THE DUTCH CONQUEST
OF BALI

311 YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS, BROKEN PROMISES
AND WAR FOR 34 YEARS OF DIRECT RULE.

STEVE FARRAM
SEA 406
HONOURS THESIS
SUPERVISOR : DR. PAUL WEBB
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INTRODUCTION.

Like so many thousands of tourists before me my visit experience of Indonesia was on a short visit to Bali. I have since visited many other regions of Indonesia, but the “Island of the Gods” still has a strong attraction. Thus it was that when the idea came to me that the Dutch conquest of Bali may be a good topic for an Honours thesis I hastened to prepare for another journey to the island. I planned to see for myself some of the places where important events have occurred. I was, however, not too surprised to discover that many Balinese seemed quite indifferent to their history. One young man said to me “It’s only you westerners who are interested in history. We Balinese are interested in the present.” The history of the Dutch conquest of Bali, however, is a fascinating story, stretching over centuries, and I was pleased to find that the young man’s sentiments were not shared by all the people I met. In Singaraja the librarians in the Gedung Kirtya and the staff of the adjacent tourist office were interested in the history of the Dutch occupation of their island and knowledgeable of the valiant Balinese attempts to prevent it happening. At Jagaraga, the site of a great Dutch defeat, the name of the Balinese leader Gusti Jelantik is still mentioned with pride. At the Goa Lawah near Kusambe the death of the Dutch General Michiels at the hands of the Balinese defenders seemed to be common knowledge. The Balinese have also commemorated major events such as the Puputan Badung and the Puputan Klungkung by erecting large public monuments. Although some Balinese claim to have little interest in their past it is clear that this is not a majority view. The Dutch are now long gone from Bali, but the brave attempts of many Balinese who attempted to stop the Dutch occupation of their island is not forgotten.
PROLOGUE.

In 1908 the Netherlands Indies army attacked the royal city of Klungkung in eastern Bali. They were responding to a rebellion against Dutch interference in Balinese affairs led by the Raja of Klungkung, the Dewa Agung. The Dewa Agung had been recognized by the other Rajas of Bali as their supreme overlord with the title of Susuhunan of Bali and Lombok. As Susuhunan the Dewa Agung's position was mainly symbolic, but throughout the nineteenth century the Rajas of Klungkung had striven to maintain their position of superiority in Balinese politics. That position had been steadily eroded by Dutch incursions into Balinese affairs. In the mid-nineteenth century north Bali had been attacked by the Netherlands Indies army. Up until then the island had been largely ignored by the Dutch, but they remained involved in Balinese affairs from then on. By 1908 it was clear that the Dutch would prevail in their efforts to dictate to the Rajas how they should run their own kingdoms. By that time much of Bali was already under effective Dutch rule. In 1906 the Rajas Pamecutan and Denpasar of Badung had staged suicide-attacks, or “puputans”, when attacked by the Dutch forces. Dressed in white, the Rajas and their families marched from their palaces to face the Dutch guns. Those who survived the first salvoes stopped to finish off the wounded and then continued to march into the blazing Dutch guns until nearly all had been massacred. In 1908 in Klungkung the scene was repeated and with the defeat of this last defiant Raja the Dutch were able to claim that they were now the unchallenged supreme ruling power in Bali.

Direct Dutch rule in Bali lasted a mere thirty-four years, for in 1942 Bali, along with the rest of Indonesia, was occupied by the conquering Japanese. Although the Dutch took formal control of Bali only a few decades before the whole of Indonesia gained its independence they had actually been in contact with the Balinese since their very earliest days in the region. The Balinese Rajas had displayed a fierce determination to maintain their independence, but it would seem that this had little to do with the Dutch reticence to become involved with Bali. The Dutch had come to Indonesia seeking trade and not empire and as Bali did not produce the items most in demand in Europe the Dutch were generally content to leave the Balinese to themselves. As the centuries rolled on, however, the dictates of trade and politics called for different responses and the Dutch on Java began to take a closer look at their Hindu neighbours on the nearby island. Bali eventually became an important part of the Netherlands East Indies and a main stopping off point for foreign visitors to the Dutch colony. The Dutch then tried to use Bali as a showcase to the world of their “benevolent” rule. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the Dutch avoided too much attention being given to the bloody circumstances under which they came to be in control. The purpose of this paper therefore is to give some background to the long Dutch-Balinese relationship before the island’s annexation by the Dutch and to examine the questions: Why did the Dutch delay their involvement in Bali till such a late
CHAPTER 1 OPENING THE DOOR.

The Dutch had come to Indonesia for the first time in 1596 when three ships under the command of Cornelis de Houtman landed in the west Java trading port of Banten. They then proceeded in an easterly direction, getting into skirmishes with the local Javanese and Madurese as they went. In early 1597 they received a warm reception in Bali where they stopped to procure supplies before continuing on to Europe. Two of de Houtman’s crew, however, apparently found the island so appealing that they deserted ship and did not return. Throughout his voyage de Houtman had come into contact with Islamic kingdoms and, as Islam was seen as the enemy of Christianity, he was pleased to discover a friendly non-Muslim kingdom. To de Houtman and other Europeans of his day Bali appeared as “a Hindu outpost in a sea of Islam.” He was also impressed by the apparent power of the Balinese Raja and the wealth of his island. Bali, however, did not produce the item then most sought by European traders: spices.

The Dutch had come to Indonesia following in the footsteps of the Portuguese who had conquered the great entrepot port of Melaka (Malacca) in 1511. Portuguese successes in the actual spice islands of Maluku (the Moluccas), however, were uneven. By the late seventeenth century Portuguese power was waning and several other European nations, including the Spanish, the British and the Dutch, were beginning to pose a serious threat. The Dutch proved to be the most successful.

After the return of de Houtman several other Dutch fleets set sail for the Indies, but they soon realized that competition was driving up the price of spices so in 1602 they united as one company: the “Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie” (United East Indies Company or VOC). The VOC’s aim was to establish a monopoly of the highly profitable spice trade and in 1605 they occupied Ambon in Maluku and drove out the Portuguese. The VOC also harried the British wherever they attempted to set up bases in Maluku and they

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1 Vlekke, BHM The Story of the Dutch East Indies, pp67-69
Anak Agung Gde Agung Bali pada Abad XIX, p3
De Houtman was not the first European to reach Bali. The Portuguese had posts in Blambangan and Panarukan in east Java and had carried out some trade with Bali. The Dutchman, van Linschoten, who worked for the Portuguese, had stopped over in Kuta in 1586. When de Houtman arrived in Bali he met five ship-wrecked Portuguese sailors who had come to the island to establish a trading post. See Suwitha, Putu Gede “Catatan Singkat Pelabuhan Kuta Abad Ke-19” pp45-46
The Englishman, Sir Francis Drake, is also reported to have visited Bali to provision his ship in 1580. See Mabbett, H In praise of Kuta, p125
2 Vickers, A Bali. A Paradise Created, pp12-13
3 Van Niel, R “The course of Indonesian History.” pp278-279
eventually drove them from the area. In 1641 the Dutch captured the by then almost worthless Portuguese port of Melaka and in 1663 the Spanish gave up the last of its Maluku bases. The Dutch now had a virtual monopoly on the spice trade apart from the south Sulawesi port of Makasar (Macassar, now Ujung Pandang) where “smuggled” spices were sold to all comers. Finally in 1669 Makasar was crushed and the Dutch were firmly in control. By then, however, the value of the spice trade had decreased significantly.

In the meantime on Java the VOC had had a post in Banten since 1603, along with the British who had been there since 1602. In 1611 the Dutch also established a base at the site of modern day Jakarta. In 1619 this post was involved in a series of battles with British, Banten and local forces and the surrounding town destroyed. The small fortress, which the Dutch called Batavia, was the only structure left standing. Under the control of the VOC’s new Governor General for the Indies, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, Batavia was to become their chief port and capital.

Coen had a plan to spread Dutch influence throughout Asia and not just the Indies. He wanted to wipe out all Asian and non-Dutch European trade competition and concentrate all trade through Batavia. By controlling sea routes the Dutch could control trade and the profits from Asian trade could then be used to pay for spices. By the mid-seventeenth century Coen’s conception was a reality. The Dutch established a string of bases from India to Japan with Batavia as the hub. “Cinnamon and cloth from India; copper from Japan and spices from Moluccas; silks from Persia and sugar from China; all were exchanged in Batavia, and only there.”

The VOC’s interests were officially commercial only and they had no interest in territorial conquest. Such a policy, however, was little more than wishful thinking as it was inevitable that the VOC would be drawn into many local conflicts. When they first entered the Indies and began to establish trading posts they received many local requests to help fight the Portuguese, but where this was not in their direct interests they always refused. In Java they fought to establish Batavia, but were then involved in numerous battles to defend and succour their trading capital. The two main threats were the west Javanese kingdom of Banten and the central Javanese kingdom of Mataram. While the Dutch were at times forced to defend Batavia from direct attacks they were also drawn into many local disputes in an effort to maintain stability. By signing treaties with local rulers the VOC became involved in many expensive military campaigns to support those rulers. It successfully intervened in a number of succession disputes in Java in the seventeenth century and as a result of these and other conflicts it acquired more and more

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4 Ricklefs, MC A History of Modern Indonesia, pp25-27
5 Ibid. pp61-63
6 Ibid. pp27-28
7 Palmier, L Indonesia, pp40-42
8 Ibid. p43
9 Vlekke op.cit. p72
10 Ricklefs op.cit. p72
territory. The Javanese states became fragmented and their increasing reliance on Dutch support meant that they only existed as vassals of the VOC. By the mid-eighteenth century most of Java was ruled indirectly from Batavia through Dutch Residents in the local rulers’ courts.

The desire for a trade monopoly involved the VOC in campaigns in many parts of Indonesia. Of course they were involved in Maluku and as mentioned above they also took Melaka from the Portuguese and crushed the “smugglers’ port” of Makasar. In Sumatra they broke Aceh’s local monopoly on pepper by helping other states, including Minangkabau, establish their independence. Lombok and Bali were two of the last areas to remain autonomous, but this was not because of any fierce resistance on their part. The VOC was still a trading company and the only product the Dutch knew of from Lombok and Bali was slaves. It was not considered necessary to conquer those islands to secure the slave trade.

On 7 July 1601 the Dutch exchanged letters expressing friendship with the Raja of Gelgel, the overlord of all Bali. Apparently he was impressed by the Dutch and showed great interest in the map he was shown which portrayed the Netherlands as the largest country in Europe. He sent his greetings to the Dutch “King” and stated his wish that “Bali and the Netherlands should become one.” This was merely a standard Balinese form of expressing friendship, however, and had no greater political meaning. The VOC at first thought that Hindu Bali would be a natural ally against its numerous Islamic neighbours, but all hopes of a meaningful political alliance came to nothing. In 1633 a Dutch embassy was sent to Bali to seek support in their fight against Islamic Mataram, but the mission failed and the Dutch discovered that religion alone was not enough to induce the Balinese to fight. Balinese attempts to seek Dutch involvement in local politics also failed to bear fruit. Apart from the occasional exchange of letters and gifts there was

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11 Caldwell, M and Utrecht, E Indonesia - an alternative history. p15
12 Palmier op.cit. p51
13 Van Niel op.cit. p281
14 Vlekke op.cit. p118

Slaves from Bali and elsewhere in eastern Indonesia had been sold from Balinese ports since at least the tenth century. The arrival of European traders in the archipelago facilitated the growth of the trade. The slaves came from many sources. The high incidence of war on Bali meant that many slaves were captured during fighting. Others were caught on slave-raids into enemy kingdoms. Yet others again were convicted criminals made slaves as a result of being pardoned the death sentence. Many Balinese were sold into slavery as a result of their inability to pay debts, commonly from gambling. The wives and children of debtors were also enslaved. Widows with no male heirs were automatically made the property of their Raja. See Vickers op.cit. pp15, 60-62.

Kraan, A van der “Bali and Lombok in the World Economy, 1830-50.” p94.
For more detailed information on the Bali slave trade see : Kraan, A van der “Bali, Slavery and Slave Trade.” and Suwitha op.cit.

15 Vlekke Nusantara. A History of Indonesia. pp115 and 413
16 Ibid.; Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo Perang Jagaraja (1846-1849). p34
little further official contact between the Dutch and the Balinese until the end of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{17}

While the Dutch were unable to induce the Balinese into an alliance against Islam the presence of the VOC no doubt greatly reduced the risk that Bali would be forced to convert by its powerful Muslim neighbours. When de Houtman arrived in Bali in 1597 the Balinese were just then preparing to send thousands of soldiers to Java to halt the march of Islam. In 1635 a Portuguese missionary reported that the Raja of Gelgel had just refused a request from Makasar that Bali convert to Islam by swearing to defend the island with “an army of 70,000 men with lances greased with pork fat.” Mataram and Makasar were the two most serious threats to Bali’s sovereignty and the Bali-Hindu religion. While it was totally unintended it is very likely that the weakening of the Mataram and Makasar kingdoms because of VOC interference came just in time to prevent an attempted forced conversion to Islam on Bali.\textsuperscript{18}

Bali had been a staging post of the Maluku spice trade, but the VOC monopoly put an end to all that. On the other hand, the Balinese slave trade, which had existed since the tenth century, began to flourish. Balinese slaves in the seventeenth century went throughout the world, but most went to Batavia where they numbered between 8,000 and 10,000.\textsuperscript{19} One of the biggest markets was the Batavian Chinese community. Many Chinese men sought Balinese women slaves as wives because, as non-Muslims, they were willing to prepare and eat pork. Some Dutchmen also took Balinese mistresses and the Balinese term of address for women of low status, “nyai”, came to mean “native mistress” among the Dutch in the Indies.\textsuperscript{20}

While female Balinese slaves were popular in Batavia their male equivalents were developing a very different reputation. Although the VOC was not directly involved in the slave trade it did buy many male Balinese slaves to work as soldiers and sailors.\textsuperscript{21} In 1665, however, the VOC banned its employees from owning male Balinese slaves due to the numerous complaints about their rebelliousness and in 1688 they banned their import altogether.\textsuperscript{22} The slave trade did not stop, however, and Dutch traders continued to be active in many Balinese ports. In north Bali a new Raja, Panji Sakti, had used the slave trade to maintain his supply of western arms and he had even employed Dutchmen to work as his harbour-masters. In 1664 two Dutchmen were killed in his kingdom, but he was spared the usual VOC retribution because of his apologetic nature. He even went so

\textsuperscript{17} Vickers op.cit. p14
\textsuperscript{18} Nordholt, HS Bali : Colonial Conceptions and Political Change 1700-1940, p13. It should be noted that any attempt to force the Balinese to accept Islam would probably have met with strong resistance and could have resulted in mass puputans led by the Balinese Rajas.
\textsuperscript{19} Vickers op.cit. p15
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid. pp15-16. According to John Echols and Hassan Shadily’s Kamus Indonesia Inggris, “nyai” is a Javanese respectful term of address for an older woman. Therefore the Balinese origin of the use of the term could be questioned. See Echols and Shadily op.cit. p392
\textsuperscript{21} Anak Agung op.cit. p14
\textsuperscript{22} Vickers op.cit. p16
far as to offer compensation to a trader whose ships had been wrecked on the north Bali coast and later looted by the local population. This was unusual as shipwrecks were by local custom considered to be fair game. The reputation of Panji Sakti and the Balinese as a whole received a great blow when in c.1672 an Ambonese trader, Jan Troet, was reported murdered at the Raja’s command. This tale gained widespread currency when it was later published in Francois Valentijn’s popular book Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien in 1726.

When Panji Sakti came to power in Buleleng (north Bali) in 1629 he was that region’s first real ruler. Bali and Lombok at the time had one great overlord: the Raja of Gelgel, also known as the Susuhunan. The rule of the Gelgel Rajas came to a sudden end in 1651 as a result of a coup d’etat, but the new ruler had no legitimacy. The various lords of Bali, such as Panji Sakti, refused to accept him and instead declared themselves to be Rajas in their own right. For 150 years kingdoms rose and fell as the various rulers tried to establish themselves. Those with sea ports were very active in the slave trade as a means to finance the endemic warfare. It was only in 1800 that a stable set of nine kingdoms emerged, but by this time the descendants of the old Gelgel Rajas had established a new dynasty at Klungkung and were accepted by the other Rajas with the old titles of Dewa Agung and Susuhunan. The position of the new overlord, however, was to be strictly symbolic and the Rajas did not give up their powers. The Dutch no doubt looked on the whole scene with confusion and this may be one reason why they had so little to do with Bali in this period.

The Balinese had a long history of involvement with the Blambangan region of east Java and it was one of the last areas in Java to hold onto the old Hindu religion. In the 1620’s and 1630’s the Hindu lord of the region appealed to the VOC for help against raiders from Mataram, but was refused. He then appealed to his suzerain; the Balinese Raja of Gelgel. In 1633 the Dutch had sought Balinese help to fight Mataram and been refused, but by 1635 the Dutch had lost interest. In that year the Balinese succeeded in driving the Mataram forces out of Blambangan. By 1640, however, the area had again fallen to Mataram, although the inhabitants did not convert to Islam and held on to their Hindu faith. In 1647 both Mataram and Bali were on good terms with the VOC, but that did not stop the Company from allowing Mataram to buy weapons in Batavia for the express purpose “...to fight the King of Bali.” The slow struggle for power in the region continued for the rest of the century.

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23 Ibid. p17
24 Ibid. pp17-18; 215
25 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. pp18-19
26 Ibid. p25; Vickers op.cit. pp53, 56-57
27 Ricklefs op.cit. p44
28 Cool, Capt. W With the Dutch in the East. p169
In the late seventeenth century the VOC took renewed interest in Mataram and were involved in several battles trying to prop up its rulers, but the region was full of intrigue. One of the greatest threats was a runaway Balinese slave from Batavia named Surapati. His resistance to the VOC was to see him later recognized as both a Balinese and Indonesian patriot and he is honoured today as an official Indonesian National Hero. Surapati had escaped from Batavia and set himself up as the leader of a successful bandit gang. The Dutch appreciated his fighting skills and in 1683 invited him and his followers to become mercenaries for the VOC, but this did not last long. In 1684 he was in hiding at the Mataram court and killed over seventy Dutch soldiers sent to capture him. He then escaped to Pasaruan in east Java where he declared himself to be Raja and set up a dynasty that was to rule for eighty years. Although Surapati had been harboured at Mataram that kingdom had not given up its pretensions to be the rightful rulers of Blambangan and in 1697 the Raja of Buleleng, Panji Sakti, sent an expedition there to repel the Mataram invaders. The Balinese then installed a new ruler for the region named Pangeran Danureja. Blambangan was then effectively ruled by Danureja, Surapati and Buleleng. Surapati cooperated with Balinese princes in Blambangan and often fought alongside Balinese forces, but he eventually died as the result of a VOC attack in 1706. Ironically, the VOC forces that dealt the death blow to Surapati included a contingent of Balinese mercenaries. Surapati’s sons then fled to Malang and although several were later captured by the VOC others stayed in east Java and along with Balinese allies were involved in several local territorial disputes.

Although the region soon settled down the VOC was disturbed by reports that this Balinese controlled part of eastern Java was a haven for various south Sulawesi and Javanese renegades; there were also reports that Chinese and English traders were busy doing business there, far away from Dutch control. In 1767 and 1768 the VOC launched a series of campaigns in the region, but civil war in Bali at the time prevented any assistance from that quarter. In 1771 the last of Surapati’s descendants were captured. A further war was necessary against Balinese and local forces in 1771-1772, but by then resistance was crushed. In order to cut off Balinese influence in the region the Dutch recognized the claims of two Blambangan princes who had converted to Islam. This was a great irony because, while the Dutch usually feared Islamic power, in Blambangan they intentionally fostered it to decrease the power of the Hindu Balinese.

By the late eighteenth century the VOC was winding down its operations. The spice trade was no longer very important and the VOC was mainly concerned with the production of

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29 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p29; Tjokropranolo General Sudirman. The Leader who finally destroyed colonialism in Indonesia. p6
30 Ricklefs op.cit. pp79-80; Vickers op.cit. p19
31 Kumar, A Surapati. Man and Legend. A study of three babad traditions. p360
32 Soekiman, Drs Djoko “Perjuangan Untung Suropati” p47
33 Ricklefs op.cit. pp82-84
34 Vickers op.cit. p19
35 Ricklefs op.cit. p95
36 Ibid. p96
tea and coffee in the Priangan district south of Batavia. Most of the remaining bases in
the outer islands were merely symbolic. The VOC was virtually bankrupt after years of
war, maladministration and corruption. In 1800 it was dissolved and taken over by the
Netherlands government. The Netherlands itself had been under French domination
since 1795 and in 1808 the new Napoleonic regime sent its representative to rule the
Indies, Governor General Herman Willem Daendels. He wanted to reform and rationalize
the Indies and turn it into a “proper colony.” He replaced the old VOC officials with
civil servants and treated the Javanese rulers as part of the government bureaucracy.
Daendels ruled for three years, but shortly after his recall Java fell to the British. William
IV in exile in London had ordered the Dutch in the Indies to surrender to the British so as
to prevent the further extension of French control.

The British Lieutenant Governor General for most of its five year rule in Java was
Thomas Stamford Raffles. He was every bit as keen as Daendels to establish what he
thought was proper colonial control. As a result government interference increased, but
so too did corruption in the royal courts. The British handed the Indies back to the Dutch
in 1816, but in 1825, against a backdrop of growing dissatisfaction among the indigenous
population, Pangeran Diponegoro of central Java began a five year revolt that became
known as the Java War.

The Java War had almost emptied the Dutch coffers, but in 1830 a new Governor
General, van den Bosch, arrived with a scheme to make Java profitable again. It was
called the “Cultuurstelsel” or Cultivation System. Van den Bosch’s idea was to force
villagers to grow crops that were profitable on the world market which were then sold to
the government at fixed prices and transported to Europe by a Dutch shipping monopoly.
The profits were massive and the government could easily pay for the administration of
Java and still have plenty left over to plough directly into the domestic Dutch economy.
There were also funds available to pay the costs of expansion into the outer islands.

In the mid-nineteenth century then the Dutch began to pay more attention to Bali and
direct intervention began to seem inevitable. This was not a sudden decision on the part

37 Ibid. pp102, 106
38 Vickers op.cit. p20
39 Ibid.; Ricklefs op.cit. p110
40 Ricklefs op.cit. p108
41 Ibid. p110; Vickers op.cit. p21
42 Ricklefs op.cit. p111
43 Ibid. pp114-117
of the Dutch since contact with the Balinese Rajas had been frequent in the first half of the century. Daendels had sent Captain van der Wahl to Bali in 1808 as a representative of the Netherlands Indies government to recruit soldiers and to sign agreements of friendship with the Balinese Rajas. Van der Wahl made a stunning agreement with the Raja of Badung (south Bali) whereby the Dutch would recognize him as Susuhunan of Bali in return for the Raja accepting unlimited Dutch forces, arms and fortresses on his territory. Van der Wahl had apparently completely overstepped his authority and Daendels refused to ratify the agreement. Not only was such an agreement outside van der Wahl’s brief it was also completely unworkable as it was hard to imagine that the other Balinese Rajas would accept any but the Dewa Agung of Klungkung as their Susuhunan. They would also have been sure to object to the placement of Dutch troops and fortresses in Badung as would the Raja’s own subjects.

Under Raffles the British actually sent an expedition to Buleleng and Karangasem in 1814. It is usually claimed that the aim of this expedition was to stamp out the slave trade, which Raffles had banned, but it could have been linked to Balinese incursions into east Java. There was also a fear that the Balinese were planning a revolt with other local rulers, especially from south Sulawesi. According to one source Raffles sent the expedition to Buleleng because the Raja had seized a British East Indies Company trading ship. If the seizure of a ship was the cause of the expedition then it was a strange fore-shadowing of later events once the Dutch were again in control. Regardless of the reason for the expedition, western historians record that the Balinese quickly submitted to the British forces, but according to the Balinese version the Raja of Buleleng put up fierce resistance to the British attempt to occupy his capital and in this he was assisted by other Rajas who quickly sent him help. In the face of this unexpected united opposition the British are supposed to have retreated. In 1815 Raffles visited Buleleng on an information gathering exercise, the results of which can be found in the section on Bali in his celebrated book The History of Java. This visit seems to have had no political motivation. Whatever the cause of the 1814 mission and its conclusion, the slave trade continued regardless. The Dutch were slower than the British to reject slavery, but by the 1830’s they had ceased to be involved in the trade although it continued in Bali until at least the 1860’s.
In 1816 the British handed the Indies back to the Dutch and they were soon visited by an envoy from the Raja of Buleleng requesting that they be supplied with rice as the region’s rice crop had been wiped out by the ash fallout of the massive 1815 eruption of Mount Tambora on the island of Sumbawa. The Dutch agreed and the rice was sent. In 1817 it was also decided to send a high ranking official in the person of H. A. van den Broek to make general enquiries about the political and economic conditions on Bali and to make agreements with all the Rajas.

An enduring uneasiness on the Dutch side regarding British intentions in the region would appear to have been part of the motivation for van den Broek’s mission. Raffles had argued strongly against handing back Java to the Dutch and had proposed that the British should instead extend their interests further in the region. Nevertheless, the British government did not heed his advice. Raffles was also enthusiastic about Bali and reported it to be an island fit for enterprise and development. That Raffles’ enthusiasm for Bali played some part in the decision to dispatch van den Broek to the island is apparent from the letter that the Netherlands Indies government sent to the Minister for Colonies in the Netherlands which included the statement: “...apparently Raffles also has an interest and certain purpose there.”

Van den Broek’s mission proved to be frustrating and disappointing. He first visited the Raja of Buleleng who quickly refused his request that the Dutch be permitted to build a trading post with 200 armed guards in his kingdom. It was further requested that the Raja agree to not have relationships or agreements with any other European power. This was also refused. The only part of the Dutch request that the Raja was willing to consider was a general agreement on friendship between the two governments and the sending of an envoy to Batavia. The Raja, however, said he had to talk this over first with his officials and while he left van den Broek waiting he decided to go on a bird hunting trip. Having spent more than a month trying to get the Raja to sign an agreement van den Broek was losing his patience and made his way out to meet the Raja on his hunt. The Raja then informed him that he would not send an envoy to Batavia and left van den Broek with only a very general agreement to desire peace and friendship between the Buleleng and Netherlands Indies governments.

The Raja of Tabanan then agreed to meet van den Broek, but at the last moment sent a messenger to cancel the visit as he would be busy with a family funeral. Van den Broek then prepared to visit Badung. Badung was then ruled by a triumvirate of Rajas and van den Broek met with the most influential of the three, Gusti Gde Ngurah Pamecutan. Faced with similar demands as the Raja of Buleleng this Raja of Badung gave van den

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53 Anak Agung op.cit. pp44-45
54 Ibid. p45
55 Ibid. p35
56 Vickers op.cit. pp22-23
57 Anak Agung op.cit. pp45-46 (My translation)
58 Ibid. pp52-54
59 Ibid. p53
Broek a far more encouraging response, but finally he too could not agree to a guarded trading post. He was, however, willing to send an envoy to Batavia, but urged van den Broek to first talk to his allies Gianyar, Mengwi and Tabanan. At the time Badung was on bad terms with Karangasem and Klungkung and at war with Lombok. Part of the reason for Badung’s enthusiasm to enter into an agreement with the Dutch now became apparent as the Raja told van den Broek how helpful it would be if the Dutch could provide transport to take a war party to Lombok.60

The Raja of Gianyar was far less accommodating than his ally in Badung. In response to van den Broek’s request for a meeting the Raja sent a message in which he slammed Europeans for using trade as a cover for political interference. In addition he unfavourably compared Europeans to Chinese traders whom he said were purely interested in trade and had no political ambitions. Considering that Bali at the time had had negligible contact with Europeans the Raja’s comments reveal that he was either very well informed of the consequences of European contact elsewhere in the archipelago or he could somehow sense the underlying motives of the Dutch attempts to become involved with Bali. The Dutch, of course, would have denied that they had any ulterior motives, but the Raja’s words were nevertheless prophetic. Van den Broek was stunned by Gianyar’s response and was prepared to cancel his visit until persuaded to reconsider by the Raja of Badung.61 Finally in February 1818 van den Broek met with the Dewa Manggis, as the Raja of Gianyar was known. While he was respectful and friendly the Raja refused to be drawn on the subject of treaties or special treatment for the Dutch in his kingdom. Van den Broek later wrote of his experiences in Bali and stated his impression that the Dewa Manggis was totally opposed to contacts with Europeans and preferred to direct all his trade with the Chinese.62

Finally, after many delays, van den Broek met also with the Raja of Mengwi, but the local populace, totally unused to Europeans, found his appearance so odd that he was greeted with great laughter and hilarity. There is no reason to believe that this was any more than a spontaneous reaction to a strange sight, but van den Broek considered it a great offence and his feelings were not helped by the fact that the Raja joined in the laughter. Van den Broek made a strong protest to the Raja, but a similar scene occurred soon after and van den Broek lost his temper and threatened to shoot into the crowd if they did not desist. They stopped laughing and ran for their lives, but as a result any further talks were cut short.63 The Dutch propensity for taking offence, their superior attitude and demand for respect were qualities that in the long run were unlikely to endear them to the Balinese Rajas whom in no way felt themselves to be inferior to the newcomers. For the moment, however, there were no further consequences.

60 Ibid. pp55-56
61 Ibid. p59
62 Ibid. pp60-61
63 Ibid. pp61-62
Despite the incidents at Mengwi and the suspicions of the Dewa Manggis of Gianyar, the two Rajas agreed to send envoys to Batavia along with one from Badung. Van den Broek sent them on their way along with his deputy on 18 February 1818, while he waited in Badung for a reply from his government. Although he had strict instructions to visit all the Rajas of Bali (and Lombok, if necessary) he decided it would be better to not visit Badung’s enemies at this time. He believed a favourable response from Batavia to Badung’s request for help in its war against Lombok would make Badung more amenable to the Dutch plan to establish a presence in Bali.\(^{64}\)

Van den Broek spent a long time awaiting a reply and almost daily he was visited by the Raja who asked him what was his government’s decision. He could give no answer. His Balinese hosts finally lost faith in the Dutch envoy and left him alone. In the meantime many of his retainers had fallen ill and some had even died. He no longer felt safe in Badung and as his rations and funds were running low he finally decided after months of waiting to return to Java. On 24 June he left for Banyuwangi in east Java.\(^{65}\)

Meanwhile in Batavia the Balinese envoys had arrived and while they were received with kindness it soon became apparent that they had no mandate to make agreements with the Dutch.\(^{66}\) The Raja of Badung’s request for assistance against Lombok was rejected as too dangerous. Firstly, it was unclear how much support he had from Gianyar and Mengwi and there was a great fear that if the Dutch were to act against Lombok it could be seen as political and military interference by other European powers, such as the British, who might use it as an excuse to also intervene in Indies politics.\(^{67}\) This was exactly what the Dutch had wanted to avoid.

Batavia’s response was to order van den Broek to return to Bali and do as he was originally ordered and visit all the Rajas of Bali and Lombok and make agreements of friendship.\(^{68}\) Van den Broek replied to this that he was unwilling to return to Bali and he no longer had the funds nor facilities to do so. Having learnt further of van den Broek’s ordeal in Bali the Netherlands Indies government cancelled its order for his return. It was considered that the Rajas of Bali were too suspicious of Europeans and that Dutch plans to establish relations with them would have to wait for another day.\(^{69}\)

Van den Broek’s mission was a complete failure. The Dutch seem to have totally misunderstood the Balinese Rajas’ determination to remain independent and sovereign in their own kingdoms. If Raffles’ interest in Bali had been a determining factor in sending van den Broek to the island the Dutch would have done well to consider closely what he had written about the Balinese. In his History of Java., published in 1817, Raffles commented several times on the independent nature of the Balinese. Of the Balinese

\(^{64}\) Ibid. p62  
\(^{65}\) Ibid. pp62-63  
\(^{66}\) Ibid. p68  
\(^{67}\) Ibid. pp64-65  
\(^{68}\) Ibid. p65  
\(^{69}\) Ibid. p68
Rajas he wrote: "...they jealously maintain their own independence." Perhaps the Dutch in the Indies had not yet seen Raffles book, but it was still inconceivable that the Balinese Rajas would agree to the request for Dutch troops and fortresses on their land. The Dewa Manggis understood only too well what the Dutch had in mind. Raja Pamecutan of Badung was the only Raja contacted by van den Broek who was willing to agree to limit his relations with Europeans to the Dutch, but it is plain that he was willing to do this only to get Dutch help against his enemies in Lombok. This type of opportunism on the part of some Balinese Rajas was later exploited by the Dutch, but for now it was not considered a safe option. The Dutch seemed insensitive to Balinese character; an attitude that was highlighted by van den Broek’s response to his treatment in Mengwi. It would seem that van den Broek became quite bitter over his failure in Bali and what he considered to be the disrespectful treatment he had received there. In 1834 he wrote of his unhappy experiences in Bali for the magazine De Oosterling. He concluded his article with his suggestions on how Bali could be successfully attacked and occupied by a Dutch force. Then, he said, the Rajas should be sent in exile to Maluku while the people should be removed en masse to Java! This would no doubt have ended the “Bali Problem”, but also incautiously exacerbate problems on Java. The Dutch wisely did not heed such twisted counsel.

Trade on Bali (and Lombok) was in the hands of Bugis and Chinese and not the Balinese themselves. Harbours were controlled by a “syahbandar” or harbour-master, usually a Chinese appointed by the local Raja, who levied a tax on all goods going through the port. A percentage of this tax was then paid to the Raja. Balinese ports were generally open to all comers; Asian and European. The Dutch resented this trade as an infringement of its trading monopoly based on Batavia and thus considered it to be smuggling. By this they meant not just the sale of slaves and guns and ammunition, which they had banned, but all trade which they did not control. The Dutch also accused the Balinese of allowing “pirates” from throughout the Indies to use their ports as bases. While the Dutch disapproved of the Balinese “free trade” they were not too concerned as much of this trade also passed through its main port of Batavia. In 1819, however, something occurred which was to change all: Raffles established a free port on the island of Singapore. The Dutch had always been suspicious of British intentions in the Indies and the establishment of Singapore compounded those feelings. The effects on Bali and Lombok were not immediate, but within a few years the direct trade between Singapore and the two islands off Java was making the Dutch very tense.

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70 Raffles, TS History of Java, Appendix K pp ccxxxi-ccxxiii
71 Anak Agung op.cit. pp70-71
72 Also subander, sahbandar, bandar, etcetera.
73 Ibid. p18
74 Vickers op.cit. p24
75 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p32
CHAPTER 2 THE GROWTH OF TRADE ON BALI.

Between 1820 and 1824 a Dutch agent, the Arab trader Pangeran Said Hasan, made several visits to Bali to meet with the various Rajas and investigate the possibilities of closer friendship and trade between the Dutch and the Balinese. Nothing concrete resulted from the Pangeran’s visits, but his reports of the brutality of the slave trade and his sighting of ninety south Philippines “pirate” vessels in Balinese harbours would no doubt have increased the feeling among the Dutch that something must be done about Bali.76 A start was made in 1826 when Captain J. S. Wetters succeeded in signing the first meaningful agreement between the Netherlands Indies government and a Balinese Raja. Raja Kesiman of Badung agreed to allow a Dutch civil servant to reside in Kuta for the length of the Java War to run a recruitment office for Balinese soldiers to fight against Diponegoro. This official was Pierre Dubois.77 Dubois was in an excellent position to report on the political developments in Badung and also on its trade as Kuta was at that time the most important port in southern Bali. He reported that the Balinese Rajas were

76 Vickers op.cit. pp25-26; Anak Agung op.cit. p72
77 Anak Agung op.cit. p75
extremely proud of their independence and feared political involvement of Europeans if they were allowed too free access in their kingdoms. He also reported that the Chinese and Bugis traders were keen to foster this feeling as they also feared for their positions if the Europeans should be given freer access. In 1831, however, Dubois’ office was closed and he returned to Java as the Java War was over. 

While war raged in Java Singapore forged ahead and by 1830 it had surpassed Batavia as the busiest entrepot of the Indies. Bugis, Chinese and Arab traders of the archipelago flocked to Singapore which had a wide range of Indian, Chinese and British products and no tariffs. The Dutch just could not compete. The archipelago traders could easily sell their goods in Singapore where they were later transhipped to India, China, Europe and Australia. The Bugis and Chinese traders in Bali started buying up vastly increased quantities of agricultural products such as tobacco, cotton, coconut oil and rice. They then brought back to Bali opium from India, guns and ammunition from Britain, and silk and “kepeng” (copper coins used as currency) from China. By the 1830’s rice from Lombok and Bali was in high demand because compared to world market prices it was very cheap. Rice bought in Lombok and Bali could be sold in Singapore, China, Europe and Australia for two or three times the initial purchase price. High world prices were due to many factors, including a greatly reduced supply from Java during the disruptions of the Java War and, after 1830, the appropriation of many Javanese rice fields for use in the production of sugar and indigo. This was compounded by restrictions on rice exports introduced in the Philippines in the 1830’s. Along with decreased supply there was increased demand, especially from China which was experiencing prolonged food shortages, but also from Britain, where many rural food producers had drifted to the new industrial centres, and Australia, which could not yet produce enough food of its own.

Lombok’s majority Sasak population were Muslims, but they were ruled by two Rajas of Balinese origin: Raja Karangasem-Lombok and Raja Mataram-Lombok. Lombok had the advantage over Bali in having good deep harbours that could be used year round and visited by large ships. Its population was also more accessible to these harbours and thus

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78 Ibid. pp76-78. Dubois’ “recruits” were mainly slaves. Following Raffles’ prohibition of the slave trade and the devastation of agriculture by the eruption of Mount Tambora, the trade of Bali was in ruins. Recovery of the rice trade proved to be long term and profitable, but slave-trading never regained its former importance. See Kraan, A van der “Trade, Rajas and Bandars.” pp108, 110-111, 113-114
79 Kraan, A van der Bali at War 1846-1849. p2
80 Ibid. p3
81 Anak Agung op.cit. p80
82 Kraan Bali at War pp3-5
83 Ibid. p5; Anak Agung op.cit. p87
84 Kraan Bali at War pl

The Balinese had established political control on at least part of the island since the beginning of the seventeenth century, or possibly earlier. By the early eighteenth century Balinese from Karangasem had begun to take control of most of the island. Prior to that east Lombok had been ruled ostensibly by Makasar, but Makasar had been crushed by the Dutch in 1669, thus opening the way for greater Balinese influence. See Kraan, A van der “The nature of Balinese rule on Lombok.” pp93-95
their goods were more easily brought to market. Even though Bali had more than twice the population of Lombok the shallow harbours and difficult terrain of Bali meant that in the 1830’s Lombok was able to match its export figures. The vastly increased direct trade between Bali-Lombok and Singapore did not go unnoticed in Java where the alarm bells were ringing loudly.

One of the first to bring this matter to the attention of the Netherlands Indies government was its Resident in Surabaya, Major General J. C. van Riesz. In his 1836 report to the Governor General, van Riesz warned that the Singapore trade could lead to direct British intervention in Bali and Lombok. He described a possible scenario very disturbing to the Dutch heads of government. Java was already being overlooked by vessels travelling from Singapore to Bali and it was also possible, he said, that vessels travelling from Singapore to Australia may decide to stopover in the deep water harbours of Lombok rather than Batavia or Surabaya. He also imagined British traders opening offices in Bali and Lombok and the British government sending a representative to guard their interests. It was then likely that the British could establish political relationships with the local Rajas. Although the Netherlands had signed the Treaty of London in 1824 which ratified the spheres of influence of itself and Britain in the Indies, the Dutch had reason to fear that this treaty may be overlooked in some future political confrontation between the two nations. The Dutch thus feared the British gaining a foothold in a part of the Indies that they considered to be rightly theirs.

Soon after van Riesz sent his report another was received from the Assistant Resident of Banyuwangi: Rollin Courquerque. Courquerque had employed a local trader, Pak Jembrong, to investigate the state of trade in Lombok and Bali and after several months there in 1835 he delivered his report. In Bali he visited many ports and found Bugis and Malay “perahu” unloading a mixture of cargo from Singapore. The busiest port by far was Kuta. In Padang Bai he also saw a French ship. In Lombok he first visited Ampenan on the west coast where he met with eighteen vessels, the majority of them British, although there were also vessels flying the Dutch and French flags. These vessels were bringing Indian opium, guns and ammunition, English cloth and tons of kepengs. In return they were loading up primarily with rice and other agricultural produce. In the south he went to Tanjung Karang where he met with many more vessels, one being owned by an Englishman named King who apparently was very influential there. Lastly he went to Labuan Haji on the east coast where he heard that King owned several shops and also more in Ampenan.

85 Ibid. pp3-4
86 Anak Agung op.cit. pp81-82
87 Ibid. p82; Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p33
88 Under the Treaty of London the Dutch recognized the British right to Singapore. Also, the British exchanged Bengkulu (Bencoolen) in Sumatra for Dutch-held Melaka on the Malay Peninsula. In so doing they created two spheres of interest on either side of the Straits of Melaka. Under the treaty Bali and Lombok were clearly in the Dutch area.
89 Anak Agung op.cit. pp82-84
George Pockock King was an English merchant, formerly of Batavia, who had established himself in west Lombok in 1834. Along with two other European merchants, the Danes John Burd and Mads Lange, King wanted to get a bigger share of the lucrative rice trade. As explained above, all trade went through Chinese syahbandars which meant that like any other traders the Europeans were forced to buy exclusively from the syahbandar. King, Lange and Burd may have never achieved their ambitions, but for the fact that in 1838 war broke out in Lombok. King threw his support behind Raja Mataram-Lombok, who also received support from the Balinese Rajas of Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung; while Burd and Lange backed Karangasem-Lombok. The Europeans aided the Lombok Rajas with guns, cannons and ammunition. King used his ships to ferry troops from Bali and the Danes tried to blockade the same ships. King even led troops in battle. Finally, in 1839 Mataram was victorious and Burd and Lange were expelled from Lombok. King was rewarded for his efforts by being appointed as syahbandar of Ampenan which gave him a monopoly on the Lombok rice trade. The Danes may have backed the losers, but they won too. After relocating to the south Bali kingdom of Badung Lange struck up a friendship with Raja Kesiman, who was so impressed by the Dane that he made him the syahbandar of Kuta, Bali’s busiest port. Altogether the Europeans now controlled 80-90% of the Bali-Lombok rice trade.

The Dutch were not too concerned about the Danes, but for the reasons outlined above they were extremely concerned about British traders and especially King. In 1836 a report on the state of affairs in Lombok and Bali was forwarded to J. C. Baud in the Hague. Baud was the Minister for Colonies and a strong believer in the Cultivation System and a protectionist trade policy. He saw no benefit for the Dutch in adopting a free trade system in the Indies, ala Singapore, but wanted to bring Lombok and Bali clearly within the Dutch sphere of interest. He did not want to use force as this could lead to confrontation with the British. Instead he sought a political solution and recognition by

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90 Also Pockock, Peacock, etc.
91 Kraan, A van der George Pockock King. p3
92 The two Danes were associated with the Canton firm of Jardine, Matheson and Co. See Ibid. p7. The two traders soon formed their own company: Burd and Co. which had its headquarters in Lombok. See Nordholt, H S “The Mads Lange Connection.” p24
93 Kraan Bali at War. pp5-6
94 Ibid. p6; Anak Agung op.cit. p212
95 Kraan Bali at War p7.
96 Kraan Bali at War. p9
the local Rajas of Dutch sovereignty. He therefore advised sending a warship to Bali and Lombok as a gentle intimidation to encourage the Rajas to sign agreements with the Dutch. This advice was not acted on, but in July 1836 the warship Ajax was sent to Lombok to investigate the extent of foreign trading. The report from Ajax suggested that the possibility of the British gaining a position of political influence in Lombok had been greatly exaggerated.

In May 1838 an envoy from Raja Karangasem-Lombok arrived in Batavia to request guns and ammunition to help it in the war that had just broken out against Mataram-Lombok. The Dutch declined to give an immediate response as they wished to first send an agent to Lombok to report directly on the current situation. Thus on 18 June 1838 Major J. S. Wetters, who had previously gone to Bali in 1826 to arrange for a recruitment station for soldiers in the Java War, was sent to Lombok to investigate. Shortly before Wetters was due to leave word arrived that the war had ended, but it was decided to continue the mission regardless.

In Lombok Wetters met with the victorious Raja Mataram-Lombok and expressed the desire for friendly relations between Mataram-Lombok and the Netherlands Indies government. He also requested that the Dutch be allowed to establish a trading post in Lombok. The Raja replied that he was happy for the Dutch to trade in his kingdom, but that he would not let any foreign power establish a permanent presence there. From local sources, however, Wetters was told the Raja’s decision had been strongly influenced by the Englishman King, who was also the main force in inspiring the Raja to start the war in the first place. Wetters was convinced that as long as King was active in Lombok the Dutch would find it difficult to have any influence there. The need for agreements with the Balinese Rajas now seemed greater than ever. As part of an effort to gain a foothold in Bali the Dutch trading monopoly in the Indies, NHM (Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij : Netherlands Trading Company), was prevailed upon by the Netherlands Indies government to open an office in Kuta in 1839. Reports from this office confirmed the extent of trade being carried out in Bali, including the “illegal” trade in guns and ammunition. Apart from reporting on trade in Bali the NHM was also instructed to make contact with the Balinese Rajas. It was hoped that this would smooth

97 Ibid. pp8-9
98 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. pp33-34
99 Anak Agung op.cit. pp111,113
100 Ibid. pp114-115
101 Ibid. p116
102 Ibid. p117
103 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p32; Soehartono “Perang Jagaraga” p209
104 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p32
the way for the Netherlands Indies government to make agreements with the Rajas that would preclude any other foreign power gaining any political influence in Bali.\textsuperscript{105}

The plan for an NHM office in Kuta began to take shape when Weters visited Badung after his trip to Lombok and found the dominant Raja there, Raja Kesiman, quite willing to discuss the prospect of closer relations with the Dutch.\textsuperscript{106} Accordingly Weters' visit was followed up by a fact finding mission by an NHM agent, Granpre Moliere. Moliere met with the Badung Rajas and also with the Dewa Agung of Klungkung and found them all quite amenable to the idea of a Dutch trading post in their kingdoms. On Lombok Moliere found the Raja was still unprepared to consider a Dutch post in his kingdom and he left with the impression that George King, now confirmed as chief syahbandar, was the real power in Lombok on matters concerning trade.\textsuperscript{107} Finally it was decided to open an NHM trading post at Kuta which officially began operations on 1 August 1839. Along with the normal trade goods the Dutch also brought with them a rhinoceros for the Dewa Agung and other items for the Rajas of Badung; presents from the Netherlands Indies government which the Rajas had specifically requested from Granpre Moliere during his visit.\textsuperscript{108}

The new NHM post in Kuta was headed by one D. B. Schuurman. He quickly discovered that Badung was on bad terms with the Dewa Agung of Klungkung. Raja Kesiman would not allocate him any men to unload the rhinoceros he had brought as a present for the Dewa Agung and the animal was kept aboard his ship for several weeks until the Dewa Agung could send his own men. Schuurman also noted that Badung was on bad terms with Mengwi, but it had good relations with Gianyar and Tabanan.\textsuperscript{109} Schuurman complained that he was not treated well at Kuta and was given inadequate accommodation and faced much difficulty obtaining rice for export. He put these difficulties down to obstruction from local Bugis and Chinese traders who feared European competition. He also concluded that Raja Kesiman was disappointed that the Dutch had not sent him the two cannons that he had previously requested from Major Weters. Disappointment over broken promises seemed to be becoming a standard feature of Dutch-Balinese relations. On a more positive note Schuurman was able to report that he had been well received by the Dewa Agung and that he had seen no evidence of British fortresses on Bali, as had been previously reported; in fact he discovered that there were no other Europeans permanently based there. A few months after the establishment of the NHM post, however, Mads Lange arrived from Lombok.\textsuperscript{110}

Lange arrived in Bali virtually bankrupt, but he quickly developed a strong rapport with the Rajas of Bali, in particular with Raja Kesiman of Badung, the Dewa Agung and the Raja of Tabanan. Lange soon rebuilt his trading enterprise and become a strong

\textsuperscript{105} Anak Agung op.cit p94
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid. pp117-118; Kraan Bali at War. p11
\textsuperscript{107} Anak Agung op.cit. pp122-124
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid. pp127-129
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid. pp142-143
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid. pp144-145
competitor with the NHM. In 1841 he was made syahbandar of Kuta.\textsuperscript{111} Schuurman, on the other hand, was only a minor player in the Dutch efforts to gain greater influence in Bali and the NHM post was really only a cover for political activity. In April 1840 Schuurman was joined by H. J. Huskus Koopman, the special Commissioner for Bali and Lombok who had been charged with negotiating with the Rajas of Lombok and Bali to obtain treaties that would establish Dutch sovereignty of their kingdoms and prevent the establishment of any other foreign powers on the islands.\textsuperscript{112}

Koopman reported on the progress of his mission to the Netherlands Indies Governor General on 13 February 1841. He concluded there would be no economic benefit for the Netherlands in occupying Bali and that the Balinese Rajas’ general suspicion of Europeans meant it was unlikely that any other European power could establish itself there except by force. The Rajas of Badung were still keen to maintain good relations, but the Dewa Agung of Klungkung had turned against them and no longer wanted anything to do with the Dutch.\textsuperscript{113} Koopman urged fostering the existing relationship with Badung by giving the kingdom the war materials it had requested in case of war with Klungkung. In regard to Lombok, which he had not visited, Koopman thought the Raja to be too influenced by the Englishman King for there to be any hope of negotiation. Instead, he believed the only way for the Netherlands to achieve its political goals there was war.\textsuperscript{114}

In May 1841 Koopman was once more sent to make agreements with the Bali Rajas and it was hoped that if he could succeed with Badung the other kingdoms might follow suit. For the present it was decided to concentrate on those kingdoms which had seaports, since it was considered that these were the only ones likely to get any attention from Europeans.\textsuperscript{115} In July 1841 Koopman had his first success when Raja Pamecutan and Raja Kesiman of Badung signed an agreement recognizing Dutch sovereignty over Badung. During Koopman’s visit to Badung a Dutch ship, the Overijsel, ran aground near Kuta and was subsequently looted by the local populace. Apparently Raja Kesiman had forbidden his people to loot the ship, but then relented after it was put to him that he had no power to do so under the traditional, or “adat”, law of “Tawan Karang” which gave the coastal people an inalienable right to the contents of any ship which may run aground. It has been suggested that Koopman may have used the Overijsel incident as a bargaining chip with the Badung Rajas; claiming that if they did not sign the contracts the Netherlands Indies government would surely seek recompense for the lost ship and its cargo. Regardless of its importance in the treaty negotiations, the fate of the Overijsel and the issue of Tawan Karang soon became a cause celebre in the Netherlands when the ship’s captain published a small booklet on the incident where he portrayed the Balinese

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid. pp145, 212
\textsuperscript{112} Kraan Bali at War. p12
\textsuperscript{113} Anak Agung op.cit. pp148-149
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid. pp152-153
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid. pp155-156
people as nothing better than a race of uncivilized pirates.\footnote{Ibid. pp158-161} Tawan Karang was later to become the cause of many disagreements between the Dutch and the Balinese Rajas. In Indonesian history writing the issue of Tawan Karang is often referred to as the “excuse” to takeover Bali that the Dutch had been searching for.

In 1841 it would seem that the Dutch were not yet prepared to take over Bali and the issue of Tawan Karang had little to do with Koopman’s next success in obtaining treaties with Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung. The three Balinese kingdoms had all sided with Raja Mataram-Lombok during the Lombok war and had sent troops to the island to help him oust Raja Karangasem-Lombok. This had been done on condition that their own candidate, Ida Ratu, be installed as the new Raja Karangasem-Lombok. Mataram was eventually victorious and Ida Ratu was enthroned, but in May 1839, after the Balinese troops had returned home, Mataram troops killed Ida Ratu and his followers. By this act Raja Mataram-Lombok was able to declare that Lombok was now one kingdom, which he renamed Selaparang.\footnote{Kraan Bali at War. p5} The Balinese Rajas were understandably disturbed by the turn of events in Lombok and were so intent on revenge against Raja Selaparang (Raja Mataram-Lombok) that they had each sent envoys to Batavia seeking assistance to declare war on Lombok.\footnote{Anak Agung op.cit. pl54} Following his success in Badung Koopman now moved on the three aggrieved Rajas and in November and December 1841 made three new treaties whereby Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung also accepted sovereignty over their kingdoms by the Netherlands.\footnote{Ibid. pl63}

Considering the number of failed missions the Dutch had made to Bali to secure agreements with the Rajas, Koopman’s success was outstanding. The four most important kingdoms, Badung, Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung, had all signed agreements recognizing Dutch sovereignty. They furthermore agreed to never surrender their kingdoms to any other European nation, to allow only the Dutch flag to be flown on their territory and to assist the Netherlands Indies government in any war in which it may become involved. Koopman owed his success, however, to deception, which he himself admitted in a secret report.\footnote{Kraan Bali at War. pl2} Koopman had apparently been in Bali long enough to learn that it was commonplace among friends to make a statement along the lines of “What is mine is yours.” This was of course only an empty saying merely expressing friendship and having no greater consequence. Koopman, however, drew up the treaties with the Balinese Rajas to include a statement that their kingdoms were the property of the Netherlands and where this was queried by the Rajas he claimed it was merely a similar piece of protocol that should not be taken literally.\footnote{Ibid. ppl2-13; Anak Agung op.cit. p165} In relation to Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung he also held out the promise that the signing of the treaties would open the way for a joint Dutch-Balinese expedition against Raja Selaparang, although he knew

\footnotesize{\begin{enumerate}
  \item Ibid. pp158-161
  \item Kraan Bali at War. p5
  \item Anak Agung op.cit. p154
  \item Ibid. p163
  \item Kraan Bali at War. p12
  \item Ibid. pp12-13; Anak Agung op.cit. p165
\end{enumerate}}
it was against government policy to become involved in military campaigns.\textsuperscript{122} In all fairness to Koopman it should be said that at the time he seemed to think that military action against Lombok looked inevitable.

For the Dutch in the Indies George Pockock King was seen as a great threat to Dutch sovereignty. Although King had sought and been granted citizenship of the Netherlands Indies the Dutch never lost sight of the fact that he was still British.\textsuperscript{123} King was believed to be strongly anti-Dutch and rumours abounded concerning his contempt for the Dutch and his attempts to turn the Lombok Raja against them also. For example, King was said to have flown a Dutch flag and a British flag in front of his Ampenan residence and to have then trained a cannon on to the Dutch flag and blown it to bits. He was also accused of having hidden a man accused of murdering the captain of a ship flying the Dutch flag. Furthermore, he was said to have given an interview to a Sydney newspaper in 1840 in which he said that the Dutch were keen to extend political influence into Lombok, but so far he had managed to prevent it. He was believed to favour a British takeover of Lombok.\textsuperscript{124} On the other hand it is recorded that King always flew the Dutch flag in front of his trading post and that in 1840, the same year in which he was supposed to have boasted of his success in opposing the extension of Dutch influence in Lombok, he confided to a British traveller that he would welcome Dutch sovereignty in Bali and Lombok. The Dutch at the time were also unable to prove that King had been in contact with any British official.\textsuperscript{125} Nevertheless, the Netherlands Indies officials seem to have preferred to believe the worst they heard of King and appear to have been convinced that he had irrevocably poisoned the mind of Raja Selaparang against them. In this light negotiations seemed pointless and the Dutch prepared for war.

While Koopman had been busy in Bali getting the Balinese Rajas to sign over sovereignty of their kingdoms to the Netherlands and worrying about the designs of George King in Lombok, a different Englishman was busy in north Borneo laying the foundations for his own empire. James Brooke had intervened in a civil war in Sarawak on behalf of a Brunei prince and in 1841 claimed his reward by becoming governor of the Kuching district. He gradually extended his territory and became well-known as the White Rajah of Sarawak. While the British were embarrassed by Brooke's actions the Dutch were positively alarmed. In order to forestall any other Europeans from gaining a foothold in the region that they felt rightly belonged to them the Dutch launched into a policy of active expansion in southern Borneo, which lay just to the north of their stronghold of Java.\textsuperscript{126} Bali and Lombok were of course much closer to Java than Sarawak, so it would make sense for the Dutch to be equally concerned to ensure that those islands did not fall under foreign control. Thus in May 1842 when Koopman returned to Batavia preparations were well underway for a Dutch expedition to Lombok to cut short the ambitions of George King and bring the island clearly within the Dutch sphere of

\textsuperscript{122} Kraan Bali at War. p13
\textsuperscript{123} Anak Agung op.cit. p153
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid. pp151-152
\textsuperscript{125} Kraan Bali at War. p11
\textsuperscript{126} Ricklefs op.cit. pp130-131
influence. Shortly before the Governor General was to sign the papers authorizing the expedition, however, a letter arrived from Minister of Colonies Baud urging that at least one effort at peaceful negotiation should be attempted before Lombok was forced to recognize Dutch sovereignty.\(^\text{127}\)

J. C. Baud has been portrayed by some Indonesian historians as an extreme colonialist who was obsessed with the idea of enforcing a “Pax Neerlandica” over the entire Indies.\(^\text{128}\) Perhaps this was true, but in this instance it was Baud who prevented the sending of a military expedition to Lombok and urged negotiation. Koopman was therefore instructed to go to Lombok and negotiate a treaty with the Raja. Koopman protested this course of action as a waste of time because of King’s well-known influence on the island and his strong opposition to the Dutch. He also argued that it would be a betrayal of the Balinese Rajas who were waiting for Dutch help to launch a punitive expedition against Lombok. Koopman’s concern over betraying the Balinese Rajas seems somewhat hypocritical seeing that he had himself deceived them into signing away their own sovereignty. Koopman, however, had little choice but to obey orders and in October 1842 he landed in Ampenan.\(^\text{129}\)

When Koopman landed at Ampenan he was greeted by George King who later introduced Koopman and his party to the Raja. Over the following days Koopman was astonished to find that King in no way appeared to be hostile to the Netherlands. He was also surprised to find that the Raja was very cooperative and seemed anxious to reach an agreement with the Dutch. Thus in November 1842 Koopman was able to cap off his success in Bali by procuring a treaty with the Lombok Raja whereby he accepted that his kingdom was the property of the Netherlands Indies government. Furthermore, the Lombok treaty contained an article wherein Lombok renounced forever the right of Tawan Karang.\(^\text{130}\) As a result of Koopman’s meetings with King he was rehabilitated in Dutch eyes from being a dangerous threat and instead came to be seen as a valuable and knowledgeable ally. The 1842 treaty was also a turning point in Dutch-Lombok relations. The apparent turnaround by Raja Selaparang and King was no doubt based on their knowledge of what had been happening in Bali. By appeasing the Dutch at this point they were able to short circuit the Balinese plans for an invasion of Lombok. If war had gone ahead King would probably have lost his privileged trading position and the Raja would have lost his kingdom. By making concessions to the Dutch the Raja may have undermined his own authority, but if a joint Dutch-Balinese force had invaded Lombok the Raja would have probably lost all authority; if not his life.\(^\text{131}\)

The Lombok Raja faithfully abided by the terms of the 1842 treaty; regularly sending envoys to Batavia. He quickly ratified the treaty in 1843 and a year later, when a perahu sailing under the Dutch flag ran aground on Lombok’s coast, he prevented it from being

\(^{127}\) Kraan, Bali at War p14  
\(^{128}\) Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p36; Anak Agung op.cit. p92  
\(^{129}\) Kraan Bali at War. pp14-15  
\(^{130}\) Ibid. p15  
\(^{131}\) Ibid. p16
looted, much to the satisfaction of the Dutch.\textsuperscript{132} Good relations with Lombok, however, came at the cost of worsening relations with Bali. The Rajas of Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung were justifiably annoyed with the Dutch. As they had seen the 1841 treaties as a mere formality that had to be completed before the joint Balinese-Dutch invasion of Lombok they now considered the treaties to be void. They stopped sending envoys to Batavia and lowered the Dutch flag in their kingdoms.\textsuperscript{133}

The inclusion of an article in the treaty with Lombok which effectively banned the exercising of the ancient right of Tawan Karang was apparently inspired by the furore in the Netherlands over the \textit{Overijsel} incident. In order to appease public outrage in the Netherlands the Minister for Colonies, J. C. Baud, advised the Governor General of the Netherlands Indies to include this article in the new treaty with Lombok and to add the article to the existing treaties already made with the Balinese Rajas. By getting the Rajas to agree to the ending of Tawan Karang the Dutch would be able to demonstrate that they really were the masters of the Indies and shipping in Indies waters would be guaranteed safety of passage.\textsuperscript{134} Huskus Koopman argued strongly against this initiative, claiming that it was not within the Rajas’ power to wipe out the right of Tawan Karang and that if they tried to they would surely be opposed by their own people. The Governor General would not accept Koopman’s arguments and referred him to a case recently reported from Badung where the captain of a stranded English ship had negotiated with the Raja to pay compensation rather than lose his whole ship and its contents. Koopman was therefore instructed to use this case as a model in drawing up the new agreements.\textsuperscript{135}

According to the Balinese politician and historian, Anak Agung Gde Agung, Koopman’s first visit to Lombok in 1842 was only a qualified success and he did not get a clear statement from the Raja accepting Dutch sovereignty of his kingdom.\textsuperscript{136} In November 1842, however, Koopman succeeded in getting an agreement from the Rajas of Badung to replace Tawan Karang with a formal system of compensation to be paid to the local populace that would protect Dutch and other foreign vessels in distress from being looted. With this contract as a precedent he was able to make similar agreements with the Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem and the Dewa Agung of Klungkung.\textsuperscript{137} On his next visit to Lombok in June 1843 Koopman pointed out to the Raja that the Dewa Agung, who styled himself as the Susuhunan of Bali and Lombok, had agreed to Dutch sovereignty and that if Lombok continued to deny Dutch sovereignty they would use the treaty with Klungkung to legitimate military action against Lombok. If the Dutch were to invade Lombok they would certainly be accompanied by forces from Klungkung, Karangasem and Buleleng. Under threat of being overrun by his old enemies from Bali the Raja capitulated and signed the new treaty which clearly acknowledged his acceptance of

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\item \textsuperscript{132} Ibid. p17
\item \textsuperscript{133} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Anak Agung op.\textit{cit.} pp176-177
\item \textsuperscript{135} Ibid. pp178-179
\item \textsuperscript{136} Ibid. p178
\item \textsuperscript{137} Ibid. pp188-189
\end{itemize}
\end{flushleft}
Dutch sovereignty over his kingdom. Finally, after securing the treaty in Lombok, Koopman returned to Bali and negotiated a similar agreement with the Raja of Tabanan on 22 June 1843. Regardless of the order in which he did it, Koopman had succeeded in getting recognition of Dutch sovereignty over Badung, Buleleng, Karangasem, Klungkung, Tabanan and Lombok. The Rajas of the six kingdoms had also agreed to the end of Tawan Karang and promised to help all foreign vessels in distress off their shores. As a measure of appreciation for his services to the crown Koopman was awarded the "Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandsche Leeuw" (Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion) in July 1844. He did not have long to enjoy the honour, however, as he died on 2 August of the same year.

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138 Ibid. pp190-191
139 Ibid. p195
140 Ibid. p202

Because of his success in Bali Koopman is often referred to in Dutch literature as "de contracten-sluiter"; the contracts-closer. See E. Utrecht Sedjarah Hukum Internasional di Bali dan Lombok, p171
CHAPTER 3 WAR COMES TO BALI.

In the meantime on Bali events were unfolding that were to bring Buleleng into direct conflict with the Dutch. In April 1844 a perahu belonging to a Bugis from Badung, but sailing under the Dutch flag, was captured at Sangsit, near the Buleleng capital, and its cargo and crew detained. In order to investigate this matter the Assistant Resident of Banyuwangi, Ravia de Ligne, arrived in Buleleng in September 1844. After waiting several days for an audience with the Raja, de Ligne and his party were finally ushered into his presence. Alongside the Raja sat his uncle and adviser, Patih Jelantik. As Patih, I Gusti Ketut Jelantik functioned as a type of chief minister to the Raja, but he was also the commander of the military forces. He had a great deal of personal influence in Buleleng and was in many ways more powerful than the Raja himself. De Ligne made little headway with the Raja who claimed that the perahu he had ordered seized belonged to the Raja of Badung and as he was at war with Badung it was no concern of the Dutch. The Raja would concede nothing to de Ligne and when he had finished speaking Patih Jelantik wound up the meeting by declaring that as long as he lived Buleleng would never submit to the Netherlands Indies government. When de Ligne’s report made it to Batavia in October 1844 the Acting Governor General, Reynst, was less than pleased. Reynst’s predecessor had died in August and he was to fill the position only until the arrival of the official replacement. In the meantime he wished to avoid anything which appeared controversial. Perhaps in order to make the matter seem less serious than it really was Reynst blamed de Ligne for the outcome of his meeting with the Raja of Buleleng, claiming that de Ligne did not know how to deal with native chiefs.

Despite his misgivings Acting Governor General Reynst knew that matters could not be left the way they were. Accordingly, in early 1845 he appointed the Resident of Besuki, J. F. T. Mayor, as Commissioner for Bali and Lombok. As a former Governor of Makasar and Resident of Solo, Mayor had extensive experience in dealing with native Rajas. In May 1845, Mayor, accompanied by the brother of the Sultan of Pontianak and a number of Javanese chiefs, arrived off the coast of Buleleng in the warship Bromo. Also aboard the Bromo was First Lieutenant von Stampa who had instructions to check the shore near the Buleleng capital for any fortresses or other fortifications and to determine whether the Bromo’s cannons could reach the Raja’s palace from the beach. He was also instructed to make a map of the area and identify the best landing places for any possible future invasion.

Mayor’s visit to Buleleng proved to be as unsuccessful as de Ligne’s. Mayor had been ordered to inform the Raja that the Dutch intended to take no further action in relation to

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141 Kraan Bali at War. pp17-19
According to some sources there was a similar incident involving the practice of Tawan Karang at Perancak, Jembrana (at that time under rule from Buleleng) at around the same time, but it is unclear whether this case was brought up by de Ligne in his interview with the Raja. See Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit p36; Anak Agung op.cit. p215
142 Kraan Bali at War. p20; Anak Agung op.cit. pp217-218
the perahu from Badung, but that it wished to ratify the 1843 treaty and expected its conditions to be observed from then on. Mayor and his group, however, had to wait several days before they could meet with the Raja. Finally, when brought before the Raja with no great ceremony, Mayor was forced to wait another fifteen minutes for the arrival of Patih Jelantik. After Jelantik's arrival discussion of the treaty began, but as soon as mention was made of the article wherein Buleleng acknowledged Dutch sovereignty both Jelantik and the Raja voiced their objections. The Raja claimed that he never meant to surrender his kingdom to the Dutch and Jelantik said that the treaty had been obtained through deception as the Raja understood neither Dutch nor Malay and that if he had understood the meaning of the treaty he would never have signed. Jelantik grew more and more animated and said it was not possible that a mere slip of paper could signify one nation's authority over another. Such matters, he said, could only be settled at the end of a "keris." He vowed that as long as he lived Buleleng would remain independent. At this junction Mayor suggested it may be better if they all retired for a while until emotions settled and then resume discussion later; but receiving no encouraging word from Jelantik or the Raja he decided it would be more prudent to leave. 

The Raja of Buleleng’s refusal to ratify the 1843 treaty and his clear rejection of Dutch sovereignty as contained therein meant that Mayor’s mission was a failure. With the prospect of military action as the likely outcome Mayor delayed the Bromo’s departure for a day to make sure von Stampa had completed his report on the Buleleng defences. It was now clear to the Raja of Buleleng that he had been deceived by Huskus Koopman into signing away the sovereignty of his kingdom. Koopman, however, was dead and the present Dutch officials would acknowledge no wrong-doing on their part. As far as they were concerned Buleleng had reneged on a legally binding contract and the Netherlands Indies government was free to settle the issue how it saw fit. Mayor urged Governor General Reynst to launch an immediate military expedition against Buleleng, but the Governor General wished to make one last effort at reconciliation. He therefore ordered Mayor to return to Bali with a letter to the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, asking him to mediate in the dispute. Mayor, however, decided instead to delegate this task to Mads Lange (he had become the official Dutch agent in Bali in 1844), who managed to arrange a meeting in Klungkung on 13 August 1845, attended by the Dewa Agung, the Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem and Patih Jelantik. The meeting could not be called a success. In his letter to the Dewa Agung, Reynst had neglected to use his preferred title of Susuhunan of Bali and Lombok. The Dewa Agung apparently took offence and refused to act as a mediator. Reynst had threatened that if an agreement could not be reached the Dutch would be justified in using force. The Dewa Agung was apparently unimpressed and every bit as resentful as Buleleng over the Dutch attempt to assert its sovereignty over Bali. Lange warned Karangasem against any help being given to Buleleng in the event of a Dutch attack, but was cut off by Patih Jelantik who asserted that if the Dutch

143 Kraan Bali at War, p20
144 Ibid. pp20-21; Anak Agung op.cit. pp220-222
145 Anak Agung op.cit. p225
146 Mabbett op.cit. p136
attacked Buleleng they would have to fight Karangasem as well (Jelantik was also uncle to the Raja of Karangasem).\textsuperscript{147} Karangasem stood by Buleleng and also refused to ratify the 1843 treaty. On top of this, at roughly the same time as Mayor was in Buleleng, a Dutch trading ship, the \textit{Atut Rachman}, ran aground near Karang Anyar in Karangasem. The local people then looted the ship, but Karangasem refused to pay the compensation stipulated in its treaty with the Dutch.\textsuperscript{148}

It would seem that at this point the Netherlands Indies government had no desire to annex Bali and would have been satisfied by a formal recognition of Dutch sovereignty. Such recognition would have prevented any other European power establishing itself on the island. In particular the Dutch had feared an extension of British power in the Indies because of the activities of the Englishman George King in Lombok. The Dutch had already been shaken by the activities of the Englishmen Raffles in Singapore and Brooke in Sarawak. As it turned out King was no threat to the Netherlands Indies government, but his presence in Lombok had provided a great deal of the impetus to the efforts to get formal recognition of Dutch sovereignty from Lombok and Bali. Huskus Koopman had gained this recognition from the Balinese Rajas with the treaties of 1841-1843. Koopman, however, had lied to the Rajas about the meaning and consequences of the treaties. The issue started to come to a head when the Dutch tried to enforce the treaty in Buleleng as a result of a breaching of the agreement on Tawan Karang. To their great dismay the Dutch discovered that the Raja of Buleleng refused to acknowledge Dutch sovereignty. Moreover, the Raja's uncle and adviser, Patih Jelantik, bluntly told the Dutch that they had no rights in Buleleng. Even though the Dutch threatened war Jelantik was unperturbed. He appeared to have the full support of his Raja and, at an eleventh-hour meeting designed to prevent the need for a Dutch military expedition to Bali, it transpired that he also seemed to have the support of Karangasem and the Dewa Agung of Klungkung. The Dutch had had a fairly long standing policy of no further territorial expansion in the Indies. Numerous reports had shown that there was no economic justification for Dutch possession of Bali and that for political purposes treaties recognizing Dutch sovereignty would be sufficient to prevent any other power moving in to the region. Buleleng and Karangasem, however, were refusing to acknowledge Dutch sovereignty. They had been making a mockery of the agreement to end Tawan Karang at a time when Tawan Karang had received a great deal of unfavourable publicity in the Netherlands. Also, over the years, the Balinese Rajas in general had made many enemies amongst the Netherlands Indies government officials who had unsuccessfully tried to make agreements with them. Now that the Netherlands Indies government had threatened war there seemed little to prevent it.

Before launching into a military expedition against Buleleng and Karangasem the Dutch took the precaution of sounding out the other Rajas. Mads Lange, working as the Netherlands Indies government representative in Bali, had reported that Buleleng had already annexed the Payangan district in Gianyar and planned to attack the kingdom of

\textsuperscript{147} Kraan Bali at War, pp22-24
\textsuperscript{148} Anak Agung op.cit. p228
Bangli. According to Lange Buleleng and Karangasem had plans to subjugate all of Bali and drive the Europeans out of the island. The Dewa Agung of Klungkung, however, had written to all the Rajas of Bali urging them to send help to Buleleng and Karangasem in the event that they were attacked by the Dutch.\(^{149}\) Although Dutch officials on the ground had often tried to use local rivalries to their advantage in making agreements with the Balinese Rajas such tactics were never condoned by the government. Now that the government was considering war, however, this policy was put aside and the Dutch actively sought to exploit divisions between the various Balinese kingdoms. Accordingly, Badung and Tabanan, who were fearful that if they did not fulfill the Dewa Agung's request they may subsequently be attacked by Buleleng, were offered military assistance from the Dutch to repel any such attack. From Gianyar Lange reported that the Dewa Manggis had ordered the building of fortifications in line with the Dewa Agung's request, but that Mengwi was unlikely to offer any resistance to the Dutch as it was too busy fighting off territorial incursions from Tabanan. In the meantime the inland kingdom of Bangli guaranteed to the Netherlands Indies government that it would always be a loyal friend and ally.\(^{150}\) This assurance from Bangli is interesting as the Netherlands Indies government had previously had little or no dealings with the inland kingdom. It had been considered unlikely that any other European power would bother to have relationships with a kingdom that had no trade ports, but with the prospect of war in Bali the Dutch sought every advantage. It was essentially a policy of divide and rule and it typified the Dutch attitude to its dealings with Bali from that point on. If the Balinese Rajas had heeded the call of the Dewa Agung and rallied behind Buleleng and Karangasem the Dutch may have thought twice about war in Bali, but as it was, with each kingdom following its own course and in constant conflict with the other kingdoms, the scene could not have been better set for a foreign takeover.

Acting Governor General Reynst had wanted to avoid conflict in Bali, but the situation was now completely out of hand. He was probably relieved to hand over responsibility for the whole problem to his replacement, Jan Jacob Rochussen, who formally took up his duties on 1 January 1846. Rochussen was from a wealthy family and had many connections in both business and government circles. Rather than wait for instructions from the Netherlands, Rochussen was more inclined to act on his own. Thus on his very first day in office he wrote to the Minister of Colonies, Baud, to tell him that he was sending an expedition against Buleleng and Karangasem. According to Rochussen it was absolutely essential to make the Rajas pay for the "insult" they had given the Dutch by capturing ships flying the Dutch flag. He also mentioned that there would be benefits too as Java was short of rice whereas Bali had plenty to spare. Even before he had written to Baud Rochussen had been busy making preparations for the expedition, but a shortage of suitable ships meant that it did not actually get away until June 1846.\(^{151}\)

\(^{149}\) Ibid. pp230-232, 243  
\(^{150}\) Ibid. pp230-231,245  
\(^{151}\) Kraan Bali at War. pp27-29
In the meantime, in Buleleng, Patih Jelantik had been organizing the building of fortifications along the beach near the capital Singaraja. This consisted of a high wall built of earth and coconut tree trunks. Behind this barrier were trenches or foxholes and more barricades were erected further inland. Discipline and morale among the Balinese was apparently high. They had a number of light cannons and several rifles, many of them made in Bali, but most of the troops were armed with lances and kerises. When the Dutch force began its attack on the morning of 28 June it soon became clear that the Dutch gun-power was far too great for the Balinese to withstand. While the fortifications were bombarded from the Dutch ships troops streamed ashore. They soon occupied the coastal settlement which they promptly set to the torch. Reinforcements from Karangasem and Klungkung who arrived during the fighting were forced back by the Dutch cannons. The following day the Netherlands Indies troops began to march inland where they hoped to capture the Raja in his palace, but he had already retreated along with his men to the mountain village of Jagaraga. The Netherlands Indies forces looted the palace in line with their instructions to bring away any money, precious metals, art works or antiques which they found there. An orientalist, A. H. F. Friedrich, had accompanied the expedition to help identify the best pieces and to document what he saw. Following the looting the palace was set alight. In the meantime the Raja of Karangasem also arrived at Jagaraga along with a large force of men. Located on top of a steep mountain slope Jagaraga was a natural fortress which had been further strengthened by trenches and barricades. The Dutch did not possess sufficient manpower to storm this stronghold while the Balinese lacked the fire-power necessary to take back the capital or harbour, where the Dutch were busy building a fortress of their own. The Dutch “victory” had thus quickly developed into a stalemate. At this juncture the Dutch sought help from their old “enemy”, George King.

King had arrived in Buleleng with a ship-load of Lombok troops which had been sent by Raja Selaparang in answer to Batavia’s request for help. He now agreed to take a copy of a letter from Governor General Rochussen to the Raja of Buleleng that set out the conditions for surrender. As well as demanding that the Raja and his brother, the Raja of Karangasem, should sign the treaties that they had refused to sign the previous year, the letter also stipulated that Buleleng should pay for the cost of constructing and maintaining the fortress presently being built near the harbour (It could house two hundred men). On top of this it was stipulated that the two Rajas should pay in full the cost of the Dutch military expedition. To the surprise of the Dutch, King returned unharmed on 9 July with the signed contracts, but he also brought with him a letter of protest from the Raja of Buleleng. The Raja explained that the stationing of Netherlands Indies troops in his kingdom would spread fear amongst his subjects and asked that they be removed. More

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152 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. pp44-45
153 Kraan Bali at War, pp30-31
154 Ibid. p32; Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. pp72-73
155 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p57
156 Kraan Bali at War p33
157 Anak Agung op.cit. p250
158 Kraan Bali at War, p33
importantly he asked that he and his brother be freed of the responsibility of paying for the Dutch expedition as they simply could not afford it. If the Dutch insisted, he said, then they were sure to be disappointed.\textsuperscript{159}

Rochussen himself arrived in Buleleng a few days later aboard a Dutch warship. Apparently basking in the reflected glory of the Dutch victory Rochussen ordered the expeditionary force to perform a number of military exercises, including a re-enactment of the seizure of the harbour and the capital.\textsuperscript{160} He took receipt of the Raja’s letter requesting leniency in the matter of paying the costs of the expedition and wrote back to him that he would consider the matter. Nevertheless, he wrote to Minister Baud on 27 July telling him of the fortress under construction in Buleleng and its usefulness in ensuring that Buleleng would pay. On 9 August he wrote to the Commissioner for Bali and Lombok, J. F. T. Mayor, telling him to inform the Rajas that until such time as the debt be paid in full the fortress would remain in Buleleng.\textsuperscript{161}

In this fashion Rochussen brought to a close what is known to Indonesians as the Buleleng War. It was no ending, however, but the beginning of an even greater war that would take several years to complete. Arguably the conflict which began with the Buleleng War did not end until 1908 when the Dutch took control of all Bali. It could even be said the conflict did not end until the Dutch finally withdrew from Bali after the close of the war for independence in 1950. Whichever way one tries to measure the impact of the Buleleng War it must be recognized as a great turning point in Dutch-Balinese relations. For the first time the Dutch had officially sought to exploit the divisions between the Balinese Rajas for their own purposes (The activities of Huskus Koopman were official, but secret and never fully approved). For the first time the Dutch had come into direct armed conflict with a Balinese kingdom; and for the first time the Dutch had placed a garrison of soldiers on Balinese soil. Rochussen demanded that the Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem pay for the cost of the Dutch expedition and for the fortress being built in Buleleng. He may have done this to avoid any criticism in the Netherlands over the cost of the whole exercise or it may have been out of sheer spite and a determination to avenge damaged Dutch pride. The Raja of Buleleng put it directly to him that he could not pay, but that if he should insist the Raja was fearful that it may lead to further conflict. Rochussen either did not believe the Raja or else he was deliberately laying the groundwork for future conflict in Buleleng that could eventually legitimate a complete Dutch take over.

\begin{quotation}
Indonesian historians writing about this period of Balinese history, such as Anak Agung and Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo, tend to prescribe conspiracy theories when discussing the reasoning behind various aspects of Dutch policy. It may be true that the Dutch seized on
\end{quotation}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{159} Ibid. p34
\item \textsuperscript{160} Anak Agung op.cit. p262
\item \textsuperscript{161} Kraan Bali at War. p35
\end{itemize}
the issue of Tawan Karang to justify interference in Balinese politics; and it may be true that Rochussen demanded an amount of compensation that he knew could never be paid so that the Dutch could return and demand even greater concessions. On the other hand it is very likely the Dutch wished to settle the issue of Tawan Karang simply to make the seas a safer place for all shipping. It is after all very unlikely that any modern state could condone the looting of shipwrecked vessels by its citizens. In relation to Rochussen it appears he may have been a very proud or even arrogant man, but it is possible that he did not believe that Buleleng could not pay. The main problem for the Dutch at that time (although many Dutch officials did not recognize it) was that they knew very little about Bali. To many Dutch the Balinese Rajas appeared to be all powerful and extremely rich potentates. The Dutch were very knowledgeable about Javanese affairs, where they had exercised power for a couple of hundred years, and many assumed the situation in Bali must be very similar. There were, however, many very important differences.

The Dutch had been very impressed with the Raja of Gelgel when they made their first contact with Bali in the late sixteenth century. The high level of ritual and ceremony which surrounded the royal court of the Gelgel Raja suggested to the Dutch that they were dealing with an unchallenged divine monarch. They ascribed more power to the Raja than he really held and failed to recognize the existing rivalries between royal, noble and commoner households. The subsequent collapse of the Gelgel dynasty should have alerted them to this reality. In his History of Java, Raffles had noted some of the differences between the regents in Bali and their counterparts in Java. In particular he commented on the system of land tenure and noted that, unlike on Java, the Rajas were not considered to be the universal landlords, with most land in Bali actually considered to be private property. Thus the Balinese Rajas did not have access to all the wealth of their kingdoms and the Raja of Buleleng was probably telling the truth when he said he could not pay the hefty reparations the Dutch demanded for the Buleleng War.

In relation to Tawan Karang it has often been said that this was an ancient right of the coastal peoples of Bali where shipwrecked vessels were recognized as gifts from the gods. As such this was a matter totally outside the jurisdiction of the Rajas and they had no right to prevent it. This may well have been the case, but if so it then begs the question: Why did the Balinese Rajas sign treaties with the Dutch agreeing to end Tawan Karang if they had no power to do so? Perhaps the Rajas were loathe to admit to the Dutch the limits of their powers, or perhaps they felt that they could limit this right. Before Bali began to become part of the international trade scene in the early nineteenth century it had had little contact with foreigners. It was far from international trade routes and thus most shipping stayed well clear of the island with its rocky coastline and lack of good harbours. The Balinese themselves were not a maritime people. The opportunities for the local people to exercise the right of Tawan Karang must have been very limited. With the increase in trade the possibility of more shipwrecks was also likely, but it may have been

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163 Raffles op.cit. Appendix K. p. cccxiv
unclear just how much power the Raja actually held in relation to this matter. On the other hand it is possible that the Rajas did not take this clause of their treaties with the Dutch too seriously, for had not the treaties also included other impossible provisions such as the surrender of sovereignty to the Dutch?

The Commissioner for Bali and Lombok, Mayor, was one Dutch official who seemed to have some understanding of the realities of Balinese politics and finances. In a letter dated 2 September 1846 he urged Rochussen to be more lenient and pointed out to him that the great cost of building and maintaining the Buleleng fortress, on top of the war reparations, was too great a burden for the Raja to bear. He argued that if the Netherlands Indies government insisted on these impossible demands then it was very likely that the Raja may decide that there was no use in trying to meet any of his obligations. Further conflict would then probably be inevitable. Rochussen, however, would not be swayed and he was incensed to learn that as well as failing to provide the garrison with food and other necessities as set out in the treaty provisions, the Raja in fact had not yet paid any of the demanded compensation. Rochussen’s response was to increase the pressure and he ordered Mayor to go to Bali and demand that provisions be given to the fortress and that a part payment of the war indemnities be made immediately. He had also become aware of the central role of Patih Jelantik in the recent conflict and asked Mayor to figure out a way to extradite him from Bali. Furthermore, remembering that the Dewa Agung had sent troops to help Buleleng in the war, Rochussen informed Mayor that if any future expedition was sent to Bali it would also visit Klungkung. 164

Mayor then informed the Governor General of the difficulties associated with these latest moves. Jelantik, he said, was a relation of the Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem and it was unlikely they would allow his extradition. Also, because of his important position in Buleleng it would be impossible to even discuss the matter there without Jelantik knowing. In respect to the Dewa Agung, Mayor pointed out the importance of his position as Susuhunan of Bali and Lombok and warned that even though he did not have any real power he did have the respect of the other Rajas. Even though some of the Rajas in south Bali had a history of defying the Dewa Agung they may rally around him if he faced a military threat from the Dutch. Rochussen was unmoved by Mayor’s arguments. In the light of his superior’s intransigence Mayor had little choice but to go to Bali and inform the Rajas of the Governor General’s decision. On 1 October he met with the two Rajas and Patih Jelantik and, while he refrained from telling them about the plans to extradite Jelantik and punish the Dewa Agung, the news that the Governor General still expected them to pay all the costs of the war probably was enough for them to conclude that more war was now inevitable. 165

Even though defeated in the Buleleng War it is very likely that the Raja of Buleleng never really intended to accept being dictated to by the Dutch. In the first instance the Raja had technically never surrendered. According to the instructions given to the commander of

164 Kraan Bali at War, pp36-38
165 Ibid. pp38-39
the Dutch expedition the Raja was to be captured and taken to Surabaya, where he would then be held “at the Governor General’s pleasure”, 166 but he was not captured. In the normal course of events it could have been expected that the Raja would prefer to die in battle rather than surrender (a puputan), but he had done neither. The fiery oaths previously made by Patih Jelantik would also suggest that he was not of the surrendering kind. They may have hoped that the Dutch would have been satisfied with burning the capital and looting the palace, but they probably expected further conflict. Not surprisingly Jelantik had ignored the Dutch prohibition on building more fortresses and work proceeded on improving the start already made at Jagaraga. With its steep slopes and surrounding deep gorges, Jagaraga was a natural fortress. An enemy force could only attack it front on, but by improving on its natural boundaries and building further fortifications the location became virtually impregnable. The main fear came from the Dutch cannons, but at four kilometres distance from the coast they could not reach. Work on the Jagaraga fortress could continue without the knowledge of the Netherlands Indies troops stuck in their own fortress near the harbour. As well as building the fortress other preparations were made, such as moving the royal regalia to the new fort, smuggling arms from Singapore and enlisting the help of native soldiers who had deserted from the Dutch fortress to train the Balinese in the use of their new rifles. 167 The royal regalia was housed in the new palace built behind the fortifications at Jagaraga. The Balinese soldiers were obliged to serve their various chiefs, who in turn were obligated to others in a hierarchy headed by the Raja. The placement of the palace in the fortress thus ensured the maximum number of defenders. 168

At the Dutch fortress itself the troops were experiencing many difficulties. As related above the fortress had not been given provisions by the Raja as stipulated in the conditions set by the Dutch and after a short period the water supply was also cut. Forced to rely on local sources of less clean water the health of the troops deteriorated. In February 1847 the Raja went further and prohibited the sale of foodstuffs to the garrison on pain of death; thus necessitating the shipping of all food from Java. The poor conditions in the garrison resulted in the death of over a hundred soldiers, but their replacements soon fell ill also. At least forty native troops deserted to the Balinese. Rochussen was furious and wanted to send a second expedition to Buleleng, but was restrained by Mayor. In January 1848, however, Mayor suddenly died and Rochussen, who had considered that Mayor had been too soft, lost no time in organizing a new expedition. 169 In the meantime, Raja Buleleng had approached the British in 1847 for assistance in his quarrel with the Dutch, but had been refused. 170 It would appear that Dutch fears of British plans for Bali and Lombok had been completely unwarranted.

166 Ibid. p28
167 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. pp62-64.
The majority of Balinese were still armed with their traditional weapons. Only 5-10% had modern firearms. Ibid. p97
168 Ibid. p78
169 Kraan Bali at War, pp40-43
170 Nordholt, HS “The Mads Lange Connection.” p44
On 8 February 1848 Rochussen gave the order for the expedition to be mounted, but as a prelude he ordered ultimatums to be delivered to the Rajas of Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung. From Buleleng he demanded immediate payment of about a quarter of its outstanding debt from the 1846 war, the dismantling of all forts, the extradition of all deserters from the Netherlands Indies army, the extradition of Patih Jelantik and the sending of a delegation to Batavia. From Karangasem he demanded a similar payment of the war debt, the extradition of deserters and a delegation to Batavia. From Klungkung he demanded the return of deserters and a delegation to Batavia. Furthermore, all three Rajas were warned that if war proceeded their kingdoms would be occupied by the Netherlands Indies army and they would be deposed as rulers. Rochussen allowed fourteen days for the Rajas to reply and at the end of that time, on 12 April, only conditional responses had come from Karangasem and Klungkung and none at all from Buleleng. This was considered to be rejection and the advance party then moved into the second stage of its mission which was to destroy any native perahu it met on the coast and to bombard the native villages. Unsuspecting villagers watching the Dutch ships from the beaches suddenly found themselves in a sea of fire as the Dutch launched a fusillade directly into the village, destroying houses, fruit-trees, livestock and people.\footnote{Kraan Bali at War, pp43-46}

The ultimatums delivered to the Rajas were so harsh that Rochussen must have expected them to be rejected. He obviously wanted to get as much political mileage out of the expedition as possible as he sent translations of the ultimatums to all the native chiefs of Java. Once the ultimatums had been rejected he placed a notice in a Java newspaper informing one and all that the Netherlands Indies government was in a state of war with Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung. He also had this notice printed in Dutch, Javanese, Malay and Chinese and posted in public places all over Java. He was sending a clear message that he would not tolerate any rebellion. All he needed now was a resounding victory in Bali.\footnote{Ibid. p47}

The expedition finally got underway on 1 June 1848 with a force of roughly the same size as that of 1846. Led by General van der Wijck the troops began landing to the east of the Buleleng capital on 7 June; thus the Dutch must have been aware of the activity at Jagaraga as they had landed at the place best suited for access to the mountain fortress. The Dutch forces saw the first Balinese soldiers the next day when they attacked the village of Bungkulan. The Dutch were surprised by the well disciplined Balinese soldiers as they had only expected to meet a few disorganized groups. Nevertheless, the Dutch were too strong for the Balinese and they soon over-ran the village, but not before the Balinese killed seven of the Dutch troops with their lances. On the morning of 9 June the Netherlands Indies troops, numbering near to two thousand men, began their ascent to Jagaraga. The road was steep and narrow and had been cut in a number of places with trenches lined with sharpened bamboo stakes. Having surmounted these difficulties the Dutch forces arrived at the foot of two large bastions, beyond which apparently stood the main fortress. Van der Wijck decided to storm one bastion and then move onto the main
fortress, by which time the other bastion would be surrounded and would presumably surrender. This was easier said than done. After attacks and counter-attacks the Dutch troops finally succeeded in occupying one of the bastions and proceeded toward the main fortress. They then came under fire from some Balinese holed-up in a nearby temple which they quickly over-ran. A large number of Balinese soldiers then emerged from the main fortress and in a fierce lance attack stormed the soldiers in the temple. Those Dutch troops not killed fled in disarray. Meanwhile the Balinese left in the remaining bastion suddenly appeared to be abandoning their position and sensing victory the Dutch quickly took possession. It was not a retreat, however, as the Balinese had actually moved behind the Dutch and were now busy slaughtering their rear-guard and attacking the coolies of their supply line. Those coolies who were not killed dropped their loads and fled. The Balinese made off with the food, munitions and other supplies and as the supply lines had been cut they could not be replaced. The Dutch were soon short of water and ammunition and the only course of action left was retreat. The rejoicing Balinese chased the Dutch troops back down the hill only stopping as they neared the coast, no doubt fearful of the Dutch ships’ cannons. Surveying the damage the next day van der Wijck must have been dismayed. Expecting a quick victory the Dutch had made no effort to prepare a proper camp and now with dead bodies and human waste piling up around them they risked death from disease just as much as from the lances of the Balinese soldiers. So many of his officers and men had been killed that there was little point in continuing with the mission. Reluctantly he decided to return to Java.

This defeat at Jagaraga had been entirely unexpected, but the intimidation meted out by the Dutch to their Balinese foes could not have been calculated better to bring forward the most determined resistance. The Dutch had once more demanded the payment of the war reparations which Buleleng and Karangasem had pleaded they were unable to meet. The Dutch had demanded the extradition of Patih Jelantik, but this was clearly impossible because not only was he the Raja’s uncle, he was also extremely powerful in his own right. The threat to the Dewa Agung was also an issue that was sure to arouse the passions of the Balinese because, even though his own kingdom of Klungkung was small and weak, he was highly respected by the other Rajas in his capacity as Susuhunan. Any threat to the Dewa Agung was always likely to stir the other Rajas into action for his defence. Lastly, the bombardment of coastal villages by the Dutch before the actual commencement of the landing in Buleleng had stirred up a great hatred of the Dutch as a large number of people and their belongings had been so wantonly destroyed. As a result they were more than ready to help in repelling the invaders.

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173 Ibid. pp51-57. According to one source this temple was the Pura Dalem Segara Madu where Patih Jelantik himself was stationed during the fighting. When this temple was over-run by the Netherlands Indies forces it was apparently Jelantik’s wife, Jero Jempiring, who encouraged the Balinese troops to retake the temple in a furious mass lance attack. With a keris in each hand she urged the troops to show their manliness and asked them what was the use of building holy temples if they then let them be defiled by the Dutch “dogs.” See Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. pp94, 113
174 Kraan Bali at War. pp57-61
175 Ibid. pp49-50
The whole battle, usually referred to in Indonesian literature as the First Jagaraga War, lasted only a few hours. It was a crushing blow for the Dutch, especially for Governor General Rochussen who had openly boasted about the coming victory before the expedition left Java. When Rochussen learnt of the defeat he sent an urgent message to van der Wijck imploring him to proceed with the attack on Klungkung or at the very least to continue with the bombardment of the coastal villages. In consultation with his officers van der Wijck decided to do neither and when Rochussen learnt that he had already returned to Java he was furious. In his defence van der Wijck claimed the Dutch forces had been heavily outnumbered by the Balinese who had fought with a fierceness and bravery unparalleled in his experience. Rochussen was unimpressed and blamed van der Wijck for the whole debacle. On Rochussen’s recommendation van der Wijck was replaced as Commander-in-Chief of the Netherlands Indies army by General A. V. Michiels, a man with a reputation as a ruthless and aggressive soldier. Rochussen himself did not escape blame for the army’s failure in Bali, but he was not criticized for the manner in which he had inflamed the situation. Rather, he was criticized for having not sent a stronger force to make sure the job was done properly. The defeat in Bali had been a blow to Rochussen’s pride, but it came to be seen as a blow to the pride of the whole Dutch nation. Fear of the latent power of the Indonesian peoples must never have been far from the minds of the Dutch in the Indies and they were united in their support for a new expedition which would put the Balinese “in their place.” Soon after he learnt of the defeat in Bali Rochussen wrote “...I still do not want to extend our territories. All I want is satisfaction with honour.” His determination to subjugate the Balinese, however, was the beginning of a chain of events which seemed to be heading irrevocably towards Dutch annexation of the island.

During the preparation for the Buleleng War the Dutch had tried to enlist the support of the other Rajas, but for the First Jagaraga War this was not done and an unsolicited offer of assistance from the Raja of Lombok had been rejected. The new Commissioner for Bali and Lombok, Baron de Kock, considered this to be an error and he informed Rochussen that George King had brought an offer from Raja Selaparang to help the Dutch attack Karangasem on the condition that he then be given possession of that kingdom. Rochussen agreed and he further instructed de Kock to see if similar deals could not be struck with the other Rajas. Accordingly de Kock went to Kuta where, with the help of Mads Lange, he contacted the other Rajas. Gianyar and Mengwi rejected these overtures out of hand, saying they wanted nothing to do with the Netherlands Indies government; while Badung and Tabanan retained their friendly stance to the Dutch, but informed de Kock that they could not defy the Dewa Agung as they had sworn an oath of

176 Ibid. pp65, 67
177 Ibid. pp69-74
178 Ibid. p76

Although western texts make no mention of it, some Indonesian sources claim that Gianyar and Mengwi also sent troops to defend Jagaraga. This could be correct considering the close relationship at the time between those two kingdoms and Klungkung. For example, see I Gusti Ngurah Rai Mirsha Sejarah Perlawanan Rakyat Bali Selatan Menentang Kolonialisme Belanda, p13
loyalty to him. The big success, however, was Bangli. Hemmed in by Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung, Bangli was a friend of none of them. The Raja of the landlocked kingdom was on constant alert for encroaches on his territory by his neighbours. He readily agreed to assist the Dutch as long as he was given the mountain district of Batur, which he maintained had been usurped by Buleleng.179 By occupying the Batur district Bangli would be assisting the Dutch because it would deny Buleleng the use of the area as a base for further resistance.180 The policy of divide and rule was now coming to maturity for the Dutch in Bali.

In March 1849 the fleet for the third expedition against north Bali readied itself to sail. It was the largest armada the Dutch had ever brought together in the Indies and consisted of eighty nine ships. With 12,000 men the force was roughly three times greater than that of the previous two expeditions. By 3 April the entire fleet had gathered in the Buleleng roads. Michiels, however, had arrived several days before the rest of the fleet, but as his tactic was first to capture the capital of Singaraja he instructed some troops to be taken from the Buleleng fortress to reconnoitre the area. They discovered that the whole town had been abandoned. When more of his forces arrived Michiels ordered the town to be occupied, but he was soon placed in a dilemma by the arrival of a Balinese delegation. Rochussen had ordered Michiels to enter into no negotiations with the Balinese, but to capture dead or alive the Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem and Patih Jelantik. Possibly hoping to lure these leaders into his grasp Michiels agreed to talk. Little came of the meeting, but a few days later another delegation arrived and Michiels readily agreed when they proposed that the Raja of Karangasem and Patih Jelantik should meet him in Singaraja.181

The meeting was arranged for 7 April and in an apparent effort to awe his enemy Michiels ordered around 8,000 of his troops to line the western side of the Singaraja main road. The plan to capture Jelantik and the Raja had to be hastily revised, however, as they arrived with over 10,000 troops of their own who lined the other side of the street. With the two opposing armies standing literally face to face an extremely dangerous situation had developed. Michiels now had no choice but to pretend he was interested in negotiation since any attempt to capture the Balinese leaders would be sure to give way to a bloody pitched battle which he had no guarantee of winning. Thus Michiels met with the Balinese and informed them that if they followed the general agreements laid out in the 1841-1843 treaties and destroyed all their fortifications then the government would be appeased. He promised that he would personally persuade the Governor General to drop the demands for war reparations. He made no mention of his orders to capture Jelantik and the two Rajas. To wind up the meeting it was agreed that Michiels would meet the Raja of Buleleng in a few days time at the village of Sangsit. Michiels had already planned to move to Sangsit as it provided easier access to Jagaraga and as he had

179 Kraan Bali at War, p77
180 Anak Agung op.cit. p304
181 Kraan Bali at War, pp79-84
stipulated that the Raja was to bring no more than 1,000 unarmed followers with him to
the meeting he still held out hope of capturing one of his targets.\textsuperscript{182}

On 13 April the Raja of Buleleng arrived in Sangsit, but contrary to Michiels’ orders he
arrived with around 10,000 armed men. Michiels’ plans were again thwarted. Although
the meeting went ahead and reached generally the same conclusions as the one at
Singaraja Michiels was furious and he resolved to deliver an ultimatum to the Balinese
the following day demanding that they immediately disarm and prepare to hand-over the
Jagaraga fortress. The ultimatum was rejected.\textsuperscript{183} Whether or not the Balinese had really
believed it was possible to appease the Dutch at this late hour is unclear. Perhaps the
Balinese had hoped that the sight of such a large number of well-disciplined Balinese
troops might intimidate the outnumbered Dutch forces, but both the Dutch and the
Balinese knew that the modern weapons of the well-equipped Netherlands Indies forces
gave them a great advantage. Most likely neither the Dutch nor the Balinese expected
anything concrete to come of the negotiations and both sides continued to prepare for
war.\textsuperscript{184} The three Dutch officers charged with delivering the ultimatum to Jagaraga had
discovered that the fortress had been enlarged and now had four bastions; and hundreds
of Balinese were still busy reinforcing the fort. With the rejection of the ultimatum by the
Balinese war became the only option. On 15 April around 4,000 Netherlands Indies
soldiers began the steep march to Jagaraga accompanied by 2,000 coolies carrying their
supplies.\textsuperscript{185}

In the First Jagaraga War the Dutch had been defeated as they attempted a frontal attack
of the fortress. Michiels, therefore, had sought a way to attack Jagaraga from the rear.
Accordingly, a force of 1,200 men under the command of Colonel de Brauw split off
from the main group and followed the course of a local waterway which it was thought
should lead to the rear of the fortifications. Michiels himself proceeded towards the front
of the fortress. At a distance of only 500 metres from the fortifications he set up his
artillery, but after nearly an hour of bombardment there was no sign that either the
fortress or its defenders were weakening. A frontal infantry attack was even less
successful and occasioned heavy casualties. When more guns were brought up from the
coast an artillery bombardment once more commenced that was far heavier than the

\textsuperscript{182} Ibid. pp85-90.

According to Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo, Patih Jelantik showed his contempt for the Dutch at the Singaraja
meeting by spitting a stream of red betel-nut juice onto a copy of the new contracts that the Dutch wanted
the Raja to sign. See Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. p144. No other source mentions this event and it
seems unlikely that in the face of this defiance either the Dutch or the Balinese would consider further
negotiations, but they met again in Sangsit only a few days later. Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo’s \textit{Perang
Jagaraga} shows a strong bias to the Balinese point of view and makes an effort to present Patih Jelantik as a
great hero. According to Nordholt, Jelantik had spat his betel-nut juice on a Dutch sea pass presented to
him by a captain trying to save the contents of his shipwrecked ship. Governor General Rochussen
apparently wrote of the incident “Such scorn has to be avenged…” See Nordholt, HS “The Mads Lange
Connection.” pp38-39. Perhaps Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo has confused the two incidents.

\textsuperscript{183} Kraan Bali at War, pp93-94

\textsuperscript{184} Anak Agung op.cit. p309

\textsuperscript{185} Kraan Bali at War, pp94-96
previous one; this continued for several hours until dusk when it was decided to retreat out of range of the Balinese guns. The retreat was greeted with great cheers by the Balinese.\footnote{186} Michiels spent a restless night. So far the attack on the fortress had been a complete failure. Also worrying was the lack of news from Colonel de Brauw’s troops, whom he feared may have been discovered by the Balinese and wiped out. In fact, de Brauw and his men had stuck to the watercourse which eventually became a deep valley and they managed to reach the rear of the fortress unnoticed by the Balinese. De Brauw then discovered there were more defensive bastions at the rear and had been on the verge of giving up any thoughts of attack when he and his men were finally noticed by the Balinese defenders. Fearing retreat would now be impossible de Brauw ordered an attack on the nearest Balinese position. The attack was successful and de Brauw’s men had now penetrated the fortifications, but were still pinned down by the Balinese. Before night fell two mass lance attacks had failed to dislodge the Netherlands Indies forces, but with their supply lines cut they were destined to perish anyway unless there were some new developments. During the night these developments came as de Brauw and his men watched thousands of Balinese streaming away from the fortress. Cautiously de Brauw and his men moved into the recently vacated positions and by daybreak found themselves right next to the main bastions. A bloody battle then ensued in which de Brauw himself was injured and over 200 Balinese troops killed. De Brauw’s men now had control of the central bastion.\footnote{187}

Outside the fortress the Netherlands Indies forces had heard the commotion and, rightly assuming the cause to be Colonel de Brauw’s troops, they began a new attack on the fortress. This time they encountered little resistance and in less than an hour the whole complex was in Dutch hands. General Michiels, who had spent the night on the coast, must have been surprised and delighted to return to Jagaraga at around 7 a.m. to find the Dutch flag flying from the fortress walls. Michiels had been planning for a prolonged siege of the fortress and now it was already in his hands. He did not, however, believe that this would be the end of hostilities and he warned Colonel van Swieten, who had the job of occupying the village of Jagaraga, to be prepared for the Raja of Buleleng and his family to stage a “puputan”; a traditional suicide attack of a defeated Balinese monarch. The nervous villagers, however, informed van Swieten that the Raja and his followers had fled to Karangasem.\footnote{188}

Thus after just two days of fighting the Second Jagaraga War was over as the Raja had indeed fled to Karangasem. During the next few days many of the leading men of Buleleng came to Michiels to offer their submission. The Dutch commander then hastily

\footnote{186} Ibid. pp96-99
\footnote{187} Ibid. pp100-106.
\footnote{188} Ibid. pp 106-108

According to van der Kraan a number of chiefs had rebelled against the Rajas and Jelantik and had called on their men to retreat. They were weary of war and sacrifice after three years of intermittent fighting. Ibid. p119

\footnote{Ibid. pp106-108}
arranged for the installation of new Rajas in Buleleng and Jembrana (it had been under rule from Buleleng since 1808\footnote{Anak Agung op. cit. p315}) whom he hoped would be more amenable to the Netherlands Indies government. Michiels was keen to continue on to Karangasem and Klungkung to conclude his mission. On 26 April Michiels was visited by the Raja of Bangli who had taken possession of a number of villages in the Batur district and a number of others near the Karangasem border. Michiels agreed to let Bangli keep these villages in return for help in the planned attack on Karangasem, but he also offered the Raja the position of Dewa Agung after the defeat of Klungkung. The Raja declined the offer as he knew it would never be accepted by the other Rajas. Michiels, however, should have known this in advance and the fact that he could even consider making the offer shows how ill-informed the Dutch were of the realities of Balinese politics. In the meantime Badung had once more pleaded its inability to help in invading Klungkung, but had promised to invade Mengwi, which it said was an ally of Klungkung. The Dutch then promised Badung that if it was successful it could keep the kingdom in its possession.\footnote{Kraan Bali at War. pp110-113} By these measures Michiels was avoiding the complications of direct Dutch rule in Bali, but he was making sure that only pro-Dutch Rajas should be allowed to rule in the island. 

While Governor General Rochussen was rejoicing at the recently arrived news of the Dutch victory at Jagaraga Michiels was busy organizing the next stage of the expedition. His force had been decimated in Buleleng by an outbreak of cholera and over 2,500 men had either died or been evacuated to Java. Around 200 casualties had been sustained in the fighting and another 1,100 were being left in Buleleng as an occupation force. Thus when the fleet left for Padang Bai on 9 May it carried around 8,000 men whereas the original contingent was closer to 12,000. Padang Bai was chosen as the base for operations against Karangasem and Klungkung as it was situated roughly between the capitals of the two kingdoms. On 14 May Michiels was visited at Padang Bai by a number of Karangasem chiefs who urged him to attack their capital along with the Lombok forces and that they would then rise up in rebellion as well. The Dutch commander then decided to attack Karangasem first and instructed Captain van Cappelan to proceed immediately to Lombok to arrange the troops promised by Raja Selaparang. On 19 May the Dutch transported 4,000 Balinese, Sasak and Bugis troops from Lombok to help in the attack against Karangasem. These troops and the Karangasem rebels attacked the Raja of Karangasem’s palace on the night of 20 May and the Raja and his family had all perished in a puputan. The Raja of Buleleng and Patih Jelantik had also been hiding in the palace, but had escaped with a handful of followers into the mountains. The two were later reported to have been killed by the Lombok forces who produced two ornamented kerises in the way of proof.\footnote{Ibid. pp129-133; 149-150}

While Lombok and Karangasem troops searched for Jelantik and the Raja, Michiels prepared for the last stage of the expedition: an attack on Klungkung. By this time, however, his troops had been even more decimated by cholera and he was only able to
put together a force of less than 4,000 men for the task. Michiels’ plan was to seize the coastal village of Kusambe where he would spend the night before he moved on to the town of Klungkung. Before they reached Kusambe, however, they faced a large number of Balinese defending a temple which stood right in their path. The temple had been fortified and the defenders were mostly armed with lances. Michiels ordered an artillery barrage to be directed at the temple and although Balinese losses must have been high they would not give up their position. They only began a retreat when the Dutch actually entered the temple firing straight into them.\textsuperscript{192} The great bravery of these defenders was of concern to the Dutch, but they were even more concerned when they saw the great number of Balinese troops pouring into Kusambe. The sheer volume of these troops was proof of what the Dutch had been told many times before, but which they had never seemed to take very seriously. They could now see that troops must be arriving in Klungkung to protect the Dewa Agung. Even though he was only the nominal overlord of Bali and Lombok he was still held in great respect by the other Rajas. They were unlikely to let him perish even if his word was defied on other occasions. Nevertheless, Michiels still prepared to attack Kusambe.\textsuperscript{193}

At Kusambe Michiels’ luck deserted him. The Balinese defenders of the small town fought with a ferocity that made the Netherlands Indies army’s task extremely difficult. Several times the Balinese staged mass lance attacks against the invaders. The Dutch managed to drive them back, but they then had to fight house by house before they could claim to have conquered the determined Balinese. After the Balinese had been driven out the Dutch established a camp in the town, but the Balinese would not let them rest. During the night another mass lance attack was unleashed on the Dutch. They were finally forced back, but not before the village had been set on fire. The Balinese staged several more attacks, of which one penetrated the Dutch defences right up to Michiels’ own headquarters where he received a gunshot wound in his leg. Michiels was eventually carried back to Padang Bai and taken aboard one of the ships to have his leg removed. The operation was not successful and he sank into a coma and died that same day. Michiels had already passed over command to Colonel van Swieten and had urged him to carry on the campaign, advance on to Klungkung and depose the Dewa Agung.\textsuperscript{194}

Van Swieten, however, was uncertain that he could guarantee a Dutch victory at Klungkung. The Dutch forces were getting weaker by the day and the Klungkung defenders had fought with a degree of enthusiasm that bordered on fanaticism. The great number of the Balinese troops suggested that Klungkung had received help from the south Bali Rajas and they may be too strong to allow for a quick Dutch victory. Van

\textsuperscript{192} Ibid. pp135-137.
Van der Kraan identifies this temple as the Sungai Lawas temple (Lawas River temple), but on a recent trip to Bali I could discover neither a Sungai Lawas nor a temple of that name near Kusambe. The place which best fits the description of this temple is the Goa Lawah or Bat Cave temple. Anak Agung identifies Goa Lawah as the temple in question. According to I Gusti Ngruh Rai Mirsha in Sejarah Perlawanan Rakyat Bali Selatan... p21, there is a river near Kusambe named Sunda Lawas.

\textsuperscript{193} Kraan Bali at War. pp137-138
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid. pp138-142
Swieten had therefore decided to evacuate Kusambe and return his troops to Padang Bai. In his report to Governor General Rochussen he detailed the difficulties facing his troops and suggested that the expedition had achieved its major objectives with the one omission that the Dewa Agung had not been deposed. He argued, however, that Klungkung had been attacked and Dutch honour restored. Rochussen was shocked by the death of Michiels. He obviously was concerned by van Swieten’s report also because he put aside the original plan to oust the Dewa Agung and began to organize a compromise. 195

It would seem that the Dutch were just beginning to understand the power of the Dewa Agung in Balinese politics. Realizing that the Dewa Agung had some influence with the other Rajas the Dutch had apparently thought they could pressure the Dewa Agung to use his influence for their own advantage. They had not considered that he had enough power to encourage the other Rajas to take up arms against the Netherlands Indies forces. 196

“The influence of the Dewa Agung is much greater than has generally been supposed.” wrote van Swieten in a report to Rochussen. While still awaiting news from Batavia van Swieten tried to arrange a meeting of all the Balinese Rajas and the Dewa Agung at his Padang Bai camp. He received favourable responses from all the Rajas except the Dewa Agung who sent a message telling van Swieten that if he wanted to end the war then he should come to Klungkung to beg forgiveness for the damage he had already caused and that he (the Dewa Agung) would definitely not come to van Swieten. Van Swieten was outraged and felt that such defiance could not go unchecked. He therefore prepared to attack Klungkung. 197

Van Swieten’s force made swift progress towards Klungkung, but they once more encountered resistance at the temple before Kusambe. The temple fortifications had been extended although it was not heavily manned. Nevertheless it was only with the help of a bombardment by Dutch ships and a heavy front-on artillery attack that the resistance from the temple was subdued. Van Swieten’s troops had then entered Kusambe virtually unopposed, but before they pushed on to Klungkung they received an unexpected visitor in the shape of the Danish trader Mads Lange. Lange, as syahbandar of Kuta, was able to move fairly freely in Bali and he had been asked to meet with the Dutch by Raja Kesiman of Badung, one of the Netherlands Indies government’s old allies in Bali. Lange informed van Swieten that Kesiman had just arrived in Klungkung with 16,000 men and that Mengwi, Tabanan and Gianyar also had troops there. If the Dutch persisted they faced a determined force of 33,000 armed Balinese. The Balinese, however, wanted peace and Lange had been sent to determine the Dutch conditions for ending the hostilities. Van Swieten sent an envoy to confer which Raja Kesiman who later confirmed the strength of the Balinese forces, but was also able to report that the Dewa Agung was now willing to send representatives to discuss the peace terms. Van Swieten then demanded and received

195 Ibid. pp142-147
196 Anak Agung op. cit. p276
197 Kraan Bali at War. pp151-153
a delegation from Klungkung which was then sent on to Batavia to confer directly with the Governor General. 198

In the meantime Rochussen had appointed Duke Bernard of Saxen-Weimar as the new Commander of the expedition and he arrived in Padang Bai on the same day as the Klungkung delegation left for Batavia. Duke Bernard had been given almost complete freedom to negotiate a peace settlement in Bali as long as he got formal recognition of Dutch sovereignty over the island. Apparently the Dutch felt they had done enough to redress the Balinese “insults” to their pride. They had extended their interference in Balinese politics to the point that if they pushed it much further the only resolution to their problems would be the imposition of direct Dutch rule. Rochussen, however, maintained that the government had no desire to do this and would be perfectly content if Duke Bernard could establish agreements with the Balinese Rajas which clearly established the rights of the Dutch and excluded any other European nation from influence in Bali. 199

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Now that it had been decided that the Dutch were to once more have as little as possible to do with the running of Bali it was agreed that the Dutch forces there, including those in the Buleleng fortress, should return to Java and the fortress itself be dismantled. Duke Bernard, who knew nothing about Bali, handed all his powers to negotiate the final settlement in Bali to Colonel van Swieten. As the Raja of Karangasem had been killed during an internal revolt van Swieten felt it wisest to leave matters as they were, i.e., to leave the kingdom in the hands of the Raja of Lombok and his Karangasem allies. In relation to Buleleng, however, he recognized that the government could legitimately assume control there since the Raja had lost his throne due to the actions of the Netherlands Indies government. He opposed this, however, on a number of grounds. Firstly, he said, if an exception was made in Buleleng and the Dutch assumed direct control then it would only be a matter of time before they got drawn into the internal conflicts of the island which probably meant more wars. Secondly, van Swieten argued that Buleleng was not a rich kingdom and the Raja had not been a rich man. To illustrate his point he said the Raja’s income had been equivalent to only about half the cost of maintaining the Buleleng fortress. Thirdly, he pointed out that land in Bali was largely

198 Ibid. pp156-160.
Tabanan, Badung and Bangli were the only kingdoms on Bali to maintain friendly relations with the Dutch in the period immediately preceding the 1849 wars. None of the three kingdoms were friends of the Dewa Agung although Tabanan and Badung had told the Dutch they could not help them invade Klungkung as they had given the Dewa Agung an oath of loyalty. The presence of Tabanan and Badung forces in Klungkung at the time the Dutch threatened the kingdom does not necessarily mean that the two kingdoms had loyally rushed to aid the Dewa Agung. Apparently they had heard of the Dutch offer to Raja Bangli to replace the Dewa Agung. It is clear that Badung and Tabanan mainly desired peace, but they may have come to defend the Dewa Agung rather than let the Dutch install Raja Bangli in his place. Thus the Dutch attempt to entice the support of Raja Bangli may have had the unfortunate result of forcing Tabanan and Badung to defend the Dewa Agung. See Anak Agung op.cit. p337
199 Kraan Bali at War. pp148; 160
privately owned and this would be an obstacle to implementing the Cultivation System there (In Java much of the land was owned by the aristocracy who then ordered the peasants to grow the crops demanded by the government. This would be much more difficult when the land, as in Bali, was divided into fairly small allotments owned by the peasants themselves). 200 His conclusion, therefore, was that direct rule in Buleleng would be a financial burden to the Netherlands Indies government. Van Swieten’s arguments against direct rule, however, show that he at least understood something about the financial arrangements in the Balinese kingdoms, and his use of the example of the Buleleng fortress shows that Rochussen’s insistence that the Raja pay for that fortress and for the cost of the 1846 war was totally unreasonable. Rochussen had been warned that this was the case by Mayor, but he had insisted nevertheless.

Van Swieten amended or abandoned many of the proposals in the draft treaties Duke Bernard had brought from Batavia. Van Swieten in his deliberations with the Duke over this problem returned again and again to the determination of the Netherlands Indies government to avoid any direct rule in Bali. He argued against conditions in the treaties such as the right of the Dutch to build fortresses in any of the Balinese kingdoms and the requirement of those kingdoms to send annual tributes to Batavia. Such conditions, he argued, would bring little benefit to the Dutch, but could prove to be issues that led to further conflict with the Balinese Rajas. He also argued against demanding an oath of loyalty from the Rajas as some were likely to reject it and even if they agreed they would quickly renounce it if some conflict arose. Van Swieten sought to make agreements with the Rajas which recognized Dutch sovereignty in international law so that they, the Dutch, could prevent other powers from extending their influence in the region. As such it was more important to make this point clear in the treaties and to otherwise let the Balinese Rajas run their kingdoms how they saw fit. Issues such as the abolition of Tawan Karang were retained in the new treaties, but it was hoped that this would no longer be a matter to cause disturbance. The Duke agreed to all these proposals so the only thing left to do was to oversee the investiture of the new Rajas in Buleleng, Jembrana and Karangasem and to conclude new treaties with all the Rajas. 201

Van Swieten had proposed that the Raja of Bangli, who had been friendly with the Dutch, should be installed as the new Raja of Buleleng. On 25 June he was formally appointed. In the following few days the Dutch fortress in Buleleng was dismantled. On 30 June Gusti Alit Palembanyar, the son of a previous Jembrana Raja, was installed as the new Raja of Jembrana. 202 On 18 July the Raja of Lombok was installed as the new Raja of Karangasem. The Raja had refused to swear loyalty to the Dewa Agung so the Dutch were pleased when, later in 1849, the Raja of Lombok and Karangasem signed a treaty of alliance with the Raja of Bangli and Buleleng, who had also refused to acknowledge the

200 Ibid. pp165-167
201 Ibid. pp 169-171
202 Ibid. pp171-172

According to Anak Agung the Raja installed by the Dutch in Jembrana was named Gusti Putu Ngurah. Utrecht names him as Gusti Putu. See Anak Agung Bali pada Abah XIX. p372 and Utrecht, E Sedjarah Hukum Internasional di Bali dan Lombok. p222
Dewa Agung as the Susuhunan of Bali and Lombok. The Dutch approved of the alliance because it provided some balance to the power of the Dewa Agung in Bali. On 14 July 1849 van Swieten had met in Kuta with the Rajas of Badung, Tabanan and Gianyar and a representative of the Dewa Agung. The three Rajas signed their new treaties while the Dewa Agung’s representative signed a supplementary agreement whereby the Dewa Agung would respect the treaties the other Rajas had made and would also assure that the Raja of Mengwi (who had not attended the meeting) would abide by the same conditions as had been agreed to by the other Rajas. With the treaties signed and the new Rajas installed the Dutch were prepared to leave Bali.  

When van Swieten returned to Batavia Governor General Rochussen endorsed all the amendments he had made to the draft treaties and ratified all the new treaties without reservation. Van Swieten was shortly afterwards rewarded for his good work by being promoted to General. When van Swieten had taken command of the Netherlands Indies forces the army had been decimated by cholera and faced a formidable Balinese army which had rallied round the Dewa Agung of Klungkung. After victories in Buleleng and Karangasem there was a real possibility that the Dutch could be defeated at Klungkung. The Dewa Agung was fiercely independent and would not tolerate being dictated to by the Dutch, but he was also unwilling to continue war against their technologically superior army. Thus it was that van Swieten was able to negotiate a peace settlement with Klungkung which satisfied the basic requirements of the Netherlands Indies government, but which fell far short of the original orders given to the commander of the expedition, i.e., the Dewa Agung must be deposed and there were to be absolutely no negotiations.

Van Swieten had acted on his own initiative in cancelling the planned attack on Klungkung and in seeking a negotiated settlement. He was no doubt relieved when the new Commander of the expedition arrived from Batavia with orders to initiate a settlement exactly of the type he had already begun. The new Commander, Duke Bernard, was happy to hand over all powers of negotiation to van Swieten and to allow him to finalize the details of all the new appointments and treaties. In his reports to the Duke and to Rochussen, van Swieten elaborated on the reasoning behind his decisions. Much of what van Swieten had to say makes good sense in light of the avowed Dutch aims of gaining recognized sovereignty over Lombok and Bali and no more than that. Yet there is in van Swieten’s reports an implied criticism of the Dutch handling of the problem up to that point in time. For example, he argued against the placement of Dutch fortresses in Bali, such as the one that had been built in Buleleng, as being an irritant to the Balinese which was more likely to provoke conflict than prevent it. He also argued against the demands for oaths of loyalty to the Netherlands Indies government and the sending of annual delegations and tribute to Batavia as potential matters of disagreement which bring few benefits, but which had been a standard feature to date of Dutch-Balinese agreements. He also touched on the financial situation of the Balinese Rajas,

203 Kraan Bali at War, pp171-176
204 Ibid. pp176-177
pointing out how they did not own land in a way comparable to the way of much of the Javanese aristocracy. In particular he illustrated the income that would have been available to the late Raja of Buleleng, an amount which van Swieten said would have been insufficient to pay half the yearly cost of maintaining the Buleleng fortress. The Raja, of course, had been required to pay the full cost of maintaining the fortress as well as the cost of building it. On top of that he was supposed to pay a far greater sum to the Netherlands Indies government to cover its expenses in the 1846 Buleleng War. Some of these issues had been brought to the government’s notice before. Commissioner Mayor, for example, had recommended leniency to Rochussen in relation to the Raja of Buleleng’s war debt and the Raja himself had pleaded his inability to pay, but Rochussen had insisted that the Raja pay and had even used the issue as part of his justification for the 1848 war.

General Michiels’ death after the battle of Kusambe and the reports that came to Batavia of the poor condition of the Netherlands Indies troops obviously played some role in modifying Rochussen’s previously harsh line toward the Bali Rajas. Van Swieten had acted according to what he thought he were the best interests of the Netherlands Indies government, but previous officials associated with Bali, such as Commissioner Mayor, General van der Wijck and even General Michiels himself (who had defied orders by holding negotiations with the Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem), had been criticized by Rochussen for adopting what he thought to be too soft an approach. Fortunately for van Swieten he had been placed in a responsible position in Bali affairs at a time when Rochussen and other senior officials had to face the fact that their approach was not producing the desired outcome. From a starting point of requiring the Rajas of Bali and Lombok to sign agreements which recognized Dutch sovereignty over the kingdoms of the two islands the Dutch had been sidetracked into three years of warfare in Bali. The wars were mainly to do with redressing what the Dutch saw to be a loss of face because of the intransigence of some of the Balinese Rajas in accepting the details of the contracts which had, after all, been unfairly imposed on them. The Dutch had been carried away in a vendetta against those Rajas and found themselves being drawn further and further into the intricacies of Balinese politics.

While steadfastly maintaining that they had absolutely no territorial ambitions in Bali the Dutch had invaded kingdoms and deposed rulers, they had installed new rulers who they hoped would act favourably towards them, and they had sought out agreements with some Rajas which would ally them and the Dutch against the other Rajas. These were all acts which had been repeated by the Dutch in other parts of the archipelago and which experience had shown nearly always led to greater Dutch involvement and territorial acquisition. The decision to finally seek a diplomatic solution to the 1849 war prevented the Dutch from getting even further embroiled in Balinese affairs. The negotiated settlement prevented further warfare in Bali which, if it had continued, could well have seen Bali under direct Dutch rule fifty years earlier than it eventually was. As it was the Dutch settled for the recognition of sovereignty that they had originally sought, but the Dutch had already become too involved in Balinese affairs to simply walk away, although this was their stated intention.
The Dutch community in Batavia had been shocked by the death of General Michiels and his remains were given the full pomp and ceremony at a well-attended state funeral. 205 When the war was over the Dutch celebrated the Netherlands Indies army’s “victory” in Bali and monuments were erected for General Michiels in both Batavia and Padang Bai. 206 For the Balinese today the hero of the “Jagaraja Wars” is Patih Jelantik who has been suggested as an official Indonesian National Hero for his leadership in opposing the Dutch attempts to gain sovereignty over Bali. 207 Van der Kraan, in his Bali at War, argues that nationalism played no part in the Balinese resistance and that the participants took part only because of their traditional loyalties. The various Rajas were willing to ally themselves with the Dutch if they could use the alliance to their benefit in their wars with the other Rajas. The Balinese, he said, were mainly concerned with their internal problems and could not unite against the Dutch. 208 What van der Kraan says is true enough, but it is worthwhile remembering that when van Swieten cancelled his attack on Klungkung it was only because he had learnt that the town was teeming with soldiers from Badung, Tabanan, Gianyar, Mengwi and Klungkung itself. All the non-defeated kingdoms of Bali, except Bangli, had united against the Dutch. The Balinese were suing for peace, but if the seriously outnumbered Dutch had met the Balinese in battle it is very likely the Dutch would have been defeated.

For the Dutch the end of war in north Bali was supposed to mark the beginning of a “victorious withdrawal.” 209 The end of the war, however, did nothing to halt the increasing involvement of the Dutch in Balinese affairs. For Mads Lange, the Danish trader, Dutch agent and confidante of the south Bali Rajas, the war had been a very expensive affair. Throughout 1848-1849 the Dutch had blockaded Bali to prevent arms reaching their enemies, but this also prevented Mads Lange carrying out his business. In 1849 at Kuta, Lange personally paid the cost of the ceremonies and festivities that were attended by thousands which marked the signing of the new Dutch-Balinese treaties. In the following years droughts, epidemics and a plague of rats all played their role in weakening the position of trade through Lange’s Kuta trade office. The increased use of steamships meant that the shallow harbour of Kuta was bypassed for the deeper harbours of Lombok. More ironically, perhaps, Kuta was gradually replaced by Dutch-controlled Buleleng as the most important trade centre on Bali. Badung’s hopes that the Dutch would destroy its rivals in the north had been realized, but the Dutch were ultimately a much greater threat. In 1856 Mads Lange died in Kuta, probably poisoned by a rival of his protector Raja Kesiman. Kesiman himself died in 1863. 210 Even George King left the scene, moving to Kutai in east Borneo in 1850, where he traded forest products and ran a coal mine. He died c.1860. 211 The Rajas of south Bali, however, seem to have learned

205 Ibid. p146
206 Ibid. p180
207 Soegianto Sastrodiwiryo op.cit. pp197-208, Anak Agung op.cit. pp321-322
208 Kraan Bali at War. p185
209 Nordholt “The Mads Lange Connection.” p42
210 Ibid. pp45-46
211 Kraan George Pockock King. pp36-37
little about the threat of the Dutch and provided no united front against that threat. Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century there were many small-scale wars between the kingdoms of south Bali.

As a post-script to this chapter of Dutch-Balinese history it is interesting to consider the views expressed by Baron Dr. W. R. van Hoevell, a Dutch member of parliament and minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, who visited Bali in 1847. According to van Hoevell Rochussen’s actions as Governor General had done more to exacerbate problems in Bali than solve them. He criticized Rochussen’s posturing after the Buleleng War when he arrived at the scene and ordered his forces to reenact their capture of the Buleleng capital. There was absolutely no purpose in this action, claimed van Hoevell, except for the self-aggrandizement of Governor General Rochussen. It also had the unfortunate result of adding insult to injury for the Balinese, whose resentment of the Dutch grew accordingly. Van Hoevell also criticized the building of the Buleleng fortress and the demanded war reparations for the same reasons that van Swieten put forward two years later. 212 A few weeks after the 1849 campaign had finished Rochussen was approached by Colonel C. A. de Brauw who wished to write a critical analysis of the whole war and the circumstances surrounding it. Rochussen eventually suggested to the government that this not be permitted as he knew there were too many matters which could prove embarrassing. A critical analysis of the war, he said, would necessitate examination of the original treaties concluded by Huskus Koopman and the deceptions he used to achieve them. An examination of the defeat of General van der Wijck and the death of General Michiels might show that the two Generals contributed to their own downfall. No doubt Rochussen feared a close examination of his own role in the whole affair as it could show him as a vainglorious man who put his own pride before the good of the Netherlands. At the least a critical report could show that Rochussen and other government officials had erred in placing defence of Dutch pride above the general best interests of the country. Not surprizingly de Brauw was not permitted to write his account of the war. 213

CHAPTER 4 THE DUTCH TAKE ROOT.

212 Anak Agung op.cit. pp266-267
213 Kraan Bali at War. pp179-181
The Dutch plans to free themselves from further involvement in the internal affairs of Bali were doomed to fail. As a result of the 1846-1849 wars three Balinese kingdoms changed hands. Karangasem was conquered by Lombok and was then ruled by a local Raja acting on behalf of the Raja of Lombok. Buleleng and its vassal Jembrana were conquered by the Dutch and the two kingdoms were then handed over to the Raja of Bangli and an heir of the old Jembrana royal family, respectively. The transfer of power in Karangasem appears to have generated few difficulties, but the same cannot be said of Buleleng and Jembrana. Bangli had been a long-time enemy of Buleleng and when Raja Bangli assumed power there many important figures in the community refused to accept his rule. As a result Raja Bangli’s government in his new kingdom was paralyzed. Finally, on 15 February 1854 Raja Bangli handed Buleleng back to the Dutch. The new Raja of Jembrana also faced serious local opposition to the extent that he felt he could no longer rule the kingdom and he officially handed it back to the Dutch on 17 December 1855. The Raja then moved to Buleleng where he plotted with his followers to return to Jembrana and seize power once more. The Dutch, however, were not willing to give the Raja a second chance and, along with his closest followers, he was exiled to western Java.214

When the Dutch left Bali in 1849 they vowed to leave the running of government in the hands of the Rajas. The Resident of Banyuwangi was appointed as Commissioner for Bali and Lombok to act as a go-between for the Rajas and the Netherlands Indies government. He was also given the task of watching political developments in the region.215 Following the assumption of Dutch rule in Buleleng and Jembrana the Resident of Banyuwangi was given the assistance of an Assistant Resident in Singaraja and a Controller in Jembrana.216 More direct rule did not seem to end Dutch troubles, however, for in 1858 another revolt was brewing in Buleleng.

Nyoman Gempol was a Buleleng local headman who had planned a revolt against the Dutch authorities. Having received word of Gempol’s plans the Dutch acted swiftly as they were still unsure of their own power in Buleleng. They feared that a revolt began by Gempol could easily spread out of control. Thus in December 1858 eight Dutch ships carrying a battalion of soldiers landed in Buleleng harbour. This force was immediately put into action to attack Nyoman Gempol’s district of Banjar Jawa. Gempol was captured and subsequently exiled to Java.217 Despite the apparent ease with which the Dutch ended Gempol’s revolt the incident gave rise to unease concerning Dutch rule in Buleleng. Many Dutch officials felt it would be wiser for the Dutch to adopt a “behind-the-scenes”

According to Vickers, Raja Bangli did not give up the kingdom of Buleleng, but was “relieved of it” by the Dutch. See Vickers op.cit. p31. It is quite likely that Raja Bangli and Raja Jembrana were pressured by the Dutch to give up the kingdoms handed to them after 1849. According to Utrecht the Raja installed by the Dutch in Jembrana was exiled to Java by the Dutch in 1858 and replaced by Gusti Made Pakesan who subsequently suffered the same fate in 1866. See Utrecht op.cit. pp222-223
215 Anak Agung op.cit. p363
216 Ibid. pp372-373
217 Ibid. pp373-374, Soehartono op.cit. pp233-234
approach and install a local ruler who could run the day to day government. Thus on 20 December 1860 Gusti Ngurah Ketut Jelantik, a distant descendant of Panji Sakti, swore an oath of loyalty to the Netherlands Indies government and became the Raja of Buleleng. His official title, however, was “Regent” and he was really little more than a salaried public servant. The real power was with the Assistant Resident. 218

In the meantime in the village of Banjar, about twenty kilometres west of Singaraja, a district headman (punggawa 219), Ida Made Rai, had been sentenced to a term of exile in Banyuwangi and returned in 1864. The reason for his exile is unclear, but when he returned a new punggawa, Ide Ketut Anom, had been appointed to his old position by the Raja and Assistant Resident. According to ancient tradition the post of punggawa in Banjar had always been filled from within the village and always by members of the same Brahmin family; that is to say, from Ida Made Rai’s family. Ide Ketut Anom was not only from a different family, but he was also from a different district. Ida Made Rai’s family had great influence in Banjar and the surrounding villages and a feeling of resentment against the Raja and Assistant Resident began to grow in the district. Following his return Ida Made Rai proposed that Banjar should separate itself from Buleleng and Dutch rule. His proposal received support from other local leaders, but a movement began with the aim of reinstalling Ida Made Rai as punggawa of Banjar. Finally, in April 1868 Ida Made Rai, other local leaders and hundreds of followers approached the Raja with the demand that he be reinstated as punggawa. Following Assistant Resident Eibergen’s advice the Raja issued a statement saying that Ida Made Rai would never again become punggawa. 220

When word of the affair was heard by the Resident of Banyuwangi, Mispelplom Beijer, he went to Buleleng himself to resolve the matter. In consultation with community leaders in Singaraja in July 1868 he decided that Ida Made Rai and his core followers should be exiled from Bali for the rest of their lives. The Controller of Jembrana, E. Schalk, who was known for his skill in negotiating with the Balinese, was asked to go to Banjar and convince the ex-punggawa to accept the Resident’s ruling. Schalk reported that Ida Made Rai was willing to accept his sentence only if all his supporters be allowed to follow him. This would have amounted to hundreds of people as over 800 of Ida Made Rai’s supporters had crowded around him during his meeting with Schalk. The government refused and on 5 September the Governor General issued the order for a military expedition to Banjar to end Ida Made Rai’s revolt. 221 The Dutch were hoping for a swift result, but it was not to be.

A small armada of Dutch warships began unloading a force of around 800 soldiers under the command of Major W. E. F. van Heemskerk in Buleleng on 16 September. After Ida Made Rai had refused a number of ultimatums the troops prepared to attack Banjar on 20

218 Anak Agung op.cit. pp373-374
219 Also punggawa, etc.
220 Ibid. pp375-378
221 Ibid. pp378-381
September. The Raja of Buleleng provided the Dutch forces with a team of coolies to carry the ammunition and other supplies, but as the Dutch approached one of the villages near Banjar they were ambushed by a throng of lance-wielding Ida Made Rai supporters. Over a dozen Dutch soldiers died in the attack and in the confusion a number of coolies were accidentally shot, causing them all to flee. The Dutch were forced to retreat and as no more coolies could be found willing to accompany the soldiers they were forced to wait for new coolies to arrive from Java. On 3 October van Heemskerck again set out for Banjar to teach Ida Made Rai to respect the Netherlands Indies government. His forces had been greatly increased by 2,400 Balinese soldiers provided by the Raja and the local leader (pembe'kel\textsuperscript{222}) of Pengastulan, Wayan Tragi. The Balinese forces were not much help, however, because as soon as they were face to face with Ida Made Rai’s rebels they turned and ran. Once more van Heemskerck was forced to retreat. On 12 October van Heemskerck made one last attempt to attack Banjar, but once again the rebels were too strong and once again the Dutch were forced to retreat.\textsuperscript{223}

As well as failing three times to capture the village of Banjar van Heemskerck had also fallen ill and on 18 October he was replaced by Colonel D. L. de Brabant. With the addition of a fresh battalion of troops from Java, de Brabant prepared to attack Banjar on 24 October. His troops were rained with rocks in the villages approaching Banjar and at Banjar itself they were faced by numerous groups of Balinese armed with lances who charged them in frenzied suicide attacks. On this occasion, however, the Dutch were too numerous and well armed and Banjar and the surrounding villages were forced to submit. Ida Made Rai and a number of his followers managed to escape, but his mother, wife and children were found hiding in a nearby village. Controller Schalk convinced Ida Made Rai’s mother that if her son surrendered he would still be sent into exile and not be executed. With this promise she agreed to mediate with her son for the Dutch.\textsuperscript{224} Ida Made Rai was believed to be hiding in the kingdom of Mengwi. In accordance with his 1849 treaty with the Dutch, Raja Mengwi agreed to help the Dutch capture the fugitive. Troops from Mengwi therefore accompanied Schalk and Ida Made Rai’s mother to the rebels’ jungle hiding place. On hearing his mother’s advice Ida Made Rai and his followers surrendered. On 19 November the rebels were brought into Buleleng and finally exiled to west Java. The episode had taken the lives of scores of Netherlands Indies army soldiers and hundreds from the supporters of Ida Made Rai.\textsuperscript{225}

Problems for the Dutch in Buleleng did not end with the Banjar affair. Raja Gusti Ngurah Ketut Jelantik had served his Dutch masters well, but in his later years on the throne his actions were viewed with suspicion by untrusting Dutch officials. Accused of plotting against the Dutch he was exiled to Padang in west Sumatra in 1872.\textsuperscript{226} The Dutch then proposed a new Raja, Gusti Putu Geriya, but this was opposed by supporters of an alternative candidate, Gusti Bagus Bebed. In April 1874 supporters of Gusti Bagus Bebed

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Also perbekel, pumbuckle, etc.
\item Ibid. pp381-384
\item Ibid. pp385-387
\item Ibid. pp387-388
\item Ibid. p388. Anak Agung Gde Agung Bali in the 19th century, p119
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
threatened to kill the Patih of Buleleng and burn down the vacant palace unless their candidate be named as Raja. The Dutch acted swiftly, gathering up the ringleaders and exiling them to Java. From then on the Dutch faced no real threat to their authority in either Jembrana or Buleleng. Since the last Raja's exile in 1872 Buleleng had been ruled by a council of four local leaders headed by the Assistant Resident. Following the failure to find a suitable new Raja it was decided that Buleleng, like Jembrana, should be ruled directly by the Dutch. In 1882 the situation was rationalized to some degree by the creation of a new Residency of Bali and Lombok with its headquarters in Singaraja. Jembrana and Buleleng by this time were well and truly part of the Netherlands Indies, but the rest of Bali was officially still self-ruling.  

By establishing a Residency of Bali and Lombok the Dutch gave the impression that they exercised authority over the whole of the two islands rather than just in the northern part of Bali. Rulers in south and east Bali had reason to be concerned over this development, but the Dutch tried to reassure them that nothing had changed. In reality the Dutch began to interfere more and more in the "independent" kingdoms and gained more and more control over their internal affairs. One reason why the Dutch were able to do this was because the various Balinese Rajas had failed completely to present a united front against Dutch incursions on their power. In fact the Rajas were often so preoccupied with the political struggle within and between kingdoms that the threat of a Dutch takeover often seems to have been ignored. This was not a new situation, however, as Bali had been riven by internal disputes since at least the fall of the Gelgel dynasty in the seventeenth century. Kingdoms had risen and fallen for over a century, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century some sort of stability had been achieved. Nine main

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227 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX, pp383-391
According to the dynastic genealogy of the Panji Sakti clan: the Babad Buleleng, "Ki Gusti Ketut Jlantik" was the second "Regent" to be deposed by the Dutch in Buleleng. According to the Babad, "Ki Gusti Made Rahi" had been deposed earlier because of his total dedication to gambling and ineffectiveness in government. Thus, according to this version, Ida Made Rai was actually a former Raja of Buleleng; this would account for his unexplained exile to Banyuwangi related by Anak Agung. The earliest known version of the Babad, however, is dated 1928 and it is very likely that the whole work was written well after the Dutch had assumed control of all Bali. Its purpose is to "explain" how the Dutch came to be in control. In relation to Buleleng the actions of the Dutch are described as "right and proper" because they resulted in the return of the Buleleng throne to members of the Panji Sakti clan, but when those rulers failed the Dutch had no option but to rule themselves. See P J Worsley Babad Buleleng: a dynastic genealogy, especially pp5-8, pp71-72 and p86
Vickers op.cit. p31 claims that in 1856 the Dutch took over the running of Buleleng after deposing the "rebellious" Raja they had installed after they rid themselves of Raja Bangli in 1851; and Soehartono "Perang Jagaraga" p234 reports that Ida Made Rai was a punggawa raised to "Regent" by the Dutch, but he was exiled after a rebellion in 1868. E. Utrecht in Sedjarah Hukum Internasional di Bali dan Lombok pp222-223 reports that Ida Made Rahi was a punggawa of west Buleleng who revolted against the appointment of the punggawa of central Buleleng as Regent in 1858. He later revolted against the Regent again in 1868 and was then exiled to west Java. Whatever the truth may be about Ida Made Rai, it is clear the Dutch had attempted to rule through several Rajas in Buleleng before they took direct control.

228 Ricklefs op.cit. p127

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kingdoms (Buleleng, Karangasem, Klungkung, Bangli, Gianyar, Badung, Mengwi, Tabanan and Jembrana) had been established, but conflict continued. By the time the Dutch began to take a more serious interest in Bali in the mid-nineteenth century Jembrana had already become a vassal of Buleleng and many of the other kingdoms were either at war with other kingdoms or preparing for it. Thus the presence of the Dutch was not a necessity for conflict on Bali, but they did facilitate it by acting as an ally of various of the warring factions. Huskus Koopman, for example, had arranged treaties with Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung on the understanding that the Dutch would help them in their dispute with Lombok. Finally, however, Lombok avoided a combined attack by the Dutch and Balinese by signing its own treaty with the Dutch. Later, the Dutch attacked north Bali because it claimed that the conditions of the treaties had been breached. The Dutch then took over control of Buleleng and Jembrana and allowed Lombok to take over Karangasem. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Dutch were drawn into many similar disputes. If the Dutch had not been present, however, it is still likely that conflict on Bali would have persisted. Possibly one of the kingdoms could have emerged as the most powerful and given the appearance of some sort of political unity, but as it was the Dutch presence prevented this and it was the Dutch themselves who picked up the pieces and grew in power and influence.

Thus the Balinese Rajas continued to fight amongst themselves for power, prestige and territory. While individual Rajas were able to gain short-term advantages over their rivals the overall effect was to weaken the ability of the Balinese kingdoms to resist encroachments on their power by the Dutch. One ruler who persistently tried to increase his power in this period was the Raja of Klungkung, the Dewa Agung. The Dewa Agung who had defied the Dutch in 1849 died in 1850 and when his son took the throne he also took on the title of Susuhunan of Bali and Lombok. Theoretically this made him overlord of all the Balinese and Lombok kingdoms, although Lombok had long since refused to recognize his authority and the Balinese Rajas only accepted him as their nominal overlord, giving him precedence in spiritual affairs only. The new Dewa Agung, however, sought to increase his temporal powers as well and used disputes between the other Rajas as a means to that end. By sanctioning the attack of one kingdom against another the Dewa Agung sought not only to gain allies amongst the victors, but to rid himself of enemies as well. The alliances were not fixed, however, and today’s enemy could easily become tomorrow’s ally. The result was a state of almost perpetual warfare and uncertainty.

One of the Dewa Agung’s greatest allies during Klungkung’s dispute with the Dutch during the wars of 1846-1849 was the adjoining kingdom of Gianyar. Following the peace settlement of 1849, however, Gianyar resisted Klungkung’s efforts for recognition of the superior position of the Dewa Agung in Balinese politics. Gianyar was supported

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229 As Nordholt puts it: "...during the 18th and 19th centuries, not a decade passed without fierce warfare somewhere in Bali. Lords fought about women, water, control of trade and manpower and above all for personal honour and a place higher up on the hierarchical ladder." See Nordholt Bali. Colonial Conceptions and Political Change, p20
in this stance by Karangasem and Badung. When Baron van Hoevell (the Dutch parliamentarian who had visited Bali in 1847) revisited Bali in 1856 he found that Gianyar was still on bad terms with Klungkung, but had lost the support of Badung. The main reason for Badung's new support for Klungkung was the marriage of the Dewa Agung with a niece of Raja Kesiman of Badung. Gianyar had also been at war with Bangli since 1853 after Gianyar had seized the disputed border territories of Tampaksiring and Payangan. With the exception of Karangasem-Lombok, Bangli had been the greatest of the Dutch allies during the fighting of 1846-1849 and should therefore have been a great enemy of the Dewa Agung. When the Dewa Agung married a daughter of Raja Bangli, however, they became allies. Accordingly the Dewa Agung joined with the Bangli royal family in taking an oath to never cease hostilities with the kingdom of Gianyar. By 1883 the Dewa Agung had won the support of Bangli, Badung, Tabanan and Mengwi in its dispute with Gianyar. Gianyar then faced the real prospect that it could be attacked by all of these kingdoms and in a desperate last attempt to retain some autonomy the Raja of Gianyar sought a merger of his kingdom with Klungkung. The Dewa Agung agreed and in 1883 he informed the Dutch Resident in Singaraja who gave his approval of the new arrangements.

In 1873, after the Dutch had deposed the Raja of Buleleng, Inspector General Zoetlief was sent to Bali to report on the latest developments in the other kingdoms. At his meeting with the Dewa Agung he agreed that the Dewa Agung should have more power to influence the affairs of the other kingdoms. Zoetlief thought that a stronger Dewa Agung would decrease the incidence of conflict on Bali. The Dewa Agung took this as recognition of his superior position in Balinese affairs and tried to unite Bali under his own rule. The Dewa Agung had tried to improve his political position through strategic marriages and by exploiting old and new enmities between the various kingdoms. While opposed to the Dutch creation of a Residency of Bali and Lombok as a threat to his own power the Dewa Agung nevertheless sought and received Dutch approval for the merger of Gianyar into Klungkung. Not all the Dutch officials had agreed with Zoetlief's ideas, however, and many saw that the Dewa Agung's ambitions were more likely to cause problems than solve them. Thus Dutch support for the Dewa Agung was spasmodic and always depended on what the Dutch believed to be their own best interests. The same was true for the Balinese Rajas. The Dewa Agung was no less fickle in his treatment of alliances. In this type of atmosphere it is perhaps not surprising that the merger of Gianyar into Klungkung did not go unchallenged.

The first complaints came from Bangli which argued that the Dewa Agung had reneged on his promise to never cease hostilities with Gianyar. Local Gianyar officials also complained that they had not been consulted about the merger and it was therefore illegal. In the district of Apuan a son of the Raja of Gianyar had been raised to the position of

230 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX pp395-396
231 Ibid. pp396-397
232 Ibid. pp396-397
233 Ibid. pp400-401
234 Ibid. pp402-405
235 Ibid. p389

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punggawa, but was accused of abusing his powers. By 1884 Apuan was in revolt and finally sought the protection of the Raja of Bangli. This defection was legal under the customary law of "metilas" which gave a village the right to seek new leadership. Gianyar then failed in a bid to wrestle back control of Apuan and tension between Gianyar and Bangli continued to grow. The Dewa Agung did little to ease the situation and the Dutch felt obliged to act. In April 1884 Resident Hoos went to Klungkung and Controller Liefrinck to Bangli to try and settle the affair. As a result the Dutch accepted that Apuan had now become a part of Bangli, but Klungkung appeared unable or unwilling to prevent resistance to this measure from Gianyar. In 1885 the Dewa Agung gave approval for Mengwi and Bangli to occupy areas of Gianyar while a number of villages came under the direct control of Klungkung. Under these circumstances it was clear that the merger of Gianyar into Klungkung had done little to stabilize the authority of the Raja of Gianyar and he then asked the Dutch to take over his kingdom with him as Raja. At this stage the Dutch were uninterested in such a proposal so the Raja of Gianyar had little option but to once more seek the protection of the Dewa Agung. For his efforts the Raja and his family were placed under house arrest in the village of Satria, near the capital of Klungkung; the Raja finally died there in 1892. In the meantime Bangli had taken control of more of Gianyar and refused to leave. The kingdom was then divided into different areas of outside control with only the villages of Ubud, Peliatan and Tegallalang retaining some degree of independence. Thus it was that the Dewa Agung's ambitions (and those of the other Rajas) had resulted in a virtual partitioning of the kingdom of Gianyar. Rather than try to keep the Dutch distant from these events the various Rajas sought Dutch approval for their actions. Gianyar even went as far as offering to surrender the kingdom to the Dutch. The Dutch did not take advantage of the offer, but the opportunistic nature with which the Balinese Rajas approached their internal problems meant that the Dutch would have plenty of other chances.

This state of affairs in Gianyar lasted until January 1893 when the son of the recently deceased Raja escaped from his exile in Satria and returned to Gianyar where he was able to re-establish his family's rule. The new Raja was able to re-establish his family's power in Gianyar because he had the overwhelming support of the kingdom's strongmen: the punggawas. Since the old Raja had been exiled from Gianyar the people had never really accepted the rule of Bangli and Klungkung and rallied around the new Raja. He also received the backing of Badung, Tabanan and Karangasem. Throughout early 1893 many of the Gianyar villages that had been occupied by Bangli were won back by Gianyar. In a short time the new Raja brought a new stability to his kingdom and so impressed the Dutch Resident that he recommended to the Governor General that the government should seriously consider the Raja's request for Dutch recognition of his rule. The major stumbling block to this move was that the Dutch had already recognized that Gianyar was a part of Klungkung. Resident Dannenbargh argued that the merger had not been legal (because local Gianyar officials had not been consulted) and that ever since Klungkung

235 Also matilas, etc.
236 Ibid. pp406-418
237 Ibid. pp428-435
had been involved Gianyar had been in chaos. Thus it was decided that if the other Rajas agreed then the Dutch would recognize Gianyar’s sovereignty. As a result Controller Liefrinck was sent to south Bali to consult the Rajas.\(^{238}\)

Liefrinck discovered there was little opposition to the re-establishment of Gianyar as a sovereign kingdom except from Klungkung. Bangli, which had occupied much of Gianyar, did not object as long as it retained possession of a number of border villages. Karangasem claimed that a previous request from Gianyar for protection equalled a surrender of Gianyar’s sovereignty, but it would seem that the claim was not taken seriously and that Karangasem was unlikely to threaten an independent Gianyar. In Badung there was no objection to a sovereign Gianyar as long as Karangasem had no influence there (Badung and Karangasem had recently been in conflict over the fate of Mengwi. Discussed below). Tabanan agreed with Badung. In Klungkung, however, Liefrinck heard how Gianyar was still a part of Klungkung and that the present Raja had not escaped from Satria, but had been freed specifically to expel Bangli from Gianyar as Bangli had defied the Dewa Agung’s order to leave the kingdom. Although the Raja of Gianyar denied the truthfulness of this story the Dutch believed it was probably true. They still believed, however, that the influence of the Dewa Agung had not helped bring stability to the region and that if he was encouraged in his efforts to bring Bali under his own authority that the only result would be more fighting and more instability. Thus the Dutch recognized the sovereignty of the Raja of Gianyar and on 20 November 1893 the two sides exchanged new treaties.\(^{239}\)

The role of the Dutch in settling the dispute over Gianyar goes to show just how much influence they actually had in the “independent” kingdoms of Bali. Klungkung sought Dutch help to keep Gianyar as a vassal state, while Gianyar sought Dutch recognition as a sovereign kingdom. The Dutch then sought the opinions of the other kingdoms, but ultimately made the decision which best suited its own needs. Of special interest is the fact that Gianyar at one time sought to surrender sovereignty to the Dutch rather than be overrun by its neighbours. The Dutch it seems were recognized by the Balinese Rajas as a useful ally, but it is clear they were still wary of the Dutch gaining too much control of their internal affairs. For example, when Controller Liefrinck visited Bangli in 1893 he suggested that a Dutch official be placed permanently in the kingdom. Bangli could not agree.\(^{240}\) The Dutch were not too concerned about this rejection, but the suggestion itself shows how the Dutch wanted to have greater access to the “independent” kingdoms.

The Dewa Agung’s concern to retain (or regain) influence in Gianyar was underscored by recent events in Mengwi. Mengwi had for long been treated as a virtual vassal of Klungkung, but it still faced many threats from its neighbours, especially Badung. Mengwi had played a role in supporting the independent districts of Gianyar, i.e., Ubud, Peliatan and Tegallalang. Despite the Dewa Agung’s protests Mengwi refused to act

\(^{238}\) Ibid. pp436-437  
\(^{239}\) Ibid. pp444-463  
\(^{240}\) Ibid. p449
according to Klungkung’s desires. As a result the Dewa Agung encouraged revolt within
the kingdom and gave his approval to an attack planned by Badung. In June 1891
Mengwi was attacked by Badung, Tabanan, Bangli and Klungkung and on 20 June the
Raja died in battle in a puputan. Thus Mengwi ceased to exist and most of its territory
was appropriated by Badung and its old ally Tabanan. Apart from ending the “revolt”
of its former vassal it is hard to see what Klungkung gained from this result as Badung
and Tabanan were far from being subservient to the plans of the Dewa Agung to unite
Bali under his own authority. One result of the action was war between Klungkung and
Karangasem, at that time an ally of Mengwi. The trouble began when Klungkung refused
Karangasem the right to move armed troops through its territory to help defend Mengwi.
Fortifications were then built on the Karangasem-Klungkung border and clashes were
frequent. Lombok had also wanted to send troops to help Mengwi, but was finally
persuaded not to by Resident Dannenbargh. The fate of Mengwi was sealed. In 1895
the Crown Prince tried to win back his kingdom, but unlike in Gianyar there was little
local support for the move and Mengwi remained partitioned.

Meanwhile in Lombok the Raja had managed to retain good relations with the
Netherlands Indies government ever since he signed the 1843 treaty which recognized
Dutch sovereignty over the island. During the warfare on Bali from 1846 to 1849
Lombok had acted as the Netherlands Indies government’s ally to the mutual benefit of
both sides. By annexing the kingdom of Karangasem, Lombok removed a serious
obstacle to Dutch plans for Bali. In the process the power and wealth of the Lombok Raja
was greatly enhanced, but as he continued to behave as a loyal ally the Dutch were
generally content to avoid meddling in the internal affairs of Lombok.

By the 1880’s the Dutch attitude to Bali and Lombok had substantially changed. From a
starting point of only requiring recognition of Dutch sovereignty over the islands the
Dutch now wanted to exercise greater control. The Dutch position had become
increasingly imperialistic. Two issues of concern for the Dutch on Lombok were slavery
and the opium trade; the former the Dutch had banned while the latter had been made a
monopoly of Dutch trading interests. The Dutch were therefore concerned to stamp out
what they saw to be illegal trade and smuggling. Also, independent, “self-ruling”
kingdoms such as Lombok were seen as “anomalies” and a threat to the prestige of the
Netherlands Indies government. On top of this Lombok was thought to be rich in
minerals and to have large areas of land suitable for growing coffee; as the Dutch had
taken a great interest in mining and plantation agriculture as a means of generating wealth
in the Indies it is not surprizing that a chorus of Dutch voices began to call for Lombok’s

242 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX. p427
243 Ibid. p466
annexation. There seems little doubt that the Dutch were just waiting for some event to provide them with an excuse to act.

In 1887 two events occurred which could have provided the excuse. Firstly, in August a Dutch opium patrol boat was fired on near Karangasem. Governor General O. van Rees decided to take this opportunity to intimidate Karangasem and Lombok with a show of force, but before the naval vessels could be arranged another incident occurred in Lombok itself. There an Ambonese trader named Pattiwael, who was employed by a Dutch firm, was arrested for his debts. On 20 November 1887 five Dutch warships began two days of target shooting in the roads off Ampenan. Resident van Zutphen then met with the Raja and demanded the release of Pattiwael and guarantees that such incidents would not occur again. To ensure this the Dutch demanded that the Raja sign a supplementary treaty that would extend the rights of the Dutch on Lombok and allow for a full-time Dutch representative to reside on the island. The Raja quickly agreed to release Pattiwael, but rejected the other demands as unnecessary. Resident van Zutphen saw this as an ideal opportunity to subdue Lombok and telegraphed the Governor General for permission to begin a bombardment, but after several days of deliberations in Batavia he finally received the reply that the Raja was to be harassed no further. The Governor General had reasoned that if the Raja had still resisted war would be inevitable and this was to be avoided as many Dutch troops were tied up in fighting in Aceh in north Sumatra; a conflict that had been ongoing since 1873. Ironically, the war in Aceh was also used as an argument for attacking Lombok, as a successful result there could help alleviate the loss of Dutch pride caused by the Dutch inability to settle affairs in Aceh. Finally, however, the Governor General’s decision was accepted and no further action was taken.245

The episode had made the Raja extremely wary of Dutch intentions and he ordered his subordinates to be very careful to not break any provisions of the 1843 treaty so as to give the Dutch no excuses to interfere in Lombok. In 1891, however, the Dutch found their excuse when war broke out in east Lombok between the indigenous Sasak population and their Balinese overlords. The immediate cause of the war was Sasak dissatisfaction with being liable for war duty in Bali. In 1891 thousands of Sasaks had been sent to Karangasem to help the Raja in his dispute with the Dewa Agung of Klungkung.246 Resident Dannenburgh of Bali argued that Lombok had become far too powerful and the internal dispute gave the Dutch a perfect opportunity to crush Lombok. The new Governor General, Pynacker-Hordijk, was just as cautious as his predecessor, however, and would go no further than to order that Lombok be blockaded to prevent the importation of war supplies and troops from Karangasem.247 This stalemate started to

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244 Ricklefs op.cit. p128
245 Kraan, A van der Lombok : Conquest, Colonization and Underdevelopment, pp x and 31
246 Kraan op.cit pp32-35
247 ibid. p187
248 ibid. pp35-37
come to an end in October 1893 when Pynacker-Hordijk was replaced by C. van der Wijck, a long serving colonial official with a reputation for ruthlessness.  

As part of his preparations van der Wijck ordered the army to report on the feasibility of a military campaign, considering that the Aceh dispute still dragged on. The army replied that adequate manpower was available for the task. He then ordered Controller Liefrinck to east Lombok to report on the rumoured famine caused by the prolonged fighting. Liefrinck then produced a very dramatized account of the suffering of the Sasaks in east Lombok. This was more than a touch hypocritical as the Dutch blockade had certainly lengthened the war by limiting the Raja’s ability to quell the revolt. Nevertheless it was exactly the kind of propaganda the Dutch required as they could then crush Lombok under the guise of performing an humanitarian deed. Largely on the strength of Liefrinck’s report an ultimatum was delivered to the Raja in June 1894. Among other things the Dutch demanded that the Raja abdicate in favour of his son (whom the Dutch thought would be more malleable), that the Dutch be allowed to settle the dispute on the island however they saw fit and that Dutch officials be stationed permanently on the island. When the Raja failed to respond this was taken as a rejection and the Dutch prepared for the attack.

After arranging a loose alliance with the Sasaks of east Lombok the Dutch landed in Ampenan on 6 July with a force of around 5,000 men under the command of General A. H. Vetter. The landing was unopposed and on 8 July the Dutch had their first victory when the Raja of Karangasem, with a force of 1,200 men, submitted to General Vetter. Raja Karangasem then apparently convinced his suzerain, the Raja of Lombok, to reconsider the Dutch demands. Apparently considering it futile to try and fight the east Lombok Sasaks and the Dutch at the same time the Raja was prepared to do as the Dutch requested. In order to satisfy their Sasak allies, however, the Dutch had demanded such a weakening of Balinese power on Lombok that the Raja and his colleagues began to have second thoughts. The task of fighting the Dutch also no longer looked so daunting because since landing in Ampenan the Dutch forces had dispersed throughout the island

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248 Ibid. p52
249 Similar revolts in 1855 and 1871 were put down with relative ease by the Balinese. See Ibid. p15
250 Ibid. p53
251 A number of articles and books sympathetic to the Dutch position in the Lombok War appeared after the event such as W. Cool’s With the Dutch in the East. In his book Cool gives a great deal of space to outlining the alleged abuses of power of the Raja of Lombok and the suffering of the Sasaks. He describes the Dutch as “cautious”, “prudent” and “circumspect” in their handling of the matter. Ther only criticism of the Dutch he will allow is that they were too cautious and too slow to respond. Cool also complains of the affrontery of the Raja, a vassal of the Netherlands Indies, for daring to complain of the Dutch interfering in the internal affairs of his kingdom. The Raja was, however, perfectly entitled to make such complaints as the Dutch were specifically barred from interfering in such matters as was clearly stated in the 1843 treaty. See Cool op.cit. pp6-9, 15-17, 176
252 Kraan, A van der Lombok: Conquest, Colonization and Underdevelopment pp53-57
253 Ibid. pp59-61
and the Balinese would not have to fight the Dutch all at once, but could pick off one group at a time.\textsuperscript{253}

On the night of 25-26 August the Dutch camp of around 900 men at Cakranegara was attacked. Caught unprepared the Dutch were eventually forced to retreat to Ampenan. Other groups of Dutch troops were also attacked and they also retreated to Ampenan. They had suffered serious casualties, losing around 1,000 men. Many senior officers had been killed, including second-in-command General P. P. H. van Ham. They had also lost about half of their artillery and a large number of rifles. If the Balinese had attacked Ampenan the Dutch would have been destroyed, but the attack never came and the Dutch were able to strengthen their position and regain their morale. On 16 September Vetter received reinforcements and now had a force of around 7,000 men. The Balinese in contrast had 15,000 and the east Lombok Sasaks 50,000. The Balinese then abandoned east Lombok and concentrated all their forces in the towns of Mataram and Cakranegara.\textsuperscript{254}

Taking no chances the Dutch then settled down to a ten day bombardment of Mataram and from 19 September to 29 September around 5,000 shells were dropped on the town. Dutch and Sasak forces then moved in, but they found that resistance was total, including women and children, and they had to fight house by house until they reached the palace where the Crown Prince and his followers were killed. The town was then totally destroyed so as to leave the Balinese fighters no hiding places. In Cakranegara a similar battle took place and around 8,500 shells were dropped on the town over four weeks.\textsuperscript{255}

On 18 November the Dutch entered the town and again they faced almost total resistance. When they finally conquered the palace, however, they found that the Raja had escaped. He was later discovered in the village of Sasari and was prevailed upon to surrender. Some members of his family refused to do so and the impasse was only resolved in a final puputan that witnessed the death of hundreds. The Raja was then exiled to Batavia where he died the following year.\textsuperscript{256}

The banishment of the Raja saw the end of self-rule on Lombok. An Assistant Resident was then appointed for Lombok and in 1898 the Balinese and Sasak district heads were made salaried officials of the Netherlands Indies government. The Dutch administration was then fully established, but it would appear that their rule was no less oppressive than that of the Balinese. The east Lombok Sasaks revolted against the Dutch when they tried to collect land taxes and the revolt only stopped when their headmen were co-opted into becoming Dutch civil servants. Under Dutch rule the residents of Lombok paid higher taxes, worked more corvee labour and had less access to land than under the Balinese.\textsuperscript{257}

\textsuperscript{253} Ibid. pp73-76  
\textsuperscript{254} Ibid. pp78-85  
\textsuperscript{255} Ibid. pp87-89  
\textsuperscript{256} Ibid. pp95-99  
\textsuperscript{257} Ibid. pp118, 121, 128
With the banishment of the Raja of Lombok and the death of most of his family the kingdom of Selaparang ceased to exist. Originally the Dutch had only wanted to install a new Raja, but instead found themselves in direct control. Karangasem was also part of the kingdom of Selaparang, but the Dutch decided to persevere with the ruling Raja, perhaps because he had quickly submitted to the Dutch when they landed in Lombok and had taken no further part in the fighting. On 10 June 1896 he was sworn in as “Stedehouder” (Viceroy) of Karangasem. He then become a salaried official of the Netherlands Indies government and was left with few independent powers. Thus after the end of the Lombok war Buleleng, Jembrana and Lombok were all under the direct rule of Dutch administrators. In Karangasem the situation was slightly different as the Raja was still on his throne, but he had little scope for independent action. As Stedehouder the Raja was in fact a representative of the Netherlands Indies government. The Dutch were now in a better position than ever before to take control of all of Bali, but they resisted the temptation and bided their time while they watched developments in the independent kingdoms.

The Dewa Agung of Klungkung must have observed the outcome of the Lombok war with mixed emotions. He was probably pleased that the Raja of Lombok (Raja Selaparang) had been deposed by the Dutch. Lombok had been Klungkung’s enemy throughout the nineteenth century and the Raja of Lombok had consistently refused to accept the Dewa Agung’s claim to be the Susuhunan of Bali and Lombok. Unlike the other Rajas, Lombok would not acknowledge the superiority of the Dewa Agung in any capacity. The annexation of Karangasem by Lombok in 1849 must have also been a blow to Klungkung as Karangasem had been a strong ally. After 1849, however, Karangasem became part of the kingdom of Selaparang. The Dewa Agung could expect no more help from Karangasem. The Lombok war removed the threat of Raja Selaparang to the Dewa Agung’s plans to unite Bali under his leadership, but he could not expect any new support from Lombok or Karangasem because they were both absorbed into the Netherlands Indies. Indeed, the Netherlands Indies government was the greatest threat to the Dewa Agung’s plans because it was clear that the government preserved the role of supreme power in Lombok and Bali for itself; a position that was made clear in the 1840’s when Huskus Koopman succeeded in getting all the Rajas of Bali and Lombok to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Netherlands Indies government over their kingdoms. Since that time the Dutch had played an increasingly important role in Balinese politics. The ability of the Dewa Agung to play a similar role had been proportionally decreased. With the ending of conflict on Lombok the power of the Dutch was increased even further.

In such a situation the remaining independent Rajas had a great incentive to appease the Dutch and meekly accept their demands as they ran the very real risk that their kingdoms too could be absorbed into the Netherlands Indies. However, it would appear that the Rajas, and the Dewa Agung in particular, saw the matter quite differently. They

\[258\] Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX, p469
responded by increasing their efforts to gain power in southern Bali. In this respect the Dutch played an important role by their very inaction. Thus when the Dutch failed to intervene in the fighting of 1891 that resulted in the destruction and partitioning of the once powerful kingdom of Mengwi they gave the Rajas implicit approval for their actions. In 1885 the Dutch had refused a request from the Raja of Gianyar for his kingdom to be absorbed into the Netherlands Indies, but the Dutch had refused. Again, the Dutch seemed to be telling the other Rajas that the Netherlands Indies government did not object to the territorial attacks they had been making on Gianyar. Under these circumstances it is perhaps understandable if the Rajas felt no need to hide their ambitions. On the other hand, the Rajas may have felt that the ever increasing power and influence of the Netherlands Indies government made it imperative for them to act immediately to increase their own power and prestige before the Dutch blocked all opportunities for doing so. Whatever the true motivations of the actors may have been the results of their actions were clear. The south Balinese kingdoms were weak and in disarray after years of constant warfare. If the Dutch should choose to begin hostilities against them they would be in a very weak position.

In the period prior to the Lombok war the Dutch had not been overly concerned about exercising their authority as the sovereign power in Bali and Lombok as outlined in their treaties with the Balinese Rajas. They had consistently endeavoured to make the Rajas abide by the terms of their respective treaties, but had otherwise generally avoided too much interference in the internal affairs of the independent kingdoms. They had also attempted to mediate in various disputes between the kingdoms, but the final outcomes of those disputes were invariably determined by the Balinese themselves. By the late nineteenth century the Dutch exercised a real physical authority over much of the Balinese world and seemed prepared to take a much more active role in the politics of the independent states. An example of this changed approach can be found in the manner with which the Dutch dealt with the problem of the beleaguered kingdom of Gianyar. In 1885 the Dutch had refused a request from the Raja of Gianyar to takeover his kingdom, but in 1900 when the new Raja made a similar approach the Dutch agreed.

As outlined above, Gianyar's territorial integrity had been threatened in the 1880's by its neighbours Bangli, Mengwi and Klungkung. In a desperate attempt to avoid the destruction of his kingdom the Raja of Gianyar appealed to the Dewa Agung for his protection and this was provided for in 1883 by merging the kingdom of Gianyar into the kingdom of Klungkung. This move did not stop the attacks on Gianyar's territory, however, so in 1885 the Raja of Gianyar took the unprecedented step of offering his kingdom to the Dutch. The Dutch could not accept the offer and it was only in 1893 that Gianyar was again strong enough to ward off the threats of its neighbours and to maintain control over the districts within its borders. Conflict in Gianyar continued, however, and Bangli and Klungkung persisted in pressing their claims over the territory of Gianyar. In June 1898 the situation became more serious when Gianyar's former ally, Badung, attacked the Ubud district. Now under attack from Bangli in the north, Badung in the south and Klungkung in the east Gianyar sought assistance from its other old ally, Karangasem. The Raja of Karangasem was apparently willing to help Gianyar, but as
Karangasem had become part of the Netherlands Indies after the Lombok war the matter had to first be referred to the Resident of Bali in Singaraja. As a result Resident Liefrinck visited all the kingdoms concerned. In Karangasem, Liefrinck informed the Raja that he had no right to get involved in the affair, while in Bangli, Badung and Klungkung he attempted to persuade the Rajas to desist in their efforts to gain control of parts of Gianyar.\(^{259}\) The attacks continued, however, and the Raja of Gianyar in December 1899 once more took the desperate measure of inviting the Dutch to take over his kingdom. The Raja used the example of Karangasem as a model and requested to become a Stedehouder like the Raja of Karangasem. Receiving no reply to his request the Raja had obviously become increasingly desparate as he repeated his request three times in January 1900 and again in February. In the meantime Resident Liefrinck had written to the Governor General to inform him of the state of affairs in Gianyar and, while he detailed the great suffering the constant attacks had brought to the people of Gianyar, he also warned that if the Raja’s request was met it would bring enmity from Bangli and Klungkung. The Governor General was apparently willing to bear this consequence as he advised Liefrinck that as long as the Raja and other leaders of Gianyar understood the full implications of such a move then the transfer of power could go ahead.\(^{260}\) On 8 March 1900 Raja Gianyar was provisionally installed as Stedehouder and in November 1900 the appointment was made official and Gianyar then became part of the Netherlands Indies.\(^{261}\)

As was expected the independent Rajas, especially the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, opposed this initiative, but they were unwilling to push the issue too far as Liefrinck had informed them that an attack on Gianyar now constituted an attack on the Dutch. The Dutch then set about clarifying the boundaries of Gianyar’s territory and put to an end the age old struggle for control of the border districts.\(^{262}\)

As Bali entered the twentieth century the Dutch were in control of four of the nine kingdoms that had existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, i.e., Buleleng, Jembrana, Karangasem and Gianyar. Mengwi had been destroyed and partitioned by the remaining independent kingdoms, i.e., Badung, Tabanan, Bangli and Klungkung. In the years of warfare that had raged in Bali throughout the nineteenth century the ordinary people suffered the most. It was the peasant farmers of Bali who provided the manpower to fight the wars of their Rajas. While they were fighting they could not till the soil and food shortages were common. Much valuable farming land was also destroyed during the fighting; for example, in Gianyar up to 6,000 hectares of paddy fields were rendered unworkable during the war-filled years immediately prior to the Dutch takeover.\(^{263}\) The numerous wars between the different kingdoms were often followed by crop failures and outbreaks of disease, such as cholera, which often carried off more victims than the fighting itself. Dutch colonial records show that tens of thousands of people died in south Bali in the second half of the nineteenth century from the combined effects of epidemics,
crop failures, mice plagues and other natural disasters.\textsuperscript{264} Combined with the devastating effects of almost constant warfare it is no surprise that by the beginning of the twentieth century the independent kingdoms of Bali were in a very weak state indeed. Under these circumstances the Rajas found it difficult to resist the demands for reforms in their kingdoms made by the Dutch. These demands largely related to the conditions set down in the treaties that had been imposed on the Balinese Rajas by the Dutch in the middle of the nineteenth century, but the Dutch also demanded reforms in other areas. Thus the “independent” Rajas found that they had to conform to Dutch regulations concerning matters such as slavery, opium trading and “mesatiye” \textsuperscript{265}(suttee, or widow burning). The effect of the Dutch regulations on such activities (which often equated with a prohibition on activities which had previously been commonplace) was to make the independent kingdoms little more than colonial territories of the Dutch.\textsuperscript{266} The Rajas, however, stubbornly adhered to their independence and often broke the Dutch regulations; an action which carried with it the risk of more direct Dutch interference. Another problem for the Rajas was that the increase in Balinese territory controlled directly by the Dutch meant that previously fluid boundaries that existed between the kingdoms became solid under Dutch control. This of course made it very difficult for the Rajas to increase the size of the territory under their authority. In all these ways the Dutch had limited the exercise of real power by the Rajas of south Bali. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Dutch were in such a strong position in Bali, and indeed the rest of Indonesia, that it only seemed a matter of time before the whole island would officially become a part of the Netherlands Indies.

\textbf{CHAPTER 5 THE END OF THE WORLD.}

Under the VOC in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch in Indonesia were primarily concerned with trade. Territorial expansion was officially frowned upon as an unnecessary and expensive measure. In reality the Dutch found that the size of the territory under their control increased as they endeavoured to establish a trade monopoly in the region. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century the profits from the Cultivation System on Java gave the Dutch the means to extend their control in the “outer islands”, but as the profits of the Cultivation System were largely ploughed back into the domestic Dutch economy the desire to limit expenses in regard to the outer islands

\textsuperscript{264} Nordholt “The quest for life.” pp207-208
\textsuperscript{265} Also massatia, mesatia, etc.
\textsuperscript{266} Ricklefs op.cit. p127
continued. At the same time the Dutch wished to establish a clear “sphere of influence” in Indonesia in order to preclude any other European power from gaining a foothold in the region. In particular the Dutch feared the establishment of British settlements in Indonesia and it was largely because of the activities of a British trader (George King) in Lombok and Bali in the 1830’s and 1840’s that the Dutch began to give more attention to these two islands. Initially the Dutch concluded treaties with the Lombok and Balinese Rajas that recognized Dutch sovereignty over their kingdoms and would prevent any other European nation from gaining influence in the islands. Disagreement over the meaning of the contracts eventually led to conflict on Bali and the Dutch took direct control of the northern Balinese kingdom of Buleleng and its vassal, Jembrana, in 1849. The official Dutch policy was still opposed to further territorial expansion, however, and no direct moves were made to increase Dutch control over the remaining independent kingdoms.

As the nineteenth century drew on the presence of the Dutch in north Bali made it difficult for them to avoid being drawn into the many internal conflicts of the region. Despite the official policy of non-interference in these internal disputes Dutch officials on the ground often argued that it was essential for Dutch interests to have more control over the running of the independent kingdoms. By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century a significant change had taken place and the Dutch began a vigorous campaign to bring all the remaining independent regions of Indonesia firmly under their control. In Aceh, in north Sumatra, the Dutch began what turned out to be a very long effort to subdue that region in 1873. The war dragged on and on and it was not until about 1903 that some sort of stability was brought to the region, although resistance to Dutch rule never really subsided.267 Fear of a “second Aceh” greatly inhibited the desire of some Dutch officials to extend Dutch control into other areas of the archipelago. In 1894, however, the Dutch successfully took control of the island of Lombok and the tide seemed to be swinging in favour of the Dutch in the Aceh War. Under these circumstances it was only a matter of time before other hitherto independent regions of Indonesia came under direct Dutch control. Thus, in the first decade of the twentieth century a large number of other regions fell to the Dutch, including Jambi and Kerinci in Sumatra, Seram in Maluku, Bone in south Sulawesi, Banjermasin in southeast Kalimantan (Borneo), and Flores and Bali in the Lesser Sundas.268

The expansion of Dutch control in this period is related to many factors. In most areas it was local Dutch officials who provided the impetus. In response to local disputes Dutch officials on the ground had often recommended an extension of Dutch authority as a solution. In line with official policy, however, the Dutch decision makers in Batavia and

267 Ibid. p138
268 Locher-Scholten, E “Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago Around 1900 and the Imperialism Debate.” p95
Flores became Dutch under the Treaty of Lisbon 1853/54 and the nominal Portuguese ownership of the island came to an end. The Dutch, however, still needed to send expeditions to Flores to make their rule over the whole island a reality. See 400 Jaren Missie in Nederlands-Indie, ’s-Gravenhage 1934 (Thanks to Dr. R A F Paul Webb for this information.)
the Hague had been reticent in approving further Dutch control. By the late nineteenth century this attitude had changed and both Batavia and the Hague were more sympathetic to the suggestions of local officials. By this time the majority of the Indonesian archipelago was under nominal Dutch control so it was just a matter of making that control a reality. Improvements in transport and communications and the development of a more modern and professional army made this a much easier task than it had previously been. Technological advances also gave the Netherlands Indies army an advantage over their indigenous adversaries that had previously been lacking. For example, in 1848-1849 the Dutch had been hindered in their efforts to take the fortress of Jagaraga in north Bali as its location four kilometres from the coast was too far for their ships’ cannons to reach. In 1906 when the Dutch launched an attack on Denpasar the Dutch ships’ cannons were capable of reaching targets up to sixteen kilometres distant; thus the Dutch ships anchored at Sanur could effortlessly bombard Denpasar, only seven kilometres away.

The growth of a plantation economy and the search for mineral wealth had also played a role in stimulating Dutch expansion, such as occurred on Lombok. One of the greatest impetuses for further Dutch expansion, however, was not economical, but political. The great economic benefit brought to the Netherlands by the possession of a colony in the Indies had made the majority of Dutch very proud. Holland had been transformed from a “European ‘dwarf’” to a “colonial ‘giant.’” Failure on the part of the various independent potentates, such as the Balinese Rajas, to respect the demands made on them by their suzerain, the Dutch, were often seen as “humiliating” attacks on Dutch pride. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century development of European imperialism also played its role in encouraging the Dutch to formalize their control over the Indies, so as to exclude any possible rival powers. Dutch imperialism in Indonesia, however, was linked also to its new policy for governing the Indies which was officially endorsed in 1901 and known as the “Ethical Policy.”

The Ethical Policy was driven by a desire on the part of some Dutch liberals to pay back what they called a “debt of honour.” As the Netherlands had reaped great benefits from its possessions in the Indies it was argued that the Dutch had an obligation to bring “peace, order and modernity” to the archipelago. In the eyes of the public in the Netherlands military expansion for “ethical” considerations was fully justifiable. Under the banner of the high ideals of the Ethical Policy the Dutch launched themselves into the final and bloodiest episode of their drawn out conquest of Bali. In 1904 General J. B. van Heutz, a hero of the Aceh War, was made Governor General of the Netherlands Indies and under his leadership the Netherlands Indies was finally united under Dutch control. Van Heutz was a strong proponent of the notion of a Pax Neerlandica, and the Ethical Policy provided the perfect framework to make it a reality. The remaining independent

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269 Ibid. p98
270 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX p603
271 Locher-Scholten op.cit. p100
272 Ricklefs op.cit. p143
273 Ibid. p127
274 Locher-Scholten op.cit. p105
Rajas in Bali must have been seen as a hindrance and an anomaly in implementing the new policy. Van Heutz wanted to bring Bali "into the 'modern' era quickly and forcibly", but he could not simply break the 1849 treaties that guaranteed the independence of the Balinese Rajas. The Dutch needed an excuse.

In 1903 the Raja of Tabanan died and his wives prepared for "mesatiye." (Balinese for suttee, or widow burning.) The Dutch were opposed to mesatiye, but as a part of Balinese adat they had no real right to interfere. Nevertheless, two Dutch warships arrived off the Tabanan coast to intimidate the Balinese and prevent the ceremony going ahead. Conflict was avoided on that occasion by a compromise deal whereby the Dutch allowed the ceremony to go ahead as planned, but straight afterwards the new Raja signed an agreement outlawing the practice in his kingdom. In 1904 and 1905 the remaining Rajas signed similar agreements. The effective outlawing of mesatiye in Bali shows what power the Dutch actually had in the independent kingdoms even without formal control. The voices calling for direct Dutch rule, however, still grew louder by the day. On 27 May 1904 the opportunity that many Dutch had been waiting for finally arrived when a Chinese owned vessel sailing under the Dutch flag, the Sri Kumala, was stranded off the coast of Sanur in the kingdom of Badung.

The Sri Kumala was carrying kerosene, sugar and other goods to trade on Bali. According to the vessel's owner it was also carrying a great sum of money. Once the vessel was stranded the ship's captain sought and received assistance from the local populace to remove and guard the ship's cargo. This was all in line with the provisions of the 1849 treaties which banned the old practice of Tawan Karang and obliged the Rajas to provide assistance to any stranded or shipwrecked vessel. The ship's owner, however, later complained to the Dutch Resident in Singaraja that some of the goods and all of the money had been stolen. As a result Controller H. J. E. F. Schwartz was sent to Badung to investigate. Schwartz was able to report that there had been no incidence of Tawan Karang as any stealing of goods must have occurred after the ship's cargo had been safely removed from the stranded ship. At the very most the Raja was guilty of not providing enough security. The very existence of the missing money was called into doubt, however, and there was a general feeling that the ship's owner had invented the whole story for his own profit. Nevertheless, the Dutch chose to bypass the normal legal process whereby the ship's owner would have applied for compensation at the Badung "Kerta", or traditional court of law. Instead the Dutch demanded that the Raja of Badung

275 Nordholt, H S Bali : Colonial Conceptions, p27
276 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX pp506-507
277 Ibid. pp503-504
278 Ibid. p507
279 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX pp507-509
280 For example, H.H. van Kol, a Dutch parliamentarian who visited Bali in 1911, came to the conclusion that the Raja of Badung had done nothing wrong and that the missing money was an invention used to justify the 1906 expedition. See Ibid. pp518-519
compensate the ship’s owner for his “lost” money. It is more than likely that the Dutch made this decision knowing that it would almost definitely lead to conflict with Badung.\textsuperscript{281}

When Badung refused to pay the compensation the Dutch informed the Raja that the Badung coastline would be blockaded to prevent any trade goods entering or leaving the kingdom. Even local fishermen were barred from putting to sea. As well as paying for the “stolen” money the Raja would also be obliged to pay the cost of the blockade.\textsuperscript{282} The blockade proved unsuccessful, however, as goods continued to move over Badung’s land borders, especially over the border of neighbouring Tabanan, Badung’s old ally. By early 1905 the matter had still not been settled when the Raja wrote to Resident Eschbach once more pleading his innocence of any wrongdoing. On top of this he demanded that the Dutch pay him compensation for the economic difficulties caused by the Dutch blockade.\textsuperscript{283}

It seems clear that the issue at hand was not money as a number of sources within Badung had offered to pay the demanded compensation, including a group of Bugis and Chinese traders whose business was being adversely effected by the blockade. The Raja rejected all such offers and threatened to punish any of his subjects who paid the Dutch. Thus it would appear that the Raja was making a stand on principle and was merely seeking justice.\textsuperscript{284} For Resident Eschbach the ineffectiveness of the blockade and the “insubordination” of the Raja was enough for him to recommend the sending of a military expedition to Badung. The time was not right, however, as military operations against Bone in south Sulawesi had to be concluded first.\textsuperscript{285} Thus it was that fruitless negotiations continued while both sides busily prepared for war.

In May 1906 the Dutch tried to precipitate events by extending its blockade to include Tabanan, but after one month it was clear that this was having no effect and the Dutch felt they were becoming a laughing stock.\textsuperscript{286} Dutch intelligence reports had shown that neither Badung nor Tabanan had any great number of modern firearms and it was thought that a Dutch force would encounter no real difficulties in a military conflict with the two kingdoms.\textsuperscript{287} Thus, in a letter dated 17 July 1906, the two Rajas were delivered ultimatums demanding that they submit to the Dutch. Both Rajas replied that they had done nothing to break the 1849 contracts, but that the Dutch blockade was a clear violation of the treaties.\textsuperscript{288} The Dutch were probably less than amused, but the invasion

\textsuperscript{281} Ibid. pp511-514
\textsuperscript{282} Ibid. pp514-515
\textsuperscript{283} Ibid. pp520-522
\textsuperscript{284} Ibid. pp522-523
\textsuperscript{285} Ibid. pp526-531
\textsuperscript{286} Ibid. p555
\textsuperscript{287} Ibid. p559
\textsuperscript{288} Ibid. pp569, 572
plans had already been drawn up and on 4 September 1906 Governor General van Heutz authorized the sending of an expedition to south Bali consisting of three battalions under the leadership of Major General M. B. Rost von Tonningen.\(^{289}\)

With a land force of around 3,000 men the Dutch set up headquarters near Sanur. Troops were sent to occupy Gianyar so as to prevent any assistance for Badung arriving from Klungkung or Bangli. At Sanur itself the local population offered no resistance to the Dutch forces, but on 15 September several thousand Balinese attacked the Dutch positions. The fighting lasted for many hours and victims fell on both sides, but the Balinese eventually retreated. At the same time the Dutch ships began bombarding the town of Denpasar, especially the palaces of Raja Denpasar and Raja Pamecutan.\(^{290}\) On 17 and 18 September the bombardment of Denpasar continued, but on 19 September the Sanur headquarters was abandoned and the Netherlands Indies forces began moving towards Denpasar.\(^{291}\) The first big battle occurred at Tukad Ayung where the bravery of certain Balinese soldiers who refused to surrender their positions greatly impressed some Dutch observers.\(^{292}\) The Balinese were hopelessly out-gunned, however, possessing only a few rifles and a handful of ancient and ineffective cannons.\(^{293}\) The Dutch then pushed on to Kesiman where they met with strong resistance, but to their surprise when they reached the palace they found it deserted. Apparently the son of the late Raja had been murdered by a Brahmin priest after a dispute over whether or not to oppose the Dutch invaders.\(^{294}\) On 20 September the Dutch began their assault on Denpasar and were met with the by now familiar spirited, but ineffective resistance.\(^{295}\)

At around 11 a.m. a large group of Balinese, including many women and children, began marching towards the Dutch troops in Denpasar. Led by Raja Denpasar, the group of around 250 people consisted of the Raja’s family and followers. They were dressed in their finest clothing with a white “selendang”, or scarf, draped over their shoulders.\(^{296}\) The Raja was armed with a keris in each hand.\(^{297}\) Each member of the group carried a lance and/or keris. Many of the kerises were decorated with precious jewels. At a distance of 300 metres the Dutch called on the group to stop, but with the Raja at their head the group increased their pace. At 100 metres the Dutch opened fire. The Raja was the first to fall. The wounded then killed themselves or were killed by others. As they were shot others then took up the task. As more Balinese arrived on the scene the slaughter continued until a mountain of corpses littered the street. Only a handful of the least

\(^{289}\) Ibid. pp588-589
\(^{290}\) Ibid. pp602-608
\(^{291}\) Ibid. pp609-610
\(^{292}\) For example, Dr. H. M. van Weede who was with the Dutch forces later wrote that the bravery of the Balinese who had refused to retreat was a lesson for the European soldiers. See Ibid. pp 611-612
\(^{293}\) Ibid. pp617
\(^{294}\) For example, Dr. H. M. van Weede who was with the Dutch forces later wrote that the bravery of the Balinese who had refused to retreat was a lesson for the European soldiers. See Ibid. pp 611-612
\(^{295}\) Ibid. p611
\(^{296}\) Covarrubius, M Island of Bali. p33
\(^{297}\) Mirsha, I Gusti Ngurah Rai Sejarah Perlawanan Rakyat Bali Selatan Menentang Kolonialisme Belanda. p79
\(^{298}\) Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX p614
\(^{299}\) Ibid. p617
\(^{300}\) Puputan Sebagai Ungkapan Kepahlawanan. p9
wounded survived the debacle. The Raja, his family and followers had just enacted a puputan. The term puputan comes from the Balinese word “puput” which means “end”, thus puputan means ending. By refusing to surrender the Raja had maintained the honour of his office and his family. Death in the field of battle was believed to guarantee good fortune in the afterlife. By enacting a puputan, however, the Raja was acknowledging defeat. His life ended, his family’s rule in Badung ended and the kingdom of Badung ended also. Dutch observers spoke highly of the honour and bravery of the Balinese who took part in the puputan, but the death of the Raja and his family cleared the way for the Dutch to establish their own rule in Badung with the minimum of resistance.

The Dutch had still to subdue the other important Raja of Badung at that time: Raja Pamecutan. Raja Pamecutan was old and frail, but he too refused to surrender. After wiping up the last pockets of resistance near the palace in Denpasar the Dutch moved on to Pamecutan. The ancient cannons of the Pamecutan defenders were soon put out of action by the Dutch, and men, women and children armed with lances were cut down by the Dutch guns. The Raja and hundreds of his followers were later found dead near the palace. Dressed in their finest clothes, the whole group had apparently committed mass suicide. In his official report on the taking of Badung, Commissioner Liefrinck recorded that 400 Balinese had died in the fighting, while only four of the Dutch troops had been killed. From various other reports it is clear that at least 1,500 Balinese actually died in their futile attempt to beat off the Dutch invaders.1

After their comprehensive victory at Badung the Dutch prepared to settle their account with Badung’s ally, Tabanan. On 27 September the Dutch received advice that Raja Tabanan wished to enter into negotiations. The Dutch demanded an unconditional surrender to which the Raja agreed, but he soon discovered that the Dutch had already decided his fate and there were to be no negotiations. The Raja and his son, the Crown Prince, were taken to Denpasar were they were informed that they would be sent to live in exile on Lombok. This was a fate that neither were apparently willing to accept and on the night of 28 September the Raja and his son both committed suicide. Anak Agung, the Balinese politician turned historian, has characterized the capture of Raja Tabanan as comparable with the deceptive methods used by the Dutch to capture another famous rebellious Indonesian prince, Pangeran Diponegoro of Java.1 It certainly seems likely

298 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX p619
299 Puputan Sebagai Ungkapan Kepahlawanan, p1
300 For example, Dr. van Weede. See Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX p622
301 Ibid. pp620-622
302 According to one version of the events the Dutch were surprised by the level of resistance at Pamecutan and many Dutch troops died in the fighting. According to the same source Raja Pamecutan was shot dead by the Dutch as he and his followers attempted a front-on attack against the Dutch. See Puputan Sebagai Ungkapan Kepahlawanan, p10 Mirsha gives a similar account. See I Gusti Ngurah Rai Mirsha Sejarah Perlawanan Rakyat Bali Selatan Menentang Kolonialisme Belanda pp97-98
303 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX pp623-524
304 Ibid. pp625-626
304 Ibid. p642
that if Raja Tabanan realized that surrender to the Dutch meant exile outside of Bali he never would have surrendered. On the other hand, by capturing the Raja alive the Dutch probably prevented the deaths of hundreds or even thousands of Tabanan Balinese.

In the meantime the kingdom of Tabanan was occupied by the Dutch without incident. The remaining important families of Badung and Tabanan were gathered together for exile to Lombok. Dutch forces then travelled through both kingdoms in a show of strength designed to demonstrate to the people the power of their new rulers. Badung and Tabanan were now clearly a part of the Netherlands Indies, but the expeditionary force's task was not over yet. As well as subjecting the two "rebellious" kingdoms the leaders of the expedition were also charged with signing new contracts with the remaining Rajas. The aim of the new treaties was to end once and for all any room for independent action on the part of the Rajas. Among other things the Rajas were being asked to obey all instructions of the Netherlands Indies government, to surrender all firearms within their kingdoms and to accept the permanent placement of Dutch troops on their soil. In effect the Rajas were being asked to hand over nearly all their powers to the Dutch. The Dutch warned the Rajas that if they did not sign the new treaties their kingdoms would also be invaded. Finally, on 17 October 1906 the last two independent Rajas of Bali, Raja Bangli and the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, came to Gianyar where they signed the new treaties.

It has been said that the last two independent Rajas were forced to sign the new treaties "at the point of a bayonet." This fairly dramatic statement is not far from the truth. The Rajas were threatened with invasion if they did not sign the treaties and while they pondered their response to the Dutch ultimatum Dutch warships went through their manoeuvres off the coast of Klungkung. Following the signing of the new treaties Dutch troops travelled through both kingdoms in a show of strength similar that recently concluded in Badung and Tabanan. The whole process must have been extremely humiliating for the two proud Rajas, but their only other choice was total destruction. The threatening tactics used by the Dutch to achieve the new contracts was in direct violation of the 1849 treaties and only goes to highlight the deceptive nature of the whole campaign. The Dutch military expedition to Bali had very little to do with the settling of the Sri Kumala affair, but it had much to do with growing Dutch demands for the end of "tyrannous" indigenous rule on Bali.

The Dutch victories at Tabanan and Badung were somewhat overshadowed by the bloody circumstances under which they were achieved. The Dutch spoke of the slain Rajas in respectful tones and praised their honour and bravery. It would seem, however, that the Dutch actually did little or nothing to prevent the slaughter. The Dutch knew that a puputan was very possible. In 1849 the Dutch had expected the Rajas of Buleleng and

305 Ibid. pp626-627
306 Ibid. pp627-635
307 Ibid. p628
308 Ibid. p630
309 Ibid. p637
Karangasem to enact a puputan after the fall of the Jagaraga fortress, but the two had already escaped. Raja Karangasem later died in a puputan while trying to defend his own palace. In the much more recent Lombok War a number of puputans were enacted. While several Dutch eyewitnesses to the bloody massacres in Bali were deeply shocked by what they saw it would seem that senior Dutch officials did nothing to stop it happening. As a result of the puputans the Dutch were able to take control of Badung and Tabanan with very little further opposition, but they suffered a great moral defeat. The Dutch had taken the high moral ground in their campaign against the Balinese Rajas, but the manner in which they brought “civilization” to Bali was a public relations nightmare. Accordingly the Dutch tried to divert attention away from the mangled bodies of men, women and children that resulted from the puputans and concentrated on the fanaticism (i.e., barbarism) of the Balinese defenders and the bravery with which they faced their destruction.

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The 1906 Dutch military expedition to Bali clearly brought all of Bali under the control of the Dutch, but the new administration was not accepted universally. In 1908 a new conflict arose when the Dutch announced a monopoly on the previously loosely regulated opium market. On 16 April a mob attacked a government opium store in Gelgel, Klungkung. In a Dutch counter-attack hundreds of Balinese are said to have died. Cokorde Gelgel, who was behind the unrest, sought the protection of the Dewa Agung and on 28 April 1908 the Dutch prepared to attack the Klungkung palace where the Cokorde had been given refuge. As the Dutch approached the palace the Dewa Agung and around 200 of his followers emerged from within dressed in their finest clothes and carrying lances and kerises. It was another puputan. Again the Dutch appear to have done little to prevent the destruction and there was no real battle; men, women and children were simply mowed down by the Dutch guns. There were no Dutch casualties in the incident. In many ways the death of the Dewa Agung symbolized the end of the old way of life on Bali. The Rajas had been defeated and the way was open for the Dutch to institute their rule over the whole of Bali.

Following the death of the Dewa Agung, Klungkung came under the direct rule of the Dutch. As the last of the independent Rajas, Raja Bangli quite rightly feared that he would be next to be forced to submit to the colonial power. So as to maintain at least some power and prestige the Raja decided to surrender to the Dutch soon after the Klungkung puputan. On 2 October 1908 Raja Bangli requested to be made a Stedehouder like the Rajas of Gianyar and Karangasem. The Dutch granted his wish and he was

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310 Ibid. pp647-650

It would seem the Dutch expected the Raja to enact a puputan and it is claimed they requested the Raja to prevent women and children from taking part. The request was not met and many women and children were killed. Many of the Klungkung troops, however, would appear to have lost heart as it is reported that many abandoned their Raja and some surrendered directly to the Dutch. Following the death of the Raja there was no further resistance. See I Gusti Ngurah Rai Mirsha Sejarah Perlawanan Rakyat Bali Selatan Menentang Kolonialisme Belanda, pp138-147
officially recognized in his new position on 18 January 1909. Following this change Bali was left with only three Rajas in any position of power; i.e., Rajas Bangli, Gianyar and Karangasem. These Rajas were little more than figure-heads, however, and were bound to obey the instructions of their Dutch masters. In the other previously independent kingdoms Dutch administrators ruled directly.

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311 Anak Agung Bali pada Abad XIX p653
The Dutch had come to Indonesia for the first time in 1596. In 1597 they made their first contact with Bali, but the island did not produce the spices that were then in such high demand in Europe. Without spices Bali was of little interest to the Dutch, or other Europeans, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the island was largely ignored. The one “product” from Bali that did interest the Dutch was slaves, but the slave trade was in private hands and it was not considered necessary or prudent to annex the island to secure that trade. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Dutch took more interest in Bali as a source of slaves who could serve as soldiers in the Netherlands Indies army. In 1808 Captain van der Wahl was sent to Bali to recruit soldiers and from 1826 to 1831 a Dutch recruitment office operated from the south Balinese port of Kuta. By this time the Dutch had become concerned by the possibility that some other European power might establish itself on Bali. This could have been a serious threat to the Dutch position in Indonesia as Bali was immediately adjacent to the Dutch stronghold on the island of Java. Of particular concern were the British, especially Raffles, who had served as Lieutenant Governor General of Java during the British interregnum from 1811 to 1816. In 1819 Raffles had established the free trade port of Singapore which was seen as a threat to the Dutch trading monopoly in the Indies. Raffles had visited Bali in 1815 and it was feared he still had an interest in the island. Dutch fears proved to be groundless, but their efforts to make agreements with the Balinese Rajas that would exclude other Europeans from a position of influence on the island were also unsuccessful.

In the late 1830’s Bali, and the neighbouring island of Lombok, were drawn into world trade by virtue of their ability to produce cheap rice at a time when food shortages were common in many parts of the world. Many Europeans had been attracted by the possibility of large profits, but of especial interest to Dutch were the activities of a British trader, George Pockock King. King was on very good terms with the Raja of Lombok and the Dutch feared his presence may trigger greater British involvement on the island. Once more the Dutch fear of the British proved to groundless, but it spurred them into new action to achieve treaties with the Balinese Rajas that would exclude any other European power from their kingdoms. Thus in 1841, 1842 and 1843 the special Commissioner for Bali and Lombok, H. J. Huskus Koopman travelled throughout Bali and Lombok and got all the Rajas to sign treaties which recognized the sovereignty of the Netherlands over their kingdoms. The treaties were gained by deception, however, as Huskus Koopman had fooled the Rajas into believing that the clause of the contract that established Dutch sovereignty was not to be taken literally and was a mere expression of friendship. He furthermore deceived the Rajas of Buleleng, Karangasem and Klungkung into believing that as a result of them signing the treaties the Dutch would assist them in their conflict
with the Raja of Lombok. As Huskus Koopman later signed a treaty with the Raja of Lombok this would be impossible.

The Dutch at this time were still officially opposed to further territorial expansion. The main reason for this stand was that formal possession of territory was expensive and it was considered far more desirable to sign treaties with the Rajas that would bring about the same result, i.e., the exclusion of other foreign powers. The deceptive measures used by Huskus Koopman to achieve the 1841-1843 contracts was sure to lead to conflict, however, and in 1846 the Dutch became embroiled in a dispute over the issue of Tawan Karang with the Raja of Buleleng. The final result was war and after years of struggle the Dutch were victorious and Buleleng and its vassal state of Jembrana became part of the Netherlands Indies. Although the treaties had been achieved through deception the Dutch placed great importance on the documents and felt it was a great blow to their pride to have a native Raja openly defying their demands. Once the Dutch were securely ensconced in north Bali it was inevitable that they would be further drawn into the internal conflicts of the region. The closer the Dutch were involved the more likely it was that they would feel that their honour had been besmirched by some outspoken or recalcitrant Raja and the possibilities for conflict grew accordingly. The closer contact of the Dutch with the Balinese Rajas also increased the possibility of the Dutch officials losing their patience with the manner in which the Rajas ran their affairs. The almost constant warfare and intrigue in Bali in the second half of the nineteenth century must have exasperated the Dutch officials who were steeped in the values of "rust en orde" (peace and order).

The Dutch in Bali apparently found it impossible to not get involved in the internal affairs of the Rajas and found themselves intervening in matters as varied as border disputes, mesatiye (widow burning), and the opium trade. Despite suggestions by officials on the ground that the Dutch should consider extending their control over the independent kingdoms of Bali and Lombok the decision makers in Batavia and the Hague held on to their prejudice against further territorial expansion. Such territorial expansion had taken place elsewhere in the Indies, however, and it seemed only a matter of time before the same fate befell Bali and Lombok as well. The outer islands of Indonesia had begun to be more attractive to investors in plantations and mineral exploitation. Partly because of the growing interest in these activities the Dutch began to give more attention to the island of Lombok which was said to be rich in minerals and very suitable for growing coffee, a major export crop of the day. In 1873 the Dutch had began a campaign against Aceh in north Sumatra, but as the war dragged on for decades the Dutch were reticent to become involved in any other disputes. At the same time the lack of success in Aceh was reason enough for some Dutch officials to seek a restitution of Dutch "honour" in some other area. Finally, an outbreak of warfare on Lombok was seen as an appropriate opportunity for the Dutch to restore some injured pride, to extend Dutch economic interests and to silence an independent Raja whose stubborn insistence on standing up for his rights as outlined in his treaty with the Dutch was seen as a great affront. In 1894 Lombok, and its vassal state of Karangasem in Bali, became a part of the Netherlands Indies. Throughout
their campaign in Lombok the Dutch highlighted the alleged abuses of power by the Lombok Raja to justify their declaration of war.

The defeat of Lombok did a lot to remove Dutch fears of “a second Aceh” and the use of military power to rid the archipelago of “tyrannical” indigenous rulers was generally well received by the Dutch public. In 1900 the Dutch accepted a request by the Raja of Gianyar for his kingdom to be absorbed into the Netherlands Indies. The Raja had been fearful that his kingdom would be destroyed by his ambitious neighbours, especially the Dewa Agung of Klungkung. Several years beforehand the Dutch had refused a similar request, but by the beginning of the twentieth century they were no longer restrained by an official policy against territorial expansion. In 1901 the Dutch officially embraced the Ethical Policy whereby they vowed to bring “peace, order and modernity” to the whole Indies and territorial expansion seemed the logical way to achieve these aims. By this time also the Industrial Revolution in Europe had given the Dutch a technological advantage over the indigenous peoples of the Indies that made it virtually impossible for them to resist.

By the beginning of the twentieth century nearly all the powers of western Europe were involved in imperial ventures. Empire brought wealth, power, prestige and respect. The residents of the tiny European nation of the Netherlands were well aware of the benefits that had been brought to their nation through their possessions in the Indies. Under the Ethical Policy it became the duty of the Dutch in the Indies to promote “peace, order and modernity” and if territorial expansion was required to achieve these ends then so be it. While ethical concerns were considered acceptable reasons for military intervention in the independent states of Indonesia it is clear that such concerns were often used as mere excuses to justify Dutch expansion. In 1906 the issue of Tawan Karang again reared its head and the independent Balinese kingdoms of Badung and Tabanan were absorbed into the Netherlands Indies following an extremely bloody campaign which had began over a dispute concerning money allegedly stolen from a shipwrecked trading vessel. Dutch officials concerned with the case admitted that it had never been proven that the money had been stolen or that it even existed, but the Dutch had insisted that the owner be paid compensation by the Raja concerned. This the Raja refused to do as he considered that he had done no wrong. The Raja’s refusal to accept the demands of his suzerain deeply angered many Dutch commentators, although under the terms of his treaty with the Dutch they had no right to make such demands. They increased their threats, but the Raja stuck to his principles and refused to submit. The price for his “insubordination” was a full-scale invasion of his kingdom by the Dutch. True to his principles to the very end the Raja refused to surrender and he died in a mass suicide attack, or puputan, against the invading Dutch forces.

With the annexation by the Dutch of Badung and Tabanan in 1906 only Bangli and Klungkung remained as independent kingdoms. Over the years the Dutch had whittled away the rights of the Rajas and had asked them to sign a number of supplementary contracts to prohibit certain activities, such as mesatiye (widow burning). Despite this the Dutch appear to have been extremely unhappy whenever a Raja presumed to exercise his
rights as outlined in the contracts. It was apparently for this reason that the Raja of Badung had refused to submit over the issue of compensation for the shipwrecked trading vessel as he was sure that if he submitted on that occasion the Dutch would soon find some other issue to complain about. The Dutch could expect no financial benefit from Bali (as many had argued would accrue from possession of Lombok), but the Dutch seemed to have been determined to crush the independent Rajas nevertheless. The main issue would appear to have been pride. The Dutch behaved as if every independent action of the Rajas was a great blow to their prestige, while the Rajas were determined to maintain as much independent power as possible. Finally, the two proud powers could no longer share control of the same small island and in 1908 more conflict erupted on Bali that clearly left the Dutch in complete control. In that year the Dewa Agung of Klungkung died in a puputan after a dispute with the Dutch over regulation of the opium trade. Shortly after this bloody massacre, in which hundreds of Balinese were killed, the Raja of Bangli obviously decided that discretion was the greater part of valour and surrendered his kingdom to the Dutch without a fight.

Following the death of the Dewa Agung and the capitulation of Raja Bangli the Dutch could be satisfied that their rule in Bali was now unassailable. After 311 years since the first contact between Dutch and Balinese, the Dutch supremacy could no longer be denied. The Dutch then set about to try and reshape Balinese society. Eventually they discovered that the Balinese were still faithful to their old rulers and from 1929 the royal houses were re-installed, although with very restricted powers. In this fashion some semblance of the old political order was maintained. Dutch rule did not last long, however, for in February 1942 a Japanese invasion force landed at Sanur. The Japanese then ruled Bali for the remainder of World War II. The Dutch returned to Bali after the war, but they were unable to fully reestablish their control and in 1950 Bali achieved full independence as part of the new Republic of Indonesia. Although the Dutch had ruled in northern Bali for over half a century before the fall of Klungkung, direct Dutch rule over all of Bali only lasted from 1908 to 1942: a period of just thirty-four years.

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312 Vickers op.cit. p137
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