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A NEGLECTED REFORMER ON JAVA:

GOVERNOR-GENERAL SLOET van de BEELE, 1861-1866*

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Introduction

In order to understand better the nineteenth-century history of Java we must attempt to examine all available sources of information, including the extensive records left by the Dutch colonial government. However, in doing so we must be wary of the danger of Euro-centric bias attached to the use of colonial administrative documents. This is especially true if we are concerned with the question: "In what specific ways did Dutch colonial policy and administration contribute to the 'development' and 'underdevelopment' of Java?" The danger inherent in using the documents left by the colonial "exploiters" themselves is apparent. That danger becomes obvious, even to someone not trained in historiographic methods, when we attempt to use the administrations of the governor-generals as a "mirror" of nineteenth-century Dutch colonial policy and administration. Why study the governor-generals? Why not study the Javanese instead?

If it were a question of either/or then it would indeed be better to concentrate on Indonesian materials. The contributions to our knowledge which that approach has provided are

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evident in the work by Carey (1974), Hoadley (1975), and Sutherland (1975), to mention only a few leading scholars. However, it is not a matter of choosing either one approach or another. A division of tasks is possible. Several writers have shown that the use of exclusively Dutch colonial sources does not necessarily lead to a Euro-centric bias. We have learned a great deal from Wright (1952), Reinsma (1959b), Wertheim and Wertheim (1968), Reid (1969), Knight (1975) and Fasseur (1975). The scholarly contributions by Robert Van Niel are especially well known.

Therefore, in this paper I would like to suggest that the use of Dutch colonial sources, especially archival sources, is a fruitful approach to the study of nineteenth-century Javanese history, not merely to the study of Dutch colonial history. If the materials are used critically, it is possible to learn much that is of value to contemporary Indonesian society. This is especially true of the problem of "development and underdevelopment." To understand adequately Indonesia today it is important to understand as much as we can about Indonesia's colonial legacy. The Netherlands and Java were so closely intertwined during the nineteenth century that shying away from Dutch source materials because such evidence may involve a Euro-centric bias is likely to involve a significant loss to our knowledge of how Indonesia has become the way it is.

The bias against use of colonial source materials is especially strong when the purpose for using such evidence is to gain insight into broader sociological issues, i.e., issues concerning sociological history. That attitude creates a blind spot which precludes a full understanding of Indonesia's current situation. The use of colonial source materials for purely historical description is deemed worthwhile, but such materials are not felt to be of any value for understanding economic and social development and underdevelopment. This is partially accounted for by the fact that in many textbooks the use of colonial materials has not advanced beyond that found in Meinsma (1872-1873) or Lekkerkerker (1938). Clifford Geertz broke away from the older attitude to colonial source material; he used several Dutch studies of the 1920s to illustrate his description of Java as suffering from "involution."

More systematic use of colonial materials recently by Fasseur (1975) and others has not always been translated into theories of the sort advanced by Emmerson (1976) and Jackson (1978).

We have come a long way since the pioneering efforts of the Yale historian Clive Day (1904). Yet the strides that have been made in historical and sociological research based on Dutch colonial sources have not always been reflected in current theoretical work, much less in current textbooks. In this paper I examine the administration of Sloet van de Beele in order to illustrate the general principle that there is much to learn from a thorough examination of colonial documents. This paper itself only begins the re-examination of Sloet's term in office. But it should be evident from the details which follow that generalizations about nineteenth-century Java often fail to take into account a very detailed set of historical events. As you read about Sloet, reflect on the fact that his administration is rarely even mentioned by historians dealing with Java in the nineteenth century, much less historians dealing with the sweep of Java's history or sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, etc., studying "Indonesian" modernization (i.e., development and underdevelopment).

Sloet's Administration As A Mirror

Because of the manner in which Governor-General Sloet van de Beele clearly represents the times in which he lived, a "snapshot" of his administration (1861-1866) is the basis for a more rounded picture of changes within Dutch colonial policy and administration during the middle period of the cultivation system. These changes, in turn, represent significant modifications of the social and economic situation in Java at mid-century, modifications which probably affected large numbers of Javans (Javanese, Madurese, Sundanese, and Balinese living in Java). Sloet carried out a number of Liberal reforms, particularly after Fransen van de Putte was chosen Minister of Colonies (i.e., after February 2, 1863). He is a representative figure of his age.

Sloet's administration has been generally ignored, however, even by academic scholars primarily interested in the study of Java's history during the nineteenth century. That is because writers commenting on the cultivation system (kultuurstelsel)

have mainly been concerned with:

1. the initial stages of the early cultivation system (1830-1836+), when Johannes van den Bosch and Jean Chretien Baud were Governor-Generals;
2. early failures of the cultivation system, such as migrations, famines, abuse of compulsory services by regents, small-scale revolts, etc.; and
3. the abolition of the cultivation system in the Dutch parliament (i.e., Staten-Generaal) during the late 1860s.

These issues were largely defined by the debate between Conservatives and Liberals in the Dutch parliament. Early Liberal writers like Feist (1865), Mol van Otterloo (1859) and others (e.g., Anonymous, 1863b) discussed these three topics. Subsequently, historians continued to investigate these issues (e.g., Brumund, 1854; Meinsma, 1872-1873). The cultivation system was not evaluated as a whole, throughout the span of its history, but in terms of the issues originally raised in parliament. Naturally Liberal members of parliament were more disposed to examine certain aspects of the cultivation system rather than others. They paid special attention to early failures and abuses, for example (e.g., Salak, 1860). Viewpoints of Liberal parliamentarians were later implicit in the work of many historians. This can be seen especially clearly in Clive Day's well known, "classic" work, The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java (1904, reprinted 1966).

Consequently, Sloet's administration, which represents a period of Liberal reform, has generally been ignored. Conservatives in parliament had little interest in chronicling Sloet's reforms, and Liberals were more concerned with stressing abuses of the system than with pointing out what had already been accomplished. It is somewhat ironic that one of the major Liberal governor-generals has been ignored largely because it was Liberals who initially established the perspective from which most of the historical accounts of the cultivation system have largely drawn their inspiration. We can now correct that error and begin to view Sloet's administration with more impartiality.

Sloet's Life

Let us, therefore, begin our actual review of Sloet's administration with a brief inquiry into his life. Once we have introduced Sloet the historical actor, then we can move on to interpretation of his role in the cultivation system during the

1860s.

Ludolf Anne Jan Wilt baron Sloet van de Beele was born at Voorst on March 28, 1806, the son of Jan Adriaan Joost baron Sloet and Johanna Jacoba Sara Visscher. He was born into the Dutch minor aristocracy and had all of the advantages that such high birth implies. He was educated at the Kinsbergen school (instituut) at Elburg and went from there to the University (hoogeschool) at Utrecht. He became a student of Dutch law and received his degree of "Meester in de Rechten" (abbreviated Mr. in Dutch) six years later. (He studied at Utrecht from June 16, 1824 to March 17, 1830). It was customary at that time for a candidate for the Meester in law to write a thesis (proefschrift). In his thesis, the young baron revealed his interest in old Dutch (and Flemish) law (vaderlands recht). (The title of Sloet's thesis, written in Latin, was De differentiis in Francici et novis Belgici ratione testamentorum, 1830).

These facts are recorded in a brief article by H. Brugmans (1921: 751-753) which is largely based on a short biographical sketch by H. Kern (1891). I have compared these two secondary sources. Continuing with a loose translation of Brugman's and Kern's summaries we learn that Sloet moved to the city of Zutphen and took up the practice of law for a brief period beginning in August, 1830. From November 2, 1830 to October 9, 1831, he was also active in the Civic Guard (schutterij). It is unclear whether his work was completely interrupted by his service in the Civic Guard of the Province of Gelderland. However, he was able to devote some time to the study of archival materials concerning the city of Zutphen. One of the results of that early scholarly work was "Het kondichboek der stad Zutphen" (published in Nederlandsche Jaarboek voor de Rechtsgeleerdheid, 1845). Sloet subsequently published many articles on historical-legal subjects.

It is not worthwhile to enter too deeply into Sloet's life story, of course, since that constitutes a digression from our main theme, the value of studying Sloet's administration as a "mirror" on the cultivation system. However, the few facts mentioned thus far are important for understanding how Sloet happened to become a governor-general of the Netherlands Indies. We can see that his birth and ascribed status enabled him to

enter university and study law at a time when few Dutchmen could aspire to such goals. Also, we can note that Sloet developed into something of a scholar of Dutch law, not merely a lawyer. These two facts are important for understanding his administration. Few previous Dutch governor-generals had been privileged "gentlemen," much less "scholars." The governor-generals during the V.O.C. period (1601?-1789?) were generally men who had risen from the ranks of sea captains and merchants. Governor-General van den Bosch, the founder of the cultivation system, although a descendant of a mildly prosperous family, had risen in the ranks of the Indies army.

In November, 1847, the Estates (Staten) of Gelderland appointed Sloet a registrar of the Province. In 1848 he published a major book. This was followed by a series of articles on the history of Gelderland. (The title of the book is Het jagtbedrijf onzer voorouders and the articles are titled Bijdragen tot de kennis van Gelderland). Nothing else of significance seems to have happened at this time, however. Sloet was merely a successful provincial lawyer.

However, in the early 1860s Sloet was suddenly thrust into national roles. As a result of his earlier appointment as Provincial Registrar, Sloet was named chairman of a Council that was set up to supervise state railroads. This national appointment (on May 31, 1860) brought him into prominence at the time a major series of decisions were being made and he was soon appointed (August 24, 1860) as a regular member of the Commission for State Railroads. It is not clear what connection there is between his earlier position as Chairman (voorzitter) for the Council of Supervision (Raad van Toezicht) and his membership in the Commission. There is no necessary reason why the one position need have meant that he be appointed to the other. This type of question can perhaps be cleared up through an examination of archival source materials. The question is extremely important to Indonesian history because it was only very shortly after his appointment to the Railroad Commission that Sloet was appointed, on June 23, 1861, as Governor-General of the Netherlands-Indies. A provincial lawyer was suddenly catapulted into a position of national significance which would have many implications for the subsequent pattern of events in

Sloet's Administration (1861-1866)

Without question, Sloet's appointment by the King as Governor-General is intimately connected with the importance at the time of the railroad concessions which were being granted to Dutch entrepreneurial firms for the construction of the first railways in Java. Sloet was not chosen as Governor-General because of his knowledge of Java; that is clear. What is not clear in the secondary sources is exactly why Sloet was chosen, rather than a number of other possible candidates. Was it felt that he would be a "straw man" Governor-General who could easily be manipulated by the home government? Was it because his outstanding qualities as an administrator were recognized by the Commission for State Railways? Did it have anything to do with Sloet's personal connections with leading industrialists interested in investing in Java railways? These questions remain unanswered.

Sloet's most important early task as Governor-General was to preside over the granting of concessions for the railroad lines which were built from Semarang, on the north coast of Java, to the Vorstenlanden towns of Central Java and from Batavia (i.e., contemporary Jakarta) to Buitenzorg (i.e., contemporary Bogor). We shall discuss these railroad concessions in some detail below. However, many other events occurred during Sloet's administration. His legal training and scholarly mind made him a particularly appropriate administrative Governor-General during a period when the process of what I have called "the bureaucratization" (in Max Weber's sense of administrative rationalization according to the norms of Zweckrationalität, a "utilitarian calculus" based on a sort of "cost benefit" calculation). Javanese society, which had traditionally been patrimonial, was experiencing some bureaucratic norms superimposed upon it.

The emphasis on bureaucratization, or rationalization of the administrative apparatus, is especially clear during Sloet's term of office. This is a consequence, in part, of the fact that Sloet was not as independent a Governor-General as some of his predecessors had been. Compared to Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch, who was much more patrimonial in his conduct of affairs, Sloet is much more bureaucratic. Sloet was not as in-

dependent in his actions as previous governor-generals had been. Communications with the Ministry of Colonies in the Netherlands had been improved; therefore directives from the Minister took less time to reach the Governor-General and Sloet had less freedom of action. Even more importantly, however, we can conjecture that Sloet was the man chosen by a certain group within the Dutch elite (i.e., the prominent, rising bourgeoisie and their friends) to carry out their wishes. He was chosen to work out instrumental solutions to broader schemes initially selected by others. The status of this conjecture, however, is primarily that of a hypothesis (in the non-statistical sense); it is subject to further analysis.

The evidence that we now have available simply does not permit us to say definitively whether Sloet's actions were in any sense controlled by his alliance with elite entrepreneurs in the Netherlands. It may be that Sloet was no more controlled by the factions which placed him in power than, for example, Baud was by van den Bosch and King William I. In any case, many of the reforms that Sloet carried out were instituted by Fransen van de Putte, and Fransen van de Putte was not selected as Minister of Colonies until February 2, 1863. (Sloet had been appointed one and a half years earlier, on June 23, 1861, when van Hall was Prime Minister). Changes which occurred in Conservative and Liberal governments during Sloet's administration do not suggest support for a conspiracy view of history.

Abolition of Indigo Cultivation in 1865

To appreciate fully the significant reforms which occurred during Sloet's administration we can begin with one example, abolition of the forced cultivation of indigo in 1865. Why was indigo cultivation removed from the list of cultivations under government control? Was it because Sloet personally decided to end this cultivation?

As is sometimes cynically noted, the official abolition of indigo cultivation in 1865 was due as much to the relatively unprofitable nature of indigo cultivation at that time as it was to a weakening of the principles upon which the cultivation system was based. Indigo was not dropped because the government in Java wanted to reform the kultuurstelsel. It was definitely not a private decision made by Sloet personally. In-

Indigo was taken off the government cultivations because it was becoming increasingly viewed as less profitable than sugar cultivation, with which it interfered. Indigo cultivation ceased to be a government monopoly although it continued to be grown under private supervision on the so-called private estates (particuliere landerijen). Forced labor was no longer used, at least in principle, in the growing of indigo. (It was not clear to what extent forced labor continued to be used for processing indigo).

It might be argued that the abolition of indigo as a cultivation crop under the government's kultuurstelsel contributed to the amelioration of the cultivation system in the eyes of the peasant farmers (petani), but this is far from clear. There is little question that the abolition of indigo cultivation affected a significant number of peasant households, at least in certain districts. It is also clear that the petani did not like the work involved in processing the dye and that indigo stole vital nutrients from the soil or *padi*.

However, it is not at all clear to what extent the legal decree of abolition of indigo cultivation affected petani in the years immediately after 1865. We tend to assume, along with nineteenth-century Liberal parliamentarians and writers, that such a change was definitely an improvement. However, no one has carefully examined the exact effects of indigo cultivation on petani in selected districts of Java in 1865. These peasant farmers may, for example, have had difficulties switching to sugar cultivation. We tend to forget that indigo cultivation had continued for over three decades and that it accounted for between five and nine percent of the total value of all cultivation crops grown for export under the cultivation system in these early decades of the kultuurstelsel.

All of the reforms which occurred during Sloet's administration must be examined in this same critical fashion. We cannot simply take it for granted that the effects of such reforms were immediately translated into benefits for the petani. We tend to accept uncritically the implicit framework of the nineteenth century Liberals and to ignore logic and evidence.¹ We do not even know conclusively if changes in the world market for indigo made it more unprofitable in the 1860s than it had

been in the 1850s. We also do not know to what extent administrators were concerned with the supposed dislike that peasant farmers had for indigo cultivation, if indeed it was universally disliked. The problems which indigo production involved probably go far beyond the issues discussed by such Liberal writers as Feist (1865) and Brumund (1854).

Outside of the scholarly community at least,² our view of the cultivation system has been shaped by such Liberal views as are reflected in Clive Day's analysis of secondary sources (1904). Scholars like Fasseur (1975) no longer make such errors, but works not specifically devoted to the cultivation system readily jump to unwarranted conclusions on the basis of scanty evidence indeed!

Other Reforms During Sloet's Administration

In addition to the abolition of forced indigo cultivation by the government, Governor-General Sloet van de Beele also carried out a number of other significant reforms during his administration (1861-1866). If we keep in mind the provisos mentioned in the discussion of indigo above, then we can simply list these reforms, noting that their consequences for the average peasant farmer in Java are subject to further analysis. To the extent that previous literature mentions these reforms at all, it is simply assumed that they were good, i.e., that they had positive consequences for the peasantry, at least in the short-run. If I re-introduce them at this time it is not because I think they were unambiguously good, either in the short or the long-run, but because I think they are worth re-examination, especially on the basis of archival (i.e., primary) materials.

Among the events with which Sloet was concerned, then, are the following:

1. the end of forced cultivations of the secondary crops (i.e., crops which are secondary in importance, not secondary in the harvest cycle), like indigo and cinnamon, for all of Java (i.e., in those districts where these crops were still grown) in 1865;
2. the elimination of wood-cutting services (blandong-diesten) and the creation of regulations for the management of forests in Java and Madura (1866);
3. the establishment of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (1863) and a legal codebook (wetboek) for so-called European inhabitants. (Whether an inhabitant was European rather than Chinese or native was a matter of legal definition. In a later period the Japanese were defined as legal Europeans;

4. the revision of the passport system (passenstelsel) for natives and persons legally placed in the same category as natives in 1863. The passport system was not abolished at this time, however, but remained in effect until the cultivation system had been completely ended;
5. a regulation for postal services (1863) and communications by rail;
6. curtailment of the right previously held by police magistrates to decide personally whether corporal punishment should be given. The decision to inflict corporal punishment was separated from the persons who actually carried out the punishments, at least in theory. (It is interesting to question to what extent the petani were informed of this change); and
7. the formation of a training school (or college) for native teachers. This school was established in Bandung and had relatively few pupils.

All of these reforms of course are carried out to greater or lesser degree in various regions. However, they are all of some importance, and the decisions on corporal punishment and the passport system are definitely of long-range significance to the petani, even if immediate benefits were not necessarily felt uniformly in every district or region.

Most of the reforms mentioned are listed in a brief article in the Encyclopedie van Nederlands Indie (1919, III: 808-809) and can be traced to the Staatsbladen van Nederlandsch Indie (Boudewijnse and Van Soest's edition, for example). Wertheim and Wertheim (1968) have also attracted some attention to another decision made during this time, the banishment from Java of Sicco Roord van Eysinga. (Sicco was a good friend of that other notorious figure in Java's nineteenth-century history, Eduard Douwes Dekker, known as Multatuli). The vast detective work that went into the Wertheim's analysis of Sloet's banishment of Sicco from Java is also required in the further study of the seven examples listed above. I will attempt to illustrate that with the example of the question of railroad concessions, although I have not yet reached any definite answers (concerning Sloet's role in the railroad concessions) comparable to the conclusions reached by the Wertheims on Sloet's role in the banishment of Sicco.

Railroad Concessions

Although the fact is not emphasized in any of the short biographical accounts available, it is clear that Sloet's appointment as Governor-General was related, first and foremost, to the railroad concessions. His career is the product of the

times, and the times called for a rational-legal type of administration. His rapid rise to prominence, however, was probably not totally a product of purely rational-legal criteria. It is worth exploring to what extent the accusations made by H. J. Lion (1861) and others are indeed correct. No doubt the archives will provide a fuller picture of the extent to which Sloet's primary role in Java was to ensure the smooth acceptance of the concessions granted to certain individuals, against the interests of others.

As Meinsma (1873 II: 104) points out, one of the first things that I. D. Fransen van de Putte did when he became Minister of Colonies was to send a bill to Parliament concerning the granting of a concession for the construction of a railroad from Samarang to the Vorstenlanden. (Later a track was added linking Jogja to Tempoeran and Willem I). That was on February 2, 1863. The government had already promised a loan of 600,000 guilders, at 4.5 percent interest, on August 21, 1863. Hence, there was a great deal at stake. I have not been able to investigate the implications, but it is fairly certain that Stieltjes was not fired merely because of a personality conflict. Stieltjes refused to accept Sloet's grant of a railroad concession to someone other than those he supported, and he carried his actions against Sloet to the Staten Generaal. However, Stieltjes failed to gain Parliament's approval over the Governor-General's decision (Herwerden 1863, H. J. Lion 1861). During the pamphlet war of the 1860s the issue was raised repeatedly by various writers (e.g., W. Bosch, L. Vitalis, R.W.J.C. Bake, G.H. van Soest, J.J. Hasselman, C.H.F. Riesz). It is certainly worth further exploration. What exactly was Sloet's role? At present we do not have an adequate answer.

Sloet's Frequent Absences from Batavia

Although I have not been able to trace the question of railroad concessions as far as would be desirable for a more complete picture of Sloet's influence on Java's history, there is another question which is somewhat easier to examine, and which illustrates the principle of increased bureaucratization referred to above. Sloet was frequently absent from Batavia and Buitenzorg, especially during the later part of his administration. The frequency with which he went on "inspection tours" of

various regions can be interpreted in various ways, of course. However, I tend to see it as a reflection of the increased formalization of rule during this middle period of the cultivation system.

Jean Chretien Baud also went on inspection tours, of course, and he was Governor-General during the height of the more patrimonial phase of the kultuurstelsel (cf. Bakker, 1978). But Baud's inspection tour of 1834 lasted a relatively short period of time. Moreover, most of the governor-generals subsequent to Baud (De Eerens, van Hogendorp, Merkus, van Twist, and Pahud) are not particularly noted for extended travels during the time they were governor-generals. (Merkus did range far and wide over the archipelago before and after his governorship). Even if Sloet's frequent trips do not indicate anything about the possible bureaucratization of the kultuurstelsel, however, and simply reflect Sloet's personal idiosyncracies - an equally plausible hypothesis - they are worth relating as historically interesting phenomena in their own right. They certainly tend to indicate that communications, especially travels, were relatively good, at least for someone who could muster the resources that the Governor-General had available.

Sloet's comings and goings can be traced through the official decrees in which the oldest member of the Council of the Indies (Raad van Indie), Mr. Ary Prins,³ was made acting (waarnemend) Governor-General. From September 2 to October 19, 1861, before Sloet arrived in Java, Prins was acting Governor-General, and this pattern was repeated during Sloet's subsequent absences. In Decrees (Besluiten) of July 19, August 18, and November 3, 1865, for example, Prins was made acting Governor-General repeatedly.

Samarang trip. From July 19, 1865 to early August, Sloet went to the residency of Samarang due to the earthquakes that had taken place in Ambarawa, Banjoe-Biroe, and Salatiga (Staatsblad, 1865 No. 68).

Bali trip. From November 14th to late December, Sloet visited Madura, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Bezuki, Banjuwangi, and Bali. Part of Sloet's motivation for this journey may simply have been a touristic desire to see these places. (He officially ended his governorship on October 25, 1866).

It could be argued that the appointment of Prins as acting Governor-General in each of these instances reflects increased formalization of the bureaucratic administrative apparatus. However, it could just as easily be argued that in a fully bureaucratized organization it is not necessary to select a replacement in such a formal manner. The official who takes the Governor's place is already known and accepted (i.e., a Vice-Governor or Lt. -Governor).⁴ Further archival study is needed to clarify why Sloet took these inspection trips, what he accomplished, and how his appointment of Prins was viewed.

Transportations must have been fairly good in the 1860s for the Governor-General to travel so easily across the breadth of Java in such a comparatively short period of time. Travellers who attempt to cross the 650+ miles of Java today will appreciate how relatively good the road system must have been. Of course, much of Sloet's travel must have been by sea, as Prins Hendrik's official visit to the Netherlands Indies had been.

One is also struck by the extent to which the Governor-General is well informed of much of what happened in Java. Even such details as the appointment of a Chinese interpreter in Surabaya or increases in contributions for widows and orphans in Semarang were the subject of official Decrees (Besluiten) in the Governor-General's name. (He may not have had much to do with each of these small decisions, of course, compared to earlier governor-generals, who were forced to attend to minute details because of a small staff and highly centralized decision-making). Ever since the residents (i.e., heads of colonial residencies, or regions) had been made directly responsible to the Governor-General, rather than to regional Governors - a decision made under Daendals (1808-1811) - the responsibilities carried by the Governor-General demanded an unusually centralized flow of information. That tendency was further reinforced by Johannes van den Bosch's personal idiosyncracies when he was Governor-General (1830-1833).

Naturally there was also a great deal happening in Java during this time that was never revealed to the colonial officials. However, it is fairly safe to say that most of what occurred at the regional level in Java and was known by colonial residents did not escape the attention of the Governor-General. The re-

sident, head of a residentie, generally passed along most information, important or not, to the government in Batavia-Buitenzorg.

Sloet's Administration and the Stelsel As A Whole

All of the information reported, although not widely known, is available in secondary sources (especially Kern, 1891; Van Rhede van der Kloot, 1891; Brugmans, 1921). We need to further our knowledge of these specific historical questions (e.g., abolition of indigo cultivation, revision of the passport system, curtailment of corporal punishment, railroad concessions, and character of the administrative system) through a more careful analysis of the archival materials available, following the paths initiated by Wright (1952), Fasseur (1975) and Van Niel. The variety and quantity of primary source material available for such investigations is summarized by Jaquet (1970).

However, even if we accept the value of further investigation of issues such as those listed, we must also examine the administrations of specific governor-generals in terms of the cultivation system as a whole. If we do so, two general problems emerge. The first is a problem that has been tackled by Fasseur in his book: Kultuurstelsel en Koloniale Baten. De Nederlandse Exploitatie van Java, 1840-1860 (1975a).⁵ The second is the question of periodization, the selection of specific sub-periods during the cultivation system. Both of these questions are aspects of the cultivation system as a whole that cannot be easily answered through an inductive investigation of one particular figure, no matter how representative, nor through a study of one region, no matter how significant.⁶

The problem tackled by Fasseur (1975a) is the political situation existing in the Netherlands at the time of the cultivation system in the Netherlands Indies. A few brief comments on this question are in order if we limit the discussion to aspects of Sloet's administration. What were the external political influences on Sloet's administration? How did what was going on in the Netherlands affect the choices made in Java?

To have a sense of conditions in the Netherlands at the time of Sloet's appointment, it is important to note that the Government Regulation of 1854 (Regeeringsreglement van 1854) had made important legal changes in the official policy of colonial state

intervention, especially through Article 62 on landownership. The period immediately preceding Sloet's administration reflects the change in policy indicated by the Regulation of 1854.

A number of changes occurred in the Minister's portfolio just before Sloet's appointment, as I have intimated above. These were due in large measure, it may be speculated, to the conflicts which existed between the old bourgeoisie and aristocracy, on the one hand, and the rising new bourgeoisie, on the other. (It is a subject of dispute to what extent one can speak of an aristocracy in the Netherlands in the 1850s). Jonkheer J. P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg was Minister of Colonies briefly (January 9, 1861 to March 14, 1861) under Prime Minister Van Hall, but he was replaced by Mr. J. Loudon (March 14, 1861 to February 1, 1862) with the Van Zuylen government. (Both Van Hall and Van Zuylen were Conservatives). Loudon was replaced, in turn, by G. H. Uhlenbeck (February 1, 1862 to January 3, 1862). The rapid changeover in ministries and in Ministers of Colonies reflects the volatile political situation in the Netherlands at the time. These changes have been studied in some detail by Fasseur (1975a).

After a short interim Minister, Mr. Isaac Dinesen Fransen van de Putte became Minister of Colonies on February 2, 1863. It is that date which marks the most significant change in terms of Sloet's administration as Governor-General. Fransen van de Putte, as Minister of Colonies, and later as Prime Minister, ably defended the Liberal position in Parliament. Sloet's role as Governor-General cannot be understood without some appreciation of Fransen van de Putte's role as Minister of Colonies, and this in turn requires some understanding of the political struggles in the Netherlands during Fransen van de Putte's term in office. This may seem like a long digression from events in Java in the 1860s, but given the nature of the colonial tie at the time, it is absolutely central. The colonial question was of major concern in the Parliament in the 1850s and 1860s. Thus, the study of Dutch parliamentary history (e.g., Fasseur, 1975a) becomes very important for the full understanding of Java during the nineteenth century (e.g., Fasseur, 1975b).

To summarize very briefly, the fall of the moderate Conservative ministry under Van Zuylen, organized under the motto

"liberal in the Netherlands, conservative in Indie" led to the recall to power of Thorbecke as Prime Minister. Fransen van de Putte, Thorbecke's second choice as Minister of Colonies, did not agree with all of Thorbecke's views. The disagreement between the two men caused Thorbecke's resignation as Prime Minister. Fransen van de Putte maintained his power in the face of moderate Conservative opposition for awhile (Day, 1904: 334), but eventually the Conservative coalition was able to defeat Fransen van de Putte's proposed Cultuurwet (Cultivations Law). A new government was formed under the joint Prime Ministry of Van Zuylen-Heemskerk (1866-1868). The important point to note here is that reforms carried out during Sloet's administration were proposed and formulated, to a large extent, by Fransen van de Putte. The tie between these two historical figures resembles the earlier tie between the founders of the cultivation system, van den Bosch and Baud.⁷

Thus, although Sloet himself was more likely to side with the moderate Conservative government of Van Zuylen, under which he had been appointed originally, he was placed in a position where he had to carry out reforms that were initiated by a Liberal Minister of Colonies, Fransen van de Putte. This placed Sloet's dismissal of Stieltjes even more in question. Lion's accusations against Sloet had been made in 1861, long before the changeover in governments in the Netherlands. To my knowledge no one has explored the altered position Sloet found himself in, when having been appointed by a Conservative government in order to carry through the initial stages of railroad construction, he was placed under a Liberal Minister of Colonies.

The rapidity with which changes took place in the late 1850s and early 1860s is symbolized by a series of events. These events indicate that Sloet's administration took place soon after a period of rapid change in the Netherlands. On June 27th, 1859 one of the staunchest defenders of the early cultivation system in Parliament, Jean Chretien Baud, died. This symbolizes a break with the traditions established directly by Johannes van de Bosch in 1830. In 1860, Eduard Douwes Dekker, mentioned above, wrote his famous novel Max Havelaar (see Conley, 1960: 156 ff.) Slavery was abolished for all of Java in

the same year, although of course this official abolition did not prevent continuation of the practice of slavery for many years afterwards. Moreover, the percentage of the total export crops grown on private estates was slowly beginning to climb, though in 1856 the total exports of government "forced" cultivations was valued at 64 million guilders while private cultivations totalled only 34.5 million guilders. These and many other changes suggest that we should regard reforms carried out during Sloet's administration largely as the product of larger socio-economic and political changes, rather than as the result of his own personal administrative rule.

Nevertheless, the value of studying Sloet's administration in some detail does not require assuming that Sloet was personally responsible for the changes which took place. We can use the administration of Governor-General Sloet van de Beele as a "mirror" of the broader changes. This point, which has already been made, is repeated here because it is important to consider a second problem that linked Sloet's administration to the cultivation system as a whole. Having discussed the importance of understanding the broader political and socio-economic background in the Netherlands (as in Fasseur's work, especially Fasseur, 1975a), we can turn now to a discussion of the question of periodization.

Periodization

The second broader question which we need to tackle, and which is illustrated here through a discussion of Sloet's administration, is the problem of periodization in Java's history during the era of the cultivation system. It has been widely recognized that the kultuurstelsel varied a great deal from one region (residentie) to the next, as well as from one district (regentschap) or sub-district (assistent-regentschap) to the next. It has not been as widely recognized, even among scholars of nineteenth-century Java, that the kultuurstelsel also varied a great deal from one historical sub-period to another. The problem of periodization, when applied to sub-periods within the period of the cultivation system, like the problem of socio-economic and political changes in the Netherlands, cannot easily be investigated in the same historically-descriptive manner as the earlier questions we have discussed (e.g., abolition

of indigo cultivation).

Nevertheless, anyone who attempts to understand the cultivation system in Java through the colonial documents available, especially through documents which pertain to specific administrations, will be faced with the problem of periodization. Any explicit periodization of the cultivation system will tend to reflect the writer's theoretical and methodological biases, of course, but the only alternative is to leave periodization implicit or to ignore it altogether. The result of relying on these alternatives is that writers who make use of conclusions based on primary materials will often jump to over-hasty conclusions that might have been avoided.

It may be fruitful to examine one possible schema for periodization of changes within the period of the cultivation system. Such a schema requires a compromise between considerations of historical detail and other considerations of social science theory. If we wish to emphasize administrative changes, for example, for the sake of historical accuracy, then we may have to sacrifice a better understanding of some sociological changes that were occurring over a longer span of time.

The internal periodization of the cultivation system suggested here is a breakdown into: 1. Early (1830-1854), 2. Middle (1855-1866) and 3. Late (1867-1883) cultivation system periods. It should be strongly emphasized that these are intended merely as heuristically-fruitful categories. Other historians and social scientists may have reasons for breaking down the kultuurstelsel's history in other ways.

Early Period. The early period of the cultivation system can be dated as beginning in 1830, with the arrival of Johannes van den Bosch, and ending in 1854, with passage of the Regeering-sreglement of that date. This early period should be clearly distinguished from antecedents of the stelsel such as the Priangan system (Preangerstelsel), even though there are sociological similarities.⁸

Middle Period. After the Government Regulation of 1854 there were a number of Liberal reforms passed in Parliament and introduced, at least as policy, into the cultivation system. (The extent to which the policy was actually carried into practice is problematic). It is this middle period with which this paper

has been most concerned. We have stressed the administrative reforms of Governor-General Sloet van de Beele, but we might just as well have discussed his immediate predecessor, Charles Ferdinand Pahud, who was Governor-General from 1856 to 1861. However, the beginnings of real reforms which took place under Fransen van de Putte as Minister of Colonies are somewhat more interesting than the reforms which took place under Pahud, in which the influence of the regenten was somewhat curtailed and percentages for government cultivations were not as widely distributed to civil servants. Note that Fasseur, who does discuss Pahud, does not discuss Sloet. His only reference to Sloet (Fasseur, 1975a: 265 note 3) concerns the railway concessions.

Late Period. While the kultuurstelsel is usually spoken of as ending in 1870, the year in which the Agrarian Law was passed, it took some time for the Agrarian Law to be translated into practice. For example, even under the terms of the Law itself the forced cultivation of sugar would be gradually eliminated over a twelve year period, beginning in 1876. Hence forced cultivation of sugar continued in Java (or, at least, in some districts of Java) until well past 1870. The Agrarian Law of 1870 is merely the beginning of the end, not the end of the cultivation system altogether, as is usually assumed, or at least implied, in secondary sources. The government was still officially and legally engaged in forced cultivation of sugar in Java in 1888. It is commonly pointed out that coffee cultivation continued under the stelsel, in some districts, until 1912, or after. In areas outside of Java the kultuurstelsel may have continued in practice far later.

Mr. Pieter Mijer, Sloet's successor (1866-1872) continued to carry out some of the characteristic measures of the cultivation system, even under a Liberal prime minister (Fock, 1868-1871). But, with the arrival of Mr. James Loudon in 1872, a more Liberal system was firmly implanted on Java's soil.

These types of considerations may seem pedantic and unnecessary. Why do we need to distinguish between the early, middle and late cultivation system periods? We need to differentiate periods and sub-periods precisely because it is the lack of clear differentiation which has made for much of the confusion

found in the secondary literature on the cultivation system. Because these relatively simple distinctions have not been made, generalizations continue to be made about the cultivation system as if it were a homogeneous whole. In particular, empirical evidence concerning one aspect of the cultivation system (say a riot in 1831 in Ceribon) is used to speculate on the influence of the stelsel as a whole.

We can recognize that the cultivation system has some sociological unity over and above the regional and chronological differences that make regional and periodic study important. However, to arrive at such sociological generalizations about the kulturstelsel requires learning as much as possible about the historically-specific features of the cultivation system as possible. The very term cultivation system (kulturstelsel, stelsel van kultures) is to some extent nothing but a sociological "ideal type" for a complex set of processes which were occurring in Java. This ideal type cannot be subsumed in statements concerning Java's development and underdevelopment without much further specification. Rather than discuss this in the abstract, however, I have attempted to encourage understanding of the complexities of the cultivation system by briefly examining aspects of the administration of one relatively obscure Governor-General, Sloet van de Beele.

Conclusion

In the course of examining the usefulness of colonial sources for Java's nineteenth-century history, we have touched on many topics concerning the administration of one governor-general. We have pointed to the ways in which Sloet's administration can serve as a mirror of Dutch colonial administration in Java during the middle period of the cultivation system. We have not attempted to analyze any of the historical questions raised in anything other than a preliminary fashion. However, we have gone deeply enough into some of the historical and sociological problems that confront anyone interested in studying the life and times of Sloet van de Beele to be able to conclude that Sloet's term of office as governor-general provides much more information about the cultivation system than is generally recognized.

Since the historian or other social scientist interested in

nineteenth-century Java cannot make use of the same kinds of source materials that scholars interested in later periods can utilize, we cannot afford to ignore the colonial records left by the Dutch. Use of colonial documents and books does not necessarily indicate an Euro-centric bias in which all of Java's history is written from the perspective of the exploiters. Faced with the further problem of describing complex dynamic changes in terms of relatively static categories, we can only begin to capture aspects of the dialectical process if we remain continually aware of the fallacies which result if we attempt to over-generalize on the basis of incomplete historical analysis. If I have convinced you that the administrations of Dutch governor-generals can serve as "mirrors" of significant changes in Java during the nineteenth century then this paper has accomplished its principal goal.

Summary

This paper reviews some of the available secondary materials concerning the administration of the Liberal Governor-General L. A. J. W. Sloet van de Beele. It is a preliminary investigation for a long-term project in which I hope to interest others: the intensive and systematic description of Java during the kulturstelsel period (1830-1870+) on the basis of archival sources. In particular, Sloet's administration provides a mirror on the middle cultivation system period, when it had been in operation for some time but was still a long way from its demise. Examination of the period from 1861 to 1866, when Sloet was Governor-General reveals a variety of important issues and events.

A large number of reforms were carried out during Sloet's administration. The small cultivations (indigo, cinnamon, tobacco, etc.,) were abolished as government forced cultivations. Percentages on cultivations were curtailed. Blandong (wood cutting) forced labor was abolished. Some of the worst aspects of corporal punishment were eliminated from the laws. A training college was founded, and other administrative reforms were instituted. It was also during Sloet's administration that concessions for the Samarang-Vorstenlanden and Batavia-Buitenzorg railroads were granted. This last aspect is one of the most controversial issues of Sloet's administration. Some questions

concerning Sloet's connections with members of the Dutch bourgeoisie are raised. I also look at the large number of trips outside of Batavia-Buitenzorg that Sloet took, on the basis of the Staatsbladen and other evidence. The whole discussion is placed within the context of issues of periodization and Eurocentrism in Java's nineteenth-century history.

Table 1. Governor-Generals.

Name	Biographer
Albertus Henricus Wiese	1804-1808
Herman Willem Daendels	1808-1811
Thomas Stamford Raffles	1811-1816
G. A. G. P. Baron van der Capellen	1816-1826
Hendrik Merkus de Kock	1826-1830
Johannes Count van den Bosch	1830-1833
Jean Chretien Baud (wd.)	1833-1836
Dominique Jacques De Eerens	1836-1840
C. S. Willem Graaf van Hogendorp (Count van Hogendorp) (wd.)	1840-1841
Mr. Pieter Merkus (wd.)	1841-1843
Mr. Pieter Merkus	1843-1844
Jhr. Joan Cornelis Reijnst (wd.)	1844-1845
Jan Jacob Rochussen	1845-1851
Mr. George Isaac Bruce (died)	
Mr. Albertus Jacob Duijmaer van Twist	1851-1856
Charles Ferdinand Pahud	1856-1861
Mr. L.A.J.W. Baron Sloet v.d. Beele	1861-1866
Mr. Pieter Mijer	1866-1872
Mr. James Loudon	1872-1875
Mr. Johan Willem van Lansberge	1875-1881
Frederik s'Jacob	1881-1884
Otto van Rees	1884-1888
Mr. Cornelis Pijaacker Hordijk	1888-1893
Jhr. Carel Herman Aart van der Wijk	1893-1899
Willem Rooseboom	1899-1904
Joannes Benedictus van Heutsz	1904-1909
Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg	1909-1916
Mr. Johan Paul Graaf van Limburg Stirum (Count of Limburg Stirum)	1916-1921
Jhr. A. C. D. de Graeff	1926-1931

Table 2. Ministers of Colonies (in the Netherlands) since 1848.

Laissez-Faire Liberal Left-leaning	Monopolistic- Protectionistic Right-leaning
1848-1849 Donker Curtius	
1849-1853 Thorbecke I	
	1853-1856 Van Hall II
	1856-1858 Van der Bruggen
1858-1860 Rochussen	
	1860-1861 Van Hall III
	1861-1862 Van Zuylen
1862-1865 Thorbecke II	
1865-1866 Fransen van der Putte	
	1866-1868 Van Zuylen - Heemskerk
1868-1871 Fock	
1871-1872 Thorbecke III	
1872-1874 De Vries	
	1874-1877 Heemskerk II
1877-1879 Kappeyne van de Coppello	
	1879-1883 Van Lynden van Sandenburg
	1883-1888 Heemskerk III
	1888-1891 Mackay
1891-1894 Van Tienhoven - Tak van Poortvliet	
1894-1897 Roell	
1897-1901 Pierson - Goeman Borgesius	
	1901-1905 Kuyper

Source: (Uljee, Baayen and Lijlstra, 1947:40).

FOOTNOTES

1. Most of the Dutch governor-generals were men who were more like Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629) than Dr. Laurens Rael (1583-1637), whom Coen replaced as governor-general in 1618-1619, a scholar who was acquainted with Galileo's work and wrote on magnetism. Coen's background was an apprenticeship with the Pescatore Company in Rome (de firma Justus de Visscher). Dr. J. A. A. van Doorn spoke at the General Meeting of the K.I.T.L.V. (May 21, 1977) about the high percentage of academically-trained engineers, doctors, and lawyers working in the Netherlands-Indies in the 1930s. During the course of Java's domination by the Dutch the administrative apparatus gradually became more "rational-legal" and "bureaucratized," in Weber's sense. Van Doorn refers to "totok-ization."

2. Lord Napier distinguishes between "Reactionary Conservatives," "Liberal Conservatives," and "Liberals" in his letter of December 12, 1860 to the Home Secretary, and counts 18, 20 and 34 in each group, respectively. Napier's letter is printed

in an appendix to the excellent chronology of Dutch history compiled by Pamela and J. W. Smit, The Netherlands, 57 B.C.-1971. (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana, 1973). It is briefly discussed in Conley (1960: 111-112), which is a good basic introduction to the Dutch politics of the era, a topic not frequently written about in English. Indigo cultivation became a particularly important issue in parliamentary debates and S. van Deventer devotes many pages to reprinting various memorandums concerning the introduction of indigo cultivation by the colonial government in Priangan and Ceribon (van Deventer's Bijdragen tot de Kennis van het Landelijk Stelsel op Java, Vol. II, 1866, pp. 147-180, where sugar cultivation in other residencies is also discussed; also see pp. 148, 215-217, 336, 346, 385-386, 559-560 and so forth).

3. Mr. (meester in de rechten) Ary Prins is a good example of a fairly typical civil servant in mid-nineteenth century Java. As head of the Hooggerechtshof (i.e., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court) he was sent as a special commissioner to various trouble spots (e.g., Riouw in 1849, West Borneo in 1853). His participation in the May-movement (Mei-beweging) in Batavia in 1848, which was led by W. R. van Hoevell, may have prevented his being considered as a permanent governor-general. It would be interesting to know more about the May movement and the careers of participants in that off-shoot of liberal movements in Europe in 1848. Perhaps the material to be found in the Stamboeken van de Burgerlijke Ambtenaren in Nederlandsch-Indie will - as Fasseur has pointed out - reveal more information.

4. Raffles was Lt.-Governor in Java, not Governor-General, because Lord Minto was the Governor of British India, and Java was administered as part of the India possessions. That is why comparisons between India and Java for the period 1811-1816 are particularly relevant. There was no bureaucratically appointed successor to Raffles, however, despite his title. Van des Bosch solved the problem of succession by having himself appointed Commissioner-General and designating Baud as interim Governor-General. It is worth noting that van den Bosch only served as Governor-General in Java from January 16, 1830 to July 2, 1833. He was named Commissioner-General on January 17, 1832 and assumed that title on June, 1833. He left Java on February 2, 1834 and never returned. Hence, during his term as Governor-General, van den Bosch merely initiated a new policy. It was Baud who mainly had the burden of carrying out the policy, between July 2, 1833 and February 29, 1836, and always merely as ad interim Governor-General. Hence, the correspondence between Minister of Colonies van den Bosch and Governor-General Baud is of utmost importance for understanding the initial stages of the introduction of the kultuurstelsel. That correspondence has been published under the editorship of J. J. Westendorp Boerma (1956), Briefwisseling (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon).

5. This important book, originally Fasseur's doctoral dissertation, was published by Leiden University Press; a second printing came out in 1978, but there is no English translation as of yet. It does have a short summary, printed in Bahasa Indonesia and English (Fasseur, 1975: 282-289). A large number of articles have been published by Fasseur on the same subject; see Fasseur, 1975b, 1976a, 1976b, 1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981.

6. Various writers have deplored the "tendency for abstract presuppositions to run in to cover up the observance of direct experience ..." to quote the British historian of British India,

Erik Stokes. See the collection of previously published articles printed in 1978 as The Peasant and the Raj, Cambridge University Press. That is the standard historiographic position. In addition to this statement (Stokes, 1978: 267), however, Stokes goes on to admit that the peasantry is largely "unreachable through the intimacy of shared experience and its accompanying intuitive understanding, ..." and therefore "has to be approached through mental surrogates, through generalizations, concepts, models, and theories." Not only the study of "peasants" themselves, but also many other aspects of colonial policy and administration, require conceptual models. I have argued (Bakker, 1978) that Weber's "ideal type" methodology is particularly relevant and that, furthermore, the specific ideal type of "patrimonialism" is particularly relevant to the study of Javan history. Historians too often tend to underplay the importance of the ideal type approach, in my opinion, which is not to deny, however, the continued importance of the narrative historical approach. Both are heuristically valuable.

7. Isaac Dignus Fransen van de Putte made a fortune as administrator of the sugar factory "Pandji" in Besuki, East Java. The sugar contract had been granted to John Francis Loudon, who in turn sold his rights to his younger brother James Loudon and J. H. Cremer, both lawyers in Batavia. Even though Fransen van de Putte made his fortune as a sugar contractor under the cultivation system, he was one of the parliamentary "Liberals" who challenged the official colonial policy. See Fasseur (1975b) for a fascinating account of his career between 1849-1862. Van Deventer's Bijdragen, a principal source of documentation for the kultuurstelsel, was compiled as part of Fransen van de Putte's campaign against the Conservatives and was discontinued when Fransen van de Putte resigned in 1866. Publication of the Sloet van de Beele - Fransen van de Putte correspondence for 1863-1866 would clarify a crucial watershed period in much the same manner as the letters of Baud and van den Bosch reveal historically-specific aspects of an earlier period.

8. Adriaan Goedhart's De Onmogelijke Vrijheid (Utrecht: A. Oosterhoek's Uit. Mij., 1948) is one of a number of dissertations written under the direction of Professor C. Gerretson, who emphasized the advantages of the kultuurstelsel for maintenance of traditional village life. Nevertheless, this dissertation contains much interesting information, partially because of its reliance on the 1865 study (Enquete-1865) of Priangan. The report by Otto van Rees of October 30, 1867 is particularly important. I am indebted to Professor Wertheim's suggestion that I consult Goedhart's thesis and I am particularly grateful to Rogier Nieuwenhuys for sending me a photocopy of the unpublished portion of van Rees' report (Verbaal 18 Maart, 1870 No. 14b, Bijlage 1). See Otto van Rees "Overzicht van de Geschiedenis der Preanger Regentschappen." Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap, XXXIX.

9. As Fasseur points out in an unpublished paper given at the Noorderwijkerhout Conference ("Some Remarks on the Cultivation System in Java," 1976), his only English-language work, "After 1853 no new sugar contracts were given out, so that the expansion of the government sugar cultivation came to a standstill." Fasseur places great emphasis on political views in the Netherlands circa 1853-1854. It may be that the investigation instigated in 1853, which was eventually printed as appen-

ances to the Dutch Hansard in 1862-1863 and which is now known as the Umbgrove Commission Report, was conceived by Conservative members of parliament as a delaying action. The ninety-five monographs describing individual sugar plantations are preserved in the depot of the Netherlands Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief, A.R.A.) in Schaarsbergen. R. E. Elison of the Australian National University has analyzed several of these monographs for Pasuruan and C. Fasseur has examined nine sugar factories in Jepara (Japara) and five in Besuki. This detailed information did not have much effect in the 1860s, however, in shaping colonial policy.

10. Fransen van de Putte dismissed T. J. Stieltjes (1819-1878), Fasseur relates with a "dishonorable discharge" (Stieltjes werd door Fransen van de Putte niet eervol ontslagen) after there had been mounting disagreement between Stieltjes and the Minister. Sloet also disagreed with Stieltjes, ostensibly concerning the projected direction the railway line would take. In 1849 Stieltjes had been dishonorably discharged from the Netherlands Army (where he was a Second Lieutenant in the artillery) because he had asked for further information concerning the contents of the declaration he was being asked to sign as part of the oath of loyalty to King Willem III! This information is taken from the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie (1921, IV: 111), where - curiously enough - there is no mention of the 1863 discharge. That "whitewash" of a crucial fact in Stieltjes' career certainly raises some questions, especially since the technical competence of his 1862 Voorlopig Verslag over Verbeterte Verboermiddelen op Java is praised. In the 1905 edition of the Encyclopaedie (1905: IV: 100-101) the story is told in more depth; the government had already granted a concession for a railway line that he had opposed in his December, 1862 preliminary report, and this before he had brought out his final report, in April, 1863. As stated, Stieltjes took his case to parliament, but was unable to win sufficient support to overturn the decision. The incident did not harm his further career and Stieltjes himself became a member of parliament, from 1866 to 1867 for Zwolle and for 1869 to 1878, the year of his death, for Amsterdam. He seems to have had the support largely of Conservative factions.

11. It may be no mere coincidence that the year 1873 marks the first involvement in Aceh, however. The Vice President of the Council of the Netherlands Indies (Raad van N.I.), F. N. Nieuwenhuyzen, was sent as a Commissioner to Aceh in March, 1873; the failure of that diplomatic mission led to a declaration of war and the first military expedition. In 1874 the Sultan of Aceh died and his kraton was captured and renamed Kota Raja. The Aceh War(s) dominate Netherlands Indies history during this period; but, that one-sided emphasis on military expansion tends to detract from the history of Java, particularly during the crucial years - as far as the cultivation system is concerned - of 1876-1888. The late 1870s were particularly costly, with expenditures for the Aceh War of f10-13 million annually. Rice prices were exceptionally high for the period 1875-1879 compared to the 1850s or late 1880s. Floods and, alternatively, droughts, caused epidemics of small pox and cholera, particularly in the 1870s and early 1880s. Since many important aspects of the statistical data are incorporated into Colonial Reports (Koloniaal Verslagen) after 1851, both VanNiel and Fasseur end their graphic summaries, which are

based on previously unused Cultivation Reports (Kultuurverslagen) in 1851. Somewhat more comprehensive data can be found in the volumes currently being edited by P. Creutzberg of the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.

12. In 1831 there were rebellions in Bagelen and Kediri, which were a part of the recently taken-over Mancanegara. These can be traced directly to continued hostility against the Dutch by Javanese heads. P. Merkus's Algemeen Verslag (February 26, 1832 No. 72) indicates that two leaders were killed in the fighting, one died in jail, and eleven were executed, including Rekso Mohanmad, Mas Poedjo, Djaya Sediro, Tjokro di Ningrat, and Kerto Wono, in Bagelen. Kiai Ageng Pendopo Ngaliman, the "native chief" (hoofd) was banished to Bencoele (Bencoelen) along with two of his supporters, Mas Said and Tjondro Koesoemo. Several other indigenous leaders were implicated. Neither of these rebellions is directly attributable to the cultivation system per se, but they are reported in S. van Deventer (1866: II: 468-474) nevertheless.

The report by E. de Waal which has recently been printed in the Dutch original by the Arsip Nasional (1973) with an Indonesian and English summary is especially valuable for the years 1839-1848. Its English title is: Political Survey of the Netherlands East Indies, 1839-1848, A Summary. Most of these cannot be said to have been caused by the cultivation system; similar rebellions might have taken place under a liberal, "free labor" form of colonial rule.

The difficulty in attributing cause is reflected in the debate concerning rebellions in Ceribon in 1830-1831. P. Merkus maintained that these rebellions were caused by the introduction of indigo cultivation; van den Bosch, on the other hand, denied this accusation. The debate is covered rather fully in S. van Deventer (1866, II: 195-196, 224, 227, 294-295, 268-272). The Resolution of July 26, 1831 concerning the rebellions in Ceribon assumes that forced cultivations were not a factor. It is, therefore, extremely noteworthy that P. Merkus was sent by van den Bosch to Bagelen in January, 1832, and that Merkus did not hesitate to order the execution by fiat exekutie (i.e., without trial) of at least six Javanese leaders. The Resolution of March 14, 1832 No. 1 thanks Merkus for his services and states that he has thereby shown that he is worthy of receiving the "complete confidence of the government in his administration and insight once again," (het volkomen vertrouwen der regering in zijn beleid en doorzigt, wederom ten volle beantwoord heeft.)!

Analysis of rebellions must carefully distinguish between rebellions directly caused by forced cultivations and rebellions caused by the general factor of colonial domination.

13. The "ideal typical" nature of the label kultuurstelsel has not been generally recognized. The term was not a legal-administrative term, recognized in Regeringsreglementen, as Fasseur points out (1975a: 11).

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deal with several questions, but the discussion of
Sicco Roorda van Eysinga's banishment from Java by
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cinating detective work in libraries and archives;
Sicco was a good friend of Multatuli).
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distinguishing categories and their subdivisions
is a condition of all knowing and all doing; this
is relevant for the argument concerning periodiza-
tion made here).

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comparison between Raffles' administration in 1811-
1816 and Sloet's administration in 1861-1866,
exactly fifty years later, seems extremely apt be-
cause both men attempted to 'rationalize' admin-
istration, but under quite different circumstances).

In addition, the reader may wish to follow the argument made in:
Bakker, Johannes (Hans) I.

1978a

"Bureaucratization of Patrimonialism: Taxation and
Land Tenure in Java, 1830-1850," in Means, Gordon
(ed.) Southeast Asia's Past in Perspective/Pro-
ceedings of the Conference of the Canada Council
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Ottawa: C.C.S.E.A.S.

1978b

Patrimonialism, Imperialism and Underdevelopment
in Java: An Examination of the Influence of Dutch
Colonialism on Indonesian Modernization, With
Emphasis on the Cultivation System 1830-1870.
Toronto, Ontario: Department of Sociology, un-
published Ph.D. thesis.

The archival research done in recent years by Robert Van Niel, Cees Fasseur, Anthony Reid, Peter Carey, and other promises to open up a much expanded understanding of the interaction between Indonesians, Chinese, Dutch, and English in the nineteenth century. The amount of material in the Dutch archives is a challenge to many researchers. All of the records for the period 1850 to 1900 are held in the depository in Schaarsbergen (near Arnhem) at present, although when the new archives in the Hague are completed some of the materials will be moved back. See Reid 1969 for a convenient description (pp. 299-303). A thorough description has been compiled by Jaquet 1970.

A more thorough test of the thesis presented in Bakker (1978a, 1978 b) will require cooperative work by many researchers, especially work on relatively short periods of time or relatively homogeneous districts and regions. There are many possibilities for Indonesian students and faculty members to do intensive archival research testing the "patrimonialism" thesis, or other explanations of Indonesia's political and economic underdevelopment, (e.g., Emerson 1976, Jackson 1978, Van der Kroef 1963, etc.).

LOOSE-COUPLING BETWEEN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION:
REFLECTIONS ON SOME ASPECTS OF DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION
IN WESTERN MALAYSIA
Sirinimal Withane

Introduction

Although devolution of power to the sub-national levels has been pursued in post-independent Malaysia with increasing vigor for more than two decades, the results of decentralization are far from impressive. Increasing central controls have made local level planning and implementation loosely-coupled. Loose-coupling here means the weak interaction between the events or sub-systems. The study discusses the role of the three district administrative systems - District Officer System, Local Government System and the Branch Offices of the Specialist Departments and the Public Enterprises in effective district development and analyses to what extent planning and implementation in these offices are coupled.

Since independence, Malaysia's experience has significantly been one of transformation from a colonial administration to the demands and needs of an independent and development-oriented nation. Such a transformation is characterized mainly by the changes from a law-and-order bureaucracy to an engine of social and economic change. One of the key objectives behind this changing process was to accelerate the development at the sub-national level, particularly at the district level. Most of the proposals for change introduced in the last two decades emphasized the importance of structural changes at the local level.

All the three main types of administrative structures exist at the district level -- the District Office headed by a D.O. branches of central ministries, state departments, public enterprises, and local government authorities have been subjected to a series of changes. These administrative reforms were indeed in line with the changing economic policies which were