

CHAPTER VII

THE VILLAGE LAND RENT SETTLEMENTS OF 1813

While Raffles had promptly informed the Directors of the proposed introduction of the land rent system throughout Java,¹ he did not report his intentions to Minto until July 11. He forwarded the documents relating to the settlement then being introduced into Pekalongan, together with his Minute of June 14. The land rent system, he told his patron with some exaggeration, was "in a state of progress and gradual advancement through[out] the country".² Raffles did not, in fact, begin the introduction of the system into the coastal districts of Java until a few days later. By a proclamation dated July 19, it was introduced into Tjirebon.³

Tjirebon.

Daendels had attempted to introduce a land revenue system into Tjirebon in 1808.⁴ Under his administration, the districts had been in a state of continual unrest, and the British had inherited a difficult situation there. Following the advice of the Dutch Resident, Raffles had effected a peaceful settlement of Tjirebon in April 1812 by removing some of the obnoxious restraints placed upon the *Sultans* by Daendels. He excused them from the debts which they had already contracted with the Government, and granted them an annual allowance of 5,000 Rix drs. silver.⁵ In order to remove further grievances, a survey of the *padi* fields was ordered, so that new regulations could be established for the future deliveries of rice to the Government.⁶ Lawrence was appointed to succeed the Dutchman

¹ Raffles to the Secret Committee, June 30, 1813, *Java*, Vol. 60, Part III.

² Raffles to Minto, July 11, 1813, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, December 18, 1813.

³ The proclamation is recorded in *Java Public Consultations*, April 21, 1815.

⁴ Deventer, S. van, *L.S.*, I, pp. 38—44.

⁵ *Java Public Consultations*, April 10, 1812.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

M. Waterloo as Resident in May,⁷ and by a judicious policy won support for the British administration. In the following month, after the apprehension of the notorious bandit *Bagus Rangien* [?], Raffles predicted "a large contingent or revenue" from Tjirebon.⁸

The contingents and forced deliveries, however, were soon to cease. After a "course of confidential communications"⁹ with the new Resident of Tjirebon, Major W. Raban, early in July 1813, Raffles deemed that the time was opportune for the introduction of the land rent system. He set out for Tjirebon, and with the help of Raban and Crawford secured the *Sultans'* compliance with his wishes. Under the new arrangements they were to be relieved of the payment of contingents, forced deliveries and services, and the Government was to take the collection of the revenue into its own hands. The *Sultans* were given possession of their private lands, and their salaries of 5,000 Rix drs. were continued. Their ranks and dignities were also to be respected.¹⁰ On July 19, the following proclamation was issued outlining the intentions of the Government.¹¹

The system heretofore existing in Cheribon having been found equally oppressive to the people and ruinous to the resources of the country, it has been resolved to introduce an amended system of administration throughout.

The Capitation Tax is abolished from this date, and all persons are expressly prohibited from levying Contributions or Taxes upon the native inhabitants that are not expressly defined and authorized by the publications of Government.

Instead of the Contingent heretofore required, which has been found to exceed the immediate means of the country, the lands throughout will be administered by Government and let out to the native inhabitants of Cheribon for a fixed rent per annum, calculated according to the produce.

Every facility will be given to agriculture and commerce, and it may be expected that the country of Cheribon will again become rich and happy, when every man is allowed to enjoy in security the fruits of his industry.

⁷ Raffles to Minto, July 16, 1812, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, December 5, 1812.

⁸ Loc. cit.

⁹ "Extract Proceedings of the Government of Java in the Separate and Revenue Department dated the 20th July, 1813", recorded in *Java Public Consultations*, April 21, 1815.

¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹ Loc. cit.

Whenever the Government may require the produce of the land for public purposes, or the services of the inhabitants, they will invariably pay for the same at fair and equitable rates, and as soon as the lands are let and the new system generally introduced, all forced deliveries of produce & all feudal services will be abolished.

The Sultans of Cheribon convinced of the state to which the country has been reduced under the former system, and of the advantages which it will derive under the new arrangement, require and call upon all the inhabitants of Cheribon to enter fully and cordially into the arrangements now directed, by which the immediate administration of the lands will be taken into the hands of Government.

On taking into the hands of Government the immediate administration of the lands, and the collection of the revenues, according to the actual value and produce, it is declared that all chiefs and persons heretofore deriving a revenue under the former system, and who from their character, rank and services are entitled to consideration, will receive a liberal provision, and they will on no account be injured in their rank or emoluments.

All persons are required to conduct themselves peaceably, and the Tumongongs of the different districts are held responsible for any exactions that may be made from the people, or for any disturbance that may arise.

The Chinese will not be permitted to rent lands, or to interfere in the interior of the country, and the principle of the new arrangement is to secure to the native inhabitants the quiet and happy possession of their property with the peculiar privileges, laws, and usages of the country.

Raban continued in his post as Resident, and together with Crawford, the Resident at Yogyakarta, constituted a Commission to let the lands on the following principles:¹²

- i. the cultivators to be secured in possession of the lands on condition of paying a rent equivalent to the amount of produce and service they gave previously,
- ii. the lands to be let in farms of not less than what might be attached to a village, and not more than 100 *jungs*, except where compensation to a native chief required more,
- iii. an adequate compensation to be made to the native chiefs throughout the Regency,
- iv. the lands to be let for money, but payment in kind (rice) to be accepted,
- v. the lands to be let for no longer than three years, preferably for one year only.

¹² *Sub.*, pp. 26—7.

Less than a month after he had made these arrangements, Raffles informed Minto that he was about to proceed to the Eastern Districts to introduce the land rent system there.¹³ He left Batavia on August 26, and on his journey through Tjirebon found the Sultans and people "perfectly satisfied and contented with the arrangements made".¹⁴ The compensation actually paid to the *Sultans* and chiefs in money and lands during the first settlement of the land rent of Tjirebon, was as follows:¹⁵

Chiefs	Quantity of sawahs	Assessed value of Lands per annum		Money Grants		Total value of Land & Money Grants	
	<i>Jungs</i>	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.
<i>Sultan Sepuh</i>	400	4,155	24	8,000	—	12,155	24
<i>Sultan Anom</i>	400	6,426	6	8,000	—	14,426	6
<i>Sultan Tjirebon</i>	128	1,597	6	8,000	—	9,597	6
<i>Pangeran Raja Kertaningrat</i>	12½	132	—	—	—	132	—
<i>Tumenggung of Bengawan</i>	35	770	—	2,112	—	2,882	—
<i>Demang of the Blandongs</i>	1	46	6	264	—	310	6
<i>Tumenggung of Radjagaluh</i>	35	1,102	6	660	—	1,762	6
<i>Tumenggung of Sindangkasih</i>	35	1,128	18	712	24	1,841	12
<i>Tumenggung of Pandjalu</i>	35	565	12	369	18	935	—

¹³ Raffles to Minto, August 24, 1813, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, December 11, 1813.

¹⁴ Minute by Raffles, September 17, 1813, *Java Public Consultations*, September 17, 1813. The Minute has been published by Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, pp. 18—24, but with some inaccuracies.

¹⁵ Report on Tjirebon by Bauer and Addison, July 14, 1814, *Raffles Collection*, V, No. 4 (i).

Chiefs	Quantity of sawahs	Assessed value of Lands per annum		Money Grants		Total value of Land & Money Grants	
	Jungs	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.
<i>Tumenggung of Telaga</i>	35	680	14	660	—	1,340	14
<i>Pangeran of Tjiamis</i>	15	256	15	264	—	520	15
<i>Tumenggung of Kuningan</i>	35	499	12	1,267	6	1,766	18
<i>Tumenggung of Tjikaso [?]</i>	35	805	6	1,003	6	1,808	12
<i>Tumenggung of Linggadjati</i>	35	752	12	660	—	1,412	12
<i>Tumenggung of Losari & Gebang</i>	35	308	—	660	—	968	—
<i>Tumenggung of Tjirebon</i>	35	382	24	660	—	1,042	24
TOTAL	1,306½	19,608	11	33,292	24	52,901	5

Tegal, Brebes and Pemalang.

At Tegal, Raffles charged the Resident, Major J. P. Keasberry, who had some knowledge of native customs,¹⁶ to introduce the land rent system into the Regency, and also into Brebes and Pemalang.¹⁷ Keasberry's instructions were similar to those issued to Crawford,¹⁸ and specified a yearly village settlement. The Regents of Tegal, Brebes and Pemalang were granted salaries, as compensation for former emoluments sacrificed through the introduction of the new system.¹⁹ In addition, lands were granted to them and to the lesser chiefs as follows:²⁰

¹⁶ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", 590.

¹⁷ Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, 23.

¹⁸ *Sub.*, pp. 26—7.

¹⁹ Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, 22.

²⁰ Report on Tegal by Bauer and Addison, July 16, 1814, *Raffles Collection*, V, No. 4 (ii).

Chiefs	Quantity of sawahs	Assessed value of Lands per annum		Money Grants		Total value of Land & Money Grants	
	Jungs	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.
Regent of Tegal	250	10,337	24	7,920	—	18,257	24
Ex-Regent of Tegal	25						
Patih of Tegal	33½	1,205	18	—	—	1,205	18
Djaksa of Tegal	30	1,302	12	—	—	1,302	12
"Priest" of Tegal	24½	1,080	6	—	—	1,080	6
Regent of Brebes	175	4,461	18	5,280	—	9,741	18
Ex-Regent of Brebes	8						
Patih of Brebes	33½	732	18	—	—	732	18
"Priest" of Brebes	24½	554	12	—	—	554	12
Regent of Pemalang	150	4,243	24	4,620	—	8,863	24
Patih of Pemalang	33½	1,245	6	—	—	1,245	6
"Priest" of Pemalang	24½	433	12	—	—	433	12
TOTAL	812	25,597	—	17,820	—	43,417	—

Semarang, Kendal and Demak.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. Eales, who took charge of the Residency of Semarang on September 1, 1813, had been given authority by Raffles to introduce the land rent system into Semarang, Kendal, Demak, Djapara, Djuwana, Pati and Kudus.²¹ His instructions, however, merely referred to Semarang.²² An annual settlement similar to those ordered for Tjirebon and Tegal was recommended. The leases were to be granted to the village headmen at a rental reckoned at about two-fifths of the gross annual produce of rice.

²¹ Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, 23.

²² Raffles to Eales, August 31, 1813, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, January 15, 1814.

When the land rent was introduced, all internal taxes, contributions and forced services were to be abolished. The first yearly settlement, Eales was told, was only preparatory to a permanent assessment that would be made later. Compensation to the Regents and other chiefs was to be granted in money and lands as follows:²³

Chiefs	Quantity of sawahs	Assessed value of Lands per annum		Money Grants	
	Jungs	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.
Regent of Semarang	300	—	—	11,000	—
Patih of Semarang	15	—	—	—	—
<i>Djaksa</i> of Semarang	in proportion to his present income				
Pangulu of Semarang	40	—	—	—	—
Brother-in-Law of the Regent of Semarang	40	(half uncultivated)			
Regent of Kendal & Kaliwungu	200	—	—	5,500	—
Patih of Kendal	10	—	—	—	—
Patih of Kaliwungu	10	—	—	—	—
Family of Regent of Kendal	20	—	—	—	—
"Priests" of Kendal	15	—	—	—	—
"Priests" of Kaliwungu	10	—	—	—	—
Regent of Demak	200	—	—	5,500	—
Patih of Demak	10	—	—	—	—
Family of Regent of Demak	20	—	—	—	—
Ex-Regent of Demak	200	(half uncultivated)			
Ex-(Second)Regent of Demak	60	(half uncultivated)			
Family of Ex-(Second)Regent of Demak	20	(half uncultivated)			
Mosque of Demak	40	—	—	—	—

²³ A list of the lands and salaries actually paid to the Regents etc. of Semarang,

Raffles instructed Eales to collect any outstanding amounts of contingents and recognition money. However, as it would be difficult arranging about arrears for 1813, one-half of the contingents and recognition money was to be collected, and the land rent system introduced immediately. Eales was authorized to purchase rice for the Government at a price which would encourage the Javanese to sell it. As the coffee and pepper gardens were to be no longer subject to forced deliveries, he was instructed to rent them out in common with the other lands. Raffles wrote: ²⁴

It has been estimated by the Regent of Tegal that the rent which Coffee lands are capable of yielding, may, generally speaking, be estimated at the rate of 1 Spanish Dollar per 1,000 trees, on condition that Government will ensure a market at the rate of 3 Spanish Dollars for 125 Dutch lbs., leaving the cultivators . . . at liberty to dispose of the Coffee at any better market which may offer, and without paying duty on exportation.

The coffee gardens best suited for *sawah*, however, were to be let as waste lands with an exemption of rent for three years, while the pepper gardens were to be let as they stood. The Government agreed to purchase pepper at the old rate of 3 Sp. drs. a pikul of 125 Dutch lbs.

Raffles exhorted Eales to be judicious in introducing the new system, and not to hesitate to apply to the Government in case of any difficulty. He was to keep a regular register of the lands as they were rented out, "numbering and describing each Farm, according to its population, produce, and situation".²⁵ He was to master every detail of the internal administration of the districts entrusted to him. Pemberton, who had had experience of the land rent system in Djipang, was appointed his assistant.²⁶

Djapara, Djuwana, Pati and Kudus.

The work of introducing the land rent system into these districts apparently proved too arduous a task for Eales, for in October Raffles asked McQuoid to assist him with the assessment of Djapara,

Kendal and Demak does not exist in European sources. I have followed the lists in Raffles' Minute of September 17, 1813, Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.* pp. 20—2, and in Eales' instructions, *Ibid.*

²⁴ Raffles to Eales, August 31, 1813, *op. cit.*

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", pp. 541; 625.

Djuwana and its dependent districts.²⁷ The following compensation in money and lands was ordered to be paid to the Regents and other native chiefs.

Chiefs	Quantity of sawahs	Assessed value of Lands per annum		Money Grants	
		Jungs	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.
Regent of Djapara	400	—	—	8,800	—
Ex-Regent of Djapara	40	(half uncultivated)			
The tombs of the Regent's ancestors to be secured to his family, together with ———	100	—	—	—	—
Regent of Djuwana	150	—	—	4,400	—
The tombs of the Regent's ancestors to be secured to his family	—	—	—	—	—
Regent of Pati	300	—	—	8,800	—
The tombs of the Regent's ancestors to be secured to his family	—	—	—	—	—
Regent of Kudus	200	—	—	6,600	—
The tombs of the Regent's ancestors to be secured to his family	—	—	—	—	—

The form of contract issued by Raffles for the first land rent settlements in the Eastern Districts was as follows:²⁸

The Nawala of the British Government is hereby entrusted to . . . the Village of . . . to confer upon him the lease of the lands of the said Village, consisting of . . . Jongs of Sawah, . . . Jongs Tipar or Tagal, and . . . Jongs of Coffee Lands for the

²⁷ Ibid., 606.

²⁸ The idea of issuing the contract in the form of a *Nawolo* (see Deventer, S. van, *L.S.*, I, 190, footnote +) was probably suggested to Raffles by Crawford, who had forwarded to him copies of original *Nawolos* granted by the Sultan. The copy of the above contract is taken from *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, January 15, 1814.

period of one year, commencing in Malaut last, and ending in Malaut ensuing, subject to the terms and conditions therein specified, that is to say, the said . . . shall pay to the British Government for the rent of the said lands the annual sum . . . of Spanish Dollars, payable in two half yearly instalments, viz. at the festival of Oumosa . . . Spanish Dollars, and at the festival of Malaut . . . Spanish Dollars, one third in silver and two thirds in copper money (at the current rate of the day with silver). The said . . . engages that he will secure the Cultivators of the Village, who are possessed of lands, in the full enjoyment of their property, according to the customs of the Country, and in obedience to such regulations as the British Government may be pleased to enact for their future security, that he will not interfere in the collection of the Zakat, nor receive any part thereof for his own benefit, and that he will henceforward desist from levying a Capitation Tax, or any species of contribution whatever. Moreover, he hereby promises to discharge zealously, and faithfully, the duties of Police which he will be instructed to perform under the new arrangement. In failure of one or any of these stipulations, he shall be considered to have forfeited the benefits of the present Lease. The British Government on its side, and in consideration of the rent herein stipulated, hereby exonerate and discharge the said . . . and the Inhabitants of the Village of . . . from the further payments of the Gantang, Capitation Tax, working in the Coffee Gardens . . . , and all gratuitous services whatever (except the repair of Roads and Bridges) leaving one and all of them free to follow their own pursuits at pleasure, and engaging that should their personal services and produce be at any time indispensibly necessary, the same will not be required without the payment of a liberal equivalent, at least to the ordinary, and market rate of produce and labour.

Done at . . .
this day of . . .
Javanese year.

Surabaya, Gresik, Sidayu, Lamongan, Bangil and Pasuruan.

By a similar set of instructions to those issued to Eales, Lieutenant-Colonel A. Adams was authorized on September 5 to introduce the land rent system into the above districts.²⁹ Two days later, however, Raffles appointed H. G. Jourdan to the post of Resident of Pasuruan with orders to assist Adams with the land rent settle-

²⁹ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", 484. The official appointment dated from September 17.

ment there.³⁰ Jourdan, as we have seen, had already gained experience in revenue affairs in Djapan and Wirasaba. These two districts were now incorporated in the Residency of Surabaya.

After conferring with the Regents and chiefs, Raffles gave orders for compensation to be paid to them proportionate to the losses which they were expected to suffer under the new system. During the first settlement the amounts actually granted to them are on page 138.³¹

Besuki, Probolinggo, Panarukan, Puger and Banjuwangi.

Early in 1812, Raffles had recognized Daendels' sales of the Probolinggo-Besuki lands. He had done so against the advice of Goldbach and other Dutchmen, who had warned him that the oppressions of the Chinese proprietors would cause trouble in that part of the island. This was soon to prove true. In May 1813, more than 2,000 people in Probolinggo gave their support to a religious fanatic from Ampel, who had declared that his mission was to introduce Mohammedanism throughout the Oosthoek, and to take charge of Probolinggo.³² The rebels were finally defeated by a small British force, but not before they had burned and plundered many Chinese properties and killed the proprietor Han Kiko. The two British military officers at Probolinggo agreed that the cause of the disturbances was basically the oppression of the Chinese proprietors.³³

When he heard of the rebellion, Raffles immediately despatched Crawford to the Oosthoek to investigate the causes of the revolt.³⁴ Crawford arrived at Probolinggo on June 3. On the following day he wrote to Raffles:³⁵

³⁰ Ibid., 589; *Java Public Consultations*, September 17, 1813.

³¹ I take the following figures from Bauer and Addison's Report on Gresik, September 6, 1814, *Raffles Collection*, V, No. 4 (xi), with the exception of those for Surabaya, Bangil and Pasuruan. In the case of the latter districts, I have used the estimates made by Raffles in his Minute of September 17, 1813, Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, pp. 20—2.

³² The best account of the actual rising was given by Vos, the Bailieu of Probolinggo, *Java Military Consultations*, June 7, 1813. See also *Java Government Gazette*, June 5, 1813; June 12, 1813.

³³ Major Forbes and Captain Cameron's reports, recorded Ibid.

³⁴ Raffles to Crawford, May 27, 1813, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, March 19, 1814.

³⁵ Crawford to Raffles, June 4, 1813, Ibid.

Chiefs	Quantity of sawahs	Assessed value of Lands per annum		Money Grants		Total value of Land & Money Grants	
	Jungs	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.
<i>Bupati</i> of Gresik	400 $\frac{5}{8}$	8,000	—	11,000	—	19,000	—
<i>Patih</i> of Gresik	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	410	—	—	—	410	—
<i>Patih</i> of Gresik	16	320	—	—	—	320	—
<i>Djaksa</i> of Gresik	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	97	15	—	—	97	15
<i>Pangulu</i> of Gresik	2	40	—	—	—	40	—
<i>Bupati</i> of Sidayu	150	7,500	—	8,800	—	16,300	—
<i>Patih</i> of Sidayu	22	960	—	—	—	960	—
<i>Pangulu</i> of Sidayu	2	40	—	—	—	40	—
<i>Bupati</i> of Lamongan	400	8,000	—	8,800	—	16,800	—
<i>Patih</i> of Lamongan	16	320	—	—	—	320	—
<i>Djaksa</i> of Lamongan	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	—	—	—	50	—
<i>Pangulu</i> of Lamongan	2	40	—	—	—	40	—
Sahid Ali Jafir (Pension for services)	98 $\frac{5}{8}$	2,000	—	—	—	2,000	—
Regent of Surabaya	200	—	—	15,400	—	—	—
<i>Patih</i> of Surabaya	25	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Djaksa</i> of Surabaya	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Regent of Bangil	adequate to yield 4,400 J.Rs. p.a.	—	—	6,600	—	—	—
Regent of Pasuruan	adequate to yield 4,400 J.Rs. p.a.	—	—	6,600	—	—	—

The cry against the oppression and maladministration of the Chinese proprietors is . . . so loud and so uniform, that it seems beyond the reach of doubt [that] the late insurrection has had its origin in the discontent which these oppressions have produced. The interests of religion on this, as on many former occasions, were made a rallying point.

He said it was a monstrous prerogative for the Chinese to have had the right of levying taxes on the people. This right had been abused, not so much by the landholder himself — “a man of respectable character” — but by his Chinese retainers, who had treated the people harshly. An excessive capitation tax, and rent for the use of the ground, had been levied, and produce had been purchased from the peasants at arbitrary rates. Crawford said that he would make liberal use of the powers entrusted to him to effect a settlement on “the general principles of an improved administration” which he knew Raffles intended to introduce throughout the island.³⁶ Crawford’s reference was to the land rent system.

No sooner had the disturbances in Probolinggo been settled, than Han Tjan Pit, the Chinese landholder of Besuki and Panarukan, declared that he could no longer meet the purchase instalments for his estate. He petitioned the Government to resume his lands.³⁷ This offer was readily seized upon by Raffles, and on June 13 he issued fresh instructions to Crawford to negotiate for the repurchase of the whole of the Chinese estates in the Oosthoek.³⁸ However, Raffles cautioned him about his intention of introducing the land rent system into the districts. It was “premature”, Raffles wrote,³⁹ “to commence on any settlement or any establishment of a land revenue on account of Government” at that moment. Shortly afterwards, Crawford came to a hasty agreement with Han Tjan Pit for the repurchase of his estates, and handed over the charge of the districts to Lieutenant W. Cotes.

Crawford left precise instructions for Cotes’ guidance.⁴⁰ He was to continue collecting the rents from the estates as the Chinese had done, except that the capitation tax was to be abolished. Cotes was to receive the principal part of the rents in kind, as formerly, at the

³⁶ Loc. cit.

³⁷ Petition of Han Tjan Pit, May 26, 1813, Ibid.

³⁸ Assey to Crawford, June 13, 1813, Ibid.

³⁹ Loc. cit.

⁴⁰ Crawford to Cotes, June 24, 1813, Ibid.

general rate of 10 *hamats* [*amet's*] per *jung*. This was to be received "from the Patingi of each village without entering into any detail with the Individual Cultivator".⁴¹ Crawford thought the above rate might prove to be too high in some cases, and too low in others. He suggested, therefore, that Cotes should begin an investigation of the lands, and prepare statistical tables detailing the rents of each village. Crawford continued:⁴²

The Demangs may, if you find it convenient, be made answerable for the collection of the grain in their respective districts, or the whole produce, if practicable, may be brought into the stores at Probolinggo.

In any case, grain was to be sold by public auction, or occasionally to wholesale merchants for export. Every possible care was to be exercised to keep the sale as near as possible to the market prices, so that the cultivators would not be affected. On no occasion was Cotes to hoard rice in the hope of selling it at a higher price later. In order to give every facility for the collection of the rent in kind, Crawford ordered that all export duties at Probolinggo were to be removed from July 1. But as the great proportion of the *padi* of Besuki and Panarukan had already been collected by the Chinese proprietor for 1813, it would be advisable to allow him to finish the collection for the year. Otherwise the collection would become confused. Crawford continued:⁴³

Although it becomes indispensably requisite that the rent of the sawahs should be paid in kind, that principle must be dispensed with as far as concerns the whole produce of the tagal, the variety of which would render any interference in its details extremely troublesome, if not impracticable.

The Grabang⁴⁴ having been remitted, it will not prove in any respect burthensome to the people to require a money rent for the tagal. The amount of this may generally be calculated at 12 Spanish Dollars per *jung*. That sum must be received from the Patingis, but like the amount of rent demanded in kind from the sawahs, there will be a necessity for adapting the rent to the circumstances of the land, and, therefore, you will find it necessary to open a column for a money rent for the tagals apposite to each village, and decide upon the amount

⁴¹ Loc. cit.

⁴² Loc. cit.

⁴³ Loc. cit.

⁴⁴ Capitation tax.

to be assessed in some respects by the report you may receive of the quality of the soil, but chiefly by the nature of the crops which such lands now yield.

The marriage tax was to be abolished, but a fee was to be charged on each marriage to constitute a fund for the maintenance of the *Pangulus* and *Djaksas* of the district.⁴⁵ In a private letter, Crawford informed Cotes that he thought it would be advisable to give the people the option of paying rents either in money or kind.⁴⁶

On July 13, the members of the Java Council agreed with Raffles that the Chinese estates should be resumed by the Government, but postponed consideration of the means of financing the purchase.⁴⁷ Early in the following month, Raffles instructed David Hopkins "to arrange and carry into effect the agreement entered into by Mr. Crawford with the landholder of Bysookie and Panarookan, and also to adjust the amount to be refunded to the family of the late proprietor of Probolinggo".⁴⁸ Hopkins was also appointed one of the Commissioners for introducing the land rent into the Eastern Districts, and told to effect such a settlement in the former Chinese districts of the Oosthoek.⁴⁹

In September, Hopkins concluded an agreement with Han Tjan Pit for the repurchase of Besuki and Panarukan, by which he was to receive 400,000 Sp. drs. at an interest of 6%. The first instalment was to be paid on September 15, 1814. In addition, he was to be granted monetary compensation for the improvements made on his estate, and given a quantity of rent-free land at Surabaya for his maintenance during his lifetime.⁵⁰ Hopkins also came to an arrangement for the repurchase of Probolinggo with the family of the late Chinese proprietor. Hopkins advised Raffles to grant pensions of 50 Sp. drs. to each of the late landholder's six children so long as they lived, and an allowance when they married. The Government should also purchase a sugar mill at Pasuruan with 30 *jungs* of land for their upkeep, and should

⁴⁵ Crawford to Cotes, June 24, 1813, op. cit.

⁴⁶ Same to same, June 24, 1813, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, March 19, 1814.

⁴⁷ *Java Public Consultations*, July 13, 1813.

⁴⁸ Assey to Hopkins, August 8, 1813, *Java Separate Department Proceedings*, August 9, 1813; De Haan, F., "Personalialia", 581.

⁴⁹ Loc. cit.

⁵⁰ Hopkins to Raffles, September 12, 1813, *Java Public Consultations*, September 28, 1813.

pay off all the debts incurred by the late proprietor. Altogether, Hopkins estimated that the Government would have to pay 93,974 Sp. drs. for the repurchase of the Probolinggo estate.⁵¹ These terms were agreed to by Raffles on November 16,⁵² and the British Government immediately took full control of the districts.

In the meantime, Hopkins had turned his attention to the introduction of the land rent system into the districts east of Bangil. As Jourdan had been told to introduce the new system into Pasuruan, Hopkins' instructions clashed with Raffles' previous orders.⁵³ Hopkins' instructions were issued early in September,⁵⁴ and charged him with the introduction of a more detailed settlement of the land rent in the former Chinese districts than had been ordered elsewhere. Raffles wrote:⁵⁵

It has not been deemed advisable on the first introduction of these arrangements, to enter generally into such a detailed system of management, as would include an immediate consideration of the rights and interests of each individual cultivator; and in the instructions given in the other districts, it has been directed that the lands be, in the first instance, rented to the chief local authority in each village or community, whether recognized under the designation of *Petingi*, *Bakal*, *Lurah*, or other title. *But as the state of society and cultivation, in the districts lately held by the Chinese, may admit of an exception, and a more detailed settlement than elsewhere, you are authorized to introduce the same, to such an extent as may appear safe and practicable, with a due attention to the prejudices of the people and the tranquillity of the country.*

The heads of villages or communities being thus considered, leases are to be granted in the Javanese language.

In fixing the amount of rent, you will ascertain, as far as practicable, the extent of all existing burthens, imposts, and services whatever, and endeavour to determine the amount these have hitherto borne to the produce of the soil; which amount, after an equitable and liberal allowance for any oppression hitherto felt, is to form the basis of the rental, to be demanded as the dues of Government.

⁵¹ Same to same, September 19, 1813, *Java Public Consultations*, November 24, 1813.

⁵² Robinson to Hopkins, November 16, 1813, *Ibid.*

⁵³ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", 581. Hopkins' instructions clearly referred to Pasuruan, (*Sub.*, 30) but in his Minute of September 17, 1813, (Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, 23) Pasuruan was placed under Adams' jurisdiction.

⁵⁴ *Sub.*, pp. 28—32.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

Compensation to the Regent of Pasuruan was mentioned,⁵⁶ but this Regency was soon removed from Hopkins' charge. The grants of money and lands to the Regents of Puger, Probolinggo and Banjuwangi were to be regulated later according to their existing emoluments.⁵⁷

Raffles reports on the introduction of the land rent system throughout Java.

After personally issuing to the various European officers the instructions for the settlement of the land rent, and conferring with the Regents about the amounts of compensation which were to be paid to them, Raffles returned to Batavia in the middle of September. On the 17th, he presented a Minute on the subject to the Council in which he outlined the arrangements made in the Eastern Districts,⁵⁸ and four days later he informed the Directors of the introduction of the new system of revenue throughout the island. He said it had already been effected in Tjirebon, Pekalongan, Kedu and the other Transferred Districts, and was "in progress" throughout the remainder of the Company's domains, except in the Batavian and Preanger Regencies. Raffles explained that as a part of the new system, the export duties on colonial produce were to be removed, and that he was contemplating the abolition of the toll-gates. The loss of these farms, he said, would be amply compensated by the increased yield from the land rent.⁵⁹

On October 5, he informed the Bengal Government of his measures,⁶⁰ and ten days later issued a proclamation in which he outlined the principles of the intended change. The proclamation was to serve as official confirmation of the instructions already issued by Raffles to the Residents.⁶¹

1. The undue influence and authority of the Native Chiefs have been restricted: but Government avail themselves of their

⁵⁶ Ibid., 30.

⁵⁷ Hopkin's instructions referred only to the Regents of Puger and Banjuwangi, but Raffles' Minute of September 17, 1813, op. cit., included the Regent of Probolinggo among those who were to receive compensation.

⁵⁸ Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, pp. 18—24.

⁵⁹ Raffles to the Secret Committee, September 21, 1813, *Java Separate Department Proceedings*, September 23, 1813.

⁶⁰ Raffles to Minto, October 5, 1813, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, February 15, 1814.

⁶¹ *Sub.*, 32.

services in the important department of the Native Police, which will be arranged upon fixed principles, adapted to the habits and original institutions of the people. A competent provision in lands and in money has been allotted to such Chiefs, and it therefore naturally becomes both their duty and their interest, to encourage industry and to protect the inhabitants.

2. The Government lands will be let generally to the Heads of Villages, who will be held responsible for the proper management of such portions of the country as may be placed under their superintendence and authority. They will re-let these lands to the Cultivators, under certain restrictions, at such a rate as shall not be found oppressive; and all Tenants under Government will be protected in their just rights, so long as they shall continue to perform their correspondent engagements faithfully: for it is intended to promote extensive industry and consequent improvement, by giving the people an interest in the soil, and by instituting amongst them an acknowledged claim to the possession of the lands, that they may be thus induced to labour for their own profit and advantage.
3. The system of vassalage and forced deliveries has been abolished generally throughout the Island: but in the Batavian and Preanger Regencies such a modification of the former arrangements has been carried into execution, as it was found practicable, under existing circumstances, to introduce; and provisionally the Blandong system will be continued to a certain extent in the central Forest Districts.
4. To encourage the cultivation of so important an article of export as Coffee may become, when the trade of Europe and America may be thrown open to free competition, Government have stipulated to receive any surplus quantity of that commodity from the Cultivators, at a reasonable and fixed rate, when a higher price for it cannot be obtained in the Market.
5. To extend free trade and commerce, and to promote a spirit of enterprise and speculation amongst the inhabitants, the Bhoom Farms have been abolished, the duties upon the principal articles of export have been taken off, and it is intended to modify and amend the Custom-house Regulations before the 1st of January next. The toll-gates and transport duties of the interior have been diminished as much as possible, and in the gradual progression of improvement, they will be finally abolished.⁶²

Only two weeks after this proclamation had been promulgated,

⁶² Ibid., pp. 174—5; *Java Government Gazette*, October 16, 1813.

Raffles announced his intention of departing again for the Eastern Districts. He claimed that the journey was necessary, in order to complete the land rent settlements in those districts. He left Batavia on November 2 in the company of his wife. It is an intriguing question why Raffles departed for the Eastern Districts in such haste, and so soon after he had returned from there. If we can answer that question correctly, we may also have the answer to the more important question — why, only four months after he had given orders for the village settlement of the land rent did he revoke them, and order instead the introduction of the individual, or *Ryotwari*, system of revenue collection?
