050
900 Pic Padi at 3 florins per picul . . .	*Fls.*	2700	
400 Pic Padi at 2 florins 60 doits per picul	„	1000	
750 Pic Padi at 1 florin 80 doits per picul	„	1250	
Total value of produce . . .		4950	

Of this the land rent is one-fifth in money, or 990 florins.

The cultivated area of rice fields on the Java crown lands in 1854 was 1,712,312 bahus. Of this, less than $\frac{1}{26}$th, or 63,868 bahus, was planted for Government under the culture system, and 1,678,444 bahus were cultivated by the people for themselves. The imaginary rice produce of the area cultivated for Government gave land rent 622,282 florins thirty-nine droits, or at the rate of 974 florins per one hundred bahus. The land rent on the actual rice crops cultivated by the people for themselves was 7,995,689 florins 114 doits, or at the rate of

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only 485 florins per one hundred bahus. The total land rent was 8,617,972 florins thirty-three doits, or at the rate of 503 florins per one hundred bahus on the whole cultivated area. In 1857 the cultivated area of rice fields in the Java crown lands was 1,896,177 bahus, or 275,797 acres more than in 1854, showing an extension of cultivation not far short of 100,000 acres per annum. The total land rent in 1857 was florins 9,659,794-44, or 509 florins per one hundred bahus on the whole cultivated area.

Thus it will be seen that only in exceptional cases can the land rent on the one hundred bahus come to 1000 florins silver, or 1200 florins copper. Even at that rate the culture wages, averaging from 2250 to 3000 florins, for growing, cutting, and carrying twenty bahus of sugar cane, are more than double the land rent.

Contrast in Peasants' Profits under Old and New Systems.—The difference to the villagers between the old system and the new will be best seen by the following comparison. I have made the rice produce of the one hundred bahus the same in amount and value in 1830 as in 1857; whereas in truth both amount and value were smaller in 1830. This makes the difference less favourable than is really the fact. The benefit caused by the culture system is thus understated, but still the contrast is remarkable.

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In 1830.	*Pic Padi.*		*Florins.*
30 Bahus, at 30 Pic Padi per bahu	900 at fl. 3— 0		2700
20 Bahus, at 20 Pic Padi per bahu	400 at fl. 2—60		1000
50 Bahus, at 15 Pic Padi per bahu	750 at fl. 1—80		1250
	2050		4950
Deduct one-fifth to be sold for land rent	410	or	990
Left the village for consumption and sale one crop of Padi, of Piculs	1640	worth	3960

In 1857.	*Pic Padi.*		*Florins.*	
20 Bahus Sugar, with cutting and carrying, at least F.C. 2700 .		equal to		2250
10 Bahus Rice, at 30 Pic per bahu	300 at fl. 3— 0		900	
20 Bahus ditto, at 20 Pic per bahu	400 at fl. 2—60		1000	
50 Bahus ditto, at 15 Pic per bahu	750 at fl. 1—80		1250	
60 Bahus same land, second crop of Tobacco, &c., worth say .			1800	4950
	1450		4950	7200
Land rent same as above, paid out of the Sugar Money . .				990
Left the village for consumption or sale two crops worth .			4950	
Cash in hand			1260	
				6210

Or 6210 florins clear in 1857 against 3960 florins clear in 1830.

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Under this new system, with such large yearly cash balances, the villagers soon relieved themselves from the grip of the Chinese money-lenders. The power to purchase gave rise to new wants, and the indulgence of those wants led to increased industry. The culture villages have now risen to a condition of great prosperity, and their large outlay has extended that prosperity to neighbouring districts not directly benefited by the culture system.

Besides the direct advantages in money, both the people and the country gained immensely by the increase of employment. The idle months, between the harvest in June and the sowing in November, used to be the period for regularly organized burglaries and other violent crimes, formerly as prevalent in Java as they still are in India. Employment at good wages during those months is secured to part of the population in the manufacture of sugar at the mill. The rest of the population are also thereby provided with employment during the same period on their own village lands. The water-course, made by the contractor to turn his own mill, supplies them with constant irrigation not dependent on the rains, and thus enables the village lands to bear a double instead of a single crop. The mill also is a ready market for the village produce, such as fuel, padi, rattans, bamboos, &c., and for the village manufactures, such as oil, pots,

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bricks, and wooden and iron tools, the creation of which also helps to give constant employment to the village labour.

The rice lands and sugar lands are differently cultivated. Each householder of the village has allotted to him, every year, his proportionate share of the four-fifths of the village lands which are to be planted with rice, and then he and his family separately cultivate his allotted rice lands for themselves. This yearly division and allotment are made by the koewoe, or village chief, with the help of the council of village elders. The one-fifth under sugar, which is changed every year, so as to let the same land carry sugar only once in five years, is not allotted, but the whole of the cottiers work at that by turns under the orders of the koewoe.

Culture Wages.—When the canes are to be paid for, the money is taken to the place where the wedana, or chief of the district, lives. Lists have been prepared beforehand for each village,—so many bahus, estimated at so many piculs, at three F. C. fifty doits per picul, so much—so many villagers worked in the sugar canes, (excluding the priests, the infirm, and those of rank above work,) to divide so much, will get, per man, so much—and then *seriatim* the names of the workmen, with each man's amount. The village is summoned, perhaps with five or six other villages.

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The heading of the list, showing the calculation and the amount per man, is read out to the villagers in the presence of the assistant resident, the contrôleur in charge of the village, the regent in whose regency, the wedana in whose district, and the salaried mantrie in whose sub-district the village is situated, and of the koewoe or elected chief of the village. Each man's name is then called out, and the money is paid by the contrôleur into his own hand. The assistant resident has to report to the resident the whole circumstances of the payment of each village, with the names of each official present, and the name of the person by whose hand the money was paid to the villagers.

I was much struck, at this point of the process, with the wisdom of the Dutch mode of dealing with Natives. Mr. Ament told me that, although each man's money was paid into his own hand, it was notorious that the whole sum was, on the return to the village, paid by the peasants to the village chief and council of elders, who redistributed it, according to the account kept by them of every man's daily work in the canes, or of the supply of carts and buffaloes for the purposes of the sugar cultivation. These latter are often provided by people of rank or of age above work, whose names even are consequently not on the Government list.

If any further payment has to be made from the yield of sugar exceeding the amount estimated, the

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whole process is gone over again, and before the same persons each man is paid his share of the three florins copper and fifty doits per surplus picul.

The Dutch say that no great progress can ever be made among an Oriental people towards an extensive development of the resources of the country, unless not only the support of Government be given, but the active help and countenance of the local officials be secured. This is attained by giving them a personal interest in the success of such efforts. Many of the official salaries are doubled by their percentages. At the same time, the Dutch say, the public weal requires the motives for such support not to be strong enough to supersede the general protection which the childish Native agriculturist requires in his dealings with a superior of whatever race or colour.

These opposite results are sought by making the percentage universal but very small. The aggregate forms a respectable sum, securing general support and active efforts for its attainment.

In some districts the resident's percentage of 10 doits per picul will amount to as much as from 1200 to 1500 florins per month, or between £1200 and £1500 a year besides his salary. Of course every other 10 doit percentage will yield the same among those whose area conjoined equals the resident's.

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Thus, if his residency is divided into four regencies equally stocked with contractors, each regent would get from £300 to £400 yearly percentage. In the case of every official, both European and Native, this percentage is over and above the salary, and not counted in any way against the recipient. The resident pays to himself and to the other officials the 50 doits per picul on the whole produce of his residency, charging the Government this percentage on every picul delivered in payment by the contractor, and charging the contractor in account with this percentage on every picul of his surplus.

Copper Coin.—To facilitate the operation of the culture system, General Van den Bosch imported from Europe many millions of copper coin, in which the advances to the contractors for expenditure in Java were made. This was intrinsically worth only 40 centimes, or 8*d.* per 100 copper coins called doits, but the Government made it a legal tender in Java at the rate of 120 doits to a silver florin worth 20*d.* English. The copper coin was advanced by Government to the contractor, and paid by him to the peasant, at that rate, the contractor repaying the nominal amount of the advance in sugar at the contract price. Thus the advances made by Government really cost it less than half the nominal amount of the advance. This copper

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coinage in that state of society had many of the advantages of a paper currency. It was not hoarded, it represented a conventional value far above its real cost, and it had the extra advantages of not being constantly returned to Government for silver, and of being a circulating medium better adapted to the uses of a poor people than paper of even the lowest denomination. It had, of course, the disadvantages of bulk, and of being easily counterfeited, and the difference between its real value and that for which it was a legal tender in Java gave rise to smuggling, in the introduction of large quantities of the same inferior copper coin into the island. By these means, to which even the smuggling was advantageous in one point of view, a large circulating medium was provided, suited to the wants of the country. This tended to facilitate operations, and to raise the value of all the produce of the island, the Government wisely receiving the whole or any part of the land tax, or of any other payments, in the same copper coin at its legal rate. The loans raised in Holland, to start the system, thus produced an effect, in Java, equal to double their amount. This inferior copper coinage, having effected its purpose, has lately been called in, and replaced by copper and small silver coins of proper intrinsic value.

While the peasant's interest was thus carefully

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looked after, the contractor's profits were equally secured.

Contractor's Profit.—As the whole building and yearly advances were derived from Government without interest, the contractor risked nothing but time and labour. A less wise governor than General Van den Bosch would have increased the direct profits of Government, by reducing the contractor's profits to something above an equivalent for the time and labour of such inferior men as the first contractors. But General Van den Bosch foresaw that the great benefit to the country would arise from the extension of the system by private enterprise. He knew that such extension would depend upon this liberal scale of remuneration to the peasant being shown to be consistent with large and rapid fortunes to the contractors. He agreed, therefore, to allow the contractor to pay in sugar, at such prices as to leave him a large share of the profits of the manufacture. He fixed the contract rate at which the sugar was to be delivered to Government in the neighbourhood of the mill at ten florins copper per picul. This is equal to 13*s.* 10½*d.* for 136 lbs. avoirdupois, or just under 1¼*d.* per pound.

The contractor's calculation was also made on the expectation of thirty piculs of sugar to the bahu of canes. The usual amount of land in each contract was 400 bahus, divided among the different culture

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villages attached to that sugar mill. At these rates the contractor's account would stand as follows:—

	F. C.	*Pic. Sug.*
400 Bahus, at 30 piculs of Sugar per bahu		12,000
Yearly advance for Canes, at 3 florins copper 50 doits per picul of Sugar	42,000	
Yearly advance for cutting and making, at 3 florins copper 50 doits per picul	42,000	
Repay one-tenth of original building advance	20,000	
To be repaid, Florins copper . . .	104,000	
This the Contractor would repay by delivering to Government at 10 florins copper per picul	*Pic. Sug.*	10,400
Estimated surplus for Contractor's profit, Piculs of Sugar		1,600

This account was a gauge, both for Government and the contractor, as to the amount of the yearly advance. According to the number of bahus in his contract, the contractor was to receive yearly advance for the expenses of manufacture, including cutting and carrying, three florins copper and fifty doits per picul on the whole of his produce, estimated at thirty piculs to the bahu. A similar three florins copper and fifty doits per picul was to be paid by Government on his account for the canes to the peasant. His Government yearly advance would thus be equal to seven florins copper per picul of sugar. The contract rate for delivery to Government, being ten florins copper per picul, would enable the contractor to repay the yearly advance

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and one-tenth of the building advance, and yet leave him a considerable surplus for his profit.

The results, however, in the contractor's case, as in the peasant's, were much increased by the canes yielding 40 piculs per bahu instead of 30. The contractor's account on the real production, then stood as follows :—

	F. C.	*Pic. Sug.*
400 Bahus, at 40 piculs per bahu		16,000
Canes at 3 F. C. 50 doits per picul . . .	56,000	
Cutting and making (less per picul for a larger amount), 3 F. C. per picul . . .	48,000	
Repay one-tenth of building advance . . .	20,000	
To be repaid, F. C. .	124,000 =	12,400
Real surplus for contractor, *Pic. Sug.*		3,600

These 3600 piculs of sugar, if badly made and sold at 12 florins per picul, gave 43,200 florins, or £3600. If well made and of superior quality, so as to bring 15 florins per picul, they gave 51,000 florins, or £4353. In either case the contractor had bought one-tenth of his mill, worth £1381 17*s.* 9*d.* This, with from £3600 to £4350 cash surplus, made in all from about £5000 to £5600 per annum as the contractor's actual yearly profit for his time and labour.

It may be well conceived that, when this result of the contracts became known, the Governor-General found no difficulty in getting responsible persons to take any further contracts he had to give. As the advances to the original contractors began to come

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in, by the sale of the produce delivered to Government, the Governor-General was able to extend the contract sugar cultivation rapidly to the different parts of the island, where there was sufficient population, and where the soil was suited to the growth of sugar. The Government in selecting from among the now numerous candidates for contracts, wisely made intelligence and a gentlemanly education, with refined and conciliatory manners towards the Natives, more a test than the possession of means. The system was not allowed to degenerate into mere investments for moneyed men, to be carried on by managers. The contracts were made personal to the contractor, and ceasing on his absenting himself for more than a certain short period. Leave of absence to Europe in case of illness was, however, freely given, Government appointing a substitute. The sale of the contract to any approved purchaser was also generally allowed to the contractor, and never refused to his family in case of his death.

Such were the terms of the first sugar contracts, to last for twenty years, during which period the contractors made large fortunes. Most of these contracts have, however, now expired, and been again renewed for a further period of years on nearly the same terms. The contractor now has to deliver somewhat less than two-thirds of his sugar to Government at 7½ florins per picul, equal to 8 florins copper and 75 doits, instead of at 10 florins copper per picul as

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before. This, with the various expenses of packing, forwarding, percentage to officials, commission to agents, &c., all borne by Government, raises the cost of the contract sugar to nearly 10 florins silver per picul in the Government stores for export. The average cost in 1854 was 9 florins and 106 doits per picul, and in 1857 exactly 10 florins per picul.

The remaining advances, if any, are paid in money from the proceeds of the remaining one-third of the sugar, which the contractor sells on his own account. By the improvement of the culture, and particularly of the manufacturing processes, the sugar can be now produced so much cheaper as to enable large profits still to be made on these terms. Some idea may be formed of the improvement in the machinery which has occurred since the introduction of the culture system, by the common estimate in Java of the value of the mills. Those which were at first built, machinery bought, and watercourse made for two lacs of florins copper, equal to £13,888, are now worth generally as they stand five lacs or £34,722. This improvement has mostly been made by fresh building advances from Government, repaid by yearly instalments in the same manner as the original building advance. These mills are the private property of the contractors, whose permanent interests in their contracts have been thus largely increased.

The Java Government has furnished me with a form of the late sugar contracts, in which the above

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principles are carefully preserved. Such slight modifications only have been introduced as experience has shown to be advisable for the general success of the enterprise, and particularly for the welfare of the labouring population. The stipulations of the Java culture contracts would be useful in any application of the culture system to India, as embodying the results of experience on the subject. They are of no material interest, however, unless required for such a purpose, in which case they would be readily supplied by the Java Government.

Statistics of Sugar Culture.—The general result seems to be that the sugar culture in Java is highly profitable to all. Government, besides its direct profit, derives still larger indirect advantages from the welfare and contentment of the people. The Government's outlay on the sugar culture gives large wages and profits to the peasant grower, and secures to the European contractors yearly increasing quantities of sugar for sale in the open market. In 1857 the sugar produce of the Java crown lands at the free disposal of the manufacturer amounted to near three-quarters of a million of piculs. Part of this was the produce of independent planters, but the larger portion of it was sold by Government contractors, thus realizing large profits at no cost but time and labour.

Contract Indigo Culture.—The indigo culture, under contract, was established at the same time and

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on the same principles as the contract sugar culture. It was limited to the surplus village lands above the population's requirements for rice. It was to be paid for by Government at a price far more remunerative to the peasant than rice. All advances were to be made to the contractor without interest. And he was to repay these advances in indigo at contract rates, leaving him a large profit.

The whole indigo produced on the crown lands is delivered to Government. This is partly on account of the contract rate being now higher than the market price in Java, so that the contractors, according to the power reserved to them, put off their whole produce on Government. It is also partly due to much of the indigo culture on crown lands being now carried on by Government without contractors. The superior quality of Bengal indigo and its large increase during the last thirty years reduced the price of Java indigo, till its cultivation could only be advantageously continued by diminishing the expense of production. Java indigo thus became an article no longer able to bear the extra cost of the contractor's profit.

Indigo is the blue dye extracted from the sap of the indigo leaf, and is made into the cakes, which form the indigo of commerce, by an easy process. When the necessity arose for reducing the cost of indigo production, it was found that the same indigo could be produced as well and cheaper without a

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contractor. Government consequently refused to renew the original indigo contracts. As these expired by lapse of time, the contractors and their families were otherwise provided for. Government bought back the factories and plant, and carried on the indigo culture directly by the crown peasants under the supervision of their Native chiefs. Some few of the original contracts, I believe, have not yet run out, but practically the indigo culture has now passed to the branch of the system carried on without the intervention of a European contractor.

Independent Planters.—When the culture system had been thus established in different parts of the island by Government advances, and the large fortunes made by the contractors had called forth private enterprise, the Java Government refused any further sugar or indigo contracts. Independent planters were then encouraged to settle on the crown lands in the districts where the culture system had not been introduced, and where there was consequently no Government contractor to be interfered with. The first independent crown leases were granted for the culture of sugar. These leases did not include any portion of the existing village lands, but only the neighbouring uncultivated crown lands, though these latter had very often, no doubt, been used by the villagers for the collection of timber or other purposes. Here a lease for twenty

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years might be obtained of 300 or 400 bahus of ground or more. At first a rent was paid to Government of one picul of sugar for each planted bahu. This was afterwards commuted to a fixed yearly payment in money of six florins silver per bahu, equal to 6*s.* 8*d.* per acre. The planter has in this case to find his own capital and machinery. He has to plant, grow, cut, and manufacture the cane into sugar with labour procured and paid for by himself, without the interference or control of the Government officials, except in matters of police and justice. These leases were first granted in 1839 and 1840, in accordance with the policy prevalent in Java before 1830, and in India at the present day. Their introduction was considered by many as a dangerous deviation from the principles on which the culture system had been introduced by General Van den Bosch, the results of which had, even by that time, won it universal approbation in the island. By others these independent leases were supported as the crowning object of the General's measures, the encouragement of a large and free private unprotected enterprise, for the attainment of which the culture system had been intended to serve as a stepping-stone. The result has not been in favour of the independent planters. Their leases do not yield by any means such profitable results as the same culture under Government contracts, although the rate at which they hold their

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lands is comparatively so much lower. This seems chiefly to arise from the want of official support among a Native population, whose ideas require authoritative explanation and persuasion to secure continued application even for their own good. The high rate of interest also for the borrowed funds, with which most of the independent plantations are carried on, leaves but little surplus profit for the planter. These, and especially the latter, are the great impediments to the success of private European enterprise in India. The concurrence of the same cause and effect, both in India and in Java, seems to show that, undoubtedly true as are the principles of free, competitive, unprotected, and uncontrolled industry, in an advanced state of society with great realized capital, like that of England, those principles must be modified in their application to countries with but little available capital, and to semi-barbarous races of ignorant, idle, and suspicious Natives.

In these leases of wild crown lands, the rent of six florins per bahu does not begin for some years, and is only gradually extended to the whole of the land rented. The length of the lease varies from twenty to forty years, according to the time required by the proposed new culture to yield produce. The Java Government has supplied me with a form of their leases for waste crown lands. This shows the same careful stipulations as the sugar contracts,

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both for the probable success of the enterprise and for the protection of the Native labourers from ill-treatment or improper interference. The only reflection to which it gives rise is the difference between the two countries, when in Java Government can easily let wild lands at such high rents for such short periods, while our Indian Government cannot find grantees for such fruitful land as the Soonderbuns at the low rent of one rupee per acre for ever.

No private planter is allowed to settle on Government land in districts where the Government system of cultures under contract is in operation, unless he agrees to pay the ryots the same rates, and to treat them in the same manner, under the same Government superintendence and support, as has been found so beneficial in the case of the contractors. Many complain of the amount of the rent to Government, but no independent planter in Java complains of this part of his agreement. All admit, and the experience of the independent planters in the other parts of the island shows, that, without Government superintendence and support, the peasants would neither cultivate so largely or so carefully, nor would the intercourse between planter and cottier be so easy or so pleasant.

The above is a bare and very inadequate description of the means by which the great European sugar and indigo cultivation of Java were introduced and extended. Carefully weighed fixed principles,

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adapted to the existing state of society and to both the present and future relations of Europeans and Natives, prevented the introduction of European enterprise by means of Native labour being injurious to any, maintained the culture in favour as profitable to all, extended it to its present enormous dimensions, and will continue to extend it, to the mutual benefit of the Government and of the people.

Contrast of Java Culture System with European Cultures in India.—Let us now compare with the above the cultures by Europeans in India. These were introduced on the theory of free bargaining between European and Native, were carried on according to the laws of supply and demand, and were extended by the direct action of the European on the Native, according to the most advanced doctrines of unprotected and uncontrolled private enterprise. We shall then see how different is the action of these principles, so admirable among homogeneous races like the people of Europe, when applied to races and classes as opposed in their respective qualities as in their colour. The Anglo-Indian and the Native each have the vices and the virtues of their respective qualities of strength and weakness, and of their respective stages of civilization. The Englishman, like most strong races, is honest and energetic, determined to make his fortune, but equally determined not to be cheated, and prepared

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to employ violence, if necessary, for the attainment of his ends. The Native, like most weak races, is apparently submissive and docile, but really obstinate in his prejudices and in his determined avoidance of new modes of labour, equally grasping and without foresight for the future, and using deceit and lying in all its forms to get some temporary advantage from the stronger race, and afterwards to evade the bargain for which such advantage was given.

Leaving these two races to uncontrolled action on each other naturally leads to violence on one side to secure benefits or rights, which deceit on the other side is called in to evade or deny. Our Indian Government, instead of recognising the fact of European supremacy, and modifying the relations between the races so as to protect the Native from force and the European from fraud, has generally left these relations uncontrolled to settle themselves on the ordinary principles of political economy. Our Indian officials, however, are mostly subject to humanitarian outbreaks of sympathy for the Native, taking the form of measures, more or less direct, to prevent the extension of European enterprise in India. Many of them act as if the natural mastery of strength and knowledge over weakness and ignorance were to be suppressed by the puny efforts of philanthropical sentimentalism.

In Java, where Government makes the advances

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and controls the dealings, the peasant, the planter, and the commonwealth are rich, peaceful, and contented; while the resources of the crown lands are largely developed, and the cultivation of private estates is constantly extended by individual enterprise, following in the wake of the Government example, to the benefit and satisfaction of all. In India, where the advances are left to private individuals and the dealings are uncontrolled, the peasant is poor, and only cultivates for the planter by compulsion, the planter is forced to resort to objectionable means of protecting his own interests, and the commonwealth is neither rich, peaceful, nor contented. Under this system the immense resources of India are not only undeveloped, but the Natives and their warmest, if not their wisest, friends oppose the only means to that end—the extension of European enterprise.

Indigo is the chief culture by Europeans in British India. The manner in which the cultivation of indigo was principally extended to its present limits, at least in Bengal, illustrates the result of conflicting interests between European and Native, where Government does not interpose to secure the Native from encroachment, and at the same time to give the European a fair field for his industry.

Former Mode of Establishing a New Indigo Factory.—The men who formerly established new indigo factories were like the American pioneers to the far West. They had an unpleasant task before

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them, only to be achieved by determination, by reckless treatment of the Natives, and by disregard of consequences either to others or to themselves. If successful, the speedy results made a valuable property, which could be sold high to the more quiet and respectable members of the community who followed.

Some strong-bodied, energetic Anglo-Saxon, with a due contempt for niggers, and a little money of his own, would go to some agency or other house of business for the necessary advances. The house knew the process he would have to go through, but that was his affair, not theirs. If his character led them to think he would succeed, they made him the advances, at high interest, for the benefit they were to derive from the sale of his indigo.

With this borrowed money he would go and settle on the selected locality, buy or lease a bit of land, and build on it a house for himself, and outhouses with vats for the manufacture. He would then apply to the peasants on the surrounding estates to enter into contracts to plant indigo for him, and would have it intimated to the zemindar, or Native landlord, that he was prepared to make such advances to the ryots or Native cottiers as would enable them to discharge all arrears of rent.

The zemindar would probably send for the ryots, and command them to take the planter's money, and pay their arrears. The ryots might perhaps object

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that the planter would only advance the money on their entering into contracts to plant indigo at prices less remunerative than rice, and which would, perhaps, not leave them land enough to grow rice for themselves, or not give them enough money both to buy rice and pay rent. The zemindar would direct the ryots to sign the contracts, to take the money and indigo seed, to pay both to him for arrears, and then to plant rice for themselves. He would inform them, as the fact was and is, that the planter had no other remedy than bringing actions against each of them for breach of contract, in which their zemindar would assist them, and which, with appeals, could not be decided for a considerable time. The ryots, only too willing to spoil the Feringhee, would sign the contracts, take the money and seed, pay both to the zemindar, get receipts for their arrears, and plant their land with rice.

If the zemindar did not thus urge the ryots to take the planter's advances, the servants of the factory would be employed to persuade the neighbouring villagers to enter into agreements to sow indigo. In one way or another, the improvident ryots would be induced to take advances and to sign contracts. If not incited to fraud by their zemindar, they would then generally proceed to perform their contracts. Sooner or later, however, unless the planter could get the zemindar to lease him the land, the struggle between zemindar and

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planter must come, and the latter's power over the ryots, so as to ensure the continuance of the indigo culture, could seldom be established till this battle had been fought and won. Sooner or later the time arrived when the ryots would try to resist the planter, and, after taking their advances, to evade their engagements.

The planter would ride round and would either find his contractors refusing to plant indigo, or would hear and see that they had planted rice instead of indigo. He then generally went to the nearest judge with his contracts in his hand, and asked for relief. He was told that it was a mere breach of contract, for which, if proved, he could recover damages by civil suit, but that he had no other remedy.

His only lawful resource, therefore, was the hopeless attempt to recover damages from paupers. If he submitted to that course, he was ruined and laughed at. Zemindars and ryots knew that he was embarked on a sea of litigation, where all the chances of perjury and forgery, as well as the probable sympathies of the judge, were in their favour. At the best, he must eat his heart out with protracted litigation, which, even if successful, would bring him no solid compensation. The attempt to establish a new indigo concern had failed. He lost the confidence of his employers, or of those who had made him advances, and was soon turned

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out of his house and factory by their foreclosing their mortgage against him, and putting some other adventurer into his place to try and recover their money.

But he generally either foresaw this result or had it explained to him. His Anglo-Saxon energy would then make him prefer the more hopeful but lawless process of helping himself. He collected bands of latteals, or fighting-men, numbers of whom are to be hired in all parts of the country. Under their guard, his servants pulled up the rice and planted in fresh indigo seed. The zemindar would see that his influence and rent were equally in danger. He also collected latteals, and sent them and his men to pull up the indigo and re-plant rice, which the planter's people and his latteals would equally resist. A pitched battle would ensue, where some perhaps would be killed and more wounded. The police hearing of the affray, the darogah, or head of the police station, and perhaps the magistrate, would go on to the spot and make a local investigation. The ryots, the planter's and zemindar's servants, and probably the zemindar himself, would be seized, together with as many of the latteals on both sides as had not made themselves scarce. The planter would remain at liberty, for, being a European, he was not subject criminally to the mofussil or provincial jurisdiction. The zemindar and the servants on both sides, the ryots, and the latteals

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would be kept in arrest till tried for the affray, and then mostly be sentenced to further long terms of imprisonment.

During this time the indigo would grow, and the planter, with new servants, would extend it to the surrounding patches of land best suited, making large advances meanwhile to the families of the imprisoned ryots. When fit, it was cut by the planter's new people, and by such of the ryots as had not been seized, or had been acquitted, with all of whom the free planter's influence had meanwhile superseded that of the imprisoned zemindar. On each ryot's account being made out, he was universally shown to be in debt, sufficient advances having been purposely made to him to produce that result. A bond was then taken from him, or, if he was convicted of the affray and in prison, from the managing member of his family, for the amount, with a tacit understanding that it would not be enforced so long as the land was devoted to grow indigo. Fresh advances were made and fresh seed given for planting, with an intimation that any new attempt to evade their engagements would be followed by a repetition of the same process, which had already proved so hurtful to the ryots and to the zemindar, and so innocuous to the planter. Zemindar and ryots yielded to their fate, and the indigo culture was extended to that district.

When the process had got this length, it was

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deemed successful. The new indigo factory was considered as firmly established. The planter repaid his advances; secured the confidence of those who had lent the money; could command any further advances he required; and, after two or three years of firm-handed rule, could sell at a high price a well-established and valuable concern to some respectable quiet gentleman.

It was, of course, not agreeable to any man, however rude or coarse-minded, to go through this process. Any Englishman would rather have paid the zemindar a fair rent for the land, and the ryots a fair price for their crop, and have himself had the benefit of a contented and careful cultivation. But the state of society in India makes other motives more powerful than the ordinary principles of political economy. The Native landlord, while unable or unwilling to develop the resources of his own property, will not let the planter do so, for fear of the planter's influence over the cottiers superseding his own, the maintenance of power being to most Natives more important than a mere increase of rent.

The high interest and other charges of agency houses from whom the planters derive their funds, and the uncertainty of the indigo crop in Bengal, partly from natural causes and partly for want of Government support, prevent the planters generally from paying to the ryots enough to make the culti-

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vation of indigo more profitable than rice. The planter is also cheated in every possible manner. He has to pay high rents to the Native zemindar for short leases, with exorbitant bonuses at each renewal. He is further put to great expense by constant inevitable litigation, and he gets no return for a large portion of his advances, the outstanding balances against ryots always amounting after a few years to many thousands of pounds sterling. The planter, however, will not of course give up his factory or conduct it at a loss. He is consequently driven to resort to means of getting a hold over both Native landowner and cottier, such as will enable him to continue the cultivation at rates which will make up for losses and expenses, and leave him a profit. Violence at first, and keeping the cóttiers in the planter's debt afterwards, thereby reducing the landlord's rent till he consents to lease the land to the planter at a fair rate, are the only practical means of obtaining and retaining such hold over tenants belonging to another estate, or over the Native owner of land required for indigo cultivation.

Indian Legislation for Indigo Culture.—The serious notice of the Indian Government was attracted by this state of things. In 1823, a law, Regulation VI. of that year, was passed, giving the planter a summary remedy, either by a decree for specific performance, or by speedy damages for breach of contract. One of the most ordinary

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modes of attack or resistance by the zemindar on the planter, was to get from the ryot a similar contract ante-dated, and then to raise a dispute with the planter in court as to which was entitled to the indigo. Sometimes also the ryot himself really took advances from two different persons, unknown to each other, for the same indigo crop. Power was, therefore, also given, by that Act, to decide such rival claims to the indigo summarily.

These remedies, like so many other points of our Indian legal legislation, were excellent in intention but ineffectual in practice, from inattention to details, and from the want of trustworthy instruments in the minor departments. The most useful of them ought to have been the decree for specific performance, but the mode of carrying this out was rendered objectionable by the necessity of either trusting it to the planter himself, or to the subordinate Native officers of the court, whose action in the matter depended solely on the amount of bribes from either side. The power to decree specific performance was subsequently repealed, and indigo cultivation is still in India a constant source of dissatisfaction, affray, and litigation. The suit, so called summary, is spun out by Native arts; and practically the planters admit that they have no chance in the provincial courts against the wily Hindoo, unless they supply their Native pleader with any sums required, and shut their eyes to its employment, and to the evidence

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produced, or the means adopted by their Native legal agents, to carry on and win their suits.

Difference between Hindoo Cottier and English Farmer.—The fundamental error arises from treating the Hindoo cottier like the English farmer, and assuming that, so long as he pays his rent to his landlord, he is free to plant his land with what he pleases for any stranger. Both zemindar and ryot consider this a matter peculiarly within the cognizance and direction of the landlord or his manager, the rent being calculated on that assumption. Wherever an indigo concern has to depend on any but its own tenants, there are constant quarrels and intrigues, and the only peaceful indigo cultivation is where the cottiers growing the indigo hold immediately under the planter.

To attain this end, most of the planters in Bengal have gradually either bought the estates on which their indigo is grown, or have paid the Native landowner large sums to make them middlemen between himself and the peasantry. The planter's influence, as landlord, is sufficient to make the cottiers grow indigo for him, if not willingly, at least without complaint. He is then able either to dispense with the system of advances, or otherwise to protect himself from loss, paying his ryots in one way or another fairly for the crop. By care and kindness he often makes his estate and people an example to the neighbourhood. The same effect

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is produced, in a lesser degree, when the planter has got the landlord to make him a middleman between himself and the cottier tenants. According to Native ideas, this transfers the power of directing the cultivation to the middleman, the landowner then becoming, in fact, a mere annuitant. In this case, however, the planter must be constantly prepared to pay the Government land tax on the estate, or be liable to be dispossessed by a Government sale for the Native landowner's wilful default.

Means of making Indigo Culture less objectionable.—The Government in India will not give the planter encouragement, because it is known that the peasants only grow indigo for him on compulsion, and generally at prices less remunerative than rice. For want of the simple order of Government, which would be cheerfully obeyed by both Native landlord and tenant, and would enable the planter to secure a better cultivation by paying a remunerative price, he is driven, in spite of himself, to resort to other means. It is not open to Government to decide whether any other motive than an enlightened view of their own interests shall or shall not be employed to induce Natives to allow of the improved cultivation of their land, where both the country's and the European's interests require it. It is too much to expect of Englishmen that they should give up the industry to which they have devoted their lives and fortunes, because the soil

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suited to indigo is in possession of an ignorant zemindar, unwilling to allow the development of its resources unless he can retain nearly the whole benefit, or because the ryots will not cultivate indigo except on advances entailing great losses, or at rates leaving no profit. Other means will be employed sufficient to produce the effect, but it is open to the Government of India to make those means objectionable or harmless. When the late Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Monsieur Rochussen, visited Bengal on his return to Europe, he is reported to have said that "in Java there was no compulsion, but the Natives were told they must."

The Dutch system gives European energy ample field and opportunity on crown lands. On private estates planters are not allowed to make culture contracts with the cottiers, except with the landlord's consent. No contracts made on advances to Natives are either allowed or enforced. Culture contracts are only recognised when made personally before a European official and registered. The registry of inconsistent contracts for the same land and crop is prevented. But, when registered, the specific performance of contracts is summarily enforced. On complaint without proof, a European gentleman, with a special knowledge of the subject, the district, and the parties, and with a private interest in the general success of the local cultivation, is sent to

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the spot to examine and report. If any further measures are required, which is but seldom the case, the delinquent is made to fulfil his engagements, by means of his own countrymen having the same local knowledge and interest.

This system has not yet been tried in India, though parts of it were formerly employed with success. It may perhaps be said that such means are too rude and primitive for our present enlightened legislation for India. Those, however, most deeply interested think that such means would be more efficacious, and less injurious to the public, than the very cautious legislation of late years. At all events, no Indian legislation has as yet succeeded in solving the problem of prosperous and peaceful indigo cultivation.

The Indian Government has repeatedly made experimental attempts to introduce improved cotton cultivation, but without much practical success. In 1841 Government brought out to India ten cotton planters from the States. Though they were not generally of the class of educated gentlemen, whom the Dutch have found to make the best contractors, they might have succeeded more or less, but that their operations were limited to experimental farms, without either the capital or the official support necessary for success on an appreciable or encouraging scale. The Court of Directors, not being then aware of the Dutch system in Java and its success, could hardly be expected to emulate the

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bold wisdom of such a man as General Van den Bosch. They would probably have been equally horrified and amused by a proposal to give each of these cotton planters two lacs of rupees to start him, and a lac per annum to keep him going, the whole without interest or other condition than that he should repay in cotton of a certain quality, leaving it to him to discover the means of so doing, under Government support, but with precautions against his adopting measures injurious to the country or to the Natives. The Dutch experiment, however, shows that this plan, adopted in 1841, and repeated in a few instances, would probably long ere this have introduced a large and improved European culture of cotton in India, as perfect as the soil and climate can produce.

We should then know to a certainty whether India can or cannot grow cotton equal to America.

If so, the contractors would have made large fortunes, and private European planters, unless thwarted by the local officials, would have spread an improved cotton culture over all the cotton districts of India. The period which has elapsed since 1841 would then have made us independent of America, and would have given us as good cotton from India as we now get from the States, and at lower rates than slave-grown cotton can be made. Slavery would have received its deadliest blow. We should have turned the tables on the States by sending

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them cotton instead of taking it from them. And the manufacturing districts of England would have had the pick of a supply which, if it could be produced as good, would be cheaper, safer, and in quantities only limited by the demand.

If, on the contrary, we found that India could not produce long staple cotton equal to the American, we should merely have misapplied a few lacs of rupees without loss, for the common Indian cotton of their plantations would always have more than repaid the Government advances made to the contractors. We should then have to make up our minds to continued dependence on America, and must make our arrangements accordingly.

The experiment is still worth trying, and the certainty alone would be well worth the money. The Dutch culture system has never yet failed in Java, not even in the unpropitious tea experiment hereafter described. And the best cotton districts of India are Government lands, with the peasant paying direct to Government in the same relations as the crown lands in Java, on which the culture system was so easily introduced, and where it worked such marvels.

The same arguments apply to the cultivation of flax, the European demand for which has lately increased so largely, while the Irish and Russian supplies have at the same time fallen off. The demand in India will produce Native grown and

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cleaned flax, but the quality will hardly attain its perfection till European intelligence and capital are applied to its preparation.

Surely, with the Dutch example under analogous circumstances so perfectly successful as that will be seen to have been, England, *officina gentium*, can do for India what Holland has done for Java. The adoption of means for supplying European energy with cheap capital and careful labour would make India the storehouse of England. And provisions securing to the Native a fair share of the profit, with protection from European violence, would prevent the necessary extension of European enterprise being disgraced by the scenes, and burdened with the discontent, attending the introduction and working of the Indian indigo cultivation.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE CULTURE SYSTEM.

THE CULTURE SYSTEM BY VILLAGE LABOUR WITHOUT A CONTRACTOR—PREANGER COFFEE—MARSHAL DAENDELS—HIS GREAT JAVA ROADS—COFFEE CULTURE ON THE OLD PLAN—COFFEE UNDER THE CULTURE SYSTEM—PEASANTS' PROFIT—CONTRAST OF COFFEE PRODUCE UNDER OLD AND NEW SYSTEMS—STATISTICS OF COFFEE CULTURE—COFFEE PERCENTAGE—COFFEE TRANSPORT—OVER-WEIGHT—CINNAMON CULTURE—IN CEYLON AND JAVA—PEPPER CULTURE—THE PEPPER PLANT—CULTURE SYSTEM BY A CONTRACTOR WITH DAY LABOURERS—COCHINEAL PRODUCE—THE COCHINEAL INSECT—TOBACCO CULTURE—ITS PROFIT TO THE GROWER—QUININE CULTURE—TEA CULTURE—CONTRAST OF TEA CULTURE IN JAVA AND IN INDIA—JAVA TEA—INDIAN TEA—SUPPLY OF CAPITAL TO PLANTERS IN JAVA AND IN INDIA—RESULT.

The Culture System by Village Labour without a Contractor.—Many of the products of Java, suited to the European market, require such slight and easy treatment before becoming articles for export, that the intervention of a European contractor would be a waste of power, to the importance of which the Dutch are as keenly alive as the Americans. Of

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these articles, coffee, cinnamon, and pepper are grown for Government on the Java crown lands, without other European assistance than the general supervision of the European officials.

Preanger Coffee.—Till the beginning of this century the Java cultivation of coffee was chiefly carried on in the Preanger, a mountain district inhabited by the Sundanese, who speak a different language from the inhabitants of the rest of the island. About the middle of last century the Dutch became masters of the Preanger by a treaty which, while it secured to the Native princes the government of their own country and the receipt of the land revenues, under Dutch protection, bound them in return to cultivate such a number of coffee trees as the Dutch should at any time require, and to deliver the whole produce to the Dutch Government at three florins thirty cents per picul. This has ever since been the only revenue derived by the Dutch from the Preanger district.

This coffee culture is carried on by the Sundanese regents, employing for that purpose the gratuitous labour rent of their cottier tenants, under the superintendence of the Dutch officials. As the coffee is delivered by the regents in the husk, the Dutch Government has European contractors on the spot, with mills for cleaning and sorting it.

The Preanger coffee, however, though yielding the largest profit to Government per picul, owing to the

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small price paid for it, now bears but a small proportion in quantity to the coffee grown in the conquered parts of the island.

Marshal Daendels.—The culture of coffee was extended to the different hilly districts of the crown lands in the interior at the beginning of this century, and was regulated by Marshal Daendels, the fabled hero of Java, who deserves a word in passing.

He came out as Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1808, during the time that Louis Napoleon was King of Holland, and proceeded at once to correct abuses in the old Oriental fashion, hanging peculators, European as well as Native, over their own doors without trial. He must have been a man of great energy and intellectual capacity. To him Java owes the admirable system of roads made all over the island in two years, by forced labour, at a great sacrifice of life. One peculiarity of his roads has tended, above all others, to their easy maintenance in their present excellent condition. Every road is double, one for horse and carriage traffic, the other for cart and cattle traffic. Each is wide enough to admit three vehicles abreast, and the two generally run alongside of each other, divided by a bank, often with a neat well-clipped Hibiscus hedge upon it. The horse road is now macadamized, and kept in as good order as any coach road in England. It is constantly attended to, and every depression is filled up with metal, as soon as, and only to the amount,

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required. The chief part of the labour rent furnished gratuitously by the people to Government is applied to this purpose, and to the maintenance of the cattle road. This is not metalled, but paved roughly with stone like the old French chaussée, or, where stone is scarce, with unbroken brick. Its repair is consequently much less expensive than macadamizing, and it answers equally well for the cart and cattle traffic, while the better and more expensive horse road is not cut up, nor the horse and carriage traffic impeded by the large cattle conveyance of the country. Only in some of the most difficult mountain passes do the two roads run into one, and it is there found to be such a practical nuisance, that heavy expense is now being incurred to make double roads even in those places. Not only the excellent cross roads, therefore, to all parts of the island, as well as the main roads, but the very existence of double roads, bring down daily blessings on Daendels' name.

Coffee Culture on the Old Plan.—But to revert to Daendels' coffee system. Every hill village, the land of which was suited to coffee, was obliged to plant on the uncultivated parts a certain number of coffee trees, generally about 1000 trees per head of family. In the fifth year after planting the produce was estimated, and the village was required to deliver gratuitously, into the Government stores on the sea-shore, two-fifths of the estimated crop, properly cleaned, sorted, and of first-rate quality. In case of

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default, the village had to pay to Government the Java market price, fixed and published once a year, generally about twenty-five florins per picul, for so much of the two-fifths of the estimated crop as was not delivered by the end of December. The other three-fifths of the coffee crop were the villagers' own property, at their free disposal. The Dutch Government, however, to induce them to deliver all their coffee to itself, bound itself to pay the same fixed market price for every picul of coffee, above the two-fifths, which should be delivered into the sea-shore coffee stores, properly cleaned, sorted, and of first-rate quality.

This system, which was expected to bring the whole enormous coffee produce of the country into the hands of Government, failed utterly in so doing, for want of attention to a small matter of detail. The Government did, in fact, get the whole of the small amount of coffee grown near the stores on the sea-shore, but only received a small part, much less than the two-fifths, of the far larger coffee produce of the interior.

The reason was, that, though the roads through the island were many and excellent, there were of course numerous mountain villages with but bad communication to the roads; and, in all cases, the village had no joint machinery for the transport, even along the best roads, of large loads of coffee for great distances. The villagers, therefore, with

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the apathy of Orientals, preferred taking their chance; particularly as they well knew the Dutch Government would neither seize nor sell land or property for arrears of revenue. Meanwhile the coffee, badly and carelessly cleaned and prepared, was bought by any purchaser on the spot at very low rates; or, what was the general speculation up to 1830, was exchanged for half or one-third of its weight in salt.

Salt, being a monopoly in Java as in India, was sold by Government at the salt stores on the sea-shore for eight florins per picul. It was there bought by speculators, who took it into the hills, and exchanged it with the hill people for two or three times its weight in coffee, thus obtaining two or three piculs of coffee, worth twenty to twenty-five florins per picul, for one picul of salt worth eight florins.

The law requiring the gratuitous delivery of two-fifths of the hill coffee crop could not be complied with from the difficulty of transport. Payment for those two-fifths, at the Government rate, was at the same time prevented by the low prices got for the coffee in the interior. The hill villages consequently, not being able to discharge their coffee and land tax, only paid to the Government what money they could well afford, and let the remainder fall into arrear.

The villages near the sea-shore coffee stores, on the contrary, being able to deliver the coffee without

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trouble for what was a very paying price to them, took pains in its cultivation, and in the cleaning and sorting of the berry, and delivered the whole of their crop to Government, two-fifths gratuitously, and three-fifths at the rate of twenty-five florins per picul.

Thus Government received but a small portion of the coffee-crop in first-rate condition, whilst the far larger part, sent to Europe by its private purchasers, was dirty, broken, and unsorted. This gave the Java coffee a bad name in the European market, and affected the price of the good Government coffee. Another evil result was, that the mountain villages got so little benefit from the coffee, as not only to neglect the cultivation, but to require the constant attention of the officials to prevent their allowing the plantations to become fruitless.

During the English government the gratuitous delivery of coffee was abolished. The consequence was, that the villagers, being no longer under any obligation to grow coffee, and having so little sale for it, neglected the coffee gardens and resorted to crops better suited to the local market to raise money to pay the new land tax.

On the return of the Dutch, Daendels' coffee system was re-established. This was hailed with pleasure by the coffee villages near the sea-shore, who, though they had to deliver two-fifths gratuitously, received twenty-five florins a picul for the

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other three-fifths, equal to fifteen florins a picul all round. Their proximity to the coffee stores saved these villages any considerable expense of transport, in which case it was found that the villagers preferred the coffee crop at these rates, as giving the largest profit with the least trouble and without any outlay. The re-establishment of the old coffee system was very differently regarded by the hill villagers of the interior. There the same distance and difficulty of transport prevented the delivery of the gratuitous two-fifths, while the same absence of a ready market in the hills, and the small price paid by speculating purchasers, where the supply so largely exceeded the demand, prevented the payment of the substituted coffee tax. The same results followed in the hill villages; bad cultivation, great waste, and large arrears of both coffee and land tax.

Coffee Culture under the New System.—General Van den Bosch, while introducing the Government sugar culture, also proposed to remedy these defects in the coffee culture by adopting the following principles:—

1st. To give the villagers all over the island large profits from coffee instead of small.

2nd. To save the villagers the transport, and thus put all on an equality.

3rd. To get the whole coffee crop grown on the crown lands into the hands of Government, so as to

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have it all properly treated, and made of first-rate quality, and thereby to raise its reputation in the European market.

For this purpose General Van den Bosch made roads into the centre of each mountain coffee district, and built coffee stores in the neighbourhood of each coffee plantation. Every hill village was required to plant on the uncultivated hill sides, in four years, 600 coffee trees per head of family, in regular gardens, and to maintain a sufficient nursery of young trees, to keep 600 trees per head of family in full bearing. The careful preparation of the gardens and nurseries, and subsequent attention to the coffee trees, were secured by the monthly supervision of a European contrôleur, who also superintended the gathering of the crop, leaving the villagers to dry, clean, and sort the coffee, and deliver it into the neighbouring Government coffee stores at their own convenience.

Peasants' Profit.—The price was fixed at twelve florins per picul. This price was got at by taking fifteen florins per picul, on the whole crop, as equivalent to two-fifths of the crop delivered gratis, with twenty-five florins per picul paid on the remaining three-fifths. From this fifteen florins per picul on the whole crop three florins per picul were further deducted, as the equivalent of the transport to the sea-shore thus saved to the villagers, leaving twelve florins in cash net to the villagers for every picul of

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coffee delivered into the coffee store in their own village. As each head of family has the care of, and sells the produce from, 600 coffee trees, yielding about a picul of good clean coffee per 200 trees, each family in the village averages for three piculs of coffee thirty-six florins net per annum, equal to about six months' wages at the ordinary price of Java labour. Supposing the village to consist of one hundred families, the village receives per annum 3600 florins, equal to £300.

Their land tax, as before explained, could not exceed 1000 florins per annum on one hundred bahus, the usual amount of rice land cultivated by a hill village of one hundred families. From the low price of rice in the hills, the land tax would probably not amount to half that sum, thus leaving the village upwards of £200 clear surplus cash in hand, besides the whole produce of their cultivated lands under rice or other crops for their own consumption.

The coffee plum, when ripe, is a red, oval fruit, about the size of a cherry, the stone or kernel of which consists of two coffee beans, with the flat sides together. The fleshy husk has to be removed, and the coffee berries dried, when a thin skin that holds the coffee beans together breaks and peels off, and the coffee, after being winnowed, cleaned, and sorted, is fit either for export or use. These various operations are performed by the villagers at no further expense than a light wooden pestle and a bag of

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buffalo skin for cleaning, and a few bamboo hurdles and rattan trays for drying and sorting, all manufactured by themselves from materials at hand. The hill peasants thus grow and prepare the coffee at no cost but labour, and with not even much of that. The coffee plantations in Java are made in the tall jungle on the hill side, and but little care is bestowed on them, further than cleaning about a foot of ground round the stem of each tree twice a year. This, and the plucking of 600 trees, is easily done by each family without interfering with their ordinary cultivation, and the women and children pound the coffee in the buffalo bag, and sort the berries on the rattan trays, when not otherwise employed.

Thus, however great are the profits of the lowland villagers from sugar, the profits of the hill people from coffee are still greater.

Contrast of Coffee Produce under Old and New Systems.—At the time when General Van den Bosch made this change, the Preanger was giving about 30,000 piculs, and the rest of the island about 220,000 piculs per annum. Of this latter, say two-fifths, or 88,000 piculs, about the portion received by Government in one way or another, and the whole of the Preanger 30,000, or 118,000 piculs in all, were good, and therefore worth twenty-five florins per picul gross, equal to near three millions of florins. The other three-fifths of the 220,000 piculs

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or 132,000 piculs, being badly cleaned and sorted, were worth only about twenty florins per picul gross, or rather more than two and a half millions of florins. The whole coffee produce of Java, before the introduction of the culture system, may therefore be taken in round numbers as worth five and a half millions of florins, or under half a million sterling per annum.

In 1854 the Preanger, though growing neither sugar nor coffee under General Van den Bosch's system, had so far shared in the improved welfare and industry of the surrounding districts, as to have increased its coffee production from about 30,000 to 243,554 piculs of coffee. The rest of the Java crown lands gave to Government 840,310 piculs. The whole 1,083,864 piculs, being superior coffee, realized on sale in Holland 34 florins 76 cents gross, giving Government 27 florins 45 cents net per picul, exclusive of freight and expenses of sale. At these rates the value of the coffee produce in 1854 was upwards of 37 millions of florins, or over 3 millions sterling gross, and close on 30 millions of florins, or 2½ millions sterling net. The yield of Java coffee, therefore, in 1854, was more than four times as great and about six times as valuable as the same produce before the culture system.

Besides the above large amount of Java coffee, however, Government further received, in 1854,

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131,522 piculs, and in 1857, 198,779 piculs of coffee cultivated by the villagers on the crown lands in Sumatra on the same principles as in Java. In good years the Java Government thus receives from the crown lands in different parts of Netherlands India about 1,000,000 or 1,200,000 piculs of coffee, equal to from about 60,000 to 72,000 tons, the whole of which is exported to Holland for sale there.

I am not aware of any statistics of the produce on private estates, but the amount of coffee there grown leaves, after satisfying the demand in the island, about 150,000 piculs for export by the private trade. Adding this to the amount of the Government coffee from Java in 1854, the coffee produce of the island in that year amounted to over 1,200,000 piculs, or 1,457,142 cwts. The coffee produce of Ceylon in 1857-58 is calculated by Sir Emerson Tennant at 424,700 cwts.,* or less than one-third of the Java coffee produce for 1854.

Coffee Percentage.—There is the same official percentage on coffee and on all other Government cultures as on sugar.

The same European and Native authorities divide among them, in the same proportions, fifty doits per picul of coffee delivered to Government in their several districts. The koewoe, or head of the hill village, also gets a coffee reward, as his brother of

* Sir Emerson Tennant's Ceylon, vol. ii. p. 243.

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the plains does for sugar. He receives twenty-four doits for every picul which the statement of the bringer shows to come from his village. Thus he encourages his villagers to cultivate well during his year of office, and tries to get the whole village coffee crop taken to the Government store.

Coffee Transport.—Since the establishment of the new system, and the opening of new roads from each hill coffee store to the old existing good roads, the coffee is packed and transported at Government expense by private carriers, after public competition for a three years' transport contract. The carrier has to furnish bags and covered carts, to pay all expenses, and to deliver the coffee at the head coffee stores on the sea-shore dry, and in as good condition as he received it.

Over-Weight.—Although no allowance is made for dryage in the transport, as during that time none occurs, a certain reduction in weight takes place by dryage of the coffee in the local stores. This, however, is always more than compensated by the numerous small over-weights arising from the small quantities in which the different heads of families deliver their coffee to Government. In 1854 this over-weight amounted to the large quantity of upwards of 17,000 piculs, or about one in sixty delivered. Unless the coffee were mostly sent to the local store in very small quantities, there could not possibly be this proportion of over-weight.

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Cinnamon Culture.—Cinnamon is the peeled and dried bark of the cinnamon shrub. Cinnamon gardens are cultivated for Government in four of the Java residencies by village labour, and in two by hired day-labourers. The bark is peeled and dried by the villagers, and sold to Government in the same manner as coffee.

There is no restriction or monoply of any kind with regard to cinnamon or to any of the other spices. Still less is there any continuance of the practice of destroying part of the crop for the purpose of enhancing the price of the remainder. Every person is free to grow cinnamon or any other spice, either on private or Government lands, or to buy and export any spices grown or gathered by others, as freely as is the case with rice or coffee. Spices are not grown by private individuals for the same reason that prevents Englishmen at the free ports and islands of Singapore and Penang growing any but nutmegs. For years spices have been one of the worst paying Oriental crops that land could be devoted to. Of late even nutmegs can hardly be cultivated to a profit, while the cultivation of other spices entails a loss, the present prices being little more than sufficient to pay for the collection from wild spice trees in the jungle.

The cultivation of cinnamon is associated with some of the worst accusations of monopoly and of cruelty against the Dutch colonial policy in

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Ceylon. Its culture in Java has been entirely free from these objections. The late losses of Government on this article would have caused its culture to have been given up altogether in Java, but for the injury which would thereby accrue to the villagers, who had been encouraged to make cinnamon gardens. The large increase of the produce to the area has, however, enabled the contract price to be reduced without serious injury to the growers. The present Dutch policy wisely enacts that the Native's relations with Government shall never be other than a source of advantage to him. The cinnamon culture is therefore kept up for the sake of the large wages paid to the villagers in aid of their land rent.

Pepper Culture.—Pepper is grown for the Dutch Government in the same manner as coffee and cinnamon. The pepper plant is a shrubby creeper, and is cultivated in Java in rows trained over trellis-work or posts, not unlike the vine in France. The rows of pepper creepers are frequently placed between the rows of coffee trees, and both articles are then cultivated, prepared, and sold at the neighbouring Government store by the same villagers. The pepper plant bears short spike-shaped clusters of berries, very like those of holly in size and colour. Their treatment for export merely consists in plucking, drying, and sorting them, during which they lose their smooth red appearance, and become dry and wrinkled.

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Culture System by a Contractor with Day Labourers.—The third branch of the culture system comprises those articles which are cultivated on the Java crown lands by contractors with day labourers instead of by village labour. Under this head come cochineal, tobacco, and tea. Many of the cochineal and tobacco plantations are cultivated by village labour in the same manner as sugar, though some are carried on entirely by the contractor with day labourers. The tea plantations, however, are all carried on by day labourers, except to a slight extent in the Preanger regencies.

Cochineal Produce.—The Government cactus culture for the production of cochineal is an anomalous one in Java. It is partly carried on by European contractors, either with village labour like sugar, or with paid day labourers like tea, and partly by Government itself, both with village and day labour. It seems, like indigo, to be gradually passing from a culture by contractors to one without, so as to reduce the cost of production within the average market price.

Cochineal is the bright red dye contained in the body of an insect that lives and reproduces itself, in large numbers, on the broad fleshy leaves of a species of very large cactus. The cactus plants are arranged in rows, and when peopled with the insect look as if they had been coarsely sprinkled with hair powder. The insect is snow white, covered with a small downy

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fluff, and about the size and shape of a grain of barley. The culture consists merely in rearing and watering the cactus, protecting the insects by moveable mat roofs from being washed off the plants by the rain, and at the proper period sweeping the insects off the plants into trays, which are then put over an oven. The heat kills the insects and dries their skins, preserving the red dye in the bodies, which are then packed in bags for exportation.

Tobacco Culture.—Tobacco is mostly grown on the Java crown lands by independent planters on lease from Government. It is partly cultivated by village labour, partly by day labourers. The tobacco plant is as easy to grow as a cabbage, which it much resembles, but its preparation for the European market, either as leaf tobacco or as cigars, requires constant and intelligent supervision.

Tobacco is generally a very profitable article for the grower. Its market price has turned out much higher than the contract rate, so that none is delivered to Government which can be avoided. The independent planters are not bound to deliver any to Government, and even the contractors have the entire free disposal of their tobacco produce on certain terms, with which I am unacquainted, as to the repayment of the Government advances otherwise than in kind.

Quinine Culture.—A very important article of future commerce has been lately introduced into

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Java by Government in the *Cinchona Calisaya*, from which the best quinine is made. There is yet but one small garden of it in the hills near Bandong, at an elevation of from 4600 to 4700 feet above the level of the sea. The plants obtained from Peru and Bolivia have been there reared under the care of Dr. F. W. Junghuhn, Inspector of Natural Physics, and Professor de Vriese, Inspector of Chemical Experiments, in Netherlands India, both men of high scientific attainments. The latter was, I believe, brought out to Java expressly to give the quinine culture the benefit of his great chemical knowledge.

The plants had flourished well, and, just before our arrival in Java, the first seeds had been obtained from them; an event which seemed to be generally known, and to be considered by all as of national importance. The seeds thus obtained have been planted in various localities and at different heights, so as to ascertain the soil and elevation best suited to them in Java. Should they succeed, as there is every reason to expect, a few years will enable Java to supply the East at a low rate with this invaluable medicine in high perfection, and in quantities only limited by the demand.

Tea Culture.—The tea culture is carried on by Government contractors entirely with hired labour, except on one or two tea farms in the Preanger, where it is grown by village labour. Most of the tea lands

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are taken from the uncultivated and uninhabited hill sides. The contractor has to allure to his tea plantation the work-people required, and to keep them there by paying high wages. This is facilitated by the fact that such day labourers are not liable to labour rent, even though they hold land under the tea planters. Their liability to Government for labour rent ceases when they cease to be direct Government cottiers. As the tea planter is not a landowner, but only a lessee of Government, no labour rent is due to him, but only the one-fifth of produce. This adds to the inducement which high wages hold out to the neighbouring population, and the planters thus secure a sufficient supply of labour on spots where otherwise any improved cultivation would be impossible.

The selection of a favourable site for a tea plantation requires considerable experience and judgment. The preparation of the soil, and the sowing of the tea seed are very easy, but constant supervision and high cultivation are required to secure the speedy and healthy growth of the plant. The subsequent process of making the leaves into tea, both black and green, requires skilled labour and constant intelligent European management.

Contrast of Tea Culture in Java and in India.—It must be admitted that the circumstances under which the culture system was applied to tea were most unpropitious. A comparison of

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the results of the tea culture in Java with our mode of introducing tea cultivation in India, will show the relative value of the two systems, even when the former labours under such disadvantages.

In Java, Government made the advances, without interest, to gentlemen of education and intelligence, repayable by delivery of tea at contract rates giving large profits to the contractors. Government then left the contractors to apply their superior intelligence and education to the spread of the tea culture, and to the improvement of the tea facture for their own benefit, importing but a few men from the tea-growing districts of China, to give the first rudiments of information. In this way numerous tea plantations were set up in different parts of the hills in Java from 1835 to 1845, about the same time that the East India Company had introduced tea-growing into India.

The Java contract tea planter does not, like the sugar contractor, merely repay the Government advances in kind, but he sells his whole crop to Government at contract rates.

In all new cultures Government takes the risk upon itself, as the only means of largely introducing a new cultivation. Contractors would be unwilling to make contracts in a new article like Java tea, unless assured of a good market for the surplus over the amount required to repay the Government advances. Where such new culture turns out a superior article,

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the contractor of course only delivers to Government so much in kind as will repay his advances at the contract rate, and sells the rest for himself at the higher market price. Where it turns out unsuccessful, the contractor of course delivers the whole crop to Government at the contract rate, leaving Government to bear the loss on resale at the market price. In this particular instance, the power of selling the whole crop to Government is the only thing that has kept up the Java tea culture against the great losses with which it has had to struggle.

Java Tea.—The contract rates at which the Java tea is taken by Government vary with the kinds of tea, but each contractor has to deliver fifty per cent. of the tea, in certain proportions of each kind of tea, both black and green. There are four distinct kinds of black tea, from common congou to flowery pekoe, and as many kinds of green tea, and fifty per cent. of the tea delivered must consist of the whole eight kinds in certain proportions. The other fifty per cent. may be of any one or more of the eight kinds, in such proportions as the planter chooses.

The larger losses of former years arose partly from the tea being then badly made, and partly from its being generally of such inferior quality as hardly to meet with any sale till a market was created for it in Germany, where the Germans were induced to buy it in preference to China tea, by the comparatively low rates at which it was offered by

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the Dutch Government. At first also the largest proportion consisted of the commonest and cheapest kinds of teas. As the process improved, the contractor made the most he could of his tea leaves into the higher classed and more highly priced teas; for, though the cost of making the leaves into green tea is considerably more than that of making them into black tea, the cost of making high or low class teas of either kind is much the same. The difference in the classes of either kind of tea chiefly consists in the quality of the leaf, while the prices at which the Government takes the teas of different classes per lb. range from as low as sixty cents or 1*s.*, to as high as 120 cents or 2*s.* By this means every year has brought into the hands of Government better made teas, and a larger proportion of high class teas, which have thus gradually raised the price in Europe.

Meanwhile the tea contractors have made large fortunes. The cost of growing, making, and packing, &c., was in 1857 about 49 cents per lb. all round, but was fast diminishing with the increasing produce of the area, while, on the good plantations, the different prices received from Government then averaged in the aggregate as high as 85 cents or 90 cents per lb., in consequence of those plantations delivering a larger proportion of high class teas. While in Java, one plantation of 400 bahus was specified to me, on which the half contract for the remaining five years had been lately sold as high as £30,000.

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Most of the existing contracts had then lasted upwards of fifteen years, and very few had more than four or five years longer to run. The tea planters were looking forward to the expiration of their contracts, when they expected to be left with their tea plantations, paying a fixed rent to Government, and having to compete in the European market with their teas for whatever they could get.

Although the contractors were making fortunes, yet as Government was losing on the tea, with the amount of their annual loss published yearly, there were no applications by independent planters for leases of land whereon to grow tea, until lately, when it is found that Government can net for the tea in Europe, after paying all expenses, a higher price than it costs to make in Java, and that, consequently, from the improvement of the processes, from the gradually rising price in Europe, and from the increasing produce to the area, even the bad Java tea can be grown for sale in the open market at a large profit. Applications for leases by independent planters are now beginning to pour in, and it is expected that, unless Government makes the lease rents so high as to check the demand, a few years will raise the tea produce of Java from its present yield of 2¼ millions of pounds to 20 or 25 millions, besides giving Government a large income from the rent of the tea plantations.

In the meanwhile, a new industry has been intro-

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duced into the country on a large scale; the people have found a new and very profitable employment; some Europeans have made large fortunes; and the Government has derived all the indirect advantages of this state of things at the cost of a few millions of florins, which will be repaid a hundredfold in the next few years.

This has been the result of the Dutch system on a soil not so well suited to the tea plant as either China or India, but where from high cultivation and abundant labour, as well as partly also from the absence of cold weather, the tea crop yields more per acre per annum. Mr. Fortune averages the full yield in the North-West of India at 300 lbs. per acre per annum, which has certainly not yet been attained generally, but may be taken as a fair estimate all round, under future high cultivation, though in some few places, where knowledge and sufficient labour were available, more than double that produce per acre has been grown in favourable soil. In Java the tea produce in 1856 was near 700, and in 1857 just 650 Amsterdam pounds, or respectively 754 and 706 pounds avoirdupois, per bahu of 1½ acre, equal to from 470 to 500 pounds per acre. Since 1858 improved cultivation and the use of guano have raised this average even higher.

The Java tea has a strong acrid taste, which prevents its being drunk in the island, as the excellent Java coffee universally is. The only market for it is

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Germany, where it was introduced as above mentioned, till by use the Germans acquired an actual relish for this acrid taste, and now buy the Java tea, at moderate prices, in preference to China teas.

This inferiority is generally admitted in Java, and attributed by some to the nature of the soil, and by others to the process of tea-making being in some respects different from the Chinese mode of preparation, which is dearer than that in common use in Java. The latter reason, however, is doubtful. Government would hardly have patiently put up with such losses for so many years, if Java tea could be made equal to Chinese or Indian tea by a mere change in the process of manufacture. It is true that an unfortunate mistake was made in the tea contracts by omitting all stipulation as to quality. As the Dutch religiously adhere to the letter of their engagements, this omission would enable each planter to claim the contract rates for his tea in classes, however inferior the quality might be rendered by a cheaper mode of manufacture. But in that case some of the planters would, no doubt, have tried to propitiate Government by producing tea of higher quality at rather more expense. The universal bad quality and acrid taste of the tea from the several Java plantations leads to the belief that soil and climate must be the cause, rather than any detail in the manufacture. In this case no treatment will ever enable the Java tea to compete with

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the Chinese, and still less with the Indian teas, which bear a higher market value than the Chinese.

Indian Tea.—A friend from Hong-Kong assured me that, in his opinion and in that of all the best tea brokers, the tea-growing soil of India was that, as yet discovered, best suited to the tea plant. This opinion would seem to be confirmed by what I have lately learnt, that in Kumaon and other neighbouring parts of the Himalayas, there is a wild tea called, from the colour of its infusion, *loll tcha*, or red tea, which is made up by the Natives there as an old industry, not for consumption, but actually for export through Tartary to some part of China, where it is preferred to the China tea. As it can only reach China by a long land carriage on men's shoulders, or in small Tartar sheep loads, such preference in China cannot arise from cheapness, but must be due to some quality in the tea itself, either unknown to or unappreciated by us.

Let us now see what, with the superior soil of India for tea, has been the result of our Indian system on the tea cultivation in the same period of time. Besides importing tea plants and Chinese workmen, we set up experimental farms of a few acres each, in different parts of Assam, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjaub, superintended by Government officers with none but an official interest in the spread of the tea cultivation, and managed chiefly by discharged soldiers and men of a like class. The success of

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these experimental farms was greater than could have been expected with such materials, and the fact of tea cultivation in India being both easy and profitable was soon proved beyond doubt.

One large company was got up by private enterprise in 1840, with a subscribed capital of £200,000, to which the small Government tea farms in Assam were made over. After losing the greater part of their money, by the mismanagement of their agents, and by peculation of all kinds, this company succeeded, with the remainder, in extending the Government tea farms over a large tract of country, now amounting to about 4000 acres in Assam, and are flourishing as the Assam Tea Company. Some few private tea planters have been lately attracted by this company's success, and have set up plantations in Assam, and in Cachor, competing for the sparse labour of the district, and trying with only moderate success to attract more labour from other overstocked parts of India.

The Assam Company say that until lately the prosperity and extension of their tea farms have been much impeded by the universal discouragement of the local European officials. These seemed formerly to look on the conversion of a jungle into a flourishing tea garden as an injury to the half-savage Native, not to be compensated by his profitable employment, and by the public benefit. The favour of late shown by Government to Indian tea-planting,

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and in many cases the acquisition of personal interests in tea cultivation, have now removed much of this ground of complaint. The doubling of the produce of the Assam Tea Company since 1853 shows the result of this change in the conduct of the local officials.

The experimental tea farms in the North-West Provinces and in the Punjaub were not established till after the success of the tea cultivation in Assam. The tea there, however, is so superior, that it sold on the spot at first for 10*s*. per lb.

This has tempted some few Englishmen within the last ten years to begin tea cultivation in the North-West and the Punjaub, but, as in every other culture in India, want of capital, and, until lately, official discouragement instead of support, have so restricted its extension, that the tea produce in the North-West and Punjaub is not yet sufficient for the local consumption.

The Assam Tea Company only succeeded in making 370,669 lbs. of tea in 1853. This was increased to 707,132 lbs. in 1857, and the private tea planters in India may, in 1858, have made about another 300,000 lbs. This gives about 1 million of lbs. of tea per annum for the whole produce of the finest tea soil yet known, developed by English industry and private capital, against 2¼ millions of pounds of tea per annum, as the produce in the same period of the bad tea soil of Java, developed by Dutch industry and Government capital.

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Ten years hence the comparison is likely to be still more against India, now that the Dutch have created a market for Java tea, and that private enterprise is beginning to come in with capital, either raised from other sources, or still indirectly supplied by Government.

Supply of Capital to Planters in Java and in India.—The Dutch Government furnishes capital directly to the contractors, and indirectly to all others. The departments for the administration of deceaseds' estates and for the management of charitable institutions, as well as all other departments similarly possessed of funds, lend those funds to any person of credit for agricultural purposes. By this means, and by the advances of houses of business whose terms are thus kept low, young men in Java, who have acquired reputation by a few years' successful management of some other person's estate or plantation, are able to borrow money on not too exorbitant terms to set up plantations for themselves. In India, a man must either borrow from agency houses, whose funds are very limited and whose terms are very high, or must resort to some means of making money which does not require capital, and where he is far less useful to the country than his education and ability would have made him as a planter, with capital enough to develop the resources of his plantation.

We trust entirely to private capital. The Dutch

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admit that private capital, either created by or accustomed to be employed in Oriental agriculture, will ultimately flow into any channel shown to be profitable; but they say justly, that all the reports and arguments in the world are not half so persuasive as seeing your neighbour growing rich. They also say that, if time were of no consideration, the world, and particularly the East, might wait for the development of its resources till rich men got tired of Europe, and came out to devote their capital to the improvement of India. But they assert that, as the world now goes, the only way of making the produce of the East advance faster than the fast growing expenses, is to unite the elements of fruitful land, abundant labour, educated and interested European management and capital, by the bond of Government credit.

All these elements exist separately in India in large quantities, and are all wasted for want of that union which the Dutch consider it one of the first duties of Government to effect. In the present state of the world no man who has a private fortune will come to India to lay it out there. Europeans who have made money in India, or Natives who have money, will not leave the employments by which they have succeeded, or lend their money to strangers to lay out on the land, except for such great advantages as prevent its being generally borrowed for that purpose. Unless, therefore,

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Government, either directly or indirectly, furnishes the capital, the other elements cannot unite, except in a few instances and to a small extent.

The result of the two systems, in the revenues of each country, will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

Result.—The result in the matter of tea seems to be, that the Indian tea cultivation will neither do good to the Government nor to the country for years after the Dutch system has enriched both the Natives and the Europeans in Java, repaid all the Government losses, and largely added to the revenue. The contrast is a curious example of the force and true meaning of the adage that "*time is money.*"

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CHAPTER V.

JAVA OFFICIALS.

CIVIL SERVANTS—RESIDENT—ASSISTANT-RESIDENT—SECRETARY—CONTRÔLEURS—GOVERNMENT THROUGH NATIVE CHIEFS—REGENT—WEDANA—MANTRIES—SALARIED MANTRIES—VILLAGE CHIEFS—MILITARY CIVILIANS—THE EXECUTIVE—THE LEGISLATURE—GOVERNOR-GENERAL—THE COUNCIL—THE SECRETARIAT—DIRECTORS OF DEPARTMENTS—CHAMBER OF ACCOUNTS—MINING AND TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENTS.

Java Officials.—General Van den Bosch held that the success of the culture system, to which he looked for Java's relief from her financial embarrassments, would depend greatly on the conduct and character of the European officials working the system, and on their frequent intercourse with the peasant.

To secure these ends the European officials were increased in number, till the area in charge of each man was reduced to such dimensions as he could personally look after, and till the whole staff of the country became sufficient, not only to keep the peace and administer justice, but also to admit of

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every village and field being personally visited by a European, once a month, throughout the year. The expense of this augmentation was great, but the results have shown the wisdom of this, as of every other part of General Van den Bosch's plans.

Civil Servants.—There is the same distinction of covenanted and uncovenanted among the classes of European officials in Java as exists in India. The distinction there, however, consists in different duties, instead of in different emoluments for the same duties, and the line is not impassable as in India.

European officials in Java are divided into three classes, the first and second of which are covenanted, like the civil service in India.

The first class is composed of men who have attained to the degree of Doctor of Laws in Holland. This corresponds with being called to the Bar in England after a strict legal examination, a Doctor of Laws requiring no further diploma to practise as an advocate. Such of these Dutch lawyers as wish to go to India apply to be examined at the College of Delft. On passing satisfactorily in the different branches of knowledge there required, they are appointed by the King of Holland to be Java officials of the first class. These are eligible to any appointment, either under the Department of Justice or in the Government of the Interior. Some of these officials of the first class practise as advocates, and subsequently become judges in the Dutch courts of

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Java, which are analogous to the Supreme Courts in India. Others begin as contrôleurs, and rise to be assistant-residents or residents in the interior, with analogous duties to those of the Indian covenanted service. Officials of the first class have also the power of passing from the judicial to the administrative branches, whether in the capitals or in the interior, and *vice versâ*. The members of council and heads of departments are also most generally chosen from among these Dutch barristers, who are in all respects the highest and most trusted servants of the Dutch Government in Java.

The second class of European officials are more like Indian civil servants. They pass four years at the College of Delft, which was established in 1842 for the same purposes as Haileybury. The college is open to all, and the vacancies in the civil service are supplied by competition among the students of the fourth year. These officials of the second class are specially devoted to the government of the interior. They begin as contrôleurs and rise in the ordinary line of the provincial Government. They are eligible for all situations in the service of the interior, and in the higher administrative departments, but not for any appointments under the departments of justice.

All European officials of either the first or the second class must have passed an examination at Delft in—

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The Javanese language,
The Malay language,
Knowledge of the country and nations of Netherlands India,
Mahomedan justice and laws,
Dutch composition,
French, English, and German languages and literature,
Algebra,
Geometry,
Trigonometry,
Land surveying and levelling,
Cosmography, including geology and geography,
Experimental physics,
Natural history,
Chemistry,
Political economy,
Italian bookkeeping, and
Drawing.

On arrival in Java these young universal sciolists receive 150 florins per month subsistence allowance, till placed in some appointment. As among the Indian competitors, their usefulness and subsequent advancement depend on the old qualities of *mens sana in corpore sano*, and often bear an inverse ratio to their acquirements.

The third class of European officials is uncovenanted. These and the inferior unclassed Euro-

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peans in Government employ form a special service with separate duties. It is composed of men who are not sent out as officials from Holland, like the first and second classes, but who begin their career in Netherlands India in some of the inferior posts in the Government offices. It is in this capacity that the half-castes, and those who in Java are technically called persons assimilated with Europeans, mostly seek Government employ. These men can rise according to their usefulness, but without any rank whatever, till they become clerks at 450 florins per month. Having once attained this maximum they cannot rise higher, unless selected to be made officials of the third class. The most competent are chosen by the Governor-General for that purpose as vacancies occur, and are proposed by him to the King of Holland for appointment. Officials of the third class can rise to the highest appointments in the administrative departments, but never to any post in which they can come in contact with the Native population, or exercise direct authority over them.

An official of the third class may, however, obtain permission to go to Europe to study at Delft, where, on his passing a satisfactory examination in the above-mentioned subjects, he rises to be an official of the second class. For this purpose the Java Government pays his travelling expenses, and allows him furlough pay during his absence in Holland,

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which latter, however, he has to refund, if he fails in passing the necessary examination.

The lowest grade in the covenanted service of the interior is contrôleur, which grade is itself subdivided into contrôleurs of the first, second, and third classes. The advance from contrôleur depends, as in India, on a mixture of interest, ability, and seniority. Seniority, without talents or interest, will generally carry a man to be assistant-resident, equivalent to an Indian judge. But either favour or ability are required to attain the post of resident, equivalent to an Indian commissioner, or the ministerial offices of the secretariat and heads of departments.

I am not aware what was the former mode of appointment to the civil service, or when it took its present shape. Till 1830, the old mercantile tradition was still so far kept up that a civilian began his duties in Java as clerk in the custom-house, or in one of the offices of the general Government, in the same manner as men now do who afterwards become officials of the third class. On the introduction of the culture system, the title of the young civil servant was changed from custom-house clerk to contrôleur, and his duties were raised from the examination of bales of goods to the superintendence and improvement of the cultivation of the country, in the manner hereafter explained.

I will describe, as now in full operation for some

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years past, the position, duties, and power of the local officials, European and Native.

Resident.—The resident is the first local European authority, and the chief of the large tract of country called a residency. His powers are judicial, financial, and administrative. He is like an Indian commissioner, in regard to his general control over the whole residency, but he also performs the duties of judge, collector, and magistrate, in one of the regency divisions of his residency.

The first question which occurs to an Anglo-Indian is, how one man can find time for such numerous duties? The answer is, the state of the country.

The small proportion of income payable as land tax, and the facility of payment caused by the culture system, reduce the resident's financial duties to the mere receipt and payment of money.

The culture system, by raising the whole people above want and by giving them constant employment, has almost destroyed crime. Industry and comfort, with close European supervision, have abolished the organized bands of robbers and murderers, formerly as rife in Java as in India. The control over the dealings between Natives and Europeans, and the established scale of Native subordination and responsibility, prevent the occurrence of affrays or similar acts of violence. The criminal and police business in the interior has thus become of the highest character.

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The absence of Native landlords, the large powers of conciliation and arbitration vested in every official, and the judicial regulations hereafter mentioned, prevent much civil litigation, and what little occurs is speedily and satisfactorily decided by the landraad and other local tribunals. Nothing astonished me more than to hear, when I expressed a wish to see the local court, that it was not sitting because there was no business for it, and that its sittings for criminal and civil business did not average above about thirty days in the year.

The resident exercises judicial powers, both civil and criminal, as president of the landraad, and as judge of the residency court. He also acts as magistrate, both in committing to other courts, and in the punishment of petty police offences. The landraad, composed of the resident and two Native members, and deciding by a majority, has large criminal powers, including all cases not involving life or transportation for twenty years. Where acting alone, the police powers of this the head European official are very small, being limited to eight days' imprisonment, three days' stocks, three months on the roads, twenty blows with a rattan, and a fine of fifty florins, about equivalent to the powers we entrust in India to an assistant magistrate. In the case of Europeans, his criminal power is limited to a fine, and to eight days' imprisonment, or to forwarding the European to one

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of the capitals for trial by the court of justice, composed of Dutch lawyers.

The resident knows every one of the numerous Native officials personally by sight, so as to be cognizant of his character and abilities, and he also knows every ascertainable detail about every individual in his regency. A register with ready means of reference is kept of the numbers of heads of families in each village, with the names and condition of each; of how many each family consists, and how many of its members are grown men, women, and children, together with any particulars affecting the members of each family. A map register is also kept of the exact amount and locality of land belonging to each village in common, or to each peasant separately. The monthly reports keep the resident acquainted with the exact proportions of the land cultivated and uncultivated, and under what crops, together with the state of the cultivation and the probable harvest yield. All this is not only exactly registered, with easy reference to each particular, but is also personally verified and tested by the resident's constant visits to different parts of his residency.

The employment and means of livelihood of each individual, as also any change of residence, either temporarily of the individual, or permanently of himself and family, are also duly noted. Every Native of the country is free to come and go where

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and as he pleases, first getting a pass from his immediate Native superior. The petty chief or head of the village from whose jurisdiction he removes, as well as the one to whose jurisdiction he goes, have, however, to report his departure and arrival.

I must do the officials the justice to say that, so far as I could ascertain, this minute and accurate knowledge of the people is not obtained by any system of spying, but by the constant intercourse and friendly communion of the resident and of his European subordinates with the Native chiefs and peasantry.

This constant communication and friendly intercourse, with the perfect knowledge thus acquired of the habits, wishes, and ideas of the Natives, is considered by the Dutch one of the best results of the culture system, from which it sprung. Anything like Native dissatisfaction is immediately known, its cause is investigated, and relief is at once applied in a liberal spirit, whether to the community or to the individual.

The salaries of residents were very large under the English Government, and continued so till reduced by Le Vicomte du Bus de Gisignies. A resident's fixed salary is now 1250 florins a month, or £1250 per annum, and the Government supplies him, as it does all European officials of the first and second class, with house and garden grounds rent-

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free. In those residencies where the culture system is extensively applied, the resident's percentage will sometimes amount to more than his salary, and this large addition to the official pay consequently causes these residencies to be much sought after. All admit, however, that the office is underpaid, and the salary insufficient, in such an expensive country as Java, to enable the holder to save a competence wherewith to retire to Europe. The general arrangements made for enabling the retired official to live comfortably in Java renders this less injurious than the like reduction of salaries in India would be, where the life of a retired official, without the means of returning to Europe, is one of unmitigated misery and exile.

Assistant-Resident.—Next in rank and salary to the European resident is the Native regent, but the next European officers are the assistant-residents, each of whom administers, under the resident's orders, one of the outlying regencies of the residency, and has in his regency the same powers, and performs the same duties, as the resident does in the regency under his peculiar charge.

A practical illustration of the minute and accurate knowledge which each resident, assistant-resident, and contrôleur possesses of the district under his peculiar charge, is contained in the following story. A gentleman was travelling in the interior when the Government post horses attached to his

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carriage happened to knock down a child some two or three years old, who ran suddenly into the road at a part where no neighbouring houses were to be seen. He took it up and carried it into the next civil station to the assistant-resident's house, requesting that the child might be taken care of, and restored to its parents, when they could be found, with some compensation for the slight hurt it had received. The assistant-resident sent for a few of the young mantries or petty chiefs in the station, and called for his register. He at once ascertained the number and names of the families near where the accident had happened, any of whose children would then be from two to three years of age. The mantries examined the appearance of the child, galloped off to inquire among the families designated by the assistant-resident, and before the traveller continued his journey, he had the satisfaction of restoring the child to its father.

My Indian readers who know the Mofussil, or interior of India, will be able to appreciate the difference between this and what any Anglo-Indian official could do in similar circumstances. Not that the Indian official is to be blamed. Most Indian civil servants work like horses, and all much harder than Dutch officials; doing within the limits imposed on them all that men can do. But what is to be expected of a magistrate whose time is mostly taken up by judicial business, and whose district is as

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large as Yorkshire? Whole villages might almost die of hunger or disease without his hearing of it, or before he could render assistance. Numerous are the small towns, ay, even with police stations, which remain unvisited for years, owing to the overwhelming work. And the inhabitants of many villages grow to man's estate, and some even live and die, without ever having seen a white face. This evil has been long felt by the Indian Government, but want of money has prevented its incurring the expense required for such an increase of the service as would give each man a manageable area. Insufficiency of funds in India still allows this, among other evils, to remain unredressed, from which the culture system with its consequent riches has relieved Java.

The assistant-resident's salary was reduced in 1827-28, and is now fixed at 500 florins a month, or £500 per annum. Besides this he receives house and grounds rent-free, and his share of the culture percentages in his regency, which sometimes double his salary. This is the highest post to which the generality of civil servants attain, and the salary affixed to it is disgraceful to a rich Government like that of Java. When the country was on the verge of bankruptcy, the officials submitted to their former large incomes being reduced to their present paltry rates. The integrity and honour of these highly educated and high-minded

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gentlemen have since kept the service without a taint of the corrupt practices so rife among the underpaid servants of the old Dutch East India Company. Their exertions, in superintending the culture system, have changed a yearly deficit to a yearly surplus of over three millions sterling. Meawhile, the first requirements of life, not to speak of the luxuries indispensable to men of educated habits in Eastern countries, have become at least fifty per cent. dearer. The labour required of all European officials in Java has increased at least tenfold. And yet the Java Government, or rather the Home Government, expects gentlemen to devote their lives to the service of Holland's richest colony, with no higher probable end than an income of £500 a year. This part of the Java administration is not marked with the same wisdom as most of the rest of their policy. In the present happy state of their finances, an adequate increase of salary to their civil servants would be but easy justice. It would not cause any appreciable reduction in the large surplus revenue, but would confer a great increase of comfort and happiness on a most meritorious class of men.

Secretary.—Each resident has a secretary, who is also a European civil servant next in rank to the assistant-resident, and who takes the place of his resident in presiding over the landraad, in case of the illness or absence of his superior.

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The secretary prepares all transfers of heritable property, real or personal; witnesses their public execution by the parties before the resident and himself; and alters and renews the map registers and indexes, which show the titles in all the land in his district. He is also the director of both Government and judicial sales, treasurer of the public cash, and guardian of the public records. He acts as greffier to record in Dutch the consultative proceedings of the landraad, as well as the *vivâ voce* evidence, and other particulars of all civil and criminal trials, either by the landraad or by the residency court. He is also notary public to witness and certify the numerous documents and acts requiring for their validity notarial attestation. He keeps the registers of deaths, births, and marriages, as well as those showing the names, condition, and particulars of each separate household. He files and indexes the contrôleur's monthly reports, and registers the state of the cultivation, and the changes in the population, shown thereby.

For these various purposes the secretary has under him a head clerk, and the necessary complement of other clerks, all paid by Government. With these he performs some clerkly duties for the whole residency, and the whole of the clerkly duties for the regency under the resident's special charge. All his clerks, however, are merely ministerial, with no access to the official records, and with no influence

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on the proceedings of the local courts. The noxious swarm of court amlah and record-writers and keepers, who in India batten on the suitors, and thrive by multiplying and perverting the records of the courts, are happily unknown in Java.

The secretary's salary is fixed at 500 florins a month, or £500 a year, and he receives no percentage on the cultures. Besides his salary, however, he is entitled to fixed fees on all transactions before him as registrar, and as notary public. These vary in different districts from an average of 200 to 800 florins a month, thus making the secretary's income range from 700 to 1300 florins a month, or an equal number of pounds sterling per annum. He also has house and grounds supplied him by Government rent-free.

Many public acts, such as the transfer of landed property, &c., can only be executed at the chief town of the residency before the resident and secretary. But for such of the secretary's duties as can be performed in the outlying regencies of the residency, the assistant-resident in charge of each regency has under him a European chief clerk, with a staff of Native clerks. The duties and powers of these Native clerks are also carefully controlled, so as to prevent them making their position a means of influence and extortion among the Native population.

Contrôleurs.—The next and lowest grade of European officials of the first and second class are the

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contrôleurs, whose special business is to superintend the cultivation of the country, and to watch over and forward the welfare of the people. Every regency is divided into contrôleurs' circuits of such an area as to enable every village and field of his circuit to be personally visited and reported on by the contrôleur every month throughout the year. By this arrangement every Native has constant opportunities of seeing one of his Dutch masters, and has monthly brought to his door the means of remonstrance and relief. The first five years of the young civilian's service are thus spent in a constant course of travel from one village to another, returning to the head station monthly for five or six days to finish up and give in his reports. He is early thrown alone among the people, with whom his duties require him to hold constant intercourse on every subject, securing the proficiency in the vernacular, and the thorough knowledge of the Natives, which distinguish the civil service of Java.

The contrôleur's journeys are made on horseback, while his modest kit is carried by coolies. He is accompanied through each of the districts that lie in his circuit by the wedana or Native chief of the district, and by the local Native officials of lesser rank, also on horseback. He sleeps and lives in the stranger's houses, of which there is one in every village built of bamboos and mats, and at least as comfortable as an Indian dawk bungalow.

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Each contrôleur has not only the supervision of the cultures in his circuit, but also their practical direction, by persuasion of the peasants, and by suggestion to the local Native chiefs. He has to see that sufficient land is cultivated by each village with rice for the wants of the population, exclusive of the one-fifth under sugar or other crop for the contractor or planter, and that not only the sugar or other crop, but also the rice, are planted at the proper season, and are properly weeded and attended to during their growth. He is the president of the Taxation Committee that estimates the padi and sugar-canes when ripe, both for land tax and for payment to the villagers. He has to see that both the village and the individual peasants possess the proper instruments in sufficient number for planting, cleaning, reaping, and preparing the crops. In case the yield of rice should be insufficient for the wants of the population, it is his duty to induce the villagers to plant such second crop as is best suited to the condition of the land. He has to ascertain and report what number of coffee trees per head of family are planted and in full bearing on the uncultivated lands and hill sides, and whether they are properly cleaned and attended to, and the coffee gathered when ripe, without being allowed to fall and germinate, as also whether the villagers are prepared with proper instruments for pounding, cleaning, and sorting the coffee.

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The contrôleur has large powers of conciliation and of arbitration, and is generally made the recipient of complaints by the villagers, which he is bound to attend to, and himself to settle amicably if possible. In fact, he does thereby decide those numerous cases where practically all the Native wants is to tell his story and get advice. He has himself no judicial or other authority or power whatever, except to conciliate, examine, and report. It is his duty, however, when he cannot succeed in settling quarrels, to try and induce the parties to refer their differences to a village jury or punchayet, giving him the reference for registration, in which case the punchayet's decision is enforced if necessary.

He is also the general attesting witness to the wills, contracts, and various other documents which, by the Dutch regulations require for their validity to be executed before a European official.

The contrôleur has to visit monthly the Government coffee, salt, and other stores in his circuit, and to make inquiry whether the Native in charge deals with the surrounding population strictly for the fixed Government prices, and without subjecting them to either extortion or inconvenience. He has also monthly to examine the books and to report upon the accounts of the petty Native officials in his circuit. The Native land rent collectors, who receive the Government land rent from the village chiefs, and are bound to pay them monthly to the secretary

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as treasurer, have also to render him their monthly accounts, that he may test their accuracy through the village authorities.

No direct authority is exercised by the contrôleur over the Native wedana or district chief, or over the mantries or petty chiefs who are at the orders of the wedana, or even over any village chief in his circuit. But his prestige as a European, and his position as an official, are not allowed to be affected by his want of power. He must be received and waited upon by the wedana when entering his district, and he must be attended in each part of his tour by the wedana and by the mantries and village chiefs in charge, to whom he remarks on any thing he sees wrong, and suggests any improvements or alterations he thinks desirable.

On his return from his monthly tour the contrôleur reports to his immediate superior, whether resident or assistant-resident, all the particulars of the cultivation of the whole of his circuit, in printed tabulated forms for each village filled up on the spot. On these he also enters any matter relating to the village or any of its inhabitants which requires remark, and the new recommendations he has made to the Native officials, together with their compliance or otherwise with his former suggestions. The Native local officials know that the contrôleur's report of any neglect or of any non-compliance with his suggestions will be forwarded by his superior to the

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regent, and will bring down on them the wrath of their Native master with various disagreeable consequences. The contrôleur therefore generally finds his suggestions carried out, except where the Native local officials consider compliance unadvisable, in which case they report the suggestions to the regent with their objections. The matter is then brought on for discussion at the next meeting of the landraad, and orders sent to the local officials in accordance with the decision there come to.

It will be remembered that only European officials of the first and second class can become contrôleurs. These again rank as contrôleurs of the first, second, and third class. A contrôleur of the third class gets 225 florins a month, or £225 a year, while he accompanies another contrôleur in his circuit for a few months to learn his duties. He then gets a circuit to himself, when he becomes contrôleur of the second class, and gets 275 florins a month, or £275 a year. After some years of continual travel round his circuit he is made contrôleur of the first class, when he replaces the secretary or the assistant-resident in their duties during absence. Till promoted to one or the other post, he combines some of the duties of contrôleur with such higher duties as are delegated to him by his superiors. As contrôleur of the first class, he receives 375 florins a month, or £375 a year. The contrôleurs are also found house and grounds

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rent-free, two or three being generally located together.

The pay of a contrôleur, with the addition of his percentage on the cultures in his circuit, is relatively larger than that of the higher ranks of officials. But it is also much too small. He is necessarily obliged to keep one or two horses, and to have a travelling establishment of servants, and a camp equipage. He is required always to maintain such an appearance and position among the Native officials with whom he makes his circuits as to uphold the prestige and respect they are bound to pay him. Then again Java is a very dear country, where £300 a year will by no means give a man as much, even of the necessaries of civilized life, as such an income would command in the dearest capital in Europe. What are luxuries in Europe, are necessities in the tropics. And distance so raises the price of all the requirements of civilization, that what would be a handsome competence at home barely suffices to maintain the position of a gentleman in the East. The consequence is that Java contrôleurs are almost universally in debt, unless they have private means, which is but seldom the case. Even the most careful hardly ever get over their first outlay for horses and furniture till they are promoted from contrôleur.

It were much to be desired that European nations would gauge the wages of their colonial servants

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rather by the necessities of their position than by the narrow home experience of what a particular sum will buy. Holland would then no longer expose her most hopeful sons to such difficulties and dangers in Java, and the English people would cease to envy, and would desist from threatening official salaries in India.

The above constitute in Java the European officials of a district, whose duty is thus to ascertain and know every detail, however minute, and whose relations with the Natives are thus limited to supervision, advice, and assistance.

Government through Native Chiefs.—The real government of the Natives is carried on exclusively through the Native chiefs. The resident is only subject to the Governor-General in council, and is absolute master in his residency, but the Native regent is the sole apparent source of authority. The European officials merely examine, suggest, and report, but have no power to issue any order or to enforce its execution. There are strict rules forbidding their attempting to do either. The high respect paid them, and the generally ready compliance of the Native officials with their suggestions, naturally prevent these rules being often infringed.

At the same time, the European officials are always accessible and ready to listen to complaints. They do not respond to such complaints by issuing orders, or even by telling the complainant that they

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will secure him redress. This would be considered an insult to the Native official, who would probably resent and report it as subversive of his authority over the people, for the Javanese are particularly touchy on the point of honour. The European tells the complainant he will expostulate with the Native chief, and will show him how his orders, or his conduct, have inadvertently caused injury or injustice, when, no doubt, the Native chief will be only too happy to withdraw the order or repair the evil. If the Native official be seriously in fault, the contrôleur's report on the subject is probably by no means in such mild terms, and his expostulation with the Native chief may not unlikely show his real opinion. By these means, however, in one way or another, the Native constantly obtains remedy or relief through the European officials, while yet no European exercises any direct authority over him. The principle is insisted on and strictly carried out, that all communication between the European and the Native must be agreeable and beneficial to the latter, and that what orders or compulsion are necessary shall come to him solely from his own Native chiefs.

It may be said that this is merely illusory, and that as the Dutch are the masters of the country the orders and requisitions must be well known to be theirs, by whatever mouth or hand they are carried out. But this is not so in fact any more than

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in appearance. The resident may, and in case of necessity does, direct the regent to issue such and such orders to the inferior Native officials. But, except in sudden and extreme cases, no change is made but on consultation between the resident, the regent, and other members of the landraad. The opinion of the djaksa, of the priest, and of such high Native officials as may be thought most competent to advise on any proposed measure, are also called for. These are the consultative meetings of the landraad, which take place weekly, or as much oftener as the resident may require. Besides these consultative meetings, however, the resident and regent meet constantly if not daily, for the numerous occasions arising in the administration by the regent under the direction of the resident. Thus the government of each regency is carried on exclusively by the regent and his Native subordinates, and the regent has the power of referring to Government any direction of the resident from which he and his Native advisers dissent. The independent judgment of the regent is upheld by the knowledge that he will be made answerable for the evil consequences of any order emanating from him, even where such orders are given by direction of the resident. At the same time, should the regent or his Native advisers make frivolous objections to reasonable proposals, for the purpose of avoiding future responsibility, they would soon find them-

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selves dismissed as useless, crotchety servants. Thus they only interpose where their knowledge of Native character leads them to foresee danger, which occasions are of course rare. To the credit of the Dutch Government be it said, the occasions are still rarer where the opinions of the regent and his Native advisers as to the treatment of their own countrymen are overruled by Government. The consequence is, that the orders and requisitions that ostensibly emanate from the regent are not imputed to the Dutch so much as to him and to his council. Such orders are probably in themselves better suited to Native ideas, while they are certainly less offensive than if believed to come from foreign rulers, instead of from the old and revered local aristocracy.

The summary power of dismissal without trial, retained and not unfrequently used by the Dutch Government, prevents the Native officials from throwing wilful or crotchety impediments in the way of the public business, and enables a ticklish, vindictive Native population to be easily governed through their own chiefs, without animosity towards their Dutch rulers.

Regent.—The first Native official in each province is the regent, who receives a large salary, generally even higher than that of the resident, and whose rank and right of precedence is superior to that of every European official below the resident, except during the time such minor European official is presiding over

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the landraad. The regent holds a Native court; is never approached by any Native of inferior rank, not even by the members of his own family, except on the knees; has a large retinue, through whom he issues all orders for the regency; keeps up the pomp and state of a Native prince; has full control over all the Native chiefs and peasants of his regency; and is the apparent lord and ruler of his country.

The regent is at the same time the high priest of the regency, to whom therefore every Native is spiritually as well as physically subject. He is also the chief member of the landraad, and the president of the regency court, in which capacities he exercises large judicial powers over the Natives, in both civil and criminal cases. His attributes in these respects will be further explained in the chapter on Justice.

Though the island is nominally divided into residencies, each containing three or four regencies, so as not to multiply the superior European officers, the practical division is the regency, the affairs of which are all conducted within itself by its own regent. The resident directs the general policy of the European officials throughout the residency, but he, as well as the assistant-residents, are each appointed by Government to the court of the particular regent whose regency he is to administer, and each lives in the station town and near to the palace of the regent to whose court he has been appointed.

The regent is always a member, though not

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always the head, of the chief family of nobles, who, prior to the Dutch conquest, were rulers of the particular district, under the Native sovereign. As much as possible, the old Native divisions are preserved, so as to maintain the regent's authority over the land and people that his ancestors ruled. The old official instructions to the resident and assistant-residents direct them, in words, to treat each regent "as a younger brother;" and, in fact, the necessary intercourse for business between the regent and the resident or assistant-resident, both in public and private, is apparently cordial, frank, and on equal terms.

Besides his large salary and his share of the culture percentages, every regent has landed property attached to his office. The Regent of Brebes and the former Regent of Japara have also private landed estates, which were formerly conferred on their ancestors by the English Government. But with the exception of these regents, and of the regents of the Preanger, who have a modified property in the whole of their regencies, the regent, with all the pomp, dignity, and influence of a Native prince, is but a stipendiary of the Dutch Government removeable at will.

While he remains regent he has rank, wealth, and power, the whole affairs of the regency being conducted exclusively by him and in his name. If dismissed from his regency, he sinks at once into a

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mere member of the regent's family, and his pomp, wealth, and power pass to such other member of the family as the Dutch select to take his place.

The Dutch policy in Java seems to be tinctured, in many respects, by the experience acquired in their long residence at Desima; and, whether from a similarity of circumstances or from Dutch encouragement, many incidents of Native life in Java resemble that of the Japanese. In Japan the practice of abdicating is common, and the Java regents and wedanas not unfrequently, towards the close of life, surrender the cares and emoluments of office in favour of a son, or of some young member of the family. The retired regent or wedana is then generally made a member of the landraad, thus retaining high position and honour without much care or labour, and, though on a smaller salary, without the many calls on the purse indispensable to the position of regent or wedana.

It may be thought that where, as in India, the Native nobles possess large private fortunes, they would not accept office with such accessaries, and with the contingency of dismissal. But the experience of the Preanger, where the regents are large landed proprietors, shows that the system is equally applicable to such men. Real power, as well as the pomp and personal dignity attached to power in the East, will always more than counterbalance its labours and cares, at least with such

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young members of the best families as possess qualities fitting them for office.

The regent is assisted by the pattih, who is always an experienced Native of high family. In the absence or temporary illness of the regent, the pattih takes his place, both in the landraad and in the government of the regency. The regent has his own Native council, composed of his wuzeer, jacksa, and other officers, who preside over his household, and over the different departments of police, justice, and religion. He has also a Native secretary and clerks to transact the Native business of the regency, as ordered by himself and by his officers, under the supervision and direction of the resident or assistant-resident. He has, besides, the direct supervision and direction of the different wedanas or chiefs of districts in his regency, to whom all orders are issued only by him or in his name.

The wise recognition by the Dutch of the importance assigned by Natives to rank and pomp is shown by the very first clause after the oath. The regent is enjoined strictly to follow the particular enactments in these respects, and to keep all other Natives in similar conformity to the marks of their rank. The Dutchman in Java has not yet attained to the magnificent scorn of the Anglo-Indian for all distinctions but those of his own country. He does not bow abjectly before a mushroom coronet, and then turn with contempt on men whose an-

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cestors were chieftains and educated gentlemen while ours were still only painted Picts. His position in Java, like ours in India, tends to the encouragement of such feelings, but the Java Government carefully suppresses their exhibition. The Dutch rulers allow that the ideas of their Native subjects are entitled to be considered in a Native, and not in a European, point of view. They avoid Native hatred by officially recognising the importance of such matters, but wisely leave their enforcement and regulation to the Natives themselves.

Another curious clause in these instructions is that which directs the regent to discourage among his people and subordinates the use of opium, from which the Dutch derive a large revenue. This conduct of the Java Government is directly opposed to that of the Bengal Government, in refusing to stop the growth of the poppy in Assam. Every cottager there grows untaxed poison at his own door, which is not only used by men and women, but devoured by the children, till health and strength vanish from the population, and even the chances of continuing the race become doubtful. The tea planters, and those interested in the population of Assam, have urged Government to add to its revenue, and to save the children at least from poisoning themselves, by forbidding the growth of the poppy there, but supplying the people with taxed opium, which would thus confine the consumption to men

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and women. The Bengal Government refused to comply with this request, on the ground that opium was but a stimulant, the moderate use of which was apparently not very hurtful. It was added that considerations connected with the opium revenue had formerly caused the free growth of the poppy to be forbidden in other parts of India, but that the Bengal Government saw no reason for extending such restriction to Assam. The contrast of this application of free trade, with the illiberal Dutch instructions to regents to dissuade their people from the use of taxed opium, cannot but be flattering both to our wisdom and to our humanity. The Bengal Government would doubtless have justified its decision, as being in accordance with the latest truths of political economy, and as based on the wise principle of non-interference with the free action of the subject. I am sorry to say the Dutch were too narrow-minded to take this view of our treatment of the opium question in Assam. They are prejudiced enough to say that though, unlike Frenchmen, Englishmen do not pretend to fight for an idea, an idea seems to be sufficient excuse to an Anglo-Indian statesman for desolating a province.*

* This decision of the former Bengal Government has just been reversed, and a weak concession of principle to common sense has been made in 1860, by prohibiting the further growth of opium in Assam.

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The regent's fixed salary varies in different regencies from 800 to 1500 florins a month. He has also his percentage on the cultures, which in some regencies nearly equals the salary. Most of the regents likewise derive considerable profits from the land in each regency specifically assigned to the office. These various sources yield a large income, which enables each regent to maintain his court, and to live in pomp and affluence.

In the Preanger, where the regents are the landowners, and receive so much of the income of their several regencies as is not appropriated to other local purposes, such as education, religion, &c., their incomes are much larger, though they receive no salaries. Following out the old Native idea of the land belonging to the prince, the receipt of the one-fifth of produce and one-seventh of labour in the Preanger passes from a deceased or retiring regent to his successor, whom the Dutch, as lords paramount of the island, claim the right to appoint. They do not, however, treat the regents of the Preanger so cavalierly as the regents in the conquered parts of the island, who are often dismissed on what we should consider inadequate grounds. No instance I believe exists of a regent of the Preanger being dismissed, though, on his death or abdication, the Dutch sometimes interfere with the natural order of succession, as in the case of the present Regent of Bandong, whom they pre-

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ferred to the regency in the place of his elder brother.

Wedana.—The regency is divided into five or six districts, each of which is presided over by a Native chief, called a wedana. This official is also a man of high family, but, like the regent, a mere Government stipendiary on a large salary, with high position and rank among his countrymen, and holding a kind of minor court. Instead of being appointed by Government, however, like the regent, the wedana is chosen by the Native community, subject to the approval of the resident. The Governor-General is expressly directed, by Art. 71 of "the General Regulations for the Government of Netherlands India," to maintain this right of choice against all violation. The wedana has under him a writer and two or three servants paid by the Government, with which, and with the mantries or petty chiefs at his disposal, he carries on the police duties of the district, and executes the orders of the regent. He is responsible for the immediate discovery and investigation of crime, which he reports to the regent, at the same time forwarding the criminal, and sending up the witnesses on the day fixed for trial.

The wedana is chief of the district court, which judges all petty cases of assaults and quarrels among the peasantry of the district, and all civil claims between Natives for less than twenty florins. He is

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always a man of high consideration, and the chief authority on the state of his people. He has to accompany the contrôleur every month in his tour through the district, and to supply him with all necessary information and with the returns required. He is the Native official to whom the contrôleur suggests any alteration or improvements, which the wedana carries out by means of the mantries at his command. He is specially charged with the control and direction of the young mantries attached to his household, and his reputation is much gauged by their capacity and conduct.

Mantries.—The mantries or petty chiefs are of two kinds, salaried and unsalaried. The few salaried mantries preside over and manage separate parts of the wedana's district under his directions, but the far larger number of unsalaried mantries attend the wedana's court, carrying his messages and executing his orders, or superintending their execution by the village chiefs and villagers. These mantries are the sons and relations of the regent, or of some of the wedanas and other chiefs; all young Natives of family, even the regent's successor, becoming mantries as a matter of course.

The wedana appoints any young man he pleases a mantrie in his district. The only remuneration the young man receives in this capacity is a share in the small mantrie's percentage on all the produce of the culture in the wedana's district. But as it is the only road to Government employ, and to that

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share in the rule of his fellow-countrymen which the Native noble considers his right by birth, every young man of good family gets made a mantrie by some wedana or another. He then attends the wedana's court without salary, in hopes of being subsequently elected to one of the salaried petty chieftainships, after he shall have shown his competence for office.

On appointment the mantrie is invested with a kriss, or Malay dagger, with a baldric of leather having the name of the district of which he is made a mantrie worked upon it, and with a somewhat better kind of the long knife or goluck worn by noble and peasant alike in Java. He is also provided with a Java pony, either by his own family or by the wedana who makes him a mantrie. From that time till he gets promoted, and made either a salaried mantrie in charge of a sub-district, a wedana, or regent, as the case may be, he is constantly riding about the country. He lives in the wedana's house, or, if he can afford it, in a house of his own close by, and is liable to be sent off, at any hour of the day or night, to any place the wedana chooses. Perhaps he is despatched to see to the execution of some suggestion made by the contrôleur, or of some order given by the regent through the wedana. Whatever message has to be taken or inquiry made, whatever order has to be given or work to be superintended, falls necessarily and natu-

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rally to the well-born and influential young mantrie.

The Java Government thus saves the cost of the large number of peons or messengers who in India attend on the European and Native officials. These are mere servants on small salaries, but the united amount of their wages all over the country makes a large item of expense to our Indian Government. These Indian messengers are low-born men, without any natural or legitimate influence over the people. They know, however, how to make their position, and the orders they have to carry, a means of emolument. In India this large class of official messengers all live far above their small wages, which can only be done by their making their duties the means of extorting perquisites from the people. Their employment as messengers is also injurious to the country, by converting a considerable body of men, who naturally belong to the productive classes, into mere unproductive consumers. In Java the employment of other motives has substituted for these common runners a far superior class, who not only carry messages and orders gratuitously but also see to their due execution, forming a great element in the prosperity of the country by actively and economically helping to develop its resources.

The consequence is that, although the peasant of Java is the laziest of created mortals, the young noble, of the same race and habits, is active and

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energetic alike in business and in sport. These are the men who are constantly looking up the villagers, and who contrive to rouse them from their indolence, not only to the proper cultivation of their own and of the contractor's crop, but to the maintenance of the terracing and irrigation works necessary for the cultivation of a large part of the island. These are the men who, mounted on the best horses of the Regent of Bandong and of the neighbouring wedanas, outrode the Europeans at the great autumn stag-hunt which I saw, and carried off for themselves the heads and necks of all the deer. These also are the men who, thus educated, have gradually come to form a class of gentlemanly officials, neither cringing while mantries, nor presuming when appointed regent or wedana. With full knowledge of the wants and wishes of the locality, they thus become competent to associate with Europeans on pleasant terms, and help to carry on the administration of the country with submission, but at the same time with respectful independence.

Formerly these mantries were the curse of the country. All the oppression and extortion to which the villagers were subject came from them, and Raffles speaks of them with just horror and indignation. He destroyed their power, only keeping a few employed in police and tax-collecting duties. The Dutch restored them to power, but controlled and regulated their demands. The mantrie, on arriving at a village, goes to the stranger's house. The

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village chief is bound to wait upon him, and to supply him gratis with certain specified provisions for himself and his horse for twenty-four hours. After this, if he remains, he must pay daily a fixed price for the same provisions, with which the village chief is bound to supply him as long as his errand requires his stay. These provisions are levied by the village chief from the villagers, by turns as to the gratis provisions, and by purchase for the rest. Any oppression or extortion by the mantrie would be probably discovered by the contrôleur on his next monthly visit, when woe to the mantrie, and adieu to all prospect of promotion.

The young mantries about the wedana's court are in somewhat the same position as young men of family used to occupy in a knight's household in the Middle Ages, except that they are not employed in menial domestic duties.

They are the companions, the followers, and the supporters of the wedana, who prides himself on their number and appearance, and on his mantries bearing a higher reputation than those of other wedanas. The consequence is that a public opinion has gradually grown up among them, and any mantrie's conviction of tyranny or extortion reflects disgrace on his wedana and on his fellow mantries, as well as on himself. The Dutch say that, although undoubtedly oppression and extortion do still occur, they are not only much rarer than formerly, but

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that, since the growth of this feeling, they are daily becoming rarer still. They attribute the few instances that are still occasionally discovered, to the desire of these young men to do honour to their wedana's court, and to the small means which so many of them possess. The higher Natives having no other fortunes than their official emoluments, which are barely more than enough to provide for the requirements of their positions, have hardly any thing to spare for a son who is a mantrie at the wedana's court. That son has no salary but his small share of the mantrie's percentage, and yet he has certain expenses, not large, it is true, but still often more than his small allowance can well supply.

Salaried Mantries.—The wedana's district is divided into sub-districts, each of which is in charge of a salaried mantrie. The salaried mantrie, like the wedana, is chosen by the Native community from the unpaid mantries, subject to the approval of the resident. After appointment the salaried mantrie administers his charge under the wedana's orders, and is specially entrusted with the police duties of his sub-district. Although the wedana can make any number of mantries he pleases, the selection for promotion and salary is made by the Native community from the mantries, not only of the district, but of the whole regency. Thus the mantrie's promotion depends, not so much on his gaining the good will of his own immediate wedana, as

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on his general reputation among his fellow-countrymen, and on the opinion of the European contrôleurs. This prospect, of course, tends to keep the mantrie from exercising oppression or extortion on those by whose fiat promotion will be granted or withheld, and urges him to gain the good will of all with whom he is brought into contact. Dependence on the public, more than on the individual, and the wandering, energetic lives they have to lead, prevent the mantries generally from sinking, towards their wedana, into the shameless vile race of parasites and flatterers that in India batten upon our rich and objectless Rajahs and Baboos.

Village Chief.—The salaried mantrie's sub-district is divided into village communities, each of which is governed by a village chief, appointed by the resident on the free election of the villagers.

The village chief must be a villager himself, cultivating his share of the village land by himself or his family. He is elected for only one year, during which he is a salaried Government official, receiving eight per cent. on the land tax paid by the village, and his percentage on the culture, in the manner before described. The villagers are under his orders, are employed by him in the cultures, and have to furnish their one-seventh of gratuitous labour, or their one day's gratuitous supply of provisions to the mantries, according to the roster kept by him. Thus the village chief's power over his

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villagers is great during his one year of office. This and his emoluments of course make him anxious to be re-elected, of which he has but little chance unless both just and considerate. To prevent that re-election being secured by power, the same individual can only be re-elected after the lapse of one year from his last term of office. In fact the election depends much on the opinion of the contrôleur, who consults with the village elders, and the villagers generally of course elect the person recommended.

The village chief is responsible for everything in his village, and is specially charged with the administration of the police. Every crime or offence in his village is at once reported by him to the mantrie and to the wedana, immediate search and pursuit being meanwhile made by him and his villagers. He has the management of the village watch-houses or gardos, which are posted at short distances from each other all over the country. The village watchmen are not paid, but every man in the village takes his turn, which counts for him in the one-seventh of gratuitous labour he has to furnish to Government. These watchmen keep their twelve hours' watch both day and night in the gardo, which is a kind of large open sentry box, placed along the roads and at the corners of villages, so as to form a line of communication from one village to the other all over the island. The gardo system

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will be further described in the chapter on Criminal Justice and Police.

In like manner the village chief is answerable for the land tax for the whole village lands. This is collected by him rateably from the casual occupant of each field, according to the estimate of the Taxation Committee, which, being made publicly, is equally well known to all the villagers.

Like every other official, the village chief has large powers of conciliation, and every quarrel among his villagers must first go to him and to the council of village elders, but he has no powers of punishment or of deciding any question but by consent. If he fails to settle any quarrel amicably, the complainant proceeds to institute his suit, at the trial of which the village chief has to bring up the witnesses, and to speak to the character of each of his villagers, so as to enable the court to estimate the credit due to each witness, as explained in the chapter on Justice. He has a Native clerk to help him in keeping the roster and the village accounts, and is entitled, during his term of office, to marks of respect from the villagers, and to be consulted in all matters relating to the village by the superior authorities.

These are the proper Native officials of the regency, all under the exclusive order of the regent, though all removable at will by the Dutch Government. A comfortable inn for European travellers

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and the post-office for letters in each station town, the care of the Government post horses, the superintendence of the roads, and similar duties, are all under charge of Europeans paid by Government, but who are not dignified with the name of officials. Old soldiers or European servants, and men of that class, generally fill these posts, and act under the orders of the resident. There are also the Native land rent collectors, and the Natives in charge of the local Government stores, who are directly under the orders of the resident, and not amenable to the Native officials. In the same position stand the petty Native mandors in charge of posting stations along the road, or in other subordinate collateral employments under Government. These, and private servants, are the only Natives who receive their orders direct from Europeans. When any of the European officials require public messages to be sent, or inquiries to be made, they have only to inform the regent or the nearest wedana, who immediately sends mantries to execute their orders.

Military Civilian.—This system of officials applies with modifications to the twenty-four residencies of Java and Madura, to the three dependent residencies of Benkoelen, Lampong, and Palembang, at the southern end of the island of Sumatra, as well as to the three island residencies of Banka and Riow off the east coast of Sumatra, and of Timor to the east of Java, which places the Dutch have really

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got peaceful possession of. There are also Dutch civil establishments at the three residencies of the Government of the west coast of Sumatra, at the three residencies of the Government of Borneo, at the residency of Makassar in the Government of Celebes, and at the four residencies in the Government of the Moluccas, one of which is the north-east corner of the island of Celebes. With the exception of the Moluccas, however, most of the stations of these dependent Governments are really only smaller or larger military posts, surrounded by enemies and held by the sword, where most even of the civil duties are conducted by military officers in command of troops.

In Java, and in those dependencies which have been brought under the same peaceful system, few military officers are ever appointed to civil duties. When one is so appointed from some special capacity, he leaves his regiment at the same time as he leaves his military duties, his place in the ranks being filled up. The expense no doubt is greater than our Indian plan of withdrawing officers from their regiments, and employing them in civil duties at but a slight increase of pay, sending them, in case of war, to command the regiments or companies that have forgotten them. I failed to convince the Dutch of the wisdom or economy of our system in this respect, which I regret to say they designated a make-shift equally injurious to the army and to the general

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administration of the country. I was obliged to confess that the mutiny was partly imputed to this removal of the best officers from their regiments, whereupon the Dutch asked me satirically what would be the economy to India, after the expenses of the mutiny had been set off against the saving of military pay obtained thereby.

I have hitherto in this chapter only described the composition of the government of the interior of Java, specially with reference to the culture system. It may not be amiss, before closing, to give a short account of the Supreme Government of Java in the capital.

The Legislature.—The constitutional principles on which Java and its dependencies are governed are laid down in "the Regulations for the Government of Netherlands India," passed by the King and States-General of Holland in 1854. The Governor-General has the power of passing local regulations on his own authority, after hearing the council on the matter. These remain in force until allowed or disallowed by the legislature in Holland. The residents and other provincial authorities have also entrusted to them certain local legislative authority on matters of police.

The Executive.—After the old Dutch East India Company had closed its two centuries of misrule in 1798, the colony passed over to the crown as the property of the sovereign, and was governed by the King of Holland through his colonial minister till 1848. By the new Dutch constitution of that year

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the Government of all the Dutch colonies was transferred from the sovereign, personally, to the sovereign as head of the state, to be carried on "as regulated by law." Since that time the supreme Government of Netherlands India, though nominally vested in the king, can only be exercised in his name by the Governor-General according to the laws.

Governor-General.—The Dutch Governor-General has at present the administration of Java itself, as well as that of the far more troublesome outlying provinces of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and various other islands and places in the Archipelago, where the Dutch either have or claim a right of possession. It is proposed, however, to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor-General for Java, as the Governor-General's time is fully occupied by the administration of the whole Dutch East Indies. The outlying dependencies particularly require his attention, as the Dutch are there constantly fighting with the Native chiefs in the interior, and reducing the people to subjection in a series of glorious campaigns, for which medals are duly given, but which the distant locality, and the European indifference to the extension of Dutch rule in the East, have unfortunately prevented obtaining, even in India, the notoriety and appreciation which they doubtless deserve.

The Governor-General chiefly lives at the Palace of Buitenzorg, about forty miles from Batavia. He spends about a week of every month in Batavia for

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public audiences, conferences with the heads of the departments, and other business requiring his personal presence. His powers and those of the Council, Supreme Court of Justice, and Heads of Departments, are generally defined in "the Regulations for the conduct of the Government of Netherlands India," which became law on the 1st of May, 1855.

The Council.—The Governor-General is assisted by the Council of Netherlands India. This is composed of a vice-president and four members.

The Council is simply a *Court of Advice* for the Governor-General, and has no share in the executive.

In Java, as in India, "the Council" is the highest post to which the civil servant can generally aspire. The appointment is there made by the King of Holland from a list of four sent by the Governor-General, which, in rare cases, the King orders to be renewed until it contains such names as he approves.

The present Governor-General, Mr. Pahud, is, however, an instance of a Dutch Java civil servant rising higher than the Council. He began his career as a clerk in the Custom-House under the old system, and rose through the collateral secretariat branches of the Civil Service till he became Director of Produce and Government Stores, when he went to Holland, and was made Colonial Minister in 1848. In 1856 he was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, much to the astonishment of the good people of Java, who con-

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sider a Governor-General from their own Civil Service as strange a phenomenon as it would be thought in India.

The Secretariat.—The Governor-General is further assisted by a Secretary-General, who has under him three secretaries of Government, and a large staff of clerks. The archives of the Government are kept in his office, and petitions or addresses to the Governor-General on all subjects must first enter this office. Every document is duly registered, classified by the secretaries, and circulated in the different departments whom it may regard. It is then submitted with recommendations to the Governor-General, who finally disposes of it by resolution.

The supreme courts of justice and the army and navy form separate departments, which will be further noticed in the chapters devoted to those subjects.

Directors of Departments.—Next in order come the Directors of Departments. These perform duties very similar to those of the Secretaries of State in England. These heads of departments unite in one court for consultation at the order of the Governor-General, whenever their advice is required, but otherwise their duties and functions are quite distinct. The directors are five in number, and preside over the following departments:—

1. *Finance*, under which comes the preparation and comparison of estimates, with a continuous

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audit and control over every part of the public receipts and expenditure, the general and provincial treasuries, the general books, &c., &c.

2. *Revenue and Domains,* under which are the Government farms and taxes, the custom-house departments, and the export and import duties. Trade, shipping, harbour and anchorage dues, the Government auction office, the sale and management of crown lands, of tin mines, and of birds' nest caves; the salt monopoly, the stamp duties, fines and confiscations, registers for ships, &c., are also in charge of this department.

3. *Direction of Produce and Government Stores,* to which belong principally the receipt of the produce of the Government cultures, and the management of the stores in which the Government produce is housed till shipped to Holland. This department also provides for goods required or supplied by the Government, superintends the purchase and sale of Government goods, produce, and teak timber, and sees to the chartering and loading of vessels for the transport of the Government produce. The administration and sale of salt in the interior, the post office, the post horse establishment, and the Government printing office, are likewise in charge of this department, by which also the trade with Japan was formerly managed.

4. *Direction of Cultures,* to which belongs the duty of caring for the proper cultivation of rice all

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over the island, for the cultivation of all the produce of Government suited for the European markets, for the preservation of the teak forests, and for the maintenance of the stock of cattle and horses. The agricultural and chemical laboratory at Buitenzorg is also under the superintendence of this department.

5. *Direction of Public Works,* the duties of which are to construct and keep in repair all the public buildings, roads, bridges, canals, &c., &c.

Chamber of Accounts.—Besides the departments presided over by directors, the public administration contains the head department of the *General Chamber of Accounts.* This chamber has the liquidation of all the public accounts, and all public servants are accountable to it for any public money in their charge. It also has the superintendence of the different public charitable institutions, such as the orphans' chambers, &c., &c.

Mining and Telegraph Departments.—Two new departments have also been introduced within the last few years; viz., the direction of mining, which has a large staff of engineers, and the direction of the telegraph service. Telegraph lines are now at full work all over the island of Java, and are being fast laid by the Java Government to connect the different parts of the Dutch East Indies, and to bring the whole into communication with Singapore on the north, and with Australia on the south-west,

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CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL SOURCES OF REVENUE.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—I. FARMS—HEAD MONEY—BAZAARS—OPIUM—GAMBLING LICENCES.—II. TAXES—CUSTOMS—TRANSFER AND SUCCESSION TAX—IMPOST ON SLAVES—TAXES ON HOUSES AND ESTATES.—III. LAND REVENUE.—IV. TRADE—SPICES—BIRDS' NESTS—SALT.—REVENUE IN HOLLAND—TIN.

Revenue and Expenditure.—The local revenue of Java is divided into seven heads, and the local expenditure into twelve. Each of these is again subdivided into fixed items, under one of which every charge on both sides of the account must be brought. In some respects the division is not very scientific, but the forced reduction of all charges to certain fixed items, under definite heads of account, much facilitates general reference and comparison with former years. The revenue and expenditure of the Dutch East Indies in Holland is not divided into fixed heads, but the revenue practically divides itself into "proceeds of produce" and "miscellaneous receipts," and the expenditure into "interest" and "home charges."

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Farms.—The first head of local revenue, "Farms," is the mode by which, from time immemorial, the indirect taxes in most Eastern countries have been levied. The Dutch have retained this mode for such indirect taxes as require the most varying and constant intercourse with the people. The farmers, who are mostly Chinese, no doubt often oppress those in their power, still, as their profits on most of the articles farmed depend on voluntary consumption, this can but seldom occur. Practically, this manner of collecting indirect taxes causes many of the people's ordinary small luxuries to be hawked at their own doors. This more than counterbalances, in that state of society, any disadvantages inherent in the system. The Dutch say that this is the most efficacious and least costly means of levying these duties, and, on the whole, supplies the wants of the public better, and is less oppressive to them than any other mode.

The only items farmed which call for remark are head money, bazaars, opium, and gambling licences.

Head Money.—Head money is a poll tax confined to the Chinese and other foreign Asiatics. Its imposition, formerly at a high rate, seems to have had the same motive as the imposition of the poll tax on the Chinese at the gold diggings in California and Australia, and to have equally failed to prevent their intrusion. The Dutch are now wiser than to attempt to exclude industry and energy from the country.

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This poll tax at present is so small as to be merely nominal, and is maintained, less for purposes of revenue, than as a means of registration, and for the due subordination of foreign Asiatics to their elected chiefs among their own countrymen.

Bazaars.—The bazaars, or markets, on crown lands, were formerly farmed at high rates, so as to yield a revenue of upwards of three millions of florins in 1843. Being found oppressive to the people, the amount was reduced in 1854 to the comparatively small sum of 207,998 florins. The effect of this, however, was only to increase the farmers' profits without relieving the people in a corresponding degree, and therefore, when the farms lately fell in, they were not renewed, and the bazaars are now free all over the island. This was a great boon to the people, whose necessary articles of consumption had been much raised in price by the existence of the market farms, and to whom the farmers and their subordinates were very vexatious. This small practical relief is also an instance of the indirect advantages which the Natives, as well as the Europeans, derive from the culture system, by its enabling Government to substitute for practically obnoxious sources of revenue the result of the increased and better applied industry of the country.

Opium.—Opium is a Government monopoly in Java as in India, but its supply to the people is

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differently managed. The cultivation of opium is absolutely forbidden in the island, and the Government keeps the monopoly of its import. The amount required for the annual consumption of the Dutch East Indies is bought by Government, two-thirds from India, and one-third from Turkey. Its retail is given to a farmer in each district, who has to buy from Government the amount of opium which the district is estimated to require, at the rate of 10,000 florins per picul, or 100 florins per catty of about 1⅓ lb. Should the farmer require more than the estimated amount, he gets it at the cost price of about twenty florins per catty. The farm for one year, on these terms, is put up to competition, and granted to the bidder of the largest bonus for the farm at those fixed rates; such bonus to be paid by monthly instalments through the year of the farm.

Though the Dutch Government thus makes the supply of opium a source of revenue, as far as the habits of the people absolutely require its consumption, the deleterious effects of the drug are officially recognised, and its use prevented as much as possible. The inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago are much more addicted to opium than the people of India, but in the instructions to officials, referred to in the preceding chapter, they are specially directed to discourage the use of opium among their subordinates.

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Gambling Licences.—Gambling is such an inveterate and universal vice among the people of the Eastern Archipelago as to have always been a great element of taxation even by Native powers. In the Philippine Islands, this tax yields a considerable income to the Spanish Government. As a voluntary tax on a vicious luxury, it would seem to be one of the most approved heads of indirect taxation according to modern lights. On the principle, however, I suppose, of not recognising vice in any manner, Sir Stamford Raffles blamed the old Dutch Government for their opium and gambling farms. The former we retained for the revenue, but the latter we abolished, and prohibited the practice. Raffles says that in consequence of the prohibition, gambling was afterwards but seldom resorted to. The Dutch, on the contrary, allege our conduct in that respect to be an instance of the hypocrisy which foreigners so unjustly impute to us. They say we shut our eyes to what we don't like, and choose to ignore the existence of what we disapprove. They assert that the prevalence of untaxed gambling was larger under our rule than either before or since, when the vice is restrained by the extra cost, while at the same time it is made useful to the state.

Taxes.—The next head of revenue is "Taxes," the most noticeable items of which are customs, transfer and succession tax, impost on slaves, and taxes on houses and estates.

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Customs.—The customs have high discriminating duties, as a protection to Dutch commerce; a policy only so lately rejected by ourselves as to preclude remarks on its retention in Java. The duties, both import and export, are too high on most articles, but prohibitory on none. The Dutch, however, have lately repealed the difference of duties on Dutch and foreign shipping, and promise the gradual repeal of the different duties on goods of Dutch and foreign origin, and the gradual reduction of all import dues to six per cent. ad valorem.

Other questions, relating to the customs, will be found more fully treated of in the subsequent chapter on Trade, but the present disarmament of India gives interest to the Dutch policy as to the import and sale of fire-arms and ammunition in Java. This is subject to certain restraints, not strict enough to prevent the possession of fire-arms by persons of even low condition, whose admixture of European blood and occupations are a security against misuse, but stringent enough to prevent any idle Native vagabond from converting such weapons to bad purposes. Stringent regulations also prevent the display of fire-arms by the Native population. The result is, that the rising generation is ignorant of the use of arms, which their ancestors prized, if possible, more highly than even our Native subjects do in India. The Java goluck, or short sword, is still used by all, both as a bill-hook and as a

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sword, and the kriss is worn only by such Natives as are of sufficient rank, but fire-arms are now confined to the highest Native nobles, and to such as they appoint to keep down the large and dangerous game. One result of this restriction of fire-arms is, however, very inconvenient to the sportsman. The European shops in Batavia are far more numerous, and in every respect equal if not superior to those in Calcutta, except in the one article of gunnery, which is utterly non-existent. A small Chinese shop is the only place in Batavia where one can get any repairs done, though the large English stores generally sell fire-arms and ammunition. I strongly advise future travellers to be prepared for the fine sport and large game in the interior of Java, and to make sure, before starting, that no repairs or alterations are required, and that every necessary is at hand. I was unable to get in Batavia so simple an article as an iron spoon wherein to melt lead for bullets, and should have been put to much trouble thereby but for the kindness of an English brother sportsman, who, hearing of my difficulty, lent me his own far-fetched and much-prized iron ladle.

Transfer and Succession Tax.—The transfer of property, both *inter vivos* and in succession, is admirably managed in Java. All rights, both of property and possession in land, are perfectly registered, with map-indexes and title guaranteed. No transfer of,

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or succession to, land can occur but by public announcement and open change at a sitting of the courts of justice, or in the interior in the presence of the resident and secretary. The transfer, or succession, is at once noted on the Dutch register by the European secretary, and the maps are altered in accordance with the change. Till altered, or impeached, by a direct suit for that purpose, the register is conclusive evidence of both property and possession in the land as shown on the maps, in the same manner as, in England, probate is conclusive evidence till revoked. By this means all transfers are necessarily notorious and easily taxed. The transfer tax in Java is very high, amounting with stamp duty altogether to about seven per cent. The advantages of this registry and guaranteed title are as universally admitted as the amount of the transfer tax is universally grumbled at.

The succession duty is also very heavy when collateral, but all property which descends in a direct line, and small successions of less than 300 florins or £25, are free of succession duty. Five per cent. is paid on all that husband or wife obtain from each other by death, when there are no children, and from 6 to 10 per cent. is the duty on collateral successions to the fourth degree. This succession duty, however, includes all transfer dues of the same property, though the process of transfer has to be gone through. By this, and other means, notoriety

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is secured in transfers by succession, as well as in grants *inter vivos*. The large amounts of the transfer and succession dues are at least compensated for by certainty of rights, and by secure possession without litigation.

Complaints are made as to the amount of the transfer and succession dues, because they often press hardly, without any appreciable benefit to the state, the whole amount in 1854 being less than half a million of florins. Those who complain loudest admit that the security and the incontestable rights given by the Dutch registry system are well worth the money, but they urge that the same benefits might easily be granted at less cost. All would, however, willingly pay a far heavier tax, rather than be remitted back to the abominable insecurity and constant litigation which our careless system imposes on all Indian holders of property.

Impost on Slaves.—The impost on slaves, like the poll tax on the Chinese, has been mainly kept up for other than revenue purposes. Slaves were all employed as domestic servants, but were few in number, and their treatment was undistinguishable from that of the other household servants. Most likely there may have been slaves in some of the many Dutch houses where we were kindly received, but I am not aware of having seen one. This item of revenue must now, however, be struck out, for on

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the 1st of January, 1860, the institution itself ceased to exist in the Dutch East Indies. Every slave on that day became *ipso facto* free, his owner being entitled to compensation from the state. The event, unlike Freedom-day in the West Indies, seems to have passed off without excitement, and almost without remark. This shows that the ordinary treatment of the slaves by their Dutch masters must have been kind, and that their transformation from household slaves to household servants was probably felt more as a change in name than as the source of any very appreciable benefit.

Taxes on Houses and Estates.—The tax on houses and estates is the equivalent of the Indian land tax on the landowner. It bears an absurd disproportion to that portentous branch of the Indian revenue. In 1854 the tax on all the private estates in Java only came to 517,014 florins, equal to 4 lacs and 30,000 rupees, or less than one-tenth of the £450,000, which the Rajah of Burdwan alone pays yearly to our Indian Government. It is true that the rajah pays, for land tax, about half the gross profits collected from the peasants on his gigantic and most fertile estates, as well by all his middlemen as by himself; while the Java landowners certainly never pay more than one-fifth of the net rent, and in most cases not more than one-tenth or one-twentieth. This head of revenue is what I have

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elsewhere called the land tax of three-fourths of one per cent. on the value of the estate estimated every three years. As it only amounts to about half a million of florins, the whole value of the private estates in Java, so estimated, would be under 100 millions of florins or 8½ millions sterling. But if my reader will please to remember that the island is as big as England without Wales, and that many of the private estates in Java give 20, 30, and even 40,000 pounds sterling per annum, he will be able to guess how far the Dutch Government in Java foregoes even this light claim for the benefit of the landed proprietors.

Some of my benignant Anglo-Indian friends will, probably, deprecate this mild treatment of the rich landowner. The Java Government, however, makes from its own crown lands, and from the voluntary consumption of luxuries by its subjects, about one-third more than its expenditure, and that, without taking from the crown cottier nearly the natural rent of his holding. Under these circumstances, there is surely wisdom in not pressing hard upon any class, and leaving even rich landowners to feel that the benefits they derive from the Government of the country far more than counterbalance their slight obligations to it.

Land Revenue.—The third head, "Land Revenues and Cultures," includes the cash profits of all kinds

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from the crown lands, and some small repayments in cash of culture advances. Under the item of "Cultivated and Uncultivated Lands and Gardens" is included the land tax on the crown cottier, or the land rent, as it is called in Java. The amount of this land rent in 1854 was 8,617,972 florins, and the remainder of the 9,200,802 florins opposite this item in the revenue table for that year, was the rent paid by independent planters for leases of crown land and similar receipts. This land tax has been previously described, and only requires the further remark, that this and the land tax on the landowner together now come to less than one-fourth of the local and one-tenth of the total revenue. But, while thus forming but a small portion of the income of the country, this item of taxation is of paramount importance to the happiness of the people. On its proportion to the produce of the country depends the prosperity or poverty of the cultivator. In India, where the land tax on the crown cottier and the private landlord's claim on the cottier tenants of his estate both average half the produce, at least the full natural rent of the country is taken. The remainder goes mostly to wages for the cottier's maintenance, leaving but little margin for profit, or for replacement of capital, and thus for the accumulation of wealth by the peasant. In Java, where the land tax on the crown cottier, and the private landlord's claim on the cottier tenants of his estate, are both limited to one-

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fifth of the produce, far less than the full natural rent of the country is taken. The remaining four-fifths not only pay ample wages for the maintenance of the cottier, but leave a margin of at least one-fifth yearly for profit, and for replacement of capital, and thus for the accumulation of wealth by the peasant.

Trade.—The fourth head of revenue, "Trade," formerly included the Government trade with Japan, of which an account will be found in the subsequent chapter on Trade. The other items consist of the proceeds, from sale in the island, of so much of the Government produce as is not exported to Holland. These sale proceeds in Java may fairly be called culture revenue, but have this distinguishing quality from the proceeds of produce sold in Holland; that the former are paid for by the consumers in the island, who are thereby so far indirectly taxed, and in the case of salt rather heavily, while the culture revenue from sale proceeds in Holland, is like the opium revenue of India, wholly paid by the foreign consumer without the slightest pressure upon the people. Of the produce sold in Java only spices, birds' nests, and salt require notice.

Spices.—Spices in Java technically mean nutmegs, mace, and cloves. Nutmegs and mace are both the produce of the nutmeg tree. The fruit is one of the most beautiful in the world, in shape, colour, and bloom like a large somewhat oblong peach.

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When ripe it splits down its furrow just like an overripe peach, and discloses the bright blood-red mace. The nutmeg is the brown kernel of the fruit, which is closely enveloped in thin interlaced leaves, like rose leaves, of a bright crimson colour. These leaves, after being detached from the nutmeg kernel and dried, form the spice which we call mace. The nutmeg tree grows in a full conical form, almost in the shape that one sees trees clipped to in old-fashioned English gardens, and bears fruit abundantly, chiefly at the end of the branches. A garden of such trees, arranged in rows and laden with large velvety cream-coloured peaches, from the split in whose sides the blood-red mace blazes out like a star, is one of the fairest sights of cultivated nature. Nutmeg and mace are largely grown in the English colonies of Singapore and Penang, and to some extent also in Java, but the chief seat of the nutmeg produce of Netherlands India is in the Molucca and other small islands belonging to the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago.

I have never seen cloves growing, and cannot therefore describe them. They are cultivated, for the Dutch Government, by the villagers on the crown lands in Amboyna, and the other Molucca islands, in the same manner as the coffee in Java. In 1824, the former prohibitory laws against the growth of cloves were abolished, and there does not now remain a vestige of the old system of destroying part of the

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clove crops to enhance the value of the remainder. Every one in Java, in the Moluccas, and in every other part of the Dutch East Indies, is at liberty to grow cloves, or any other spices he pleases, on his own property, or to buy and export spices grown by others. As before stated, the only reason why hardly any private spices are grown is that they are far worse paying crops than the sugar, coffee, and tobacco, to which most of the private estates are devoted.

Birds' Nests.—Birds' nests may seem a curious article to produce 60,000 florins, or £5000, but they are the edible birds' nest in such great demand among the Chinese. They are built by a species of swallow in caves along the seashore, and in the hollows of the mountains in the interior of Java, and other islands of the Archipelago. The nests vary in colour and in quality according to age, and are composed of a glutinous substance in long fibres like vermicelli. On several occasions in Java we were treated to birds' nest soup, but I had the misfortune not to be able to perceive its valuable qualities. In flavour as well as in appearance it resembled bad vermicelli soup, and I could not learn that the Dutch generally appreciated it more than myself, though its rarity and high money value make it a frequent dish when strangers are invited. The nests from the caves on the crown lands are sold by Government like their other produce, but

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many of the birds' nest caves are on private estates, in which case the disposal of the produce belongs to the proprietor, and is in some cases a source of considerable income.

Salt.—Salt is a Government monopoly in Java as in India, but its distribution is different.

The Java salt system is connected with the coffee system. Before 1832 monopoly salt was sold by Government only at the seashore salt stores at a fixed price of 8 florins per picul. The purchasers had it carried into the mountains, at a great expense and with much spillage and waste, for want of mountain roads, and from the absence of system or means of transport. In the hills the salt was sold at from 25 to 40 florins per picul, or exchanged for coffee or other produce at great loss to the producer, as has been before explained.

The present salt system in India is somewhat similar. Government sells it wholesale at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and at the salt stores on the seashore, and near the salt lakes and mines in the north-west, at fixed prices, averaging from one farthing per lb. in Madras to one penny per lb. in Bengal. The salt at these prices is sold to some among the numerous applicants by a kind of lottery, and the fortunate recipients, or their transferees, disperse it through the country for retail sale. In some of the districts along the sea coast the Indian Government also sells it retail at about the same rate. The retail price

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varies considerably according to the locality, but is nowhere very high, averaging roughly in the interior about 1½*d.* per lb. The yearly consumption per head, in Bengal, is calculated at about 5 days' ordinary wages of a labouring man; but as each Indian labourer has to support a family of from 3 to 5 souls, salt probably absorbs a far larger portion of the year's earnings.

In Java the present salt system was organized by General Van den Bosch at the same time as, and in connexion with, the new coffee system before described. The object sought was to put the hill-man on an equality with the seashore-man in salt as well as coffee. The Dutch Government admitted the policy and the justice of supplying the necessaries of life to all on the same terms, and as cheap as was consistent with the maintenance of the revenue.

For this purpose salt stores were built all over the interior of Java. Government took the cost of transport, spillage, and wasting on itself, and sold the salt, retail, at short distances both in the hills and in the plains, at the same rate as on the seashore. The contractor for coffee transport takes back the salt to the hill and other salt stores, in the carts that brought down the coffee; half load up being enough for the requirements of the country. He delivers it into the salt store to the petty Native official in charge, who at first sold it retail to all

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comers, in any quantity, however small, at the known fixed rate of 8 florins per picul, or about one penny and three-fourths of a farthing per lb. This price was afterwards lowered to 7 florins per picul, raised again to 8 florins in 1852, but the price has been again reduced since 1855 to 7 florins per picul, or barely over one penny per lb. Considering that the Bengal Government sells salt wholesale at one penny per lb., the consumer in the interior can probably but seldom buy it retail so low as it is thus sold retail over the whole island of Java by the Dutch Government. The consumption in Java and Madura in 1854 was 18,409 koyangs of 30 piculs each, or 552,270 piculs of 136 lbs. avoirdupois, which on the population of Java and Madura in 1854 gives 7 lbs. 1½ ounce per head.

Revenue in Holland.—The revenue of the Dutch East Indies in Holland is nearly all from sale of Java produce there. The general considerations affecting the revenue, both local and in Holland, as well as those relating to the expenditure, the items of which do not call for remark, will be considered in the following chapter on Finance. Tin is the only article in the Holland sales that calls for remark here.

Tin.—The tin produce of the Dutch East Indies mostly comes from the island of Banka on the east coast of Sumatra. It is mined by associations of Chinese under their own mining captains, with

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Government advances, and with the interests of the miners as carefully and as minutely looked after as in the case of the cultures. The Chinese are mostly brought over from China on speculation by the owners of junks, and, if accepted as workmen by the Chinese mine-shareholders, receive advances from Government for their passage and wants; rising after a few years to be shareholders themselves. The shareholders deliver the tin to Government at a fixed contract price, which leaves them a large profit when the mine is tolerably productive. The Chinese miners in Banka, though kindly treated, are strictly looked after by the Dutch officials. They are subject to control and punishment by their own elected Chinese captains, by the Dutch resident, and by the local court of Europeans and Chinese.

Fifty Chinamen from Singapore came, some years back, to join these associations. They had been so spoilt, however, by our precious equality system, and had acquired such ideas of their own importance and such insolence, as to be insufferable even to their own countrymen, at whose request the Dutch authorities gladly sent them away. The Dutch gentleman, in whose district they had been employed, told me that those 50 gave him more trouble than the whole of the other 3000 Chinese under his charge.

The Chinese at Singapore are energetic and

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industrious as elsewhere, but many of them are the lawless scum who have long united with the Malays in making piracy the stigma of the Eastern Archipelago. Cases not unfrequently occur, even in the harbour of Singapore, of boats being pillaged and their crews murdered. As we apply the same ideas to the most dissimilar nations, the mild control which has sufficed for the Hindoo is all we extend to the turbulent Chinaman. The Chinese of Singapore are governed by a few Anglo-Indian Officials, to whom our suspicious Indian Government will not entrust sufficient powers either to protect or to awe such violent races. The consequence is that their incomprehensible clubs and factions so tyrannize each other, that, shortly before my visit to Singapore, they had applied for the protection of being enrolled under Chinese captains, to whom they begged might be entrusted power to control and punish, and who were to be answerable for the conduct of all the Chinese under their charge. This would probably give them sufficient protection against each other, but the Chinese captains' responsibility should be made also applicable to the protection of the English. Our poor countrymen are there daily insulted with impunity by both Chinese and Malays. These ruffians abstain from a blow as involving a penalty, but freely indulge in abuse, and in every other outrage against the white skin. The European is constantly being jostled out of his

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path by half-naked Chinese coolies, and having cabs purposely driven across his toes by insolent Malay cabbies, with indefinite and loud abuse from the latter on all and every occasion. If the European lifts his hand against those who thus insult him, he is immediately summoned to the police court and fined accordingly. After a course of such treatment, Englishmen have been known so far to forget themselves as almost to wish that the Dutch might take temporary possession of Singapore, for at least sufficient time to appoint Native captains, and through their means to bring these ruffians to their bearings.

The contempt for their rulers engendered by such unpunished insolence has now become a source of serious danger. There are about 100,000 Chinese at Singapore and on the opposite coast of Johore; some 20,000 Malays live in the island; with only about 14,000 of all other nationalities, including English and Sepoy troops. The present bearing of the Chinese and Malays gives rise both to anxiety and expense. Government is building fortifications to command the town and harbour, much to the satisfaction of the English inhabitants. These however say that the danger would probably be averted, and the comfort of all would be certainly increased, if the insolence of Malays and Chinese, instead of being as free as the trade, was at least subject to the same restraints and punishments as the insolence

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of cabmen in England. A re-enactment for Singapore of the London cab acts would be a blessing to the community; and even the most ardent advocate of liberty to the Native could hardly complain of Chinamen and Malays being under the same restraint, and liable to the same penalties, as are borne by the London cabby, with great advantage to the community, and without injustice to himself.

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CHAPTER VII.

FINANCE.

GENERAL EFFECT OF THE DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT CULTURES —AREA AND POPULATION—REVENUE—FINANCIAL EFFECT OF THE CULTURE SYSTEM—DIMINUTION OF LOCAL TAXATION —INCREASE OF CULTURE REVENUE—PROPORTIONS OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXES—LAND REVENUE—COMPARATIVE PROPORTIONS OF THE LAND REVENUE IN JAVA AND IN INDIA—COMPARATIVE PROPORTIONS OF THE JAVA LAND TAX TO THE REVENUE AND TO THE POPULATION—INCREASED EXPENDITURE—PROPORTIONS OF REPRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE EXPENDITURE—CULTURE OUTLAY—PUBLIC WORKS—MODE OF ACCOUNTING WITH HOLLAND—YEARLY COLONIAL REPORTS—THE DUTCH EAST INDIAN DEBT—RESIDUE OF CULTURE DEBT—SURPLUS REVENUE—CULTURE REVENUE ALONE EQUAL TO TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

THE preceding chapters have explained the culture system, as either introduced or perfected by General Van den Bosch between 1830 and 1834, together with the official organization by which it has since been kept in active operation. The broad effect of the different crown cultures in Java is apparently as follows.

General Effect of the different Government Cultures.—Sugar being found profitable to Government, as

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well as much more so to the European contractor, and to the Native cultivator, is largely extended for the benefit of all.

Indigo culture, being found unprofitable to the Government, and not very remunerative to the European contractor, has changed its form, so as to maintain the profit derived therefrom by the Native cultivator without causing injury to the state.

Coffee, which is the most profitable of all the cultures to Government, and fairly remunerative to the Native cultivator, is maintained for the benefit of the revenue, and for the general relief of the people from taxation.

Cinnamon, pepper, and cochineal have never exceeded the dimensions of experimental cultures in Java, and are being gradually abandoned, as causing loss to Government without compensating advantages to the people.

Tobacco is a culture from which Government derives little benefit, but which is highly remunerative to the Native labourer, and to the European master of labour, for whose benefit it is being largely extended.

Tea has been a continuous heavy loss to Government, but such loss is ungrudgingly borne for the great advantages this culture has conferred on all the other parties to its production, and for the general benefit thereby bestowed upon the country.

A wise policy, thus dealing boldly with large

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consequences, has achieved results in the present financial, commercial, and social condition of Java, which I will now endeavour to portray.

Numerous as have been the advantages of the culture system, its effects have been nowhere more direct, or more marked, than in the finances of Netherlands India.

From the return of the Dutch till 1830, the books were both carelessly and inaccurately kept, and some of the old journals have been lost. The local and Holland accounts were also mixed up together, so that the perfect accuracy of the revenue and expenditure during that period cannot be so implicitly relied on as the accounts for subsequent years. Still it is certain that, from 1817 to 1830, the average revenue was under twenty-four millions of florins, or two millions sterling per annum. During the greater portion of that period, the Dutch Government in Java incurred great expenses from the war with the Sultans of Soerakarta and Djockjokarta, and was in the same normal state of yearly deficits and fast swelling debt as our Indian Government now is. The stationary condition of the Java revenue, though partly due to the Java war, is considered in the island to show that the natural limits of taxation, in an Oriental country with undeveloped resources, had in fact been reached. The operation of our land tax was to absorb so large a portion of the yearly produce of

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the island as to leave little more than enough for the subsistence of the people, with but small margin for any increased taxation to operate upon.

Area and Population.—The area of Java and Madura, given in the colonial report for 1849, is 2,444-6 square Dutch geographical miles, or 51,790 square English miles. Java, without Madura, is estimated by Raffles at about 50,000 square miles, and its area is given in the 8th edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" as 50,260 square miles. Java and Madura may therefore be safely taken as rather larger than England, whose area is given in the census of 1851 as 50,922 square miles.

The area of the remaining Dutch East Indian territories is very uncertain. Not only are the dependencies too unsettled to allow of their area being well ascertained, but there is also much difference between the large Dutch claims in the Archipelago and their much smaller actual possessions. The area of the Dutch dependencies of Java, as given in round numbers in the first colonial report, that for 1849, is about eleven times larger than Java and Madura. On this computation the area of Netherlands India would be not much smaller than British India without the Native States. This may agree with the Dutch claims, but certainly not with their possessions. In the same report the whole population of this enormous tract of country, exclusive of Java and Madura, is roughly taken at about ten

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Area of Netherlands India, according to the Dutch Colonial Report of 1849.

	Square Dutch Geographical Leagues.
Java without Soerakarta and Djokjokarta	2,176·7
Soerakarta and Djokjokarta	170·6
Madura	97·3
Java and Madura	2,444·6
Sumatra's West Coast	2,200·6
Benkoelen	455·6
Lampong Districts	475·0
Palembang	1,340·0
Djambi	1,218·4
Banka	356·0
Riouw	148·6
Borneo	9,373·7
Celebes with Soembawa and Bootan	2,149·9
Moluccas—Amboyna	478·9
Banda	411·3
Ternate	1,129·7
Menado	1,267·2
New Guinea	3,210·0
Timor	790·8
Soemba	251·8
Bali and Lombok	190·0
Total	27,892·1

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millions. The colonial reports since 1854, however, make the number of the dependencies much smaller, and, without giving their area, make their population about only half that amount.

The coloured maps of Netherlands India, published by Professor Pijnappel, of the Royal University at Delft, represent as Dutch much more than the population returns since 1854 make any pretence at claiming. The real possessions of the Dutch in the Eastern Archipelago are also shown by the "Almanac and Register of Names for Netherlands India in 1858." The register enumerates the different dependencies, with the names of the stations, and the names of the Dutch officials, whether European or Native, at each station. These agree tolerably with the particulars of the population in the dependencies, returned for 1857, where the proportion of the noted and registered population shows, approximately, the actual possessions of the Dutch, and the proportion of the population added by guess shows the neighbouring Native states over which the Dutch have more or less control. Even allowing these Native states to rank as Dutch possessions, the area depicted in Professor Pijnappel's maps as theirs, would still have to be curtailed by much, both of Borneo and of Celebes, by the whole of New Guinea, by some of the Molucca group, and by a part of the residency of Palembang, on the east coast of Sumatra. The actual Dutch posses-

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sions on the west coast of Sumatra, and in the Riow group, seem to be more fairly represented on the map.

This much reduces the area of the Dutch East Indian possessions, but still the large remaining extent of territory, exclusive of Java and Madura, makes such a small amount of population as only about five millions very curious in such fruitful countries. The people of the dependencies, however, I was told, are untractable and violent, much more lazy, independent, and difficult to manage than the people of Java, and without that comparative peace and material prosperity which have so much raised the Javanese. They represent, apparently, the worst types of the Malay character, which are anything but conducive either to the well-being or to the increase of the population.

In Java, on the contrary, the population is large and rapidly increasing, though, as in India, the great mass of the people is irregularly distributed in dense patches with intermediate wastes, over a wide extent of country, and more than half the cultivable surface is as yet uninhabited.

In 1826 the census gave a population for Java and Madura of about 5½ millions of souls (5,403,786). As far as can be judged from the estimates made at the end of the last and the beginning of this century, with the subsequent census taken at two periods before 1826, the population of Java and Madura

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Table showing the Population of JAVA *and* MADURA *from the end of last Century to* 1857.

Dates.	Europeans	Chinese.	Arabs and other foreign Orientals.	Natives. Free.	Natives. Slaves.	Total.	
1754 to 1795	...	...	...	...	...	3,559,611	Result of various estimates of different parts of Java and Madura, as given in "Le Moniteur des Indes," vol. ii. p. 27.
1808	...	...	...	...	...	3,730,000	Marshal Daendels' Estimate of Population, 1808.
1815	...	...	...	...	...	4,615,270	English Census.
1826	...	...	...	...	...	5,403,786	Dutch Census.
1836	...	...	...	...	...	7,861,551	" "
1845	...	...	...	...	...	9,530,781	" "
1849	16,409	119,481	27,687	9,420,553		9,584,130	Colonial Report.
1853	17,417	130,940	27,554	10,104,484	9650	10,290,045	" "
1854	18,471	129,262	29,209	10,395,510	9438	10,581,890	" "
1855	18,858	133,655	26,099	10,728,833	8713	10,916,158	" "
1856	19,431	135,649	24,903	11,105,279	5188	11,290,450	" "
1857	20,331	138,356	24,615	11,405,596	5260	11,594,158	" "

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was then doubling itself in about 60 years. The census of 1826 gives an increase of 51 per cent. in 31 years over the 3,559,611, which is the estimate made of the population between 1754 and 1795, from the data shown in the second volume of "Le Moniteur des Indes," p. 27. If no more than the same rate of increase had been maintained since 1826, the population would, by 1856, have grown to but little over 8 millions of souls.

The riches derived by the peasantry from the culture system, however, gave such an impetus to the general welfare, that from 1826 to 1855 the population increased cent. per cent. instead of only about 50 per cent., doubling itself in 29 years instead of 60. The Dutch colonial report for 1855 gives the population of Java and Madura for that year at 10,916,158, or double the census of 1826. By 1857 the population had risen to 11,594,158.

The proportion of the Java population to the area in 1826 was about 105 to the square mile. By 1856 this proportion had risen to 218, and by 1857 to 223 souls to the square mile. The assumed population of British India in 1856 gives to the area only 157 souls per square mile. The culture system, therefore, raised the Java population in 30 years from one-third below to one-fourth above our Indian standard.

Revenue.—From 1817 to 1833, the average rate of Java revenue per head was 7*s.* 1¾*d.* At the old

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rate of increase the population of 1856, giving revenue at 7*s.* 1¾*d.* per head, would have only produced about 34 millions of florins. Less than 3 millions sterling is thus calculated as the utmost average that could have been obtained in 1856 from the people of Java and Madura under the old system, with the resources of the country remaining undeveloped. Even with the far larger increase of population, however, if the revenue had remained at the same stationary rate of 7*s.* 1¾*d.* per head, the total income of Java and Madura would, in 1856, have been only about 48 millions of florins, or 4 millions sterling. In fact, however, the people of Java and Madura in 1856 were only taxed at the lower rate of 6*s.* 5½*d.* per head, giving thereby a local revenue, produced almost entirely by Java and Madura, of 43,741,404 florins, or £3,645,117. But besides increasing the population, the culture system had added to the local imposts further revenue without taxation to the amount of nearly 60 millions of florins, making the real income of 1856 come to 8½, instead of only 4 millions sterling.

Financial Effect of the Culture System.—Since the introduction of the culture system the revenue has more than quadrupled in amount, and more than doubled in the rate per head of the population. The expenditure has meanwhile been also more than doubled, notwithstanding which the revenue has in-

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creased so much faster as to leave a yearly surplus instead of a deficit.

The gross revenue has risen rapidly from an average of about 24 millions of florins to upwards of 102 millions of florins in 1856, and to 115 millions in 1857. The Dutch East Indian revenue was in 1857 over 9½ millions sterling, and since 1855 has been increasing at the rate of about one million sterling per annum.

The relative revenue has risen from an average rate of 7*s.* 1¾*d.* per head between 1817 and 1833, to 15*s.* 2¼*d.* per head in 1856, and to 16*s.* 6*d.* per head in 1857. The taxation revenue has, however, sunk from its former relative rate of 7*s.* 1¾*d.* per head, to only 6*s.* 5¼*d.* per head in 1856, and to 6*s.* 10¾*d.* per head in 1857. Since 1836 the gross revenue has ranged from 12*s.* to 18*s.* per head per annum, while the relative rate of the taxation revenue has remained under 7*s.* per head since 1848.

The expenditure has risen from its former large war average of about 26½ millions of florins per annum, between 1825 and 1833, to an ordinary peace expenditure, since 1839, of from 50 to 70 millions of florins per annum. This great increase is partly due to the enlarged reproductive expenditure in the culture outlay, and was partly incurred to secure the benefit of a more efficient administration.

The still greater increase in the revenue changed

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the serious deficit existing at the introduction of the culture system into a speedy surplus, constantly increasing through the 23 years from 1834 to 1857, till it attained close on 38 millions of florins in 1856, and 45 millions in 1857. The net surplus in 1857 was over 3½ millions sterling, or more than one-third of the gross revenue of 9½ millions sterling.

The existing revenue of Netherlands India may be divided into three and a half to four millions sterling, raised by the taxation of about eleven millions of people, at the rate of about 6*s.* 6*d.* per head; four and a half to five millions sterling, derived from the profitable cultivation of about 1-26th of the crown lands in Java and Madura; and about half a million sterling, from the tin mines of Banka, the coffee of Sumatra, and the spices of the Moluccas.

The local revenue, or the taxation of the country, only came to 6*s.* 5½*d.* per head in 1856, and to 6*s.* 10¾*d.* per head in 1857. On the other hand, the sale proceeds in Holland of the culture produce, or the revenue without taxation, derived from developing the resources of the crown lands, came to 8*s.* 8¾*d.* per head in 1856, and to 9*s.* 7¼*d.* per head in 1857, nearly one-third more than the taxation of the country.

In 1856 the total gross revenue of Netherlands India, at the rate of 15*s.* 2¼*d.* per head, was relatively more than treble our Indian revenue in

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1856, *at* 12 *florins to the Pound.*

	Square Miles.	Souls.
of Java and Madura ...	51,790	
of Java and Madura ...	.....	11,290,450
Or 218 souls per square mile.		

		Souls.	£	£	Per Head. s. d.	s. d.
Revenue.	Land tax	.....	887,787	.....	.....	1 6¼
	For necessaries, as salt	433,918	2,757,330	.....	0 9¼	4 10¼
	For luxuries, including all other sources of local income	2,323,412		.....	4 1½	
	Revenue by Taxation.....		3,645,117	.....	.....	6 5½
	Culture produce		4,932,345	.....	.....	8 8¾
	Total Revenue.....			8,577,462	.....	15 2¼
Expenditure.	For public works...	189,690	2,216,007	.....	0 4	3 11
	For cultures, &c....	2,026,317		.....	3 7	
	For civil and military administration in Netherlands India	2,777,666	4,016,206	.....	4 11	7 1¼
	For interest on debt	845,833		.....	1 6	
	For home charges,	392,707		.....	0 8¼	
	Total Expenditure			£6,232,213		11 0¼
Deficit..				£2,345,249		

t has done so by means more detrimental than
ue as to leave enormous deficits, to meet which

rns, ordered to be printed 29th July, 1858 ; in
ndix to Mr. Wilson's Financial Statement of
newspapers of 25th June, 1860. The two
ade out at 2*s.* to the Rupee. The above Table

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1856 of 5*s.* 0½*d.* per head. The Java taxation revenue of that year was at the rate of 6*s.* 5½*d.* per head, while the concurrent Indian taxation revenue only came to 4*s.* 3½*d.* per head. The culture system not only enables the people of Java to bear with great ease this local taxation at a rate one-fourth heavier per head than ours in India, but gave the Dutch Government, in 1856, further revenue without taxation at the still higher rate of 8*s.* 8¾*d.* per head, against only 9*d.* per head of similar revenue in India.

Diminution of Local Taxation.—The local revenue attained its greatest height in 1842, when it reached to above fifty-two millions of florins. It was then gradually reduced to about thirty-seven millions of florins in 1849 and 1850, since which the increased prosperity of the country has again forced it up to forty-three millions in 1856, and in 1857 the larger sales of crown produce in the island raised it to forty-eight millions. The reason was that, in the seven years from 1833 to 1840 and 1841, the culture system had already raised the gross revenue from thirty to over ninety-three millions of florins, and the net surplus revenue from nothing to over forty millions of florins, showing the real mine of wealth which had been thereby opened; and the Java Government was consequently enabled to make numerous reductions in the more oppressive local taxes. This was done in 1843, and to a still larger

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extent in 1846, and constant small reductions have been made from time to time ever since, thus keeping down the local revenue, notwithstanding the great increase both of population and general prosperity. This reduction of local taxation would have been carried much further, but that the necessities of Holland required the help of a large yearly tribute from Java, so as only to allow of the more oppressive local taxes being gradually reduced in amount and in weight of incidence.

Increase of Culture Revenue.—While the local revenue of Netherlands India has thus been kept nearly stationary by constant reductions in local taxation, the revenue derived from the culture system, by sale of the Government produce in Holland, has gradually increased from 34,504 florins in 1829, to about 66 millions of florins, or five and a half millions sterling, in 1857. The whole of this large culture revenue, like the opium revenue of India, is of course paid by the foreign consumer. At the same time the Government outlay of about two millions sterling per annum, for the purchase of that produce, under the system before described, has greatly added to the welfare both of the Native grower and the European manufacturer.

The rise in the direct culture revenue was very rapid, and the indirect benefit to the taxation revenue, caused by the large culture outlay, was equally remarkable. The combined local and Hol-

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land revenue, on account of Netherlands India, first reached thirty millions of florins in 1833, but, in the seven years from 1833 to 1840, that revenue was trebled by the culture system. In 1840 and 1841 the gross revenue each year exceeded ninety-three millions of florins, of which about half was direct culture revenue, and half local taxation. There was naturally a reaction after this great and speedy rise, but, from 1842 to 1857, the culture revenue increased by a slower and more healthy action till it reached, in 1856 and 1857, a steady rate of upwards of sixty millions of florins.

Proportions of Direct and Indirect Taxes.—The above division of the revenue into that derived from taxes, and that produced by the culture system, shows that more than one-half of the revenue of Netherlands India is not paid by the people of the Eastern Archipelago at all. But of the local revenue raised from taxes paid by them, three-fourths are voluntary or indirect taxes, and only one-fourth is a compulsory contribution.

The Dutch admit that, according to the latest authorities on financial science, direct taxes are thought preferable to indirect, as less costly to the community in proportion to the amount received by the state. So far, however, as the feelings of the people of Java are concerned, the Dutch maintain the old-fashioned prejudice in favour of indirect contributions. Taxes on voluntary consumption, they

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say, are less offensive, and therefore better in Eastern countries, than the collection of revenue by periodical summary demands from the tax gatherer. Though they admit the scientific reasons in favour of direct over indirect taxes, they say the greatest science in finance is to make taxes pleasant. In this process they attend to the ideas of the ignorant Native, as well as to those of the educated European, preferring even cumbrous expensive indirect taxes, which the Native either does not feel, or fancies that he pays voluntarily, to simple and cheap direct demands for money, which the ignorance of the Native considers mere stronghanded extortion.

Land Revenue.—The only direct contributions in Java are the land rent paid by the crown peasant, and the land tax paid by the landowner. Till Mr. Wilson's late introduction of the income tax, such were also the only direct taxes in India. Both these are no doubt more properly rent than tax. They are both the surplus produce of the soil paid to the crown either as direct proprietor, or as lord paramount. It makes an important distinction, however, whether such payments be looked upon by the people as rent or as tax. This seems to depend on the amount of property held in the soil by those who pay. In England, as well as in the East, the crown is the lord paramount, with the ultimate right of reversion in the soil, but the rent

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paid by the crown farmers, yeomen, and cottiers, in the New Forest and other crown lands, is clearly distinguishable from the land tax paid by the freeholders over the rest of England.

In Java the relation of landlord and tenant is carefully preserved on the crown lands. The peasant has no proprietary rights, except that of occupancy at a fixed proportionate rent. The very payment is called rent, and not as in India tax. In Java, therefore, the contributions of the crown cottier to the state are considered by himself as the rent payable by him for the occupation and use of his landlord's property. This payment, small in amount, and far below the natural rent of the land, is no more felt as a burden than the cottier's rent to the crown for the use of a certain portion of the New Forest. The payment to the crown by the Java landowner, on the contrary, is called tax, and not rent. His property in the soil is recognised. He stands in the same relation to, and has the same power over, the cottiers on his estate, as the Government has over the cottiers on the crown lands. His cottiers pay rent to him, and he pays tax to Government. The proportionate amount of this land tax is, however, so small, that its payment excites no more dissatisfaction among the civilized and comparatively enlightened landowners of Java than the English land tax does among the freeholders of England.

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In India, the Government continues to treat the land revenue as rent, but has neglected the measures necessary to maintain that idea among the people, who on the contrary daily more and more regard it as tax. This distinction will be further considered in the last chapter of this book.

Whether considered as rent or as tax, the land revenue is in both countries a direct compulsory contribution, and, as such, is more or less hateful to a people in a low state of civilization. Indirect taxes, on the contrary, however theoretically objectionable, seldom give rise to such feelings among Natives, and least of all when levied in their most objectionable form, by monopolies. The peasant who pays an extra halfpenny per lb. for salt from the retail dealer, in the interior of India, neither knows nor cares whether such rise in price is due to extra duty imposed by Government, or merely to the stock of salt in the neighbourhood having fallen so far below the demand as to make the retail dealers think they can levy this extra price on the people. This latter occurs so often in the interior of India, and the absence of roads makes the prices of all articles, whether taxed by Government or not, there fluctuate so much, according to whether the local supply or the local demand is in excess, that the effect of a slight difference in duty is seldom practically perceptible to the consumer.

In considering the application of taxation to

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Natives, therefore, the relative proportions of direct compulsory and of indirect voluntary contributions are of great importance in their effect on the contentment of the people.

The relative proportions of these two branches of revenue are also, in the East, a fair gauge of the prosperity or poverty of the people.

The wealth-creating manufactures, among Natives, bear a very slight ratio to the yearly increase from the produce of the soil. The direct land revenue is the share of the yearly produce of the soil taken by the state. And the amount of the indirect taxes approximately shows what remains to the people out of the residue after providing for their subsistence.

Comparative Proportions of the Land Revenue in Java and in India.—In 1856 the Java direct compulsory contribution was 1*s.* 6¾*d.* per head, out of a taxation revenue of 6*s.* 5½*d.* and out of a gross revenue of 15*s.* 2¼*d.* per head. The Indian direct compulsory taxation in 1856-57 was 2*s.* 8¼*d.* per head, out of a taxation revenue of 4*s.* 3½*d.* and out of a gross revenue of 5*s.* 0½*d.* per head. This shows that, to raise a revenue relatively less than one-third that of Java, we subject the people of India to not far from double the amount of compulsory payment per head.

In British India the land revenue absorbs from one-half to three-fourths of the landowner's net profits, and from one-third to one-half of the produce

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of crown lands in peasant occupation. This large proportion of the produce of the country taken as land tax keeps the people poor, and leaves but little margin, over the necessary consumption, for the payment of indirect taxes by the voluntary purchase of other articles. In India consequently the relative proportion of the direct taxes to the population is heavy for such a poor country, and for such a backward state of society. The comparative proportion of the direct to the indirect taxes is also large. Rather more than one-half, or, if we exclude the opium revenue paid by the Chinese consumer, near three-fifths, of the Indian receipts are direct land tax. This high proportion of the land revenue, both to the income and to the population, accounts for the inelastic character of the Indian finances.

In Java, on the contrary, the direct land rent payable by the peasant, whether to Government or to a private landlord, is only one-fifth of the produce, and the land tax is, at most, one-fifth of the landowner's net profits. This leaves, to both the landowner and the cultivator, four-fifths of their respective incomes for subsistence, and as a margin for the payment of indirect taxes, by the purchase of excisable and customs-paying articles, or by voluntary resort to pleasures taxed by the state. The comparative and relative proportions of the direct taxes, both to the population and to the income of Java, are consequently small, and gradually decreasing with the

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extension of the culture system. This accounts for the elastic character of the Java revenue. The difference of the largest proportion of the taxes being thus taken at the source of supply, as in India, or after it has had time to fructify in the hands of the producer, as in Java or England, seems to be like the different effects lately attained in France by damming rivers near the spring, or in full course.

Comparative Proportions of the Java Land Tax to the Revenue and to the Population.—The amount of the landowner's land tax in Java, it will be remembered, is one of the items of the second head of revenue, "Taxes," to which reference was made in the last chapter. The amount of the Dutch crown cottier's land rent is nearly the whole of the third head of receipts, "Land Revenue and Cultures." The actual amount of the compulsory payments to Government can be only seen in the detailed revenue tables. Approximately, however, the direct contributions may be taken at the amount of the third head, "Land Revenues, &c." This includes all the crown peasant's land rent, besides other small receipts from the crown lands to a somewhat larger amount than the landowner's land tax. In comparing the direct and indirect taxation, therefore, I treat this head of revenue as direct, and all other local receipts as indirect taxes.

From the return of the Dutch to the introduction of the culture system, the land revenues had risen

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from about four to about eight millions of florins. This varied between one-third and one-fourth of the whole revenue. On the population of 1831, the land revenue of that year was 1*s.* 11*d.* per head. From the introduction of the culture system till 1845, the land revenues had risen to about twelve millions of florins. Owing, however, to the still greater rise in the culture revenue and in the indirect taxes, the land revenue had comparatively sunk to below one-fourth of the local, and one-seventh of the whole revenue of 1845. On the population of 1845, the land revenue of that year was 2*s.* 2¼*d.* per head. In 1846 the land revenue was assessed more lightly, and from that to the present day it has been allowed to remain about stationary, notwithstanding a great increase in the cultivated area, and in the value of produce.

The form of yearly estimating and assessing the land rent on the Dutch crown villages is maintained, so as yearly to assert the Government's right as landlord of the crown lands. But the amount thus fixed as land rent on each village is generally only the same as for previous years. As this land rent is collected rateably from the villagers by their elected village chief, each man derives some benefit from improvements and further cultivation, for which thus practically no further rent is paid. The Government land rent levied, though nominally one-fifth of the produce, is now unquestionably far less

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than that proportion of the yearly increase from the crown lands. The culture revenue has meanwhile increased enormously. The indirect taxes, notwithstanding numerous reductions, have, as in England, more than supplied the income thus surrendered. The population has progressed rapidly. The direct compulsory land revenues have therefore yearly sunk to a lower proportion of the Government receipts, and to a lower ratio per head of the population. In 1857 the land revenues were less than one-fourth of the local, and than one-tenth of the whole receipts. On the population of 1857, the land revenue for that year was 1*s.* 6½*d.* per head.

Increased Expenditure.—The local expenditure of Netherlands India was raised, between the introduction of the culture system and 1843, from about thirty to over fifty-nine millions of florins. From 1843 to date it has remained at between fifty and sixty millions of florins. This expenditure may be divided into the unproductive, as for administration, army, justice, and police; and the reproductive, as for public works, cultures, &c. The military outlay is more for the dependencies than for Java, but the expenditure for administration, justice, and police is in proportion to the population, or about twice as much for Java as for the dependencies. The amount per head of the unproductive expenditure consequently is very uncertain, and of no material value for argument. The reproductive expenditure, how-

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ever, is almost all confined to Java and Madura, and the amount of this per head is important.

Proportions of Reproductive and Unproductive Expenditure.—Not more than about three-fifths of the whole expenditure of Netherlands India is unproductive, and the remaining two-fifths are directly reproductive. This probably exceeds the proportion of the reproductive expenditure of any other country in the world, but opinions will differ, as to whether this be desirable or not, according to the views taken of the duties and ends of Government. In British India about nine-tenths of the whole expenditure are unproductive, and only one-tenth is reproductive. The proportion of the revenue laid out in direct reproductive outlay and in public works is about one-fourth in Java, while but little more than one-tenth of our Indian revenue is applied to similar purposes.

The unproductive expenditure of the Dutch Colonial Government, for the civil and military administration, rose with the great increase in the official staff. The tables furnished to me by the Java Government only distinguish the reproductive and the unproductive expenditure since 1848. The local unproductive expenditure averaged about twenty-eight millions of florins till 1853, though by 1857 it had risen to near thirty-four millions of florins, or under three millions sterling. This, though less than one-third of the gross revenue of

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1857, is at the rate of 4*s.* 10¼*d.* per head of the population of Java and Madura, or, if we add five and a half millions for the population of the dependencies, is equal to 3*s.* 3½*d.* per head.

The rate of unproductive expenditure per head in India, before the great increase caused by the mutiny, was 3*s.* 9*d.*, but the results to the two countries are very different. The salaries and pay of all branches, both in civil and military life, are far smaller in Java than in India, in spite of which the local administration expenditure is only about one-ninth less per head. The military establishments in the two countries bear about the same proportion to the population, but the Java military expenditure is relatively far less than the Indian. The chief difference is, therefore, in the civil officials, and other expensive instruments of a more efficient administration, whose numbers, though individually paid less, collectively make this branch of expense almost counterbalance the comparative cheapness of the army, and raise the whole unproductive expenditure of Netherlands India nearly as high, relatively, as in British India.

But besides the unproductive expenditure common to all Governments, there is in Java the not far smaller reproductive expenditure. This consists of culture outlay, and of the cost of public works in the civil departments.

Culture Outlay.—The culture outlay was of course

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largest at first, when not only the yearly but also the building advances had to be made. Till 1844, however, this expenditure was kept in a separate account with the Netherlands Trading Company, from whom the advances were borrowed, and is not distinguished in the colonial accounts. Since 1844 the culture outlay has been made directly by the Government. Since 1848 it is distinguished in the expenditure tables supplied to me, and averages yearly about two millions sterling, out of a total expenditure of from 4½ to 5½ millions sterling per annum. This culture expenditure is not only directly reproductive, but adds directly to the wealth of the country. It is exactly analogous to an improving landlord's judicious outlay upon his property, which, though made for his own benefit, is also advantageous to his farmers, and to the labourers on his estate.

According to the official Anglo-Indian view of the ends of Government, the large Java culture outlay is of course to be reprobated. Applying to India the English ideas of a totally different state of society, they expect Government to confine itself to the higher spheres of thought and action, and to leave the dealings of men, the production of wealth, and the management of the state property to the unaided and unguided development of natural causes. The large reproductive expenditure of the Indian Government for opium and salt, though undistinguishable

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in principle, seems to be considered an exception to this rule, from some hazy idea that Government advances to Native peasants for state monopolies are not open to the objections justly to be urged against Government advances to intelligent European farmers for the purpose of freely developing the hidden resources of the Indian crown lands. The Dutch used to meet my recapitulation of the Anglo-Indian arguments on this subject by an answer which may have been wrong, but which to me at least was convincing. They could easily, they said, give up the two millions sterling of culture expenditure, which was in fact no longer absolutely required for the cultures carried on by European contractors, but the result would be that the income derived from the crown lands would be thereby reduced by a much larger amount than two millions sterling, and that the farmers and cottiers of the crown lands would be deprived of the additional help of two millions sterling yearly paid them in hard cash. They asked me whether it was worth doing this, to avoid the charge of Government derogating from its proper functions by condescending to manage the crown lands on the best and most liberal principles of improving private landlords. They asked me whether practically such a large reproductive state expenditure could be otherwise than beneficial to the people; whether the Indian Government outlay, for opium and salt, did not add to the well-being of the

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districts where it was disbursed; and whether, notwithstanding the English view of the ends of Government, England herself would not willingly incur a large outlay on the New Forest, and other English crown lands, if the revenue of Great Britain could be doubled thereby, while the people were also meanwhile relieved from taxation. They persisted, therefore, in maintaining that the large culture expenditure on the crown lands in Java was neither retrograde nor reprehensible, but was both politic and praiseworthy.

As might naturally be expected from these different opinions on the proper ends of Government, this branch of the reproductive expenditure bears very different proportions to the population in the two countries. In India, it only amounts to 3*d.* per head, because, in fact, the Indian reproductive outlay of this kind is confined to certain salt districts, and to the tract of country where the Government opium cultivation is carried on. The rest of India, with the exception of the comparatively small indigo districts, and the few spots where tea and coffee are beginning to be cultivated by Europeans, is alike unfertilized by either Government or private outlay of this character. In Java, on the contrary, the Government culture expenditure comes to 3*s.* 7*d.* per head, or more than double the rate per head of the whole land revenues. There the culture expenditure is fairly spread over the whole

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of the inhabited area of the crown lands, and the welfare of the rest of the island is equally promoted by a similar large culture outlay on the part of the intelligent owners of private estates.

Public Works.—The other branch of the reproductive expenditure, public works, was in 1856, strange to say, at exactly the same rate of 4*d.* per head in India and in Java. In Java, however, where the communications are excellent, and extend over nearly all the inhabited parts of the country, this expenditure was mostly employed in the maintenance of the public works, and was in addition to the labour; for this, being the one-seventh of labour rent paid for his holding by the crown peasant, caused no outlay to the Dutch Government. In India, on the contrary, where the whole country suffers from want of communication, no more per head was employed in public works, though they have to be mostly made instead of merely maintained, and though the labour has to be paid for as well as the materials.

Mode of accounting with Holland.—Among other improvements, General Van den Bosch introduced the present simple and convenient method of accounting with Holland. The Java Government reserves in the island the whole local revenue, and receives yearly from Holland the necessary funds for the anticipated excess of local expenditure over local income. An administrative capital, as the Dutch call it, of 12,500,000 florins, or rather more

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than one million sterling, is yearly allowed by Holland to Java to work with. When the local expenditure exceeds the local receipts by more than that sum, the difference is drawn for by Java on Holland, or remitted by Holland to Java in specie. If the excess of local expenditure is less than the amount of the yearly credit, the difference must in like manner be remitted to Holland, or be taken as part of the next year's administrative capital.

Yearly Colonial Reports.—The financial account of the revenue and expenditure in Java is kept in the island, after a fixed compulsory form, as shown in the preceding chapter, and is yearly sent to the Dutch Government in Holland. Detailed accounts of the material, social, religious, and educational condition of every part of the Dutch East Indies, with statistical tables of the population, trade, cultures, cattle, produce, prices, and every other ascertainable detail, even down to the number of cocoa-nut trees in Java and Madura, are also yearly forwarded therewith. The balance sheet of receipts and disbursements in Holland, on account of Netherlands India, is made up by the Dutch Colonial Minister, and sent out to Java. Both the local and home revenue and expenditure of the colony, together with the detailed reports as to its condition, and the statistical tables sent from Java, are then published by the Home Government in the colonial report for each year, which the Dutch con-

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stitution of 1848 requires the ministry to present periodically to the States-General. The Dutch, both at home and abroad, are thus yearly furnished with an accurate and exhaustive account of their Eastern dominions and administration, to which our Indian Government can show no parallel, and the want of which tends to uphold in England a general ignorance of India, and a comparative indifference to Indian affairs.

The Dutch East Indian Debt.—Altogether, from the return of the Dutch till 1833 inclusive, the aggregate excess of expenditure over receipts, exclusive of the sums advanced by the Netherlands Trading Society for the establishment of the culture system, came to 37,700,000 florins. This difference, being supplied from Holland, then formed the real debt of Java. By 1838 this debt of 37,700,000 florins had been reduced to 36 millions of florins. Java was then suddenly saddled with an entirely new debt of 200 millions of florins, with which she had little more concern than British India has. By the laws of 24th April, 1836, 11th March, 1837, 27th March, 1838, and 22nd December, 1838, a new East Indian debt was created of 236 millions of florins, or £19,800,000. Of this sum 200 millions of florins were to bear interest at 4 per cent., which would require 8 millions of florins yearly payment. The other 36 millions bore 5 per cent. interest, which would require 1,800,000 florins. A total

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yearly interest of 9,800,000 florins was thus charged upon the revenues of Java. Of this sum the 36 millions were the real debt of Java to Holland above mentioned. The 200 millions of florins added thereto were simply the part of the Dutch national debt formerly born by Belgium when united with Holland, and repudiated by *les braves Belges* on the separation of the two countries. Holland, with a reduced territory and revenue, was then forced to provide for the payment of interest on the Belgian as well as on its own share of the large national debt. Fortunately the culture system in Java already began to show signs of its subsequent marvellous increase of the finances. The mother country, while yet retaining its liability, practically relieved itself of this extra burden, by charging the payment of the Belgian interest on the surplus Java revenue.

The imposition of this debt was opposed at the time, particularly by M. Kruseman, then Director-General of Finance, as an unjust charge on the colony. General Van den Bosch had by that time returned to Holland, and directed his energies to relieve the mother country of this extra burden. He carried his point in this, as in other matters, against all opposition. He saw the feasibility of providing for the Belgian interest from the proceeds of his own culture system in Java. He anticipated that sufficient net surplus revenue would arise from

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Table showing the Amount overpaid by Java to Holland from 1838 *to* 1857 *inclusive, after deducting the Yearly Interest on the Dutch East Indian Debt.*

Date.	Net Surplus.	Interest on Debt.	Java Overpaid to Holland.	Java Underpaid to Holland.
	Florins.	*Florins.*	*Florins.*	*Florins.*
1838	25,441,669	9,800,000	15,641,669	
1839	27,057,494	9,800,000	17,257,494	
1840	42,282,346	9,800,000	32,482,346	
1841	41,985,584	9,800,000	32,185,584	
1842	15,250,400	9,800,000	5,450,400	
1843	13,646,833	9,800,000	3,846,833	
1844	18,091,205	9,800,000	8,291,205	
1845	23,159,189	9,800,000	13,359,189	
1846	19,154,071	9,800,000	9,354,071	
1847	13,290,118	9,800,000	3,490,118	
1848	6,630,285	9,800,000		3,169,715
1849	22,924,054	9,800,000	13,124,054	
1850	15,790,617	9,800,000	5,990,617	
1851	15,532,455	9,800,000	5,732,455	
1852	24,222,485	9,800,000	14,422,485	
1853	29,763,980	9,800,000	19,963,980	
1854	23,113,472	9,800,000	13,313,472	
1855	26,836,964	9,800,000	17,036,964	
1856	37,942,974	9,800,000	28,142,974	
1857	45,387,928	9,800,000	35,587,928	
		Fl.	294,673,838	
		Fl.	3,169,715	
	Total overpaid.....Fl.		291,504,123	

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the culture system, not only to provide for this interest, but also gradually to pay off the principal of this comparatively large debt. The accuracy of General Van den Bosch's foresight in this, as in other matters, was justified by the result. Between 1838 and 1856, the overplus Java revenue, after paying the interest on this debt, has amounted to more than the whole of the principal. This overplus, however, instead of being applied to pay off this debt, has in fact been taken by the Dutch Government as tribute from the colony. It has been more profitably employed in making railways in Holland and for other European purposes, from which however Java derives no benefit. This large debt and heavy interest is thus still left as a charge on the revenues of Netherlands India. As the payment of the interest in Holland now merely reduces the revenue tribute of the colony from somewhat above 3 millions sterling to about 2¼ millions sterling, the whole of what is not taken as interest being taken as tribute, its existence is immaterial to Java so long as such surplus exists. If there ceased to be a surplus, a question would naturally arise whether the debt should not in equity be held to have been liquidated by the colony, or whether the colonists were still liable to extra taxation for the purpose of raising the interest. But the surplus is now so large and well assured, that the appropriate denomination of the payment is never likely

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to be more than a matter of theoretical disquisition.

Revenue tables were supplied me by the Java Government for the purpose of showing the action of the culture system, and the results would have been palpably erroneous, if the interest on such a large debt, never incurred by Java, had been charged against the revenue. To give a fair description of the financial results of the culture system, only the interest on the 37¾ millions of old debt and on the advances for the culture system should be charged, and the surplus revenue should be carried to the credit of Java year by year. But, in fact, no such surplus is carried over to the credit of the colony, the whole surplus, above the expenses in Java, being taken by Holland, as above described. The only approximate mode therefore of showing the real results, is to omit this item from the expenses in Holland on account of Netherlands India, and to treat the interest on the consolidated East Indian debt, like the overplus, as all net surplus profit from the culture system.

Residue of Culture Debt.—Besides the interest on the Dutch East Indian debt, there is also the interest on a small residue of culture debt. It seems very doubtful, however, whether this ought not to be omitted likewise. The advances made by the Netherlands Trading Company for the introduction of the culture system, their yearly supply of

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funds to carry it on, and their charges for selling the culture produce in Holland, were regulated by a so-called consignment contract. The account of these advances, and of the company's commission and charges on sales, was kept in Holland, and only the balances, either of advances or repayments, were entered in the Java revenue tables. The amount of the advances averaged about 13 millions of florins, or rather more than a million sterling per annum from 1832 to 1844. Of this the larger portion was borrowed during the first few years, for the introduction of the culture system, and less for the later years of that period. The company repaid to themselves their advances in certain proportions, agreed on in the consignment contract, by retaining so much of the sale of proceeds received by them on account of Government. Owing, however, to the large pecuniary transactions thus passing between the Government in Holland and the society, it is said not to have been unusual for the former occasionally to borrow sums of money from the latter to supply the immediate necessities of the state. In 1844 accounts were adjusted, when a balance of about 10 millions of florins was found to be owing by the Government in Holland to the society. This balance was, by the laws of 6th March and 23rd November of that year, converted into a permanent loan of that amount charged against the colony, the interest at 4½ per cent. to be paid out

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of the colonial revenues. In 1849 the charter of the society was renewed for a further period of 25 years, and at the same time the interest of the above loan was reduced to 4 per cent. By a subsequent arrangement in 1853 the interest was further reduced to 3½ per cent. The interest at these rates, for the years subsequent to 1844, is included in the table (at the end of the volume) of the Revenue and Expenditure of Netherlands India from 1817 to 1857, under the column for the East Indian Expenditure in Holland.

It is said in Java that this balance did not arise from payments on account of the colonial but of the home administration. Though conveniently got rid of by the Home Government in this way, this charge is alleged to be as unfair a burden on the colonial revenues, as the charge for the old Belgian debt. For these reasons it is urged that, by including it in the accounts, the surplus net revenue, really due to the culture system, is unfairly reduced by that amount yearly.

Surplus Revenue.—The effect of the culture system was to change deficit into surplus revenue, immediately after its introduction. This surplus has gone on increasing progressively, notwithstanding the expenditure has been more than doubled.

In the comparative table of the revenue and expenditure since 1817, the large and speedy increase in the surplus revenue columns since 1834

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shows remarkable results, well worthy the attention of any Indian financier. In 1834 the first sales of the culture produce in Holland made the East Indian revenue there nearly 13 millions of florins, leaving a Holland surplus of upwards of 9 millions of florins. As there happened in that year to be a slight local surplus as well, the net surplus from the first returns of the culture system was above 11 millions of florins, or near one million sterling. From that year till the present day, the culture system has never failed to produce a yearly net surplus more or less large. In 1835 the Holland surplus on account of Java reached 12 millions of florins. In 1836 it rose to 21 millions, in 1837 to 24 millions, in 1838 to 29 millions, in 1839 to 34 millions, in 1840 to 41 millions, and in 1841 to the enormous surplus of 43 millions of florins. This large surplus in 1841 must have arisen from high European prices for the new Java produce, and an extensive sale of accumulations. In the subsequent years the East Indian surplus in Holland fell again to from 25 to 30 millions (probably about the normal produce of the year), from which it has been gradually increasing up to its present amount of about 60 millions of florins.

When the large sale proceeds in Holland of the new culture produce were ascertained, although the local revenue had meanwhile risen rapidly, the Java Government, as before explained, began supplying

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the requirements of the colony by an increase of expenditure, even beyond the great increase of the local revenue. This caused a deficit in the local balance-sheet, to be met by a portion of the large surplus in the Java balance-sheet in Holland. The deficit in the local balance-sheet was further increased by the above-mentioned reductions of local taxation in 1846. Such local deficiency has since been maintained for the benefit of the colony, and is yearly made good out of the large surplus Java revenue in Holland.

The difference between the local deficit and the Holland surplus, giving of course the net surplus revenue of Netherlands India, will be seen by the comparative table to have gradually increased, since first created by the culture system, to its present enormous amount of over 3½ millions sterling, out of a gross revenue in Java and Holland combined of 9½ millions sterling.

This surplus net revenue, taken by Holland as tribute from the colony to the mother country, or as the Government's share of the profits of the culture system, has been stigmatized by the author of the article "Java" in the 12th volume of the 8th edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Though the colonial reports, published yearly by the Dutch Government since 1848, contain each year's revenue and expenditure of Netherlands India in detail, both in the East and in Holland, the latter

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part of that article, published in 1856, raises a doubt whether the surplus revenue ever reaches the treasury of Holland. The culture system is described in the same paper as a return to the old forced deliveries of agricultural products, and of corvée labour in raising them. The introduction into the island of tea, cinnamon, and cochineal cultures is also particularly blamed. The article remarks that "the evil effect of such a system on that wealth, which is the only source of public revenue, must be obvious to every enlightened statesman." Whatever might have been the effect of such an imaginary culture system as is there represented, the effect of the real culture system, described in the previous chapters of this book, certainly realized the expectations of the master statesman who introduced it, and of the enlightened statesmen, both in Holland and Java, who have carried it on. It multiplied and increased that private wealth which is the source of public income. It quadrupled the revenue, while easing the burdens on the people. And it converted the Native peasant's poverty into prosperity, and his habits of crime and laziness into industry and order.

This tribute to Holland is admitted by the Dutch in Java, but justified on the ground that a colony ought to share its blessings with the mother country on which it has long been a burden. Indirectly also the colony derives this great benefit from the

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tribute to the mother country, that it gives the latter such a material interest in the prosperity of Java, as to make its condition and government of personal importance to the people, as well as to the rulers of Holland. Every Dutchman at home knows that the surplus revenue of Java saves him from some personal contributions to the state, and the prosperity of the colony is thus guarded from the unsuitable application of philanthropical crotchets, and of nineteenth century ideas, as well as from the disregard of Native feelings and wishes, which seems to be the general tendency of the European rule of Eastern countries. The form of tribute, in the culture produce of the crown lands, the Dutch assert to be the least instead of the most injurious to the colony, as thereby industry enriches both the colony and the mother country with what idleness would have allowed to remain undeveloped in the soil.

Mr. MacCulloch, in his "Commercial Dictionary," article "Batavia," takes a view of this subject at least more in accordance with the opinions of all in the island. He says that "the produce and trade of Java have increased with a rapidity unknown in any other colony, Cuba perhaps excepted." He gives it as his opinion that, "provided contributions of compulsory labour be not carried to excess, they are at once the least onerous mode in which Natives can be made to pay their taxes, and the most

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profitable for the Government." The foregoing account of the working and result of the culture system supports this view, so long as the compulsion is limited to the order of Government, and to the persuasion of the officials, and so long as the profit to the labourer exceeds that to be derived from rice cultivation. The account, in a subsequent chapter, of what is more properly the forced labour of Java, will show the totally different working and effects of even old and accustomed means of compulsion exceeding those limits. Mr. MacCulloch adds, that "it is idle to suppose that industry, if left to itself, will ever become flourishing in a country like Java, where the wants of the inhabitants are so few and so easily satisfied, or where the climate indisposes to exertion. No doubt the system of compulsory labour may be easily abused and converted into an instrument of the most grinding oppression, but, so long as it is managed with discretion and good sense, we are disposed to believe, from all we can learn, that it is preferable to every other system hitherto devised for developing the resources of tropical countries." These remarks, which now command universal assent in Java, are equally applicable to India, and equally admitted by those engaged in developing the resources of her soil. The opinions of Indian officials on the subject are yet, however, mostly such as General Van den Bosch had to struggle against,

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and which, but for his wise boldness, would still have kept Java and her Government in the lamentable condition of our Indian territories and finances.

Culture Revenue alone equal to Total Expenditure.—The culture revenue in 1856, from the sale of produce in Holland alone, amounted to within a trifle of the local expenditure of Netherlands India. The Holland produce sale proceeds in 1857 were nearly equal to the whole expenditure of Netherlands India, both locally and in Holland. But besides the sale proceeds in Holland, the fourth head of the local revenue, "Trade with Japan, Sales of Produce, &c.," is about half culture revenue and half salt monopoly. Including these local sale proceeds, the real culture revenue of 1857 exceeded the whole expenditure, both in Java and Holland. As to the revenue for 1858, the Dutch Minister for the Colonies lately reported to the States-General that the net surplus for that year, after paying the Java deficit and the interest on the East Indian debt, would not be under forty millions of florins, in which case the produce sale proceeds in Holland alone must have exceeded the total expenditure.

In other words, the financial result of the culture system is such that, if Holland could do without the surplus Java revenue, the Colonial Government might at once abolish all taxes and charges on the people of Java, and continue to govern the country,

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on its present most efficient footing, from the mere profits of less than one-twentieth of the cultivated area of crown lands applied to the production of improved crops.

A corresponding result would obtain in India if the profits of the opium sold to China sufficed to enable the Government to abolish all taxes, and yet to expend an amount equal to double the present revenue in reproductive works, and in a more efficient administration. To make the analogy correct, however, the sale should not contravene the laws of any country, nor should the articles sold be injurious to the consumers. The people and the Government of India can alone perhaps say how devoutly such a consummation is to be desired.

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CHAPTER VIII.

TRADE.

GOVERNMENT TRADE—THE NETHERLANDS TRADING SOCIETY —PRIVATE TRADE UNRESTRICTED—PRESENT STATE OF JAVA TRADE — IMPORTS — EXPORTS — SHIPPING — PROPORTION OF TRADE TO POPULATION — DISPROPORTION OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—COMPARISON OF JAVA TRADE WITH THAT OF INDIA—JAPAN TRADE—JAVA CUSTOMS AND SHIPPING—EFFECT OF THE CULTURE SYSTEM AND GOVERNMENT EXPORT OF PRODUCE ON THE PRIVATE TRADE.

Government Trade.—The general opinion, as to the trade of the Java Government being still a monopoly, will have been seen by the foregoing pages to be an error. As landlord of the greater part of the island, Government obtains a large proportion, and in some articles the whole, of the produce from the crown lands. This is exported to Holland, and there sold by the Handel Maatschappij, for account and risk of Government. There is no complaint in the island as to the mode of Government's obtaining that produce as landlord, but it is accused of a grasping spirit in not contenting itself

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with the landlord's profits. The demand is that the state should sell its produce to the merchants in Java for private export, like other landowners, instead of itself taking the merchant's profits as well as the landlord's.

The Netherlands Trading Society.—The whole of the Government produce, except the very small portion sold in the island, is exclusively exported by the "Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij," or "Netherlands Trading Society." This company, from having the monopoly export of the crown produce, is very generally, but erroneously, considered a Government institution. At no period has it had any concern in the government of the colony, or any further connexion with the state than as mere agents for Government. The Netherlands Trading Society is nothing but a chartered joint-stock company with limited liability. It possesses a large capital, and has its head office and direction in Amsterdam, and its principal factory in Batavia, with agencies at the chief ports in Java, and in other parts of Netherlands India.

The Trading Society was established at Amsterdam in 1824. Its original capital was 37 millions of florins, or upwards of 3 millions sterling. This was reduced in 1827 to 24 millions of florins, and in 1835 to 23 millions. The company's first charter was for a term of twenty-five years, and an interest of 4½ per cent. per annum was guaranteed by King

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William I. of Holland, who was himself one of the principal shareholders. The early adventures of this company appear not to have been successful. In 1827 part, and in 1830 the whole of the guaranteed interest had to be paid by the King. It was in this year that the new Java culture system was introduced by General Van den Bosch, and from this period also dates the prosperity of the company, which has ever since been uninterrupted.

The advances to start and work the culture system, to the amount of about three millions sterling before mentioned, as made to General Van den Bosch by this society, were at 4½ per cent. interest guaranteed by the state. In return for these advances, the company was appointed the sole agent of the Government in buying and importing into Java all Government supplies, and in exporting the Government produce from Java and selling it in Holland. These advances of the company were on a running account repayable out of the proceeds of the culture system, and were consequently discharged with interest in a few years.

Private Trade Unrestricted.—The private trade of Java is as unrestricted as trade in India. With the exception of opium and salt, which are Government monopolies in India as well as in Java, the growth and manufacture of all articles are free.

The import of all articles, but opium, salt, firearms, and ammunition, is open to all on payment

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of the customs dues. Fire-arms and ammunition, for sporting purposes, may be imported under guarantees as to their disposal and use. But the import of all other fire-arms and ammunition is strictly prohibited. Such articles, as well as opium, may, however, be placed in bond for transit elsewhere.

The purchase of all articles in the island and their export to any country are also unrestricted, on payment of the export duties. This principle is not affected by the cottiers on the crown lands being forbidden to sell either their contract crops or their coffee, except to the Government or to its contractors. The same prohibition exists against the cottiers on private estates selling the crops raised by them for their landlord, and at his expense. In both cases these crops are considered the property of the landlord and not of the cottier, as having been raised by the landowner's money on his own land, under his general power of directing his tenants' cultivation. On private estates of course, the landowner, or his agent, looks sharply after his crop. But on the crown lands practically the officials do not interfere, and Government shuts its eyes to what it knows to occur. In the case of the contract crops, the whole produce is secured by the contractor's mill being the only near and available means of manufacturing and preserving the article. As to coffee, however, the mode adopted by Government to get into their own hands the whole crop

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grown on the crown hills is less effective. The Government store being the nearest and the readiest market, where the fixed and well-known price is procurable at any moment, without trouble, acts on the villagers as a strong incentive. This is backed by the influence of the village chief, and of all the other officials in the district, for the sake of their respective percentages. At the same time the price of twelve florins per picul is small, now that such coffee is worth thirty florins in Batavia. It is known as a fact that, besides the enormous quantity of coffee delivered to Government, a large quantity is sold privately by the hill villagers.

Present State of Java Trade.—The trade of Java and Madura is very large, and shows a state of great prosperity.

Its present condition will be best seen by comparing it with its former state, by taking its relative proportions to the population, and by comparing such relative proportions to those of British India.

Imports.—Since 1825, the imports of merchandize have nearly quadrupled, while the population has only doubled. The consumption of goods per head, therefore, was increased nearly twofold. As no great change of native habits has meanwhile taken place, this shows that, formerly, unsatisfied wants existed, which the greater prosperity of late years now enables the people to gratify. If we add the imported treasure to the merchandize, and

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compare periods of five years, the relative proportions of the imports to the population are 5*s.* 1*d.* per head per annum for the five years ending 1830, 7*s.* 9*d.* per head per annum for the five years ending 1855, and 9*s.* 1¾*d.* per head for 1857.

As was naturally to be expected, the largest increase, in the merchandize imported, has been in the produce of Europe. The imported articles which have most contributed to the increase, are linen and cotton goods. The great prosperity of the lower classes is shown by the population doubling in thirty years, but is yet more truly gauged by this doubled population consuming seven times the former amount of linen and cotton goods. The import trade with different countries has of course correspondingly increased. The relative proportions of the imports from each country have not, however, materially varied, except in the case of America, whose imports into Java have fallen off, while those of most other countries have risen.

Exports.—The exports of merchandize during the same period have grown to above six times their former amount per annum. The produce for export is, therefore, three times larger per head on the doubled population than the former produce above consumption. As the consumption per head has certainly not diminished, this shows the positive increase in the better applied industry of the country. If we add the exported treasure to the

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merchandize, and compare periods of five years, the relative proportions of the exports to the population are 4*s.* 6*d.* per head per annum for the five years ending 1830, 11*s.* 9*d.* per head per annum for the five years ending 1855, and 15*s.* 2¾*d.* per head for 1857.

Shipping.—There has, of course, been a corresponding improvement in shipping and tonnage during the same period. The country rigged boats have increased about one-fourth in number, but without any increase in tonnage. The European rigged Native coasters, on the contrary, have about doubled in number, and more than doubled in tonnage. This is due to the Java Government's rigorous suppression of piracy, which has caused the vessels best adapted to the coasting trade to increase more than the vessels equally suited for trade and long shore piracy. Dutch vessels trading in Java are now ten times more numerous, and with a tonnage fourteen times larger than in 1825. The English shipping in and out of Java is now only slightly more numerous, but nearly double the tonnage of English vessels in 1825. The ships under other European, and under American flags, on the contrary, were in 1857 about treble in number, with five times the tonnage of similar shipping in 1825.

Proportion of Trade to Population.—The relative

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state of the present Java trade to the population is unprecedented in the East. In 1857 the exports amounted to more than eight and a half millions sterling, and the imports to nearly five and a half millions sterling. On the eleven and a half millions of the Java population in 1857, the import of merchandize worth 46,780,033 florins is at the rate of 6*s.* 8¾*d.* per head, and the export of produce worth 99,902,198 florins is at the rate of 14*s.* 4¼*d.* per head. Including specie, the imports and exports together were at the rate £1 4*s.* 4½*d.* per head.

Disproportion of Imports and Exports.—The disproportion in the value of imports and exports requires remark. Under ordinary circumstances a country should no doubt receive back, either in goods or money, the value of what it sends out; whereas Java only receives back, in goods and money, about two-thirds of that amount. The other one-third is avowedly tribute to Holland paid by Java, as explained in the preceding chapter on Finance. While admitting the tribute, the Dutch assert that in no other manner could it be paid so beneficially to Java, which has, in fact, enriched itself by the same process, that has yielded this tribute to Holland. They say that the undeveloped resources of an Eastern country leave but a small margin of produce for export, beyond the consumption, and that consequently the imports can only

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attain to the same figure as that margin. This is confirmed by the former imports and exports of Java, and the present trade in and out of India, all which average from 4*s*. to 5*s*. per head per annum. The Dutch say, on the other hand, that the resources of an Eastern country, developed by European capital and skill, soon produce so enormous a margin beyond consumption, as to cause the condition of the people to be much improved, even where they only receive a portion of the value of the increase. The present Java exports are the surplus produce of the country, raised equally by Native labour, European skill, and Government advances. The return for that surplus produce may be roughly said to be made, one-third to the Native labourer, and one-third to the European master of labour, by imports worth two-thirds of the exports. The remaining one-third goes to the Dutch Government in Holland in return for its advances of capital in Java, without which the greater portion of such surplus produce would have remained hidden in the soil.

In Asia, as in Europe, self-interest will produce such improved results as the country is capable of giving. But the European rule of Eastern dependencies creates wants beyond what the natural state of the country is capable of supplying. The exigencies of an enlightened Government demand greater results than the unaided ignorance of the

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people can produce. The Native, though keenly alive to self-interest, is without the knowledge required to develop the resources of the country. The European colonist, who has the knowledge, is without the necessary capital. Where, as in India, the capital and the land are in the possession of the conquered native, and the intelligence alone belongs to the conquering European, the ordinary motives of men prevent the combination of intelligence and capital, to the improvement of the soil. On the other hand, when native labour is directed by European intelligence, and assisted by the capital which in Eastern countries only European Governments have both sufficient credit to command and sufficient knowledge to apply, the result is equally beneficial to all the parties to its production. Such is the case in Java, and neither the Dutch colonists nor the natives of Netherlands India see any reason why Holland should forego its share of the reward, even though the value of the yearly exports should continue to be one-third in excess of the imports.

The relative proportions of the trade to the population in Java and in India are not flattering to our commercial vanity.

In 1857 the value of the Java Imports was	£5,302,047	8*s.*	4*d.*
The value of the Java Exports was .	£8,826,990	6*s.*	8*d.*
External Java Trade . .	£14,129,037	15*s.*	0*d.*

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The Imports were equal to	9*s.* 1¾*d.* per head.
The Exports were equal to	15*s.* 2¾*d.* per head.
The External Trade was equal to . . .	£1 4*s.* 4½*d.* per head.

In 1856-57 the value of British Indian Imports was	£34,304,302 12*s.* 0*d.*
The value of British Indian Exports was	£32,594,584 8*s.* 0*d.*
External Indian Trade .	£66,898,887 0*s.* 0*d.*

The Imports were equal to	3*s.* 9½*d.* per head.
The Exports were equal to	3*s.* 7½*d.* per head.
The External Trade was equal to . . .	7*s.* 5*d.* per head.

Relatively to the population, therefore, the Java trade is more than three times larger than the Indian.

I have taken the population of British India at 180 millions, as given in Mill's "India in 1858." This includes the population of the Native states within the British territory, whose imports and exports are made through the British ports, in the same manner as the population of the Native states of Soerakarta and Djockjokarta, included in the population of Java, carry on their external trade through the Dutch ports. Besides the British ports, however, there are a few French and Portuguese ports on the Indian seaboard, whose trade is not large, but whose imports and exports would go towards supplying the 180 millions of Indian population.

The far larger Singapore trade goes chiefly to the Eastern Archipelago, and to other countries whose

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population forms no part of the 180 millions in India. Still, that may be added to the real Indian trade, as an equivalent for the commerce of the French and Portuguese ports on the Indian sea-board.

The Indian Imports in 1856-57 would then be	£40,792,336	0*s.*	0*d.*
The Indian Exports	£38,917,158	14*s.*	0*d.*
The Total External Trade	£79,709,494	14*s.*	0*d.*

This would only raise the Imports to . .	4*s.*	6¼*d.* per head.
And the Exports to	4*s.*	3¾*d.* per head.
Making the ratio of the whole trade . .	8*s.*	10*d.* per head.

It may be objected, however, that the Java trade is not only the trade of the eleven and a half millions of the Java population, but also of the five and a half millions of population in the Dutch dependencies of Java, and of the rest of the large native population of the Eastern Archipelago. But while the *Trade Tables* show how much of the Java trade goes to other Dutch dependencies, they also show, that the trade of the independent part of the Archipelago, and much even of that of the Dutch dependencies, is carried on, as was naturally to be expected, at the free port of Singapore, rather than through the taxed ports of Java. In 1857 the imported European and foreign produce re-exported, and therefore only passing through Java, came to no more than 4,535,997 florins. The European and foreign produce, retained for Java consumption, was

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worth 28,267,684 florins, or at the rate of 4*s.* 0¾*d.* per head. Besides this, there was the imported Archipelago produce, worth 13,976,352 florins, or 2*s.* per head.

The exported Archipelago produce was worth 95,366,201 florins. Even supposing that to include the whole of the imported Archipelago produce, which is certainly far from the fact, the minimum Java produce exported was 81,389,849 florins, or at the rate of 11*s.* 8¼*d.* per head.

With specie, this makes the imports solely for Java consumption 8*s.* 5¾*d.* per head, the minimum export of Java produce 12*s.* 6¾*d.* per head, and the purely Java trade £1 1*s.* 0½*d.* per head.

Thus, even after making every possible allowance to the Indian trade, and after curtailing the Java trade to its own narrowest limits, the relative difference still remaining between the two is lamentable. At 8*s.* 10*d.* per head in India to £1 1*s.* 0½*d.* per head in Java, the Indian trade is still relatively only just over one-third of the Java trade.

The present Java rate of 6*s.* 0¾*d.* per head of imported European and Archipelago merchandize, against the present Indian rate of 2*s.* 7¾*d.* per head of imported goods, shows that the present yearly consumption of foreign articles in Java, per head, is more than double the present yearly consumption per head in India. The present minimum rate of 11*s.* 8¼*d.* per head of exported Java produce, against

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the present Indian rate of 3*s.* 7⅓*d.* per head of merchandize exported, shows that the people of Java grow, above what they consume, more than three times as much per head as the people of India.

There is no reliable record, even proximately, of the population about 1825 in our own territories, and, of course, none at all of the population in Native States at that period. But as our only conquests, out of India Proper, have since been Pegu, and the Tenasserim Provinces, and as the population of India has not sensibly increased, we shall certainly be below the mark if we take at 150 millions the population of British and Native India in 1825, who drew their imports and made their exports by our trade. On that assumption £3,332,588 of imports were only at the rate of 5⅓*d.* per head per annum, and £4,001,646 of exports were only at the rate of 6½*d.* per head per annum. No wonder that as soon as the Indian trade was thrown open it rose rapidly, and that the imports increased from about 3¼ millions sterling to 34¼ millions sterling, and the exports increased from about 4 millions sterling to 32½ millions sterling. The relative consumption of imports and production of exports, per head, rose from 5⅓*d.* and 6½*d.* to 3*s.* 9⅓*d.* and 3*s.* 7½*d.*; or adding the Straits trade, to cover the trade through other European ports on the Indian seaboard, to 4*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* 2*d.* respectively.

Although, therefore, the increase in the Indian

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trade, since 1825, has been larger than that of Java, the Indian trade has only now reached the same point as the Java trade thirty years ago. A similar increase in the next thirty years would go far to relieve India of her difficulties. It would give her in 1890 a yearly movement of trade of 240 millions sterling, the greater part of which would, of course, directly or indirectly, benefit England as well as India. The similar increase in Java, from the same rate per head, is due entirely to the development of the resources of the soil by the culture system, and holds out an example to be followed with equal benefit to England and India.

Japan Trade.—The best known branch of the Dutch colonial commerce, the Japan trade, is of very inconsiderable importance compared with the rest of their Eastern traffic.

The profits of the Government Japan trade have been enormously over-rated. Of late years it averaged only between 20 and £30,000 per annum. The profit, in 1843, was 266,496 florins, or £22,208. In 1848, the profit was 308,039 florins, or £25,669 18*s.* 4*d.* And, in 1854, the profit was 362,737 florins, or £30,228 1*s.* 8*d.* I do not possess the detailed revenue accounts for other years, from which accounts alone these items can be gathered. But the above results, derived from the Official Revenue Tables, are enough to show that the real profits on this trade were far below what was generally supposed.

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Java Customs and Shipping.—As before mentioned in the second chapter, the Dutch, in 1818, imposed differential duties on the Java trade for the protection of Dutch shipping and commerce. The general import duties of 6, 9, and 12 per cent. *ad valorem*, established in 1818, were maintained on the occasion of each rise in the *ad valorem* amount of the duty till June, 1827, when a direct addition of 5 per cent. duty on all imports and exports was imposed. In 1837 the present duties were regulated, which may be roughly described as a general 25 per cent. *ad valorem* import duty, reducible to 12½ per cent. on goods of Dutch origin imported in Dutch ships, with, in any case, the added 5 per cent. imposed in 1827. The export duties were also regulated at the same time, and remained nearly the same as in 1819, with the same general difference of exports in Dutch ships only paying half the duty of exports in foreign ships, and with the general 5 per cent. of 1827 added.

These measures in favour of Dutch shipping were further supported by the mode of exporting the large Government produce under the culture system. The Netherlands Trading Society has no ships of its own, but exports the Government Java produce exclusively in Dutch ships. These are chartered, in Holland, by the Society according to established rules, and every Dutch ship has its turn for charter at fixed rates. By this means, added to the share which Dutch ships also have in the carrying trade of

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private Java produce, more than two-thirds of the large Java exports fall exclusively to Dutch shipping. Every Dutch ship-owner, besides his ordinary carrying trade at the freight of the day, can calculate on each of his ships getting a full freight at high rates, from the Netherlands Trading Society, once in every two or three years.

The result has been gradually to reverse the proportions of Dutch and foreign shipping. In 1819, nearly the whole European imports of Java were made in English ships, at which time there were only forty-three ships under Dutch colours, and those mostly coasters, out of a total of 171 ships under all flags. Since the introduction of the culture system, the proportion of Dutch ships has gradually increased, till, in 1857, there were 2375 Dutch ships out of 2634 ships of all nations. In the same year, exclusive of the Dutch coasters, the Dutch tonnage inwards was 97,144 lasts of two tons each, against 57,296 lasts of foreign tonnage, and the Dutch tonnage outwards was 83,798 lasts against 44,886 lasts of foreign tonnage.

Thus Dutch shipping attained that degree of prosperity which the Dutch consider requisite to support competition. The Java Navigation laws then met the same fate as the English ones, and were repealed, except for the coasting trade, which is of little consequence for foreign vessels. By a navigation treaty, made in 1857 be-

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tween Great Britain and Holland, the flags of both countries were put on the same footing in the two countries, and in their respective colonies, only reserving the coasting trade of Java to Dutch ships. Similar conventions have been since made by Holland with all the other European powers but France and Russia. Dutch, and most foreign ships are, therefore, now on the same footing in Java, except that the Government produce is still exclusively exported in Dutch bottoms. There is no longer any difference of duty on goods owing to the flag under which they are carried, but the differential duties on the origin of goods have as yet been maintained. A slight modification has been made as to merchandize imported direct from its place of origin east of the Cape of Good Hope, which, under the present tariff, is subject to only half the duties on goods imported from Europe, America, or other places to the west of the Cape.

A preliminary project of law has, however, been lately issued by the Java Government, proposing the abolition of differential duties on the origin of goods, and the gradual reduction of import duties, till, in 1864, they shall have sunk to an equalized maximum of six per cent. *ad valorem* on the goods of all countries however imported. The export duties are also proposed to be meanwhile limited to ten of the chief products of the Archipelago, and to be gradually reduced from three to

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six per cent. *ad valorem* duty thereon, according to the articles.

This project of law was published at Batavia for general information, and to enable both the colonial and Home Governments to ascertain public opinion on the subject before the question comes on for discussion in the Dutch Chambers, a practice which the Government of India might adopt from the so-called secret Dutch Colonial Government with general approbation. It is to be feared that the jealous interest of producers in Holland will prevent the States General voting the entire abolition of the differential duties. Many of the Dutch merchants and landowners in Java can also not divest themselves of their prejudices in favour of protection. They think that a serious blow would be thereby dealt to the industrial manufactures in Holland, and that the national prosperity would consequently suffer. This wise project of law does not therefore meet with much support even in the colony, which it is so much calculated to benefit. The liberal policy of the present Java Government will as yet probably only succeed in achieving a reduction of the tariff, without abolishing the old differential and protective principle. Still the duties on imports generally are likely to be so much diminished in amount as to render the difference of duties between Dutch and foreign goods no longer a

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serious impediment to the competition of the latter in the markets of Java.

If the project of law were only passed as it stands, the present large trade would certainly be considerably increased. The revenue could hardly be materially reduced, and the additional imports would probably, after a short time, prevent its being even sensibly affected. Meanwhile the general welfare would be still further promoted by an even greater relative consumption per head of imported articles.

The announcement of this liberal Dutch colonial policy was made in Calcutta only a few days before the Indian Government doubled the Indian import duties. It is fortunate for our pre-eminence in freedom of trade that we are able to set off against this contrast the actual abolition of the differential duties on the origin of goods. This difference had remained since 1845, at from three and a half to five per cent. on British goods, against from five to seven per cent. on foreign goods. These were equalized on the 14th March, 1859, by a bill which, while it exempted certain articles, as bullion, grain, machinery, and books, from any duties on import, raised the import duties generally from five to ten, and in some cases to twenty per cent., and on articles of luxury from ten to twenty per cent. *ad valorem*. The proceeds of the Indian import

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duties, it was assumed, would be doubled thereby, for Lord Canning, in introducing the bill, said the late import duties gave seventy-five and a half lacs, or £755,000, and the additional import duty was expected to give seventy-four lacs, or £740,000, in addition. At the same time, the export duties, long since abandoned by England as suicidal, were quadrupled on grain of all kinds, which forms so large an item in Indian exports that the increased duty thereon was calculated to raise the export duties from twenty-eight and a half lacs, or £285,000 to forty-nine lacs, or £490,000.

This increase of the Indian customs duties, at this time, is also curiously in support of the Dutch analogy between Java in 1827 and India in 1858, while the simultaneous Dutch proposal for the reduction of customs duties speaks volumes for the present relative positions of the two countries.

In one respect, however, we have been either wiser than the Dutch, or the analogous state of the two countries at those respective periods operated differently upon the trade. The increased import dues imposed in 1827 do not seem to have perceptibly affected the Java trade of the following years. In India, however, the extra duties imposed in 1859 caused a decrease of from twenty-five to thirty-five per cent. in the import of the highest taxed articles. Our Indian Government, under the auspices of their new Finance Minister, the late

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Mr. Wilson, wisely accepted the warning, and in February, 1860, reduced to ten per cent. the articles that had been raised from five to twenty per cent. import duty.

Effect of the Culture System and of the Government Export of Produce on Private Trade.—The question seems to be much discussed in Java, how far the private trade is, or is not, injured by the Government proceedings. It is admitted, as indeed the yearly published *Trade Tables*, and every private merchant's own experience, concur in showing, that the culture system has so increased both exports and imports as to make the private trade alone now about double the whole trade, Government as well as private, before the introduction of the culture system. For the five years ending in 1830, the yearly average of the whole imports was £1,370,873, and of the whole exports was £1,339,204, whereas now the imports by the private trade alone average about two millions sterling, and the free produce, for private export, averages about two and a half millions sterling. Still the local private trade naturally wishes to share in the great mercantile profits derived by Government from the sale of its produce in Europe instead of in Java. The local agents and foreign shipowners trading to Java, also naturally object to the agency and transport of about two-thirds of the produce of the island being monopolized by the

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Netherlands Trading Society and by the Dutch shipping.

It is said that Government has fulfilled its duties to the now cultivated parts of the island, and has reaped its reward, and that it ought for the future gradually to transfer its operations to those parts of the island coming into cultivation by the increase of population, making over the present old cultures to the private planter at fixed rents, the produce of which would then come into the hands of the private traders. It is urged that, although Government incurred great expense and odium in establishing the culture system, it has been largely repaid its advances, and that the wisdom and humanity of its proceedings have been amply vindicated; that the new cultivations will give Government full scope for continuing the system; and that the planting and trading interests of the island would be benefited by Government leaving the whole produce of the present cultures for private purchase and export. This is particularly urged in the case of coffee, on the ground that Government never was at any great expense in establishing the coffee culture. The best interests of all, it is alleged, would be served by Government taking a sufficient money rent to pay for the official supervision, and for the use of the land, and leaving the hill villagers to sell their coffee, as and how they can, to private traders for private export. The monopoly profits of the Trading

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Society, it is said, have lasted long enough to more than compensate that society for its culture advances at low rates of interest, and the shareholders would have no just ground of complaint if the proposed changes left Government but little, instead of much, produce for the society to export. The well established organization, the large capital, and the private interest of the shareholders would still secure them considerable profits, by enabling them to buy large portions of Java produce in competition with the private trade.

On the other hand, it is answered that Government set up the culture system, not for the benefit of the mercantile man, but for that of the peasant, the planter, and itself; that the system having fully attained those three direct objects, and having besides indirectly benefited the private trade by largely increasing the free produce for private export, there is no reason why Government should give up its share of profit to be divided between the planter and the private trader; that the surplus Java revenue is necessary to Holland, and that there is no other mode by which it could be so easily or so beneficially raised as the present one. As to coffee, it is answered that a practical remedy for the evil effects of the private sale by the villagers, under Marshal Daendels' plan, was sought and attained by the present system; that those evil effects of bad cultivation and careless preparation would again

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arise from throwing its sale open to chance; while it would deprive the peasant of his certain market at the Government coffee store for a fixed and well-known price, remunerative to him, though low in a commercial point of view. Moreover, it is further asserted that the present surreptitious sale of coffee by the hill villagers, to which Government shuts its eyes, is devoid of any of these evils; but that the small proportion of the coffee sold in this manner shows that the private trade of the country does not, except in a few instances, practically hold out preferable inducements to those which the villager finds in the fixed price to be always got for his coffee at his own door. As to the Trading Society, it is answered that, although the large advances made at low rates of interest, to establish the culture system, have been repaid, and although the society has besides derived great profits from its monopoly export of Government produce, still the original obligation exists, and gives that Society preferable claims to the profit of the Government export over those of the private trade; that there is a Government necessity to preserve to Holland its present importance as a market, which it would lose if the export of the whole, or the greater part, of the produce of Java were in private hands, who would export direct to the European market requiring the article without letting it pass through Holland; that for the above reasons the Java Government submits to

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the pecuniary loss caused by the monopoly of the Trading Society and by their fixed rates of freight, as, for instance, in 1858, when, to take their produce to Holland, Government had to pay 120 florins per last of two tons, while private merchants got their produce home as low as 30 florins per last. Finally, it is answered, that the whole produce of Java, in private hands, would cause great competition in Europe among the private traders, and great fluctuations in price, from the inability of private merchants to hold such large values for any length of time; whereas the one-third of the Java produce now in their hands generally finds a ready market at a paying price, in consequence of Government holding its produce till the demand enables it to be issued without sinking rates below remunerative values.

The truth seems to lie between the two arguments. The most impartial judges seem to think it would probably be best for the country that, in the crown lands not converted into private estates, the culture system should remain as at present, but that Government should offer the whole, instead of the present very small proportion, of its produce for sale to the private trade of the island. The Netherlands Trading Society would, in that case, only monopolize the export of what the private trade failed to buy at a low fixed upset price, leaving to Government a fair landlord's profit after repaying its advances and outlay. In that case, it seems generally admitted,

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the Trading Society might preserve its monopoly for the small residue with general approval. Holland, it is thought, would retain most if not all its present importance as a market by its natural position, as well as by the force of commercial habits, and by the advantages incident to a long course of trade. The profits on the whole produce of Java would thus be divided between the Government and the individual landowners as landlords, and the private dealers, the Trading Society, and the ship-owners as merchants and carriers. The private trade would be thereby relieved from having to compete, in Europe, with the large resources of a trading Government, to whose arguments as to the evil results of competition, and the benefit of Government holding the produce, the private trade seem not to attach much importance.

As, however, there is but little prospect of the Dutch Government surrendering the sale in Holland of its own Java produce, the private merchants in the colony lend all their support to the question of Government surrendering or selling portions of the immense tracts of crown lands in Java to be converted into private estates. The general effects and prospects of this anticipated change will be found detailed in the subsequent chapter on the Treatment of Europeans. Its effect on trade would be to transfer to the private merchants the commercial products of a far larger part of the island, while Government

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would still probably send to Holland the produce of these new tracts which the increasing population brings into cultivation.

This large self-increase of population, which, as far as we know, is an entirely new feature in the European rule of Natives, opens up to Java an indefinite vista of prosperity. The ever-improving and extending means of developing the resources of her fertile soil must continue to swell her trade, to relieve her people from taxation, and to secure peace and affluence both to Europeans and Natives. Commerce cannot fail to carry the blessings of civilization and improvement in her train, to knit closer the present constant and cordial intercourse between the Christian and Mussulman inhabitants of Java, and gradually to produce moral effects of an even more important and lasting character.

END OF VOL. I.

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