ISSN 2189-9126

国際開発研究フォーラム
FORUM OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

研究論文
ARTICLE

The Genesis of Local Dutch East Indian Administration: The Priangan Highlands in West Java, 1740–1830

Atsuko OHASHI

50-1

名古屋大学大学院国際開発研究科
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
NAGOYA UNIVERSITY

Forum of International Development Studies. 50–1 (Sep. 2019)
doi: 10.18999/forids.50.1

The Genesis of Local Dutch East Indian Administration: The Priangan Highlands in West Java, 1740–1830

Atsuko OHASHI *

Abstract

This paper describes the characteristics of the local Dutch East Indian administration in the Priangan Highlands between 1740 and 1830. This administrative system had an important influence on the governing principles of the Dutch colonial government in the latter half of the 19th century. The system of coffee cultivation which used corvée labor was dominant in the Priangan Highlands and the system continued to produce considerable profit for the colonial government. The Governor-General Van den Bosch introduced the Cultivation System, a revision of the system called the Priangan system, to the rest of Java in 1830. This brought huge profits to the Netherlands. This paper argues that the colonial government realized stability and regularity of coffee cultivation and transportation through the implementation of the following policies: (1) acceptance of the total amount of coffee production from the people at a low but stable price every year at the same place; (2) a stable supply of rice for the corvée workers, especially by constructing irrigation systems; and (3) regularization of inland transportation for the people and incentives for coffee transporters, i.e. a return cargo.

Keywords: Dutch East Indies, Priangan, Coffee, Rice, Cultivation System

1. Introduction

This paper describes the characteristics of the local Dutch East Indian administration in the Priangan Highlands between 1740 and 1830. This administrative system had an important influence on the governing principles of the Dutch colonial government in the latter half of the 19th century.

The Priangan Highlands are well known as the place where coffee was produced by local people's corvée labor in the 18th century, and the coffee production there has been a popular research topic. In 2010, the author published a monograph on this topic and argued that (1) the system resulted, even if only slightly, in improvements to the people's economic situation, however, (2) the system brought more harm than benefit to the people of the Priangan Highlands, and the main detriment was neither coercion nor poverty, but the deprivation of the peoples' power to control their own time and energy (Ohashi 2010). The second argument is rather new compared to the previous arguments which question whether coercion or poverty truly existed (Ohashi 2010; Breman 2010, 2015).

The author's main focus in the monograph was on people's living conditions, but this paper focuses

* Professor, Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University.

on the implementation of policy by the Dutch colonial government in Priangan society and, although using the same data and information as those in the monograph, presents new arguments to show that the introduction of administrative stability and regularity to Priangan society was an important factor behind the government's ability to extract coffee at a low price from this society.

The structure of this paper is as follows. The second section describes Priangan society around 1720 as an autonomous but highly fluid society. The third section introduces Priangan society in the 1820s, which was far more stable and regularized than that around 1720. The fourth section examines the relation between wet rice cultivation and corvée labor. The fifth section traces the regularization of coffee transportation and payments to the people.

In order to describe these features of Priangan society, the author used data and information presented in a previous monograph. As the data and information are not originally in English, in the third and fourth section the author has translated the process behind her analysis of the data which supports her new arguments in this paper.

2. Priangan Society from 1705 to the 1730s[1]

Priangan society during the period 1700–1720s was an autonomous society.

In the 1670s, the Priangan Highlands became a battlefield in the wars among the Mataram, Banten and the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The VOC concluded a treaty with Mataram in 1677, and the western and central parts of the Priangan Highlands became VOC territory. However, three chiefs in the central part of Priangan (Bandoeng, Soemedang, and Parakanmoentjang) came under the direct rule of the Dutch government after Cheribon, a vassal dynasty of Mataram, became a protectorate of the VOC (1681) and the VOC concluded a treaty regarding the border (the Tjisadane River) with Banten (1684). In 1705, the VOC again concluded a treaty with Mataram, which ceded all the Priangan Highlands to the VOC. By this year, three chiefs in the western part of Priangan (Tjandjoer, Tjiblagoeng, and Tjikalong) had also come under the direct rule of the VOC. These three chiefs were said to have been dispatched by Cirebon to the western part of the Priangan highlands as recolonizing troops. In the last part of the 17th century, these six chiefs regularly visited Jogyakarta and Cirebon. However, after the treaty of 1705, the six chiefs began to visit Cirebon and Batavia (Jakarta).

VOC records show that in 1705, each of the chiefs in the central part of the Priangan Highlands reigned over 1,000 households (*huisgezinnen*). At that time, the Priangan Highlands was sparsely populated and it can be said that everything in sight was covered with forest.

In Priangan society, the chief was the person who negotiated with external authorities and traded with them. The position of chief was passed on to one of his sons. Under a chief, there were several petty chiefs named *oembol*, who lived in the chief's town, and among the *oembols* there was a deputy to the chief named the *patih*. The *patih* and other *oembols* had a strong influence on the chief. When the

Dutch government wrote a letter to a chief, the addressee was 'Head and all *oembols*.'

A chief and his *oembols* had their own people, who lived mainly on the chief's or *oembols*' territories. Usually one settlement consisted of five to thirty households, and its head was called a *Loerah* or *Mandoor* by the Dutch. Most people cultivated rice in swidden fields, and only the people around the chief's town cultivated rice in wet fields. Chiefs and *oembols* had an obligation to protect the people from wars and bandits. Chiefs and *oembols* also judged disputes among their people, and when one of their people was accused by another chief, an *oembol* or a person under another chief, the accused person's chief advocated for the person, and his *oembols* also testified. If a person had to pay a fine due to a judgment, his chief and *oembols* also had to pay a fine.

Another important task for the chiefs and *oembols* was trade with the authorities in Batavia and Cirebon. They organized caravans, travelled down from the highlands with products such as pepper, cotton, and sulfur, and brought back salt, ironware and other goods. It is not clear what obligations the people had towards their chief and the *oembols* other than a poll tax. They appear to have tendered a part of their labor, and worked in the chief's or *oembols*' houses, rice fields, pepper plantations, and so on.

At that time, Priangan society was quite fluid. When the people experienced a poor harvest, most of them scattered and went to areas where enough food was available or they lived on hunting and gathering. The people also often fled for reasons other than a poor harvest. When they were discontented with treatment they had received from a chief or *oembol*, they would place themselves under another chief or *oembol's* protection. Even an *oembol*, if he felt discontented with his chief's treatment, would place himself and his people under the protection of a different authority. In addition, there were people who moved around the countryside and were not under the protection of any chief or *oembol*. Some of these people were bandits.

This fluidity was the main cause of disputes among the chiefs and *oembols* in the Priangan Highlands, since labor was the most important resource at the time, and the power of chiefs and *oembols* was expressed in terms of the number of people under them. Chiefs and *oembols* were eager to protect a person who came from another chief or *oembol's* territory. The Dutch government was often asked by chiefs to arbitrate in these disputes, but in 1708 the government ordered its European officials not to intervene in disputes. Instead, the government repeatedly issued bans to prevent people from fleeing, despite the fact that it had no physical power to enforce these bans. The Dutch government tried to control Priangan society, but it had neither the physical nor the economic power to force petty chiefs or people to obey their wishes in the sparsely populated area.

In 1707, the colonial government instructed Priangan chiefs to cultivate coffee and 46 kg of coffee was delivered for the first time from Tjandjoer in 1711. The volume of coffee delivered to the government fluctuated in the 1720s and 30s, due to the Dutch government's coffee pricing policy. The price of coffee was quite high in these decades. The chiefs gained abundant profits from the coffee

they delivered, and the government was obliged to accept all the coffee they delivered in order to maintain its monopoly. The government was concerned that the chiefs were buying arms, and tried to reduce the amount of coffee it received, but found this impossible to achieve. Nor could they intervene in the cultivation of the coffee. The chiefs only reduced the amount of coffee they delivered when the government reduced the coffee price.

Such independence on the part of Priangan chiefs seems to have been based on their autonomy of communications. There were networks of roads inside the Priangan Highlands and from the highlands to Batavia and Cirebon. The chiefs' towns were linked by road. These roads and accommodations at one-day intervals were maintained by the chiefs in the highlands and the lowlands, and they could be used relatively freely both by these chiefs and by the European officials of the colonial government. Furthermore, for their own use, the chiefs themselves constructed and repaired roads, river ports, and residences, even in suburban Batavia.

In the 1720s, Priangan chiefs organized caravans and delivered coffee to the Dutch government's warehouse in Batavia, receiving payment from a European official. As coffee was cultivated near the chiefs' towns at that time, it was reasonable for a caravan to depart from the town where the regent was resident. Before coffee cultivation started, Priangan chiefs appear to have had a custom of receiving advance payments from the authorities in the port cities for deliveries of pepper, cotton, and other goods. In the 1720s, the regents asked for advance payments for coffee deliveries, but this was rejected by the Dutch government. In fact, in 1727, the government instructed the people who cultivated the coffee in the Priangan highlands to deliver their coffee directly to the government in Batavia, but no cultivators delivered coffee to the government because the chiefs were the only persons who could organize coffee transportation from the area.

As it had lost most of its investment opportunities in international trade, the government changed its colonial policies in the 1740s. Firstly, the government started to develop suburban Batavia, changing that city from a port polity to the colony's capital. Secondly, the government introduced European notions of governance to the highlands and began to call the chiefs "regents," *oembols* "district chiefs," and the Priangan Highlands "Priangan Regent-Governed Areas." Before 1760, the government had named the chiefs and the area in various ways. The government also made efforts to station a European official in the Priangan Highlands with orders to gather information and compile statistics.

3. Priangan Society in the 1820s

By the middle of the 1820s, Priangan society had become a very different society from that in the 1720s.

In the 1820s, the colonial government maintained a residency system over most of Java and the

government called the Priangan Highlands "The Residency of Priangan Regent-Governed Areas." In the residency, the government stationed a European resident, and under the resident there was a European overseer in each regency. From the government's perspective, this established a two-layered bureaucracy. However, from a local perspective, the residency with its borders was something the colonial government had created on paper out of over five local political entities that had no borders. The resident was stationed in one of the regent's towns and the overseer's tasks were limited to coffee cultivation.

However, compared to the chiefs in the 1720s, the regents' powers were significantly curtailed; indeed, they lost their autonomy. 1) The colonial government acquired the power to change regents, although the government could only elect new regents from the local elites, mostly from the family members of the former regent. The colonial government also gained strong influence over the selection of "district heads" (former chiefs) under the regents. 2) The resident gave instructions to each regent directly and the regents were obliged to obey these instructions. The resident also gave direct instructions to European overseers, district heads and other personnel. 3) Regents were prohibited from going outside the residency without the resident's permission, and, except to go to Buitenzorg (Bogor) once a year to meet the governor general, regents never left the residency. 4) Regents ceased to manage coffee production or organize most of the coffee transportation. 5) Regents received advance payments from the government for coffee deliveries as in the 1760s. However, a European official watched over the transfer of money to the district heads or the people. Regents only received percentages that were calculated by the government from the coffee deliveries. The main income of the regents became tribute from a relatively small number of their own people in the core district. The tribute consisted mainly of rice from the relatively newly constructed and irrigated rice fields. 6) Under a regent, besides district heads, there were many stratified native personnel in the 1820s.[2]

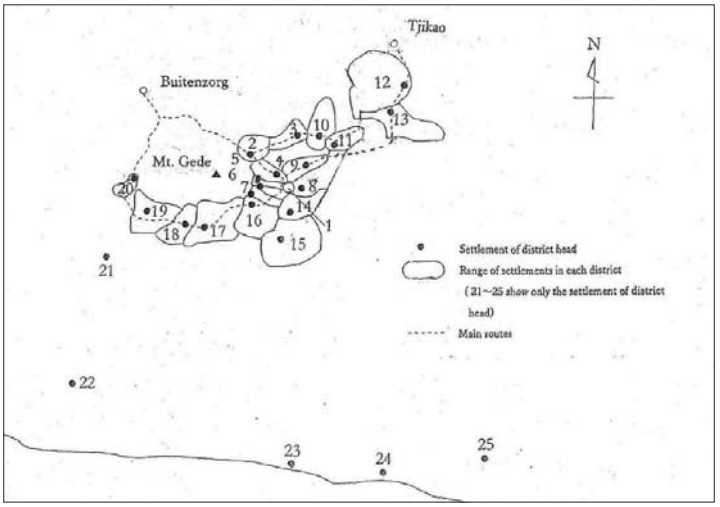
Local administration in the Priangan highlands can be said to have been far more regularized than what was in place around 1720. This administration managed both the production and transportation of coffee. The case of the Tjanjoer regency is examined in this section.[3]

In Tjanjoer regency, there were 25 districts, which were closely interconnected. Map 1 was made by dropping the population statistics in 1827 onto the one to fifty thousand map that was produced in the 1910s. Tjandjoer regency had 25 districts, and the total population was 153,376. In this section, however, 20 districts are analyzed, because good data could not be obtained for the other five districts on the southern slopes of the mountain range, these districts being less related to coffee and wet rice cultivation.

Table 1 shows that each district had its own functions. The 20 districts can be grouped into five categories.

The first group consists of (1) Negorij-Tjandjoer, (9) Tjiblagoeng, and (10) Tjikalong. Almost

Map 1 Districts of Tjandjoer Regency



Source: Ohashi 2010: 304

Table 1 Functions of the Districts in Tjandjoer Regency

Function of district		Name of district	Volume of expected coffee leverancy (pikols)	Coffee leverancy in 1835 (pikols)	District area (km2)	Population (persons)	Population density (persons/km2)	Able-bodied men (persons)	Expected volume of coffee leverancy / able-bodied man (pikols)	Volume of ears of rice production by all persons required to pay tribute	Wet rice cultivators / persons required to pay tribute (%)	Volume of ears of rice production per person required to pay tribute	Persons required to pay tribute (persons)	Able-bodied men / persons required to pay tribute (%)	Total volume of ears of rice production per person (ijaeng)	Able-bodied men / able-bodied women (%)	Number of settlements found on the map/number of settlements in the population statistics
Rice production		{1} Nnogorij-Tjandjoer	-	23	2	8845	3897	2386	0	5099	100?(1)	7.8	655	3.6	0.57	92	9//25
		{9} Tjiblagoeng	800	1299	93	6919	74	1769	0.45	4410	95	6.7	658	2.1	0.63	90	43//52
		{10} Tjikalong	700	645	175	4530	26	2066	0.33	3026	93	7.4	407	5	0.66	82	30//50
Rice production or labour		{8} Maleber	2000	130	89	7306	82	1795	1.11	3659	95	8.2	444	4	0.5	89	92//134
		{14} Tjiketoeg	1600	114	45	6647	146	1733	0.92	2894	98	6.3	446	3.9	0.43	87	72//91
		{15} Tjikondang	700	583	238	5642	23	1520	0.46	1550	80	5.9	262	5.8	0.27	79	52//76
Coffee production	Small size	{4} Tjibeureum	3000	3965	54	5867	108	1464	2.04	1910	93	7	273	5.3	0.32	95	30//41
		{5} Bijabang	3500	2617	45	5450	120	1198	2.92	1974	94	6.7	267	4.4	0.32	114	37//50
		{6} Kaliastana	2600	1957	25	4604	185	1362	1.9	1523	98	7.4	206	6.6	0.33	88	25//26
		{7} Padakattij	4000	3224	30	6281	122	1695	2.35	1655	95	7.1	232	7.3	0.26	85	26//31
	Large size	{16} Pesser	2800	3073	132	4174	32	1143	2.44	2295	95	7.1	319	3.5	0.54	88	33//48
		{17} Goenoeng Parang	9000	10525	161	4358	89	3991	2.25	9196	66	5.2	1752	2.2	0.64	86	152//174
		{18} Tjimahie	2000	2739	202	8091	40	1872	1.06	3851	80	6	642	3	0.47	83	74//101
		{19} Tjiheulang	1800	1346	209	3213	15	957	1.88	2880	64	6.4	447	2.1	0.89	96	65//79
		{2} Tjipoetorie	1700	2620	191	7212	38	1899	0.89	3185	76	4.6	698	2.7	0.44	98	46//55
Concentration on Transport		{3} Madjalaija	700	0	154	3416	22	589	0.67	582	57	6.4	91	6.4	0.17	113	20//24
		{11} Mande	700	0	45	2180	48	910	0.21	1180	56	2	605(3)	1.4	0.54	96	23//30
		{12} Tjinoesa	500	0	114	4289	38	1424	0.35	1357	52	4.7	289(4)	4.9	0.31	97	26//29
		{13} Gandasolie	400	242	143	5541	39	1716	0.23	1570	16	2.1	793	2.1	0.28	100	22//27
		{20} Tjitjoeroeg	700	945	93	8299	89	2396	0.29	3660	69	2.9	666	3.5	0.44	93	87//111
Remote region		{21} Soniawenang	900	632	892	8774	10	2494	Not calculated	1319	44	3.1	428	5.8	0.15	98	Not shown
		{22} Djampang Koelong	300	302	2027	3372	2	918		602	12	4.8	125	7.3	0.17	98	
		{23} Djampang Wetan	800	319	1975	9158	5	2213		2692	33	6.4	423	5.2	0.29	99	
		{24} Tjidammar	50	0	2540	3146	1	983		1650	22?(2)	7.5	218	4.5	0.52	90	
		{25} Kadangwessie	50	0	908	1900	2	667		800	39?(2)	7.5	145	4.6	0.42	89	

Notes: (1) Swidden and dry rice fields are not listed. (2) Dry rice fields are not listed. (3) Not really counted. (4) Dry rice fields are overestimated.
Sources: Ohashi 2010: 305; 'Statistiek handboekje 1828' (Preanger 29a/7); 'Bevolking van het Regentshap Tjandoer in December 1827' (Preanger 29a/6); 'Statistiek in Algemeen verslag Preawnger-regentschappen1836

everyone was required to pay tribute from cultivated wet rice fields (100%, 95%, and 93%, respectively) and the rice production of all who were required to pay tribute was high (ranking 2nd, 3rd, and 8th among the 20 districts). Rice production per person was also high (0.57 tjaengs≅618kg, 0.63 tjaengs, and 0.66 tjaengs; coming 5th, 4th, and 2nd). There seems to have been a surplus of rice, and people were not expected to make great efforts in coffee production (0 pikol≅62kg, 0.45 pikols, and 0.33 pikols per able-bodied man; 20th, 14th, and 16th, respectively). In 1805, the Dutch government issued an instruction that regents' districts should concentrate on the production of rice for the people who cultivated coffee, and this instruction seems to have been implemented (Wilde 1830: 123; Haan 1910–1912: Vol. 3 629–30, Vol. 4 386–387).

The second group is (8) Maleber and (14) Tjiketok. These districts are in the Tjandoer basin, and 95% and 98% of the population was required to pay tribute from cultivated wet rice fields. The production of rice per person was average for the regency (0.50 tjaengs and 0.43 tjaengs; 10th and 14th) and the number of able-bodied men per person required to pay tribute was also average (4.0 persons, 3.9 persons; 9th and 10th). People were also not expected to make very serious efforts in coffee production (1.11 pikols, 0.92 pikols per able-bodied man; 8th and 10th). As the size of the settlements was relatively small, and the names of the irrigation systems were also the names of the settlements, these districts appear to have been cleared and irrigated recently, and would have had the function of producing rice or of sending able-bodied men to the coffee cultivation districts. (15) Tjikondang had almost the same function as these two districts. Although the production of rice per person was low (0.27 tjaengs; 18th), 80% of the persons required to pay tribute cultivated wet rice fields, and the number of able-bodied men per person required to pay tribute was relatively high (5.8 persons; 4th). In addition, as the head of this district was also the head of (16) Pesser (a coffee-producing district, see the fourth group), the people of (15) Tjikondang appear to have helped with coffee production in (16) Pesser (Statistijk Handboekje 1827).

The third group consists of (4) Tjibeureum, (5) Bayabang, (6) Kaliastana and (7) Padakatty, which were relatively small districts on the eastern slope of Mount Gede. The percentage of wet rice cultivators among persons required to pay tribute was high (93%, 94%, 98%, and 95%, respectively). However, these districts were densely populated (able-bodied men per person required to pay tribute were 5.3, 4.4, 6.6, and 7.3; 5th, 8th, 2nd, and 1st), and rice production per person was rather low (0.32 tjaengs, 0.32 tjaengs, 0.33 tjaengs, and 0.26 tjaengs; 14th, 14th, 13th, and 19th). On the other hand these four districts had a predetermined coffee production of 3,000, 3,000, 2,600 and 4,000 pikols (4th, 3rd, 6th, and 2nd) and the amount of coffee produced per able-bodied man was also high (2.04 pikols, 2.92 pikols, 1.90 pikols, and 2.53 pikols; 5th, 1st, 6th, and 3rd). According to the diary of the resident of Tjiandoer, (4) Tjibeureum, (6) Kaliastana and (7) Padakatty had large coffee plantations (Register 1820: 8/8). The function of these districts seems to have been intensive coffee cultivation, with the possibility of receiving rice from other districts.

The fourth group consists of (16) Pesser, (17) Goenoeng Parang, (18) Tjimahi, and (19) Tjiheurang, from the southern slope to the western slope of Mount Gede. Compared with the districts in the third group, these are relatively large, with smaller populations and lower-quality irrigation. In these districts, the percentage of wet rice cultivators among persons required to pay tribute were, except for (16) Pesser, not so high (95%, 66%, 80%, and 64%). However, as the districts were sparsely populated, the volume of rice produced per person can be said to be high (0.54 tjaengs, 0.64 tjaengs, 0.47 tjaengs, and 0.89 tjaengs; 6th, 3rd, 9th, and 1st). These districts were expected to produce a huge amount of coffee (2.44 pikols, 2.25 pikols, 1.06 pikols, and 1.88 pikols per able-bodied man; 2nd, 4th, 9th, and 7th) due to the favorable ecological conditions for coffee cultivation and their location near the coffee collecting warehouse in Buitenzorg. It is possible that people came from Djanpang (Map 1, (22) and (23)) to assist with the coffee cultivation (Jonge 1862–1888: Vol. 10 242; Haan 1910–12: Vol. 3 600, 616). (2) Tjipoetri, on the northeastern slope of Mount Gede, had the same features (the percentage of wet rice cultivators among the persons required to pay tribute was 76 percent; the volume of rice production per person being 0.44 tjaengs (10th) with a production of 0.89 pikols of coffee per able-bodied man (11th). There was a steep drop from Tjipoetri to Buitenzorg. According to Dutch records, these five districts also had extensive coffee plantations (Wilde 1830: 20).

The fifth group, which functioned as a transportation center, consisted of (3) Madjalaya, (11) Mande, (12) Tjinoesa, (13) Gandasoeli, and (20) Tjitjoeroeg. These five districts were located on the borders of other regencies, and the ratio of men to women was high (113%, 96%, 97%, 100%, and 93%; 2nd, 6th, 3th, 5th and 9th). On the other hand, the percentages of wet rice cultivators per person required to pay tribute were low (57%, 52% 16% and 69%) and people were not expected to make great efforts in coffee cultivation (700 pikols). Thus, transporters seem to have been concentrated in these districts and it was necessary to obtain rice from other districts.

Thus, Map 1 and Table 1 show that the Tjandoer regency became a coffee production unit with differentiated functions for each of the districts. The districts for rice cultivation seem to have supplied rice to the districts for transportation and intensive coffee cultivation, and the southern districts and newly reclaimed districts supplied manpower to the districts with less intensive coffee production. Without stable and regular coordination among the districts, such differentiation could not have existed.

As Table 1 also shows, the main area of the Tjandjoer regency was extensively transformed into irrigated wet rice fields. The next section examines the relations between wet rice cultivation and corvée labor.

4. Wet Rice Cultivation and Corvée Labor

The government admitted the favorable influence of wet rice cultivation on coffee production. In

the 1790s, when the Dutch government expanded coffee cultivation near Buitenzorg, a European official wrote,

> In proportion to increasing coffee production, we must expand wet rice fields. We couldn't use coercive measures to make the people continue to cultivate coffee without constructing enough wet rice fields (Haan1910–12: Vol. 4 463).

By 1830, the government had constructed many irrigation canals in the highlands (Ohashi 2010: chapter 11). However, even in the 1820s, the imposition of corvée labor in the Priangan Highlands bore basically no relation to whether or not the person owned any wet rice fields. The regent of Bandoeng stated that,

> Regarding the people who do not have a wet rice field, they execute corvée labor in the regent's town and other places in the same way as the people who have a wet rice field, because, here, there is only one way that imposition exists, that is imposition on man, and there is no form of imposition on wet rice fields (Haan 1910–12: Vol. 2 696).

An official of the Dutch government also wrote of a similar situation in 1812,

> Except the people who serve a regent privately, all people have corvée labor imposed on them.... All administrative units are divided according to the number of people's households, and the division bears no relation to whether or not households have wet rice fields (Haan1910–12: Vol. 2 426–427).

Meanwhile the basic conditions of the imposition can be considered from the case of newcomers. One such case in the 1790s is as follows:

> In Bandoeng and Tjandjoer regencies, in the first three years [a newcomer was] exempted [coffee corvée], because [this was needed] to give him a chance to have a house and open a wet rice or dry rice field. In addition, in that period also [a newcomer was] exempted from tithing to his regent.... After this period, a newcomer is registered as a person of this regency and is obligated to open a coffee plantation and serve the regent (Nederburgh 1855: 121–122).

Furthermore, the regent of Bandoeng stated in 1812,

> When someone comes from another place, a person gives him food until he can work on a swidden, a dry rice field or a wet rice field....

> After some time, that is, two and a half years, the newcomer has corvée labor imposed on him. So it was in the former days, but nowadays [a newcomer has] corvée labor imposed on him as soon as he has a house (Haan 1910–12: Vol. 2 697).

Basically, a person who bore the obligation of corvée labor and tithing was a person who performed subsistence agriculture independently, regardless of whether he was a wet rice field owner or not, and even regardless of whether or not he carried out swidden farming or irrigated wet rice cultivation.[4]

What factors then persuaded people to compromise and stay rather than to flee?

Firstly, it must be emphasized that the wet rice fields, especially the well-irrigated fields, produced a far greater and more stable amount of rice than the swidden fields.

Secondly, irrigated wet rice cultivation not only aided in the stabilization of the people's food supply and thus the stability of their households, they also spread their busy season. The last part of the dry season (September) and the first part of the rainy season (October) was an important period for clearing both the coffee plantations and opening the swidden fields, and both activities required the labor of adult men. The dry season was also the season for coffee plucking and delivery. Plucking was performed by all persons, including children, and delivery was adult men's work. When the volume of coffee delivered was small and the coffee plantations were near a coastal city, this duplication of men's labor did not present a problem. However, after the big coffee plantations were opened far from the port cities, clearing the plantations occupied the last part of the dry season and the first part of the rainy season, and coffee transportation took the whole of the dry season. Because of this, people in the eastern part of Bandoeng regency often failed to cultivate rice and fled in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Irrigated wet rice cultivation, however, can be started at any time in Java. People were able to start rice cultivation after they had finished coffee cultivation, delivery, and other corvée labor (Ohashi 2010: chapter 12).

In addition, wet rice cultivation also evened out people's labor over time. Olivier wrote as follows:

> A wet rice field was plowed, meanwhile a second wet field was sowed with seeds [sic.], a third field was planted with rice, a fourth field was green, and in a sixth field women, children and old men harvested rice (Olivier 1827: 64).

The government thus promoted the cultivation of rice in irrigated wet fields, as Olivier noted (Raffles 1988: Vol. 1 612). The people also seem to have thought that there was something to be gained by shifting the busy season.

Thirdly, the size of the '*tjatja*' (household) appears to have been another important stabilizer. In 1818, a Dutch official wrote that one coffee tjatja consisted of three or four core families and that these were comprised of a middle-aged couple with their adult children and their children's partners. In the

intensive coffee production districts in Tjandoer, the number of able-bodied men per person required to pay tribute was also four to seven (Table 1). In addition, the regent of Bandoeng stated that he did not collect tithing from households whose rice harvest was less than two tjaengs (about 480 kg of polished rice, which was sufficient for four adults for one year) (Haan 1910–12: Vol. 4 402,510–511). This is more than the core family's consumption. It seems that offering one or two adult men as corvée laborers from around four core families was tolerable for the people and the government permitted this situation to exist.

Lastly, as we see in section 4, the government endeavored to supply rice to corvée workers who produced less or no rice.

In sum, the government utilized irrigated rice cultivation to stabilize people's corvée labor not as a means of coercion but in order that there be a constant and seasonably flexible rice supply.

5. Coffee Transportation and the Payment System[5]

The people of Priangan obtained another advantage from stabilization and regularization after the changes in the coffee transportation and payment systems. Since the 1720s, the colonial government had accepted all the coffee from Priangan in Batavia and Cirebon at an announced price each year. From the middle of the 1740s, the government gradually changed the system of coffee transportation and payment. Its main aim was to adjust the government budget to show a surplus. However, as its basic principle was to bypass the regents and make coffee payments directly to the people, the rich and the petty chiefs in the highlands enjoyed the fruits of the change.

From the middle of the 1740s, the government began to develop the Batavian suburban area and improve coffee transportation from the Priangan Highlands.

In 1746, as part of this development, the colonial government constructed its first inland city, Buitenzorg, around 60 kilometers south of Batavia. From that time, the Governor-General of the colonial government frequently resided in this city. Nearby, there was a base town for traveling up to the Priangan Highlands and Buitenzorg absorbed the functions of this native town. In the same year, the government started to provide advance payments to the regents of the Priangan Highlands to smooth coffee transportation.[6]

In 1751, a market was set up at Buitenzorg, and private transporters connected Buitenzorg with Batavia. The government also began to maintain the road and canals which it had dug from Batavia to Buitenzorg and, as commerce between the cities flourished, the number of private transporters began to increase. The transporters were mostly Chinese and native people led by their petty chiefs. They used carts. In addition, the concession of the northeast coast of Java from the Yogyakarta government in 1743 seems to have stimulated commercial development in the lowlands of West Java from Batavia to Cirebon.

Based on this commercial development, by the middle of the 1780s, the government began to make coffee payments at an announced price to the petty chiefs and people who transported coffee to the warehouse at Buitenzorg. From the mid–1780s, the coffee price at Batavia was rising to high levels, and many carts around Batavia joined in the coffee transportation. Among them, some went into the Tjandjoer districts and bought coffee, even paying for the green harvest. Petty chiefs and ordinary people in the coffee districts of Tjandoer also started to transport coffee to Buitenzorg by themselves. At Buitenzorg, they received coffee payments, and bought salt, ironware, fabrics and other goods as return cargo. A round trip took eight to eighteen days and was good business. At that time, there were almost no markets in the Tjandjoer regency and people needed goods such as salt, fine cotton goods, ironware, and porcelain, which were only available outside Priangan. Before the 1780s, people were obliged to purchase these goods from native officials at a high price or were forced to take goods as payment for coffee. Coffee transportation from Buitenzorg to Batavia was conducted by the regent of Buitenzorg by organizing people in Buitenzorg and providing an advance to the transporters in the Batavian lowlands. In this way, coffee transportation was separated from the regent of Tjandjoer, who began to receive only a commission on these transports.

Coffee transportation from Bandoeng and Soemedang to Batavia was more difficult than that from Tjandoer. However, around 1790 the government started to make coffee payments to the people and petty chiefs who transported coffee from Bandoeng and Soemedang to the two ports of Tjikao and Kalangsamboeng. By 1790, transport from the two river ports to Batavia was conducted by the VOC and private ship owners. Some people from Bandoeng and Soemedang were able to transport their coffee to the river ports by themselves, and they bought salt and other goods as return cargo. However, many people did not have that capability, and had to ask their chiefs and regents for transport. The regents and petty chiefs collected transportation fees from the people, and organized caravans.

In 1807, the government started to construct small warehouses in the districts of Bandoeng and Soemedang, accept all the coffee and pay the people who delivered coffee to the warehouses the announced price. The warehouses sold salt to the deliverers. Coffee transport from a small warehouse in the districts to the river ports was assigned to anyone who could transport coffee with the transport fee collected from the coffee growers. At the ports, the transporters were able to purchase salt and other goods as return cargo. However, the distance from the best coffee cultivation district to the ports was far greater than was the case for Tjiandoer. From there to Tjikao required fifty-five to sixty days for the round trip. This was only good business for some rich people. The regents and petty chiefs used corvée labor and organized caravans cheaply.[7] The difficulties of transportation from Bandoeng and Soemedang had still not been overcome by the 1820s.

However, around 1800 some petty chiefs and rich people in the Priangan Highlands received coffee payments at an announced price each year with their profitable return cargos under conditions that the regents had enjoyed in the 1720s. This regularization of payments with return cargos seems to have

been a big advantage for the people in Priangan as well as the transporters in the lowlands.

6. Concluding Remarks

In the 1780s, the Dutch colonial government lost total control over maritime trade and was obliged to sell Java's products on the spot. Many European ship traders came to Java and bought coffee and other products at high prices. Coffee cultivation for profit spread to many areas of Java, and the Priangan residency suffered from coffee smuggling. However, the old system of coffee cultivation, which used peoples' corvée labor for very low pay remained the dominant system of coffee production in the Priangan Highlands, and the system continued to produce considerable profits for the colonial government. As this system was so profitable, Governor-General Van den Bosch introduced the Cultivation System, a revision of the system previously called the Priangan system, to the rest of Java in 1830, and this brought huge profits to the Netherlands.

As the Priangan Highlands have only three or four mountain passes for coffee transportation to Batavia and Cirebon, it was easy to control the coffee transportation. However, more is needed to explain the survival of the Priangan system.

In this paper, one answer, a characteristic of colonial policy, is found: the creation of stability and regularity. The policies of (1) accepting all the coffee produced from the people at low but stable prices every year at the same place; (2) the stable supply of rice to corvée workers, especially by constructing irrigation systems; and (3) the regularization of inland transportation for the people and incentives for the coffee transporters, i.e. their return cargo. These were the main differences from the conditions for the coffee smugglers or any other buyers at that time, and they seem to have been acceptable to the people in Priangan.

It is not clear whether the colonial government as well as its European officials were conscious of the characteristics of these policies. However, these policies were implemented under the Cultivation System, leading to a dramatic increase in the population of Java (Elson 1994).

For future research, it is thought necessary to prove the hypothesis that "rust and orde" (tranquility and order), the principle of the Dutch colonial government in the 19th century, which influenced the Indonesian government, originated from the colonial experience of the Dutch government in the Priangan Highlands during 1740–1811, as can be seen, for example, in the fact that *kecamatan*, a unit of local administration in Indonesia, was derived from *camat*, the name of the local petty chiefs in 18th century Priangan.

Notes

1 This section is a revision of section 4 of Chapter 3 and section 2 of Chapter 9 in Ohashi (2010).

2 This paragraph is a summary of Chapter 7 of Ohashi (2010).
3 The data analysis in this section is a translation of Chapter 14 in Ohashi (2010).
4 The taxation method for the wet rice fields owned by native officials is as follows. In the officials' fields, the imposition of a rice tribute can be said to have been based on land rights. Each cultivator of a regent's wet rice fields had to submit to the regent one tjaeng of ears of rice under the condition that the regent gave the cultivator farming implements and also provided food when a poor harvest occurred. The regents' fields were cultivated by their relatives or bachelors. The rice from the regents' fields would be given to coffee cultivators in the plantations. A cultivator of wet rice fields that were owned by other officials had to give two thirds of his harvest to the owner under the same conditions as the regents' wet rice fields. Corvée labor was also imposed on these cultivators. However, considering the length of descriptions in contemporary records in the 1810s and 1820s, and the custom of split inheritance, wet rice fields owned by native officials do not seem to have expanded to a very large area and were still not a serious problem for the Dutch government (Ohashi 2010: 247–248).
5 This section is a revision of Chapter 9 and 11 of Ohashi (2010).
6 By the end of the 1770s, the regents had incurred huge debts, and the government had started to collect these debts.
7 In 1806, the government constructed small warehouses in the Priangan Highlands for buying coffee from the people and holding it in storage. However, in the Tjandjoer regency, all the small warehouses, which were at Sukaradja, Tjihulang, and Tjandjoer, were ignored by both native officials and the people who brought their coffee to Buitenzorg.

References

Archival materials
National Archives of Republic Indonesia
Bevolking van het Regentschap Tjanjor in December 1827 (Preanger 29a/6)
Register der Handelingen en Besluiten van den Resident der Preanger-regentschappen', 1820/8/8,8/10
Statistijk Handboekje 1827 Bevolking van het Regentschap Tjanjor in December 1827 (Preanger 29a/6)

Published materials, books and articles
Breman, J. 2010. *Koloniaal Profijt van Onvrije Arbeid: Het Preanger stelsel van gedwongen koffieteelt op Java*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
_____. 2015. *Mobilizing Labour for the Global Coffee Market: Profits from an Unfree Work Regime in Colonial Java*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Elson, R. E. 1994. *Village Java under the Cultivation System 1820–1870*. Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia.
Haan, F. de. 1910–12. *Priangan, De Preanger-regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch bestuur tot 1811*. 4 vols. Batavia: G. Kolff & Co.
Jonge, Jhr. J. K. J. de. ed. 1862–1888. *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost Indie, verzameling van het onuitgegeven stukken uit het Oud Koloniaal Archief (1595–1814)*. 13vols. s'Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
Nederburgh, S. N. 1855. Consideratien over de Jaccatrasche en Preangerregentschappen, onder Batavia sorteerende en of daaruit meerder voordeelen dan thans, voor de Com- pagnie te behalen zijn?. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*. 3: 110–148, 195–246, 300–318.
Ohashi, A. 2010. *Sekaisisutemu to Chiikisyakai: Nishi Jawa ga Etamono Ushinattamono* (The Global Economy and a Local Society: Sweets and Bitters of People in West Java 1700–1830). Kyoto: Kyoto University.
Olivier, J. Jz. 1827. *Land- en zeetogten in Neederland's Indie, en eenige Britsche etablissementen, gedaan in de jaren 1817 tot 1826*. Amsterdam: C.G. Sulpke.
Raffles, T. S. 1988. *The History of Java*. Singapore: Oxford University Press. reprint.
Wilde, A. de. 1830. *De Preanger Regentschappen op Java gelegen*. Amsterdam: M. Westerman.