

CHAPTER IX

THE LAND RENT ASSESSMENTS OF 1813

Tjirebon.

Although Crawford discovered individual proprietary rights in Tjirebon, he still wished to establish a village settlement of the land rent in the Residency. Raffles praised Crawford's settlement in his Minute of the following February,¹ although by then he was a firm opponent of the system. Crawford completed his work in Tjirebon in December, and departed for Yogyakarta.

Raffles had visited Tjirebon on November 6. He found that Crawford had commenced a yearly settlement on the village chiefs,² at a gross assessment of 218,736 J.Rs.³ After deducting a sum of 34,270 J. Rs., which was the estimated value of the lands assigned to the chiefs,⁴ the net land rent was calculated at 184,466 J. Rs.⁵ This was expected to yield a surplus revenue for the Residency of a little more than 150,000 J. Rs.⁶ This sum alone, Raffles reported to Nightingall,⁷ was equal to the gross amount of all receipts in any former year. He later claimed that the Resident, Lieutenant-Colonel Raban, had experienced no difficulty in raising the total amount of the rent in cash.⁸

Tegal, Brebes and Pemalang.

Raffles spent three days in Tjirebon, from whence he proceeded to Tegal. A village settlement had also been made there by Major

¹ *Sub.*, 75.

² Raffles stated that he helped to complete the settlement himself. *Ibid.*, 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* This estimate was lower than the amount of compensation actually paid. See p. 131.

⁵ *Sub.*, 179.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 27. In a letter to Nightingall, dated November 6, 1813, Raffles gave the figure as 68,388 Sp. drs., or 150,453 J. Rs., *Java Public Consultations*, November 19, 1813.

⁷ Raffles to Nightingall, *Ibid.*

⁸ *Sub.*, pp. 27; 75.

Keasberry, and his assistant W. Davies.⁹ Raffles stated three months later that the condition of the native population in Tegal was not far enough improved to begin a detailed settlement.¹⁰ But the truth of the matter was that as the village settlement had already been completed, Raffles could have done little to upset it. Nevertheless, he made some provision for a future detailed settlement by writing into the leases given to the *Petinggis* a stipulation that they should secure to the Javanese the full enjoyment of their property according to the established custom.¹¹ The first assessment of the land rent at Tegal was 180,489 J. Rs. per annum.¹² After allowing a deduction of 21,111 J. Rs. for rents of the lands granted to the chiefs as compensation,¹³ a net land rent of 159,378 J. Rs. was expected.¹⁴ It was thought that this would produce a surplus of 130,845 J. Rs. over disbursements.¹⁵ The land rent of Tegal was to be paid one-third in silver, and two-thirds in copper.¹⁶

Pekalongan, Ulujami and Batang.

The first land rent settlement of Pekalongan made by Hardy was something of a fiasco. In June 1813, Lawrence was appointed to succeed him with instructions to prepare for a fresh assessment when Hardy's village settlement expired. No sooner had Lawrence taken charge of Pekalongan than the Chinese proprietor of Ulujami, Tan Tjan Kong, died. Raffles ordered the immediate resumption of the district by the Government.¹⁷ This decision was prompted by the fear of a similar rising to that in Probolinggo. When Lawrence took charge of Ulujami in June, he was instructed to introduce the land rent system there.

⁹ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", pp. 590; 532; *Sub.*, pp. 75—6.

¹⁰ *Sub.*, 33.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 179. The figure given *Ibid.*, 33, included the tenement tax. In a letter to Nightingall on November 13, 1813, Raffles stated that the land rent of Tegal had been fixed at 82,268 Sp. drs., *Java Public Consultations*, November 19, 1813. This was a slightly higher figure than that given in the text above.

¹³ *Sub.*, 179. This estimate was lower than the later calculation of the rent of these lands. See p. 132.

¹⁴ *Sub.*, 179.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 33. In his letter to Nightingall, November 13, 1813, *op. cit.*, Raffles gave the slightly higher figure of 63,495 Sp. drs.

¹⁶ Raffles to Nightingall, November 13, 1813, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Sub.*, 34.

The first settlement of Ulujami was made by granting leases to the *Bekels* for a period of three years.¹⁸ Rents were to be paid in money, but an option was to be given to the cultivators to make a portion of their payments in rice at the average market price.¹⁹ Raffles stated later that he had been forced to grant longer leases in Ulujami than he had desired, because he had wished to restore confidence among the population following the oppressive administration of the Chinese.²⁰ In order to secure uniformity in the whole of the Pekalongan Residency, the triennial village leases were extended throughout.²¹ Lawrence found some difficulty, probably because of Hardy's earlier faulty settlement, in issuing all of these leases at the same time, and was forced to grant them at different periods.²² The Government, however, reserved the right of reassessing the lands at the end of the first year.²³

Raffles stated that Ulujami was "the first district in which the new revenue system was introduced",²⁴ but this is to be read as "first" after his land rent Minute of June 1813, as Lawrence's settlement of Ulujami was made in July and August of that year.²⁵ De Salis stated in September 1816 that a detailed settlement had been effected in Ulujami, while the village system continued in the other districts of Pekalongan.²⁶ But Raffles never listed Ulujami among the districts where the *Ryotwari* system had been introduced, and Bauer and Addison, who visited Ulujami in August of 1814, referred to the village system being in operation there.²⁷ However, the village chiefs of Ulujami had been required to write on the back of their leases the names of the cultivators, the amounts of lands they held, and the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

²² *Ibid.*, 34. One can infer from De Salis' "Verslag over den waren aard der Britsche Administratie in de Residentiën Pekalongan en Kadoe", (Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, 91) that the last lease was granted on September 31, 1813.

²³ *Sub.*, pp. 38—9.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 36. In a despatch to Minto dated July 11, 1813, Raffles reported that the land rent system was then being introduced into Pekalongan, *Bengal Civil Colonial Consultations*, December 18, 1813.

²⁶ Salis, A. M. T. de, "Verslag over . . . Pekalongan en Kadoe", *op. cit.*, 92.

²⁷ Bauer and Addison, Report on Pekalongan, August 9, 1814, *Raffles Collection*, V, No. 4 (iii).

rent each of them had to pay. This information was kept at the Resident's Office for easy reference, and the Government did not hesitate to interfere in the disputes which arose between the cultivators and the renters.²⁸ There were, therefore, certain features in the Ulujami arrangements which resembled the later detailed settlements.

The first land rent assessment of Ulujami is not known, although Raffles stated in 1814 that its net revenue was equal to four times the amount which had been yielded under the Chinese administration.²⁹ From this we may infer that the net revenue was somewhere between 18,000 and 20,000 Sp. drs., since the annual rent which had been paid by the Chinese was between 4,612 Sp. drs. and 4,980 Sp. drs.

The land rent assessment of the Pekalongan Residency as a whole, was established at 260,338 J. Rs.,³⁰ which was more than double the former contingent and recognition money.³¹ This was expected to produce a net surplus revenue for the Residency of 121,734 Sp. drs., (267,814 J. Rs.), which was nearly double the amount of the gross revenue of any previous year.³² Raffles informed Nightingall in November 1813, that the coffee gardens and forests had been let as waste land, and were not to be assessed for rent for a period of three years.³³ Lawrence had already begun clearing the forest of Kada-wang in order to put it into cultivation on this principle of exemption.

On the completion of the Ulujami settlement, Raffles ordered that a similar settlement be made in Batang,³⁴ and Wiradesa.³⁵

Lawrence granted lands and money to the *Tumenggungs* and other chiefs in the Pekalongan settlement as follows:³⁶

²⁸ *Sub.*, 36.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 39; 179.

³¹ Raffles to Nightingall, November 20, 1813, *Java Public Consultations*, November 24, 1813.

³² *Loc. cit.* Compare *Sub.*, 39. This balance was not, of course, to be produced from the land rent alone.

³³ Raffles to Nightingall, November 20, 1813, *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Sub.*, 37.

³⁵ Bauer and Addison, Report on Pekalongan, *op. cit.*

³⁶ I take this list from Bauer and Addison's Report, *Ibid.* The list is dated July 17, 1814.

Chiefs	Quantity of Sawahs	Assessed value of land per annum		Money grants		Total value of land and money grants p.a.	
	<i>Jungs</i>	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.	J. Rs.	Sts.
<i>Tumenggung of Pekalongan and Wiradesa</i>	154%	4,771	24	2,640	—	7,411	24
Head <i>Pangulu</i> and "Priests" of Pekalongan and Wiradesa	50%	1,267	6	—	—	1,267	6
Head <i>Djaksa</i> of Pekalongan and Wiradesa	5¼	184	24	—	—	184	24
Late <i>Tumenggung</i> of Wiradesa	18 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	666	18	—	—	666	18
<i>Patih Dalem</i>	16	211	6	—	—	211	6
Brother to the late <i>Adipati</i> of Pekalongan	4	105	18	—	—	105	18
Former <i>Patih</i>	1	20	27	—	—	20	27
Former <i>Raden</i> of Batang	11%	367	13	—	—	367	12
<i>Tumenggung</i> of Batang	153½	4,847	21	2,640	—	7,487	21
<i>Pangulu</i> and "Priests" of Batang	30	811	24	—	—	811	24
TOTAL	444 ¹³ / ₁₆	13,255	—	5,280	—	18,535	—

Kedu.

Raffles left Pekalongan on November 22 for Semarang. On the 28th he departed from Semarang in the company of his family for Serondol, and on the 29th, accompanied by Robinson, Skelton, Taylor and Eckford entered Kedu on a two day visit. He was met by Lawrence, and his assistant Heyland.³⁷

³⁷ *Java Government Gazette*, December 11, 1813.

Crawfurd had made the first land rent settlement of Kedu in September 1812.³⁸ Early in the New Year Lawrence was appointed to succeed him as Resident.³⁹ But in May he was given the additional charge of Pekalongan,⁴⁰ with instructions to introduce the land rent system there. From the beginning of June until the end of August, Lawrence was fully occupied in Ulujami and Pekalongan, and it was only in September that he was able to turn his attention once again to Kedu. Towards the end of that month, he addressed a letter to the Java Council in which he stated that he was about to begin the land rent settlement of Kedu.⁴¹ This referred to the necessity of extending the annual leases granted by Crawfurd in the previous year. However, Lawrence received no instructions until Raffles entered Kedu at the end of November. During the discussions, Lawrence impressed on the Lieutenant-Governor that the earlier assessment was not high enough when compared with the resources of the district. He thought that a more regular assessment was essential.⁴² After a few hasty enquiries, Raffles gave him instructions to begin the introduction of a detailed settlement of the land rent. These instructions showed clearly the influence of the discovery relating to the election of village headmen in the coastal districts. They also contained the first reference made by Raffles to the term *Ryotwari*.

It has been a question with Government, how far either the *Bakals* or *Demangs* ought to be considered in the light of landholders, as suggested by Mr. Crawfurd in his Report on the Cadoe; and on a due consideration of the rights and pretensions of all classes, it has been considered, that there does not exist any proprietary right in the soil between the actual cultivator and the Sovereign, to establish the *Bakal* as the hereditary landholder. To allow him to sub-let the land of a village at pleasure, would be to grant him an authority and independence which never could have been expected, and to arm him with power prejudicial to the happiness of the people, and repugnant to the objects which Government have in view, in effecting the amelioration and improvement of the mass of the population.

³⁸ See pp. 99—101.

³⁹ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", pp. 527; 595.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 595.

⁴¹ *Java Public Consultations*, September 28, 1813. Lawrence's letter was not recorded in full.

⁴² *Sub.*, 44.

You will, in consequence, proceed to effect such a detailed settlement of the revenue, as will include a consideration of the interests of every individual claimant of land in each village, and adopt, as far as local circumstances may admit, the principles of the *ryotwar* settlement, which is understood to have been advantageously introduced in Western India. The modifications in this settlement are, of course, left to your discretion and judgment.

Under this system, the *Bakals*, or heads of villages, may be entrusted with the police, and the collection of the land rent of each village; but instead of leases being granted to them, as first suggested, they should receive a commission according to the form enclosed: and, as far as it may be found practicable, a short certificate should be given to each landholder in the village, defining the extent of his property, and the amount of the rent he has to pay annually.⁴³

Lawrence set about his task with a will. By the end of December he was able to report to Raffles on the facility with which the new settlement had been made in one district of Kedu, and of his hopes of it being rapidly extended to the other parts of the Residency.⁴⁴ He informed his superior that on the basis of the assessment of the first district, the detailed settlement of the whole of Kedu would produce an augmentation of revenue of something like 70 %, after allowing for compensation to the chiefs.⁴⁵ The gross assessment of Kedu was stated to be 419,760 J. Rs. in February, 1814.⁴⁶ This was in excess of Lawrence's earlier estimate. In Kedu, the charges of the Native Establishment, and the compensation granted to chiefs, were all paid in cash, so that there were no deductions made from the gross rental.⁴⁷

Grobogan, Djipang and Wirosari.

A detailed settlement was also ordered to be introduced into Grobogan, Djipang and Wirosari, but this was still proceeding slowly in the early months of 1814.⁴⁸ The total assessment was 150,000 J. Rs.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 45—6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47—8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

A similar settlement appears to have been ordered for Patjitan, although there is little material available on the subject. In August 1814, the assessment of the district was stated to be 3,148 J. Rs.,⁵⁰ which was slightly less than that established by Crawford.⁵¹

Semarang, Kendal and Demak.

Raffles returned to Semarang after his visit to Kedu. The Resident, Lieutenant-Colonel Eales, had found many difficulties confronting him in the introduction of the land rent system, and Raffles spent a great part of December there attempting to bring some sort of order into the "mixed" settlement. Because of the Military Establishment at Semarang, heavy demands were made on the Javanese for public service, and this factor, together with difficulty of securing accurate information on the extent and nature of cultivation,⁵² forced Raffles to continue many of the farms operating in the town and its environs. The "rice market", "wax candles", "slaughtering cattle", "Chinese tobacco", *wayang*, and "vegetable shop" farms were all continued, as well as the capitation tax upon the Chinese.⁵³ In an apologetic tone, Raffles informed Nightingall and the Java Council of the fact.⁵⁴

The conditions of the above farms appear to me in many instances, frivolous and vexatious, but some of them, such as the vegetables shops, &c., are so intimately connected with the Police of the Town and Environs, and the general supply of necessaries, while the others bear exclusively on the Chinese population, who are not otherwise taxed, that some caution may become necessary in abolishing at once taxes and regulations, which, no doubt, originally were made with reference to the habits of the people, and which long usage may have rendered less oppressive and vexatious, than they would at first appear.

⁵⁰ Report on Yogyakarta by Bauer and Addison, August 6, 1814, *Raffles Collection*, V, No. 4 (vi).

⁵¹ See p. 97.

⁵² *Sub.*, 39. This is hard to understand as he was in possession of Knops' detailed report on Semarang. "Provisional or Abridged View of the Regency of Samarang and of its Dependancies", 1812, *Mack. Coll.*, (*Pr.*), Vol. 79, No. 2; *Mack. Coll.*, (*Class*), XIV, No. 25.

⁵³ Raffles to Nightingall, November 27, 1813, *Java Public Consultations*, December 15, 1813. The farms were sold by public auction on December 27, 1813.

⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*

The farms, he thought, would have to be revised eventually when the regulations for the Batavian Police and farms were completed.⁵⁵ But in the meantime, they could "be considered as a land rent payable under a different denomination, since these imposts bear principally upon agriculture and industry".⁵⁶

In making the land rent settlement within the Semarang Residency, lands were leased to the heads of villages for one year,⁵⁷ at a gross rental of 150,235 Sp. drs., or 330,517 J. Rs.⁵⁸ The revenue farms were rented out at the slightly lower figure of 114,943 Sp. drs.⁵⁹ The land rent of Demak and Kendal, which was incorporated in the above assessment, amounted to 37,027 Sp. drs. and 23,527 Sp. drs. respectively.⁶⁰ These sums, together with the 89,681 Sp. drs. established for Semarang,⁶¹ made up the gross rent of 150,235 Sp. drs. Of this, 10,000 Sp. drs., or 22,000 J. Rs. were granted to the three Regents in compensation,⁶² and another 3,000 Sp. drs. were deducted as the equivalent of the rents on the lands granted to the other chiefs in the Residency.⁶³ 2 % of the total rent went to Eales as a commission on collections.

Raffles did not leave Semarang until December 28, when he proceeded to Djapara. He had no sooner arrived there, than news reached him of Hopkins' death at Probolinggo. Raffles hastened to the Oosthoek in order to superintend the introduction of the detailed land settlement.

Pasuruan.

Hopkins had been appointed a Commissioner for introducing the land rent system into the districts east of Bangli, but due to a con-

⁵⁵ Loc. cit. Raffles hoped that the farming system would be abolished in 1815, *Sub.*, 39.

⁵⁶ Loc. cit.

⁵⁷ Loc. cit.

⁵⁸ "Estimate of the probable Receipts and Disbursements of the Residency of Samarang for the year 1814", *Java Public Consultations*, January 17, 1814. Compare *Sub.*, 179. There was an augmentation of the total territorial revenue between December and February, *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵⁹ Raffles to Nightingall, December 27, 1813, *Java Public Consultations*, January 17, 1814.

⁶⁰ "Estimate of the probable Receipts... of Samarang...", op. cit.

⁶¹ Loc. cit.

⁶² See p. 133.

⁶³ "Estimate of the probable Receipts... of Samarang...", op. cit. Compare *Sub.*, 179.

fusion of orders, Pasuruan had been placed under the control of Jourdan. The latter was supposed to assist Adams at Surabaya, as well as listen to the advice of Hopkins on the subject of land rent.⁶⁴ Raffles' instructions to Hopkins had recommended a detailed settlement of the rent in Besuki and Probolinggo, and these were also meant to apply to Pasuruan.⁶⁵ When Raffles arrived in the Oosthoek early in 1814, he found that Jourdan had completed the settlement in Pasuruan, and that Hopkins' assistants were putting the finishing touches to the settlements in Probolinggo, Besuki and Banjuwangi.

In Pasuruan, Jourdan had based his assessment upon the different quality of the *sawahs*. He divided them into three classes, and from the best demanded one-half of the produce; from the middling two-fifths; and from the inferior one-third.⁶⁶ He calculated the amount of *padi* produced from a *jung* of the best *sawah* at between 40 and 50 *hamats* [*amět's*]; 30 to 35 *hamats* from a *jung* of average quality *sawah*; and 15 to 20 *hamats* from inferior *sawah*. As the average holding of each cultivator was about one quarter of a *jung*, the cultivators of the best *sawahs* had to pay a yearly rental of 6, 5½ or 5 *hamats* of *padi*; those of the middling quality *sawahs* from 4 to 3½ *hamats*; and those of the poor *sawahs* from 3 to 2 *hamats*. The value of each *hamat* was about 8 J. Rs., and the cultivator was given the option of paying his rent in money or in kind. But in order to pave the way for the introduction of a money rent, it was stipulated that each cultivator had to pay the equivalent of at least 1 *hamat* from each quarter of a *jung* in cash. Jourdan thought that this was an infinitely fair arrangement. "There is little reason to fear, that this regulation will prove a source of annoyance", he informed Raffles,⁶⁷ "as the collection is to be made every three months, and the demand from each individual will not exceed two Rupees per quarter." On the *tegals*, the rent was less.⁶⁸

In Malang and Ontang [?], Jourdan was forced to establish only "a

⁶⁴ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", pp. 581; 589. Raffles (*Sub.*, pp. 77—8) stated that Jourdan had been under Hopkins' orders.

⁶⁵ *Sub.*, 30.

⁶⁶ I take these facts from Jourdan's Report, *Sub.*, pp. 138 et seq.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁶⁸ *Loc. cit.* As a general rule the *tegals* of the Oosthoek districts were assessed at one-third of the produce in maize when of the first quality; one-quarter if of middling quality; and one-fifth when of the poorest quality. *Ibid.*, 138.

moderate money assessment",⁶⁹ because the expense of transporting the produce from these inland districts would have been too great, and would have reduced the amount of rent available. This "moderate" assessment was, in fact, 16 J. Rs. per annum for each quarter *jung* of land.⁷⁰ Jourdan would have placed it even higher, but for the opposition from the people.⁷¹ The native people who did not possess either *sawahs* or *tegals* were required to pay a rent for the ground upon which their huts stood. This was not so much designed to add to the revenue of the Government, as to provide an incentive, for cultivation lest the people began quitting their lands.⁷²

The total land rent of Pasuruan, Malang and Ontang was established at 530,000 J. Rs., with a tenement tax of 20,000 J. Rs.⁷³

Besuki, Probolinggo, Panarukan, Puger and Banjuwangi.

After Hopkins' death, his two assistants Roxburgh and Davis continued in their positions as Collectors of the land rent in the Oosthoek districts, the former with particular jurisdiction in Besuki, and the latter in Banjuwangi.⁷⁴ When he arrived at Probolinggo early in January 1814, Raffles found that they had prepared statistical tables for the introduction of the *Ryotwari* system. These tables gave the names of the cultivators, the amount of lands, and a calculation of the amount of rent which each cultivator was to pay, either in money or in kind.⁷⁵ Hopkins thought that most of the first year's rent would be paid in kind,⁷⁶ but hoped that shortly afterwards the collections would be made in cash, at an increase of 10 %.⁷⁷ The first assessment of the land rent in Probolinggo, Besuki Panarukan, Puger and Lumadjang was 560,000 J. Rs. There was also a tenement tax of 24,000 J. Rs.⁷⁸ The assessment of Banjuwangi

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140—1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁷² *Ibid.*, 142.

⁷³ "Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements of the Districts East of Sourabaya . . .", *Java Public Consultations*, January 17, 1814. Compare Jourdan's figures (*Sub.*, 138) which suggest a lower assessment. The figure in the text accords with Raffles' estimate, *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷⁴ *Sub.*, pp. 145—6; De Haan, F., "Personalalia", pp. 635; 532—3. Davis had been appointed Resident of Banjuwangi in September 1813.

⁷⁵ *Sub.*, 146.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁷⁸ "Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements of the Districts East of Sourabaya . . .", *op. cit.*

was 52,000 J. Rs. for the land rent, and another 6,000 J. Rs. for the tenement tax.⁷⁹ This resulted in a total assessment of the land rent of the districts east of Surabaya of 1,192,000 J. Rs., and a gross revenue of 1,236,000 J. Rs.⁸⁰ The disbursements were calculated at only 175,060 J. Rs., or 14 % of the total revenue,⁸¹ so that there was an estimated surplus revenue of one million J. Rs.⁸²

Surabaya and Gresik.

Although Adams had found that the *Petinggis* held elective offices,⁸³ he used the discovery to support a different conclusion from that of Raffles. Adams thought that a land rent settled on the village chiefs was "the one most suited to this division of the country, not only as it is what the people are accustomed to . . . but as the one in which, until a more complete knowledge of the history of the country is obtained than now exists . . . is least likely to neglect those who have the best claim to preference".⁸⁴ Raffles questioned this,⁸⁵ but he agreed to such a settlement at Surabaya, because of the local difficulties.⁸⁶ The farming system was continued, and the profits from this, and the land rent, were expected to yield an increase in the territorial revenue of 567,178 J. Rs.⁸⁷ The gross assessment of the land rent was established at 605,404 J. Rs. After allowing a deduction of 72,302 J. Rs. as compensation for the chiefs,⁸⁸ a net land rent of 533,102 J. Rs. was anticipated.⁸⁹

Rembang, Lasem and Tuban.

Raffles did not include Rembang, Lasem and Tuban in the arrangements which had been made in August and September 1813. In his Minute of September 17 he simply stated that these districts would, together with Blora, form a central Blandongs district.⁹⁰

⁷⁹ Loc. cit.

⁸⁰ Raffles to Nightingall, January 10, 1814, *Java Public Consultations*, January 17, 1814. Compare *Sub.*, 179.

⁸¹ Raffles to Nightingall, *Ibid.*

⁸² *Sub.*, 43.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 117—8.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 118—9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁸⁶ Loc. cit.

⁸⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸⁸ Compare p. 138.

⁸⁹ *Sub.*, 179.

⁹⁰ Deventer, M. L. van, *N.G.*, 23.

However, instructions were issued to Hopkins shortly afterwards to introduce a detailed settlement there.⁹¹ The settlement was far enough advanced by January for Raffles to include Rembang, Lasem and Tuban among the districts where the detailed system had already been introduced. He wrote to Nightingall on January 10:⁹²

[Besuki, Probolinggo, Pasuruan and Banjuwangi] are the only Districts which have as yet been settled according to the detailed system by which an arrangement is made with each cultivator in the village, but a similar settlement is now in progress in the Cadoe and the other Districts lately ceded to Government, and [in] Rembang, Lassum and Touban, and I have reason to calculate on the most favourable results to the Public Revenue, at the same time that the rights and interests of each individual will be more effectually protected.

By the middle of the following month, Raffles thought that Davidson's⁹³ settlement of the districts would produce a total revenue of 256,092 J. Rs., or an increase of 150,000 J. Rs. on its previous revenue.⁹⁴ The net land rent was estimated at 228,868 J. Rs.⁹⁵

Djapara, Djuwana, Pati and Kudus.

Raffles had been called away from Djapara at the end of December because of Hopkins' sudden death at Probolinggo. In the meantime, McQuoid had made a settlement on the village chiefs for one year.⁹⁶ The assessment of the land rent for the Djapara—Djuwana districts was as follows:⁹⁷

Djapara	19,825 Sp. drs.	(43,615 J. Rs.)
Djuwana	21,789 Sp. drs.	(47,935 J. Rs.)
Kudus	14,724 Sp. drs.	(32,392 J. Rs.)
Pati	48,039 Sp. drs.	(105,685 J. Rs.)

⁹¹ *Sub.*, 41.

⁹² Raffles to Nightingall, January 10, 1814. *Java Public Consultations*, January 17, 1814.

⁹³ De Haan, F., "Personalialia", 531.

⁹⁴ *Sub.*, 42.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁹⁷ "Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements of the Residency of Japara... for the year 1814", *Java Public Consultations*, February 3, 1814.

There was also a tenement tax which amounted to 14,000 Sp. drs. The total land revenue was thus 118,379 Sp. drs., or 260,433 J. Rs.⁹⁸ From this, 16,336 Sp. drs., or 35,939 J. Rs. had to be deducted as the amount of compensation paid to the Regents and chiefs.⁹⁹ McQuoid's estimate of the total net revenue of the Djapara Residency was, therefore, too high.¹⁰⁰ However, he saw other than financial benefits in the new revenue system. He told Raffles that the "advantages of still greater importance, and more highly to be prized by every enlightened, liberal, and just Government, are the genuine attendants on this system of revenue, since it may be truly said to carry in its train, directly to the cultivator of the soil, the inestimable blessings of emancipation from thralldom and exactions of those bloodsuckers who formerly beset him in all directions, a freedom to exert his best energies for his own individual benefit, an adequate payment for labour, whether given for public or private purposes, and the greatest possible stimulus to industry, [and] security of property".¹⁰¹

With such high flown phrases ringing in his ears, Raffles returned to Batavia. He arrived there on January 28, and began a feverish preparation of his despatches for Europe and Bengal. By February 11, he had written his long land rent Minute, and completed the revenue and judicial regulations for the introduction of the new system.¹⁰² Truly a remarkable effort.

⁹⁸ Loc. cit. Compare *Sub.*, 179.

⁹⁹ "Estimate of Receipts... of Japara...", op. cit. See p. 135, and compare *Sub.*, 179.

¹⁰⁰ *Sub.*, 40.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40—1.

¹⁰² All printed in *Sub.*