

CHAPTER VI.

Character of the Inhabitants of Java.—Difference between the Sündas and the Javans.—The Lower Orders.—The Chiefs.—Nature of the Native Government.—Different Officers of the State.—Judicial Establishments and Institutions.—Laws, and how administered.—Police Institutions and Regulations.—Military Establishments.—Revenue.

HAVING, in the foregoing pages, attempted to introduce the inhabitants of Java to the reader, by an account of their person, their manners, and employment in the principal departments of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, I shall now endeavour to make him, in some degree, acquainted with their intellectual and moral character, their institutions, government, and such other particulars as may contribute to enable him to form some estimate of their relative rank in the scale of civilized society.

From what has been stated of their progress in the manufacturing and agricultural arts, their general advancement in knowledge may be easily estimated. There are no establishments for teaching the sciences, and there is little spirit of scientific research among them. The common people have little leisure or inclination for improving their minds or acquiring information, but they are far from being deficient in natural sagacity or docility. Their organs are acute and delicate, their observation is ready, and their judgment of character is generally correct. Like most eastern nations, they are enthusiastic admirers of poetry, and possess a delicate ear for music. Though deficient in energy, and excited to action with difficulty, the effect probably of an enervating climate and a still more enervating government, they are capable of great occasional exertion, and sometimes display a remarkable perseverance in surmounting obstacles or enduring labours. Though ignorant and unimproved, they are far from wanting intelligence in the general objects of their pursuit, and frequently astonish Europeans by the ingenuity of their expedients, and the facility with which they accomplish difficult operations by apparently inadequate means.

People

People in a rude state of society are not always prepared to admit their inferiority, or inclined to adopt manifest improvements: what is much beyond their skill or their power, may excite their wonder, but does not always tempt their imitation. This is more peculiarly the case, where national pride or religious prejudice stand in the way; and the contempt of unbelievers, with which the Mahometan system inspires its votaries, leads them usually to undervalue the acts in which others excel, or the instruction which they communicate. The Javans, though far from deficient in national pride, and though Mahometans, are free from this senseless and pernicious prejudice, and are ready to acknowledge the superiority of the Europeans, as well as disposed to imitate their arts and to obey their direction. No people can be more tractable; and although their external appearance indicates listlessness and sometimes stupidity, none possess a quicker apprehension of what is clearly stated, or attain a more rapid proficiency in what they have a desire to learn. The restraints under which conversation labours by the necessity of using different dialects in addressing different orders of society, as well as the respect paid to superiority of rank, prevents them from such a frequent intercourse of thought and opinion as might otherwise be expected, and often renders them, to appearance, reserved and taciturn, although in fact they are social, cheerful, and good humoured.

An un instructed people are often credulous, and the Javans are remarkable for their unsuspecting and almost infantine credulity. Credulity. Susceptible of every impression that artifice may attempt to make upon them, and liable to every delusion propagated by the prejudiced or the designing, they not inaptly compare themselves to a piece of pure white cloth, on which any dye or shade of colour may be laid. They lend an easy credence to omens, to prognostics, to prophets, and to quacks. They easily become the dupes of any religious fanatic, and credit, without scruple or examination, his claim to supernatural powers. Their profession of Mahometanism has not relieved them from the superstitious prejudices and observances of an anterior worship: they are thus open to the accumulated delusion of two religious systems.

They are great observers of lucky or unlucky days, or natural phenomena, and undertake no journey or enterprize without attending to them. It is unlucky to go any where on the day that you hear of the death of a friend: the sight of two crows fighting in the air is unlucky: two small birds
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(called *prenjak*) fighting near a house, afford a prognostic of the arrival of a friend from a distance. Explosions or noises heard from the mountains not only excite terror for their immediate consequences, but are thought to forebode some great calamity, unconnected with the convulsions of nature, of which they are the symptoms, such as a sanguinary war, a general famine, or an epidemic sickness. The eclipses of the sun and moon powerfully excite this superstitious spirit, and induce many absurd notions and observations. Earthquakes furnish certain prognostics, according to the day of the month on which they happen. In none of their superstitions, however, is there any thing of that gloomy, dark, or malignant cast, which distinguishes those of less favoured climates or of more savage tribes.

Enthusiasm.

Although, on many occasions, listless and unenterprising, their religious enthusiasm is no sooner excited, than they become at once adventurous and persevering, esteeming no labour arduous, no result impossible, and no privation painful. We witnessed an instance, both of their simplicity and of their energy, connected with this part of their character, which excited our astonishment. The population of some of the districts of *Bányumás* contributed their voluntary labour, in 1814, to the construction of a broad high road, from the base to the summit of one of the loftiest mountains on the island (the mountain *Súmbing*), and this extraordinary public work was almost completed, before intelligence of its commencement reached the government. It was in consequence examined, and found to be a work of immense labour and care, but without the least appearance of object or utility. Upon enquiring into the motive of such a singular undertaking, it was learnt that a general belief prevailed, that there was a very holy man at the top of the mountain, who would not come down till there should be a good road made for him. The *Madúrese* are said to believe, that the spirits of the dead revisit the earth; but this does not appear to be a Javan superstition.

Prejudices.

Their prejudices are neither very numerous nor unyielding, and seem generally to have originated in some laudable feeling or amiable weakness. Their nationality, which is very strong, although it delights in the traditional narratives of ancient Javan exploits, and supports a hope of future independence, which they are not backward to express, does not lead them to despise the character, or to undervalue the acts of strangers. They have a contempt for trade, and those of higher rank esteem it disgraceful to be

be engaged in it ; but the common people are ever ready to engage in the labours of agriculture, and the chiefs to honour and encourage agricultural industry. Those of the highest rank and greatest authority, generally attend at the opening of new *sáwah* fields, performing part of the work with their own hands, and leading their inferiors or dependents, as they express it, to pay respect to the earth, in whose honour they also observe annually the *sedéka bumi*, or feast to the earth. It is in the same spirit that the buffalo, as the chief assistant of the husbandman, is viewed with such peculiar regard, that in some of the interior districts, new-born infants are sometimes carried to be breathed upon by them, from a superstitious belief that such a ceremony will render them fortunate.

Notwithstanding the despotic nature of their government, and the feudal principles on which it rests, the Javan must be considered as a patriarchal people, still retaining many of the virtues, and all the simplicity, which distinguish that state of society. Their village settlements constitute detached societies, under their local chief and priest, and the same internal concord prevails in these little associations which characterises patriarchal tribes. Vicinity and daily intercourse afford opportunities of conferring real assistance and acts of kindness : injustice and even violence may sometimes be committed against the inhabitants of other villages but very seldom by the inhabitants of the same village against each other. The patriarchal spirit of the Javans may be further traced, in the veneration which they pay to age, the respect and acquiescence with which they receive the maxims or the counsels of experience, the ready contented submission which they shew to the commands of their immediate superiors, the warmth of their domestic attachments, and the affectionate reverence with which they regard and protect the tombs and the ashes of their fathers. To the same description of feelings may be referred that consideration for ancestry, that attention to the line of descent, and that regard to the history and merits of distant kindred, which in the meanest people appears often to assume the character of family pride.

Patriarchal
state.

These observations apply principally to the inhabitants of villages, at some distance from the seats of the princes or regents, and the contagion of the larger capitals, and more particularly to the people of the *Súnda* districts. Those of higher rank, those employed about court or in administering to the pleasures or luxuries of the great, those collected into the capitals or engaged in the public service, are frequently profligate and corrupt, exhibit-
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ing many of the vices of civilisation without its refinement, and the ignorance and deficiencies of a rude state without its simplicity. The people in the neighbourhood of Batavia are the worst in the island, and the long intercourse with strangers has been almost equally fatal to the morals of the lower part of Bantam. The population collected at the native capitals is naturally influenced, to a certain extent, by the vices of the court, but the further they are removed from European influence and foreign intercourse, the better are their morals and the happier are the people.

Different classes
of society.

In attempting to exhibit some of the more striking features of the Javan character, it becomes necessary to distinguish between the privileged classes of society and the mass of the people. Long continued oppression may have injured the character of the latter, and obliterated some of its brighter traits; but to the former, the constant exercise of absolute dominion has done a more serious injury, by removing every salutary restraint on the passions, and encouraging the growth of rank and odious vices. In the peasantry we observe all that is simple, natural, and ingenuous: in the higher orders we sometimes discover violence, deceit, and gross sensuality.

Moral charac-
ter.

Where not corrupted by indulgence on the one hand, or stupified by oppression on the other, the Javans appear to be a generous and warm-hearted people. In their domestic relations they are kind, affectionate, gentle, and contented; in their public, they are obedient, honest, and faithful. In their intercourse with society they display, in a high degree, the virtues of honesty, plain dealing, and candour. Their ingenuousness is such, that as the first Dutch authorities have acknowledged, prisoners brought to the bar on criminal charges, if really guilty, nine times out of ten confess, without disguise or equivocation, the full extent and exact circumstances of their offences, and communicate, when required, more information on the matter at issue than all the rest of the evidence. Although this may, in some degree, be the result of the former use of torture, it cannot be wholly so.

Though not much addicted to excess, and of rather a slow temperament, they are in general liberal and expensive, according to their means, seldom hoarding their wealth or betraying a penurious disposition. Fond of shew and pomp, they lay out all their money, as soon as it is acquired, in the purchase of articles of dress, horses, splendid trappings, &c.; but they possess a quality which is not always joined with a love of splendour, either
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in nations or individuals: they are cleanly in their persons, and pay the greatest attention to neatness, as well as to glare and finery.

Hospitality is universal among them; it is enjoined by their most ancient institutions, and practised with readiness and zeal. The Javans are exceedingly sensible to praise or shame,* and ambitious of power and distinction; but their national oppressions or agricultural habits have rendered them somewhat indifferent to military glory, and deprived them of a great portion of their ancient warlike energy. They are more remarkable for passive fortitude than active courage, and endure privations with patience rather than make exertions with spirit and enterprize.

Though living under a government where justice was seldom administered with purity or impartiality, and where, of course, we might expect to see the hand of private violence stretched out to punish private wrong, or a general spirit of retaliation and insidious cruelty prevailing, the Javans

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* The inhabitants of these islands are strikingly alive to a sense of shame; a feeling, which is heightened by the influence of a tradition among the Maláyus, that, on the first establishment of the Malayan nation, the islanders stipulated, that neither they nor their descendants should ever be put to shame. The tradition runs as follows:

“ Then *Anpu* and *Maling* made obeisance to *Sangsapurba* (a prince who had arrived in *Sumatra* from Western India, and who is supposed to have founded the Malayan empire) and represented to him that *Demang Lebar Daon* (chieftain broad leaf of Palembang), had a daughter. *Sangsapurba* accordingly sent to ask her in marriage; but he excused himself, alleging, that she would probably be struck with sickness, and that he would only resign her to him as a wife on certain conditions. These conditions were, that, on *Sangsapurba* marrying his daughter, all the family of *Demang Lebar Daon* should submit themselves to him; but that *Sangsapurba* should engage, both for himself and his posterity, that they should receive a liberal treatment; and in particular, that, when they committed a fault, they should never be exposed to shame nor opprobrious language, but, if their fault was great, that they should be put to death according to the law. *Sangsapurba* agreed to these conditions; but he requested, in his turn, that the descendants of *Demang Lebar Daon* should never move any treasonable practices against his descendants, even though they should become tyrannical. ‘Very well,’ said *Demang Lebar Daon*; ‘but if your descendants break your agreements, probably mine will do the same.’ These conditions were mutually agreed to, and the parties swore to perform them, imprecating the divine vengeance to turn their authority upside down who should infringe these agreements. From this condition it is, that none of the Malayan rajas ever expose their Malayan subjects to disgrace or shame: they never bind them, nor hang them, nor give them opprobrious language; and whenever a raja exposes his subjects to disgrace, it is the certain token of the destruction of his country. Hence also it is, that none of the Malayan race ever engage in rebellion, or turn their faces from their own rajas, even though their conduct be bad, and their proceedings tyrannical.”—*Maláyan Annals*.

are, in a great degree, strangers to unrelenting hatred and blood-thirsty revenge. Almost the only passion that can urge them to deeds of vengeance or assassination is jealousy. The wound given to a husband's honour by seducing his wife is seldom healed, the crime seldom forgiven; and what is remarkable, the very people who break the marriage tie on the slightest caprice, or the most vague pretence, are yet uncommonly watchful over it while it remains entire. They are little liable to those fits and starts of anger, or those sudden explosions of fury, which appear among northern nations. To this remark have been brought forward as exceptions, those acts of vengeance, proceeding from an irresistible phrenzy, called *mucks*, where the unhappy sufferer aims at indiscriminate destruction, till he himself is killed like a wild beast, whom it is impossible to take alive. It is a mistake, however, to attribute these acts of desperation to the Javans.

That such have occurred on Java, even during the British administration, is true, but not among the Javans: they have happened exclusively in the large towns of Batavia, *Semarang*, and *Surabaya*, and have been confined almost entirely to the class of slaves. This phrenzy, as a crime against society, seems, if not to have originated under the Dutch, certainly at least to have been increased during their administration by the great severity of their punishments. For the slightest fault, a slave was punished with a severity which he dreaded as much as death; and with torture in all its horrid forms before his eyes, he often preferred to rush on death and vengeance.

Atrocious crimes are extremely rare, and have been principally owing to misgovernment when they have occurred. In answer to what has been asserted concerning robberies, assassinations, and thefts, it may be stated, that during the residence of the English, an entire confidence was reposed in the people, and that confidence was never found misplaced. The English never used bars or bolts to their houses, never travelled with arms, and no instance occurred of their being ill used. The Dutch, on the contrary, placed no confidence: all their windows were barred, and all their doors locked, to keep out the treacherous natives (as they called them), and they never moved five miles abroad without pistols and swords. What could be expected by a government that derived a principal part of its revenue from the encouragement of vice, by the farms of gaming, cock-fighting, and opium shops? After the two former were abolished by
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the English, and the local government had done all in its power to discourage the latter, a visible amelioration took place in the morals of the lower ranks.

Hordes of banditti, formidable for their numbers and audacity, formerly infested some parts of the country, particularly the provinces of Bantam and Chéribon; but since they have been dispersed by the strong hand of government, the roads of Java may be travelled in as much security as those of England.

Much has been said of the indolence of the Javans, by those who deprived them of all motives for industry. I shall not again repeat what I have formerly on several occasions stated on this subject, but shall only enter a broad denial of the charge. They are as industrious and laborious as any people could be expected to be, in their circumstances of insecurity and oppression, or as any people would be required to be, with their advantages of soil and climate. If they do not labour during the whole day, it is because such persevering toil is unnecessary, or would bring them no additional enjoyments. The best refutation of the charge of indolence is to be found in the extent of their cultivation, the well dressed appearance of their rice fields, and the abundant supplies of their harvests. They generally rise by daylight: at half past six they go out to the rice fields, where they employ their buffaloes till ten, when they return home, bathe, and refresh themselves with a meal. During the violent heat of the noon they remain under the shade of their houses or village trees, making baskets, mending their implements of husbandry, or engaged in other necessary avocations, and at about four return to the *sawahs* to labour them, without buffaloes or other cattle. At six they return to their homes, sup, and spend the remainder of their time till the hour of rest (which is generally between eight and nine) in little parties for amusement or conversation, when the whole village becomes a scene of quiet content and pleasure. The same round of toil and relaxation is observed during the season for garden culture, dry field labour, or other employments.

Under this system, the villagers seem to enjoy a greater degree of happiness than they could derive from those increased means that would result from increased exertion. I can bear testimony to their general cheerfulness, contentedness, and good humour, for having visited their villages at all seasons, and often when least expected or entirely unknown, I have always found them either pleased and satisfied with their lot when engaged at their

CHARACTER OF THE JAVANS.

ze in their hours of pleasure. One observation
ed, would seem to militate against this part of the
re remarked to be envious and jealous of one
this trait of character be with difficulty reconciled
on for contentedness and benevolence, it is surely
h that indolent apathy with which they are often

out their history, that when strongly excited by the
ent wars in which they were engaged, they were fre-
great barbarity: such as decapitating a vanquished
head about like a football. In war and politics,
in their favour, stratagem and intrigue being relied
discipline, courage, or good faith: even the Chinese,
the Chinese war on Java (A.D. 1750), would appear
character for bravery and good faith than the Javans.
attribute this, in some measure, to the degrading
despotism. A great disregard for the *little people* is
political history, as is particularly exemplified in the
battle that was fought between the Chinese and Javans,
er to impose upon the Dutch. The Chinese wished
ould act upon the occasion. "Attack the whole army
prize," said the Javan negotiators, "but be careful
the chiefs or great people and it will be a sham fight."
it may be observed, that ever since the first arrival
have neglected no opportunity of attempting to
lence. A reference to the chapters on history will
state this, as well as to shew the national feeling on the
assumptions of their European rulers. In the great
dependence all would unite, but they seem hardly to be
in civilization to effect such an object, without the risk
many barbarities, from the practice of which they have
long continuance of established government and general
and peaceable as the Javans now are, were they once
on, their blood would rapidly boil, and they would no
many excesses.

the Javan character still further by a comparison of it
by shewing, from the remains of those customs that are

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referred to an anterior and milder system, how much it has been modified by the introduction of Mahometanism, and by giving an estimate of the effects produced upon it by the government of the Dutch; but this I anticipate some observations which will be more appropriate in other parts of this work.

Of the causes which have tended to lower the character of the Asiatics in comparison with Europeans, none has had a more decided influence than polygamy. To all those noble and generous feelings, all that delicacy of sentiment, that romantic and poetical spirit, which virtuous love inspires in the breast of an European, the Javan is a stranger, and in the communication between the sexes he seeks only convenience, and little more than the gratification of an appetite. But the evil does not stop here: education is neglected and family attachments are weakened. Among the privileged orders, the first wife is generally selected by the friends of the party, from motives of interest and to strengthen family alliances, and the second is rather to be considered as the object of the husband's choice. But if his circumstances permit of it, he has no scruple to entertain other women as concubines, who hold an honourable rank in his household. The progeny from these connections is often immense. It has already been stated, that a Javan chief has been known to have upwards of sixty acknowledged children; and it too often happens, that in such cases sons having been neglected in their infancy, become dissipated, idle and worthless, and spring up like rank grass and overrun the country, or serve but to fill up a long and useless retinue. Fortunately for the peasantry, who are the mass of the population, they have escaped this deteriorating institution; and perhaps much of the comparative superiority of the character of the peasantry over that of the higher orders is to be attributed to this advantage. The higher orders have also been more exposed to the influence of Mahometanism and European innovation; and if the former has removed from their usages some traits of barbarism, and tended to the development of their intellectual qualities, it has introduced Mahometan vices; and the European power having gradually obtained its supremacy over the island, rather by stratagem and intrigue than by open conquest, it is probable that the necessity under which the natives found themselves to resist its encroachments by similar means, has powerfully contributed to corrupt their natural ingenuousness. It is not at the court of the sovereign, penned up as he now is and kept like a bird in a cage by the intrigues and
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power of the European authority, that we are to look for the genuine character of the people; neither is it among those numerous chiefs and petty chiefs attendant on the European authorities, who by continual association have, in a great degree, assimilated with them. What we have said of the Javans must therefore be considered, as more particularly applicable to the peasantry or cultivators, who compose three-fourths of the whole population, and is to be received with some reserve in its application to the higher classes.

Thus far I have given a faithful representation of the people as they appeared to me; but it may be amusing to the reader to read the Javan character, as transcribed from the impressions of the Dutch. The following is an official account* of this people given by a subject of that nation, which has contributed so much to depress and degrade them.

“ If the Javan is a person of rank, or in affluent circumstances, he will
 “ be found superstitious, proud, jealous, vindictive, mean, and slavish
 “ towards his superiors, haughty and despotic towards his inferiors and
 “ those unfortunate beings that are subject to his orders, lazy and slothful.

“ The lower class is indolent and insensible beyond conception, and
 “ although certain persons, who presume to be perfectly acquainted with
 “ the character of the Javan, maintain the contrary, still I am convinced
 “ by daily experience, that the Javan in general is most shockingly lazy,
 “ and that nothing but fear of his superior, and apprehension of being
 “ punished, or momentary distress or want, can compel him to labour. If
 “ left to himself, he will do no more than what is absolutely requisite to
 “ furnish the necessaries of life, and as he needs but little, his labour is
 “ proportionate: yet as soon as he has a sufficiency for four days, or for
 “ the next day only, nothing will put him in motion again but force or
 “ fear.

“ Cowardly, vindictive, treacherous, inclined to rob and to murder
 “ rather than work, cunning in evil practices, and unaccountably stupid
 “ (supposed intentionally), if any good is required of him. These are the
 “ principal traits of the Javan character.

“ The *Maláyu*, speaking of him as an inhabitant of this island, because
 “ I am unacquainted with the character of those living at a distance, is
 “ possessed of a little more courage and activity, fond of small trade and
 “ travelling, and but seldom a robber like the Javan, whom in other
 “ respects

* See Report on the Districts of Japára, by the Resident Dornick, in the year 1812.

“ respects he very much resembles. A *Maláyu*, who is a little cunning, will, as soon as an opportunity offers, commit a fraud, especially when he has had some loss which he wishes to retrieve.”

Others of the colonists, and some particularly who are likely to have greater influence with the restored government, entertained more correct, because more favourable opinions of the Javans, coinciding nearly with those which I have stated as my own.

The following extracts are intended to convey some notion of Javan ethics. The first is from a popular work, called *Raja Kapa-kapa*.*

“ It is incumbent upon every man of condition to be well versed in the history of former times, and to have read all the *chirita* (written compositions) of the country: first, the different *Ráma*, the *B'rata yúdha*, *Arjuna wijáya*, *Bima súchi*; secondly, the different accounts of *Panji*; thirdly, the *Jágul múda*, *Pralámbang*, and *Jáya langkára*; also to know their different tunes, as well as the mode of striking the *gámelan*; he must know how to count the years, months, and days, and comprehend the *Sangkála*, understand the *Káwi* language, and also must be clever in all

“ <i>Niúng'ging</i>	Painting ;
“ <i>Ukir ukir</i>	Carving in wood ;
“ <i>Pándi</i>	Iron-work ;
“ <i>Kemásan</i>	Gold-work ;
“ <i>Argénding</i>	Musical instrument making ;
“ <i>M'ráng'gi</i>	Kris-sheath making ;
“ <i>N'gapús</i>	Compositions (literary) ;
“ <i>Gárdji</i>	} Sewing with the needle ; working ;
“ <i>Anyára-wedi retina</i>	
“ <i>Anyádur-rasa</i>	} In gilding and the applica- tion of quicksilver.

“ And he must also be skilled in horsemanship, and in the management of an elephant, and have courage to destroy all bad men, and drive away all women of loose character.”

The *Niti sástra* is a work of the greatest celebrity on Java: the original is in the *Káwi* language, but there are many versions. The following is translated from a modern version in the present language of Java.

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* See a further account of this work under the head Literature.

- “ Praise be to *Batára Gúru*, who is all powerful! to *Batára Vishnu (wisnu)*,
 “ who purifieth the minds of men! and to *Batára Súria*, who enlight-
 “ eneth the world! May they render their divine assistance to the
 “ author who composeth this work, *Niti Sástra*, which contains an
 “ account of the truths to be found in the sacred writings, and which
 “ are highly necessary to be known by all public officers.
- “ A man who cannot regulate his conduct according to circumstances, and
 “ to the situation in which he may be placed, is like unto a man who
 “ has lost the senses of taste, and enjoyeth not the advantage of *siri*,
 “ for such a man doth not shine in the world, however fair may be his
 “ appearance.
- “ A man who is ignorant of the sacred writings, is as one who has lost his
 “ speech; for when these become the conversation of other men, he will
 “ be under the necessity of remaining silent.
- “ It is an abomination to the Divinity to worship him in an unclean place;
 “ and the man who does so may be compared to one who eats another
 “ man’s bread without his consent. The food is unwholesome to him,
 “ even as if he ate of his own bread with aversion, in which case he
 “ resembles the poor man who overeats himself and afterwards suffers
 “ from hunger.
- “ A woman who takes not a husband until her hair becomes grey and her
 “ teeth fall out, is despicable in her own eyes, because men will no longer
 “ feel any inclination to her.
- “ A man, to be accounted able, must know how to adapt his words to his
 “ actions and his actions to his words, so that he may give offence to no
 “ one, but render himself agreeable to his companions: he must also
 “ know how to command in war and to inspire his followers with
 “ courage.
- “ In order to obtain this distinction, a man must conduct himself towards his
 “ equals even as a lover conducts himself towards his mistress; for as
 “ the lover cannot obtain his object without flattery and indulgence, so
 “ must we strive to obtain the good will of mankind by flattering them
 “ occasionally, and by indulging them in those things to which they are
 “ most inclined, and which consists, if we are in company with religious
 “ men, in treating of religious matters, and if in company with war-
 “ riors, in treating about war. This will not only make them like us the
 “ better, but at the same time, excite them to excel in their profession.
- “ The

- “ The subtle nature of the snake and the venom of its poison, as well as
 “ the ferocious disposition of the tiger, may be removed by sympathetic
 “ remedies ; the wild elephant may also be tamed by means of the well-
 “ known small iron hook : but the fierceness of the warrior, when once
 “ in close engagement, is not to be tamed, unless his enemy surrender ;
 “ and even then not entirely, for although the vanquished surrender, it
 “ is to be inferred that he still harbours resentment for the loss of his
 “ freedom, and the conqueror must keep a lively watch over the van-
 “ quished, lest he still oppose him.
- “ It is well known, that waters, however deep, may be fathomed ; but
 “ the thoughts of men cannot be sounded. In order to know the
 “ nature of another, we must attentively observe his appearance, his
 “ manner of speaking, and his judgment ; and if a man gives himself
 “ out as a holy man, it must be proved by his observance of the service
 “ of the Deity and his knowledge of the sacred writings.
- “ Such a man is distinguished, who is able to expound all abstract expres-
 “ sions.
- “ A rich man, who maketh not use of his riches in procuring for himself
 “ good food and clothing, is an abomination, and ought not to be admitted
 “ into the society of the learned or men of rank ; neither ought a man,
 “ who has learnt a profession or studied religion, but who still continues
 “ attached to his idle and vicious propensities.
- “ The man who advances in years, and he who is too lazy to labour, and
 “ does nothing but eat and sleep, is like a sheep, which is useless except
 “ on account of its flesh.
- “ It is said, that neither the ravens nor the *gadárbo* birds, are good for
 “ man ; but much less are such men who having once embraced a holy
 “ life, return to worldly pursuits, or such as can find it in their hearts to
 “ seduce the wives and daughters of their friends to commit adultery.
- “ The water in a vessel which is only partly full will by the least agitation
 “ splash on the sides : experience also proves, that the cow which has the
 “ loudest voice gives the least milk. So is it with men : those who have
 “ least understanding or wealth make the greatest noise and show ; but
 “ in reality they are inferior, and all they say and do vanisheth like smoke.
- “ Friends must be faithful and forbearing towards each other, otherwise the
 “ consequences will be fatal to both. Of this we have an example in the
 “ fable of the tiger and the forest.

- “ The forest and the tiger lived together in close friendship, so that no one
 “ could approach the forest, for the tiger was always in the way ; nor the
 “ tiger, for the forest always afforded him shelter. Thus they remained
 “ both undisturbed, on account of the mutual security they afforded to
 “ each other ; but when the tiger abandoned the forest and roamed
 “ abroad, the people seeing that the tiger had quitted it, immediately cut
 “ down the forest and converted it into plantations : the tiger, in the
 “ meantime, taking shelter in a village was seen by the people, who soon
 “ found means to kill him. In this manner, both parties, by abandoning
 “ their mutual duties to each other, were lost.
- “ A child ought, in every respect, to follow in the footsteps of its father ;
 “ but this is seldom the case, either among men or animals in general.
 “ Among the latter, however, there are three sorts which follow their
 “ parents in every respect : all kinds of fish, frogs, and tortoises. The
 “ first and second spawn in water, which is carried away until the
 “ young are produced, when they again join their parents : the last
 “ lay their eggs in holes, and as soon as the young are hatched they
 “ follow the old ones into the water.
- “ Man, although he is borne in his mother’s womb a long time, and after
 “ his birth is taken care of and nourished, still seldom follows in the foot-
 “ steps of his parents. If his father is a holy man, he ought to follow the
 “ same profession ; but instead of this children do not generally attend to
 “ the advice of their parents, nor to the lessons of the sacred writings, or
 “ those given by holy and good men.
- “ That men of rank should do every thing in their power to attach the
 “ lower class of people to them, is not only proper but necessary, in
 “ order to keep them faithfully to their duty. To this end, therefore,
 “ men of rank ought to be indulgent and liberal towards their inferiors,
 “ like a woman who implores the assistance of man to bring forth chil-
 “ dren and support her ; but not like a tigress that brings forth its cubs,
 “ nor the snake which brings forth so many young, that sometimes having
 “ no food for them or for herself, she devours them.
- “ Man is pleased with the *dódot* cloth (apparel), and women are proud of
 “ their bosom ; but a good man prefers the sacred writings, which may
 “ lead him to the life to come.
- “ Property obtained by man’s own labour is valuable, but more valuable is
 “ that which is obtained by a man’s blood in time of war : of less value
 “ is

- “ is property inherited from a man’s parents. Of little value is the property taken from a man’s parents or his wife, but still less valuable is that which comes to a man from his children.
- “ It is the duty of the chief of the nation to inquire into every thing which can affect his subjects; to know whether they are prosperous or not, if every one attends to his duty, if they are skilful in the execution of it or not, and in all cases to take measures accordingly, never losing sight of justice. He must, as far as possible, be lenient in the punishment of the guilty, and liberal in the reward of the deserving; particularly in the field of battle, when in sight of the enemy, when presents ought then to be distributed to the soldiers (*prajurit*), in order to animate them; for if ever so justly treated, they will not, except they have been obliged by their commander, either be so faithful, or risk so much in an attack against the enemy.
- “ Highly prejudicial is it for the chiefs to discover fear before their enemies, for in that case the men will also be afraid; but when the chiefs conduct themselves in such a manner as to shew they do not fear the enemy, then the men are animated by their example.
- “ A chief should keep his plan of attack as secret as possible, because the knowledge of it may enable the enemy to be on his guard, and turn the measures taken to his own advantage. He ought not to challenge his enemy to give battle, as in that case the enemy will have an opportunity of preparing himself for the same: but he should attempt to surprize him, and rush upon him like a fire, that quickly and without much noise consumeth all with which it comes in contact.
- “ The most formidable enemy of a man is his own conscience, which always brings his crimes before his eyes, without leaving him the means of avoiding it.
- “ The most valuable and lasting friendship is that which exists between persons of the same rank.
- “ The severest misfortune which a man can suffer, is to be deprived by force, of the land upon which he lives and which he has cultivated, or to have his wife and children taken from him by force.
- “ Man loveth nothing more than his own children, and he always esteems his own feelings in preference to those of others.

- “ Of all birds the *chiong* (miner) is the most highly prized, because it has
“ a beautiful appearance and can imitate the speech of man.
- “ A woman who loves her husband so tenderly, that at his death she
“ wishes to die with him, or surviving never marries again, but lives as
“ if she were dead to the world, is valued above all others of her sex.
- “ The lessons of our parents are like the lessons of the ten wise masters.
“ No master can be called wise, unless he attends to what is written,
“ as well on sacred as on worldly subjects. Such a master may be
“ justly called a superior mortal ; for it is a difficult task to learn and
“ to attend to the same, even as difficult as to catch and tame a wild
“ elephant on the edge of a precipice without injury.
- “ Melancholy is it to see a young man of condition unacquainted with the
“ sacred writings ; for, be he ever so gracefully formed or elegant in his
“ manners, he remains defective ; like the *wúrawári* flower, which,
“ notwithstanding its fine appearance and bright red colour, emits no
“ fragrance whatever.
- “ No man can be called good or bad, until his actions prove him so. Thus
“ if a man declares that he has never taken any but delicious food, it
“ will be shewn in his appearance. If he is stout and well looking, then
“ may he be credited ; but if, on the contrary, he is poor and lean, then
“ it is impossible that he should have lived on good food.
- “ In like manner, when a man pretends to be the friend of mankind, it
“ must be proved by his behaviour when he receives the visits of others.
“ If he receives his guests with kindness and hospitality, then is he the
“ friend of mankind, otherwise he is not so. And further, if a man
“ pretends to have fasted and prayed, and to have become a holy man,
“ it will be known whether he is really so, by the success which attends
“ the prayers which he puts up for another : if the Deity hears them
“ not, then is he a deceiver.
- “ A caterpillar has its poison in its head, a scorpion in its tail, and a snake
“ in its teeth, but it is unknown in what part of the body the poison of
“ man is concealed : a bad man is therefore considered poisonous in his
“ whole frame.
- “ A child which is indulged by its parents in every thing, is like a young
“ fish in a clear and pure stream, in which it grows and sports, uncon-
“ scious whither it may lead.

- “ As the strength of a bird is in its wings, so does the power of a prince
 “ consist in his subjects ; but then only through the means of persons
 “ properly informed on the following points. First, how a country
 “ ought to be properly administered ; secondly, how to please a prince ;
 “ thirdly, how to prepare all delicacies for him ; and fourthly, how to
 “ preserve discipline and direct the conduct of an army.
- “ The dread of the subject should be such, that the orders of the prince
 “ should be to him like a clap of thunder, that may be heard far and
 “ wide.
- “ A man who does evil to his companions acts against the sacred writings
 “ and the lessons of his instructor : he can never enjoy prosperity, but
 “ will meet with misfortunes in all his proceedings. Such a man is like
 “ a piece of porcelain, which when it falls to the ground breaks into
 “ many pieces and can never be rendered perfect.
- “ A field without pasture is not frequented by cattle, neither does a river
 “ without water contain fish. An instructor who knoweth not how to
 “ perform the duties of his situation can have but few disciples, and a
 “ prince who pays little regard to his country and subjects, will in time
 “ not only lose his fame and glory, but his authority also.
- “ It is well known, that a man cannot take the goods of this world with
 “ him to the grave, and that man after this life is punished with heaven
 “ or hell, according to the merits of his actions in this life : a man’s duty,
 “ therefore, requires of him to remember that he must die ; and if he
 “ has been merciful and liberal in this life to the poor, he will be reward-
 “ ed hereafter. Happy is the man who divides his property equally
 “ between himself and the indigent, who feeds the poor and clothes the
 “ naked, and relieves all who are in distress ; he has hereafter to expect
 “ nothing but good.
- “ The following animals, as being injurious to the health of man, are not
 “ proper to be used by him as food : rats, dogs, frogs, snakes, worms,
 “ monkeys, lizards, and the like.
- “ A handsome man is an ornament for the community, and one that has
 “ good manners besides, is an ornament to his prince ; but he who
 “ understands the sacred writings is the pride of the community and a
 “ delight to his prince.
- “ A prince who wishes to know his subjects well, ought to be attentive to
 “ their

- “ their manners, actions, and courage ; and as gold is known by the
“ touchstone, or broken into pieces in order to ascertain its intrinsic
“ value, so ought a prince to try his subjects, before he intrusts them
“ with the charge of his women or treasure, and make himself acquainted
“ with their valour and knowledge : for a person who does not possess
“ the qualifications required for this purpose, is unworthy to associate
“ with people of condition, and much less to be the servant of a prince.
- “ If a man violates the law, he may for the first offence be punished by a
“ pecuniary fine, for the second by punishment affecting his person, but
“ for the third offence he may be punished with death.
- “ A joy generally followed by sorrow is that which we feel in borrowing
“ money. We feel happy in having obtained what we wished, but as
“ soon as our creditors come for their money our joy is converted into
“ grief ; and that is the greatest when the money is spent, and we have
“ not wherewith to satisfy our creditors : then arise quarrels and ill will,
“ and yet no sooner are these settled than we again have recourse to the
“ old habit of lending and borrowing.
- “ Laughing and joking at our companions is also a bad custom, for it
“ generally begets quarrels, and is thus the cause of grief.
- “ Should medicine be mixed with poison, we would naturally separate the
“ poisonous parts before we swallowed it, and we would also clean rusty
“ metal in time before it becomes rusty and corroded. In the same
“ manner we should distinguish between the good and bad actions of
“ man, rewarding knowledge and opposing evil : and be it recollected,
“ that a woman, however low her birth, if her manners are amiable and
“ her person good, may without impropriety be made the wife of a great
“ man.
- “ Riches only tend to torment the mind of man, and sometimes even to
“ death ; they are therefore, with justice, disregarded and despised by
“ the wise. They are collected with pain and trouble, and our pain and
“ trouble doubles in afterwards administering them ; for if we neglect to
“ watch them properly, thieves will come and steal them, and the loss
“ occasions as much grief as the point of death.
- “ Therefore is it adviseable to give part of our property to the poor and
“ indigent, who will thence naturally become under obligations to us, and
“ not only assist in guarding our property against all accidents, but pray
“ that

- “ that our property may increase, being themselves interested in our
 “ success, and our names will be blessed by our children and grand-
 “ children.
- “ As dykes cannot long resist the force of water, unless the water is allow-
 “ ed a free current and a place to pass through, so riches cannot long be
 “ enjoyed, unless employed for charitable purposes ; but, on the contrary,
 “ they will turn to the injury of the possessor, both here and hereafter,
 “ who will be exposed to the wrath of all the nine deities.
- “ *Batára gîru* is cool, still cooler is the moon ; but the coolness of neither
 “ is to be compared to that which is instilled by the voice of a holy man.
 “ Fire is hot, still hotter is the sun ; but neither is to be compared to
 “ the heat of a man’s heart.
- Like those flies and birds, which fly in the air to procure food, and still
 “ continue to feed on filth and dirt, is the man of bad character ; for
 “ although he may have the means of procuring an honest subsistence,
 “ still will he continue to take what he should not, by unlawful means,
 “ to the prejudice of others. But a good man wishes the success of
 “ another, and is happy when his brother prospers.
- “ As the moon and stars enlighten the night, and the sun enlighteneth the
 “ day, so do the holy scriptures enlighten the hearts of men ; and a son
 “ who is superior in knowledge to his father, is a light to his family.
- “ A child accustomed to nothing but amusement, neglects the lessons of
 “ its parents. The child on this account, often abandoned to its fate,
 “ becomes a dangerous subject ; it is therefore essential that a child
 “ should be kept under subjection while it is yet time to prevent its com-
 “ mitting any bad acts. For this purpose, these rules should be attended
 “ to :
- “ A child under five years of age may be indulged in many things ; but
 “ afterwards it must be kept under strict subjection, and instructed in
 “ the knowledge of the holy writings until its tenth year, when a com-
 “ mencement may be made to instil that sort of knowledge which will
 “ form the intellects for the benefit of society. After the sixteenth year
 “ further instruction must be given in the higher and more important
 “ branches of knowledge.
- “ Man should always be on his guard against the commission of wicked
 “ acts ; for the end of them is always pain and misery.

“ A man

- “ A man must, on no account, listen to the advice of a woman, be she
 “ ever so good ; for the end of it will be death and shame : but he must
 “ always consult his own mind in what he has to do or not to do, never
 “ losing sight of the lessons of his instructors. Thus not only will he
 “ obtain knowledge, but his actions will be good.
- “ Riches, beauty, knowledge, youth, and greatness, often lead a man
 “ into error ; he, therefore, who is blessed with any of them ought to
 “ be, at the same time, humble and generous, for then he will excel ;
 “ otherwise, his virtues will be hidden.
- “ As the man who advances by fair means from poverty to riches, or from
 “ insignificance to greatness, is rewarded in this world ; so will he who is
 “ generous and kind-hearted be rewarded hereafter in heaven. So will
 “ the warrior killed in battle, who is like a conqueror, enjoy all the
 “ delights imaginable ; while a deserter is despised by all men, and
 “ covered with shame and disgrace, because he deserted his comrades in
 “ the moment of danger.
- “ No man ought to be termed a hero, but he who has already conquered
 “ a hundred heroes ; nor should any man be termed a holy man, until
 “ he can boast of surpassing in virtue a hundred holy men : for as long
 “ as a hero has not conquered a hundred heroes, or a holy man has not
 “ surpassed a hundred other holy men in virtue, he can neither be con-
 “ sidered as a real hero or holy man.
- “ The signs of the approaching end of this world will be all kinds of de-
 “ pravity among mankind ; that is to say, the wise will turn foolish, the
 “ holy men will become worldly, children will abandon their parents,
 “ princes will lose their empires, the little will become great and com-
 “ mit depredations ; in short, every thing will be in confusion, and an
 “ entire revolution take place.
- “ In the beginning, every thing was at rest and quiet. During the first
 “ thousand years, princes began to start up, and wars arose about a
 “ woman named *Déwi Darúki* : at this period writing was first
 “ introduced. One thousand five hundred years after this, another war
 “ began about a woman named *Déwi Sínta*. Two thousand years after
 “ this, a third war broke out about a woman named *Déwi Drupádi* : and
 “ two thousand five hundred years afterwards, another war took place
 “ about the daughter of a holy man not named in history.

“ Every

- “ Every man can thus see what has been the first cause of war. Even as
 “ the roots of trees and the course of rivers cannot run straight, but
 “ wind here and there ; so cannot a woman be upright : for the saying
 “ is, that a raven can sooner turn white, and the *tanjung*-plant (a water
 “ lily) grow from a rock, than a woman can be upright.
- “ A perfect man should be, in firmness and ability, equal to eight women ;
 “ and to satisfy a woman, a man must be able to please her in nine
 “ different manners.
- “ A bad man is like a fire, which inflames every thing which approaches
 “ it ; we, therefore, ought never to go near it with an intention to ex-
 “ tinguish it. A good man, on the contrary, is like a sweet-scented
 “ tree, which continues to produce flowers and fruit, pleasant to the
 “ taste and smell of every one, and the fragrance of which remains in
 “ the wood even after the tree is cut down and rooted out.
- “ When a harlot begins to feel shame, then is her improvement approach-
 “ ing ; but when a holy man begins to meddle with worldly affairs, then
 “ is he about to become a worldly man himself.
- “ When a prince allows encroachments to be made on his territories, it
 “ it is a sign that the loss of both his court and lands is nigh at hand.
- “ A man may receive instruction from his *guru* (instructor) until his twen-
 “ tieth year : after which he should apply himself to study until his
 “ thirtieth year ; at which time he ought to know every thing necessary,
 “ as well for this world as for that to come.
- “ The art of elocution may properly be reckoned superior to all others,
 “ because happiness and misery, fortune or misfortune, very often depend
 “ upon it : it is, therefore, necessary to use prudence in speech.
- “ A man who does not eat *siri* (*betel*) does not shine.
- “ Married people who have no children ought to lead a retired life, and
 “ people without fortune should not attempt to make a shining appear-
 “ ance : they should look pale and melancholy, like unto the dulness
 “ and quiet of a country without a prince.
- “ These are the qualities necessary to constitute a good housewife :—
 “ She must be well-made and well-mannered, gentle, industrious, rich,
 “ liberal, charming, of good birth, upright, and humble. A stingy,
 “ curious, dirty, foul-mouthed, vulgar, false, intriguing, lazy, or stupid
 “ woman, is not only entirely unfit for a housewife, but will never be
 “ beloved by a husband.”

Government.

Intimately connected with the character, moral and intellectual, of a people, are its civil and political institutions. In a country like Java, the frame of society is so simple, the hand of power is so universally felt or seen; rank, wealth, and authority are so identified, and the different classes of the community are so referable to each other, by contrast or reciprocal influence, that it was impossible to give any account of the state of the peasantry, or of the tenure and distribution of the land, without introducing some notices concerning government and revenue. As there is little division of labour among a rude people, so there is no division of power in a despotism: the despot is proprietor, all the rest is property.

The island of Java appears at different times to have been divided into states of greater or smaller extent. History informs us, that it was at one period under the sway of one principal chief, and at others subject to two or more. In the former case, the provinces into which it was divided were administered, as they are still, by subordinate and delegated governors; and in the latter, many of them composed independent sovereignties. In all these cases, the form of government and the privileges of the people were the same; the only difference between a state co-extensive with the island, and one limited to a few districts, consisting in the different extent of territory or number of subjects at command. In looking at the map, the divisions of the island now under European dominion, and those under the native princes, can easily be traced. Bantam (the sultan of which surrendered his rights to the British government for a pension of a few thousand dollars), and Chéribon, an extensive province to the eastward of Batavia, enjoyed till lately a nominal independence; but the only great native power on Java, till the establishment of *Yúg'ya-kérta* about sixty years ago, was that of the *Susuhúnan*, or as he is termed the Emperor of Java; and a slight sketch of his government, of the maxims by which it is regulated, and the officers it employs, will be sufficient for my present purpose.

Succession.

The sovereign is termed either *Susuhúnan* or Sultan, both denominations adopted since the establishment of Mahometanism: the titles previously employed were *Kiai Gedé*, *Prábu*, *Browijáya*, &c. as will be perceived on reference to the list of Hindu princes in the historical details. The line of succession to the throne is from father to son, but the rights of primogeniture are not always allowed or observed. If there is no direct descent, the claims of collateral branches of the reigning dynasty are settled by no law or uniform custom. Females have sometimes held offices of power,
but

but have never occupied the throne since the establishment of Mahometanism. The chiefs of districts and the heads of villages are sometimes women; in that case, widows continued in the office of their deceased husbands.

The government is in principle a pure unmixed despotism; but there are customs of the country of which the people are very tenacious, and which the sovereign seldom invades. His subjects have no rights of liberty of person or property: his breath can raise the humblest individual from the dust to the highest distinction, or wither the honours of the most exalted. There is no hereditary rank, nothing to oppose his will. Not only honours, posts, and distinctions, depend upon his pleasure, but all the landed property of his dominions remains at his disposal, and may, together with its cultivators, be parcelled out by his order among the officers of his household, the members of his family, the ministers of his pleasures, or the useful servants of the state. Every officer is paid by grants of land, or by a power to receive from the peasantry a certain proportion of the produce of certain villages or districts.

Nature of the Government.

When a sovereign enjoys unlimited power, he generally in eastern countries surrenders it for ease and pleasure, and his servant, under the name of Vizier or some other title, becomes the despot. The highest executive officer or prime minister in the Javan government is called *Ráden Adipáti*: he usually rules the country while his master is satisfied with flattery, with pomp, and the seraglio. He is intrusted with power so great, as even, in particular cases, to extend to the roval family. All communications to and from the sovereign are made through him: he receives all reports from different parts of the country and issues all orders. The power and importance of this office has, however, naturally lessened of late years, since the European government has assumed the right of nominating the person who shall fill it: the sovereign naturally reposes less confidence in a prime minister so nominated than in one of his own choice, and if he does not take an active part himself in the politics of his court, he is generally under the influence of an ambitious member of his own family, by which means the *Ráden Adipáti*, or prime minister, though left to conduct the details of government, is often ignorant of many of the intrigues carried on in the palace.

Ministers.

The gradations of power and rank are as follow.

2 M 2

After

After the royal family, which includes the prince or sovereign, called *Susuhunan* or *Sultan*, and the sons and daughters of the sovereign, called *Pangérans*, the heir apparent being called *Pangéran Adipáti*, come the nobility, and at their head the *Ráden Adipáti*.

The nobility or privileged orders may be classed under the two general divisions of *Bopátis*, and their immediate assistants or *Pátehs*, and *Mántris* or public officers. *Bopáti* is the general term given to the governors of provinces, being the plural of *Adipáti*. This, however, is rather a title of office than of mere rank, as these governors are sometimes *Tumúng'gungs*, *An'gebáis*, and of still inferior rank. *Adipáti* appears to be the highest title below royalty. The dignity of this title, as well as that of others, is again raised, by prefixing the epithet *Kiai* (venerable) or *Mas* (golden), as *Kiai-adipáti*, *Kiai-tumúng'gung*, *Mas-adipáti*, *Mas-tumúng'gung*. *Ráden-tumúng'gung* is also occasionally used, to express a rank above an ordinary *Tumúng'gung*, in the same manner as *Ráden Adipáti*.

These officers, when appointed to the administration of provinces, are called Regents by the Dutch. Since the innovations of Europeans, the distinctions above referred to have been a good deal confounded. In the *Súnda* districts, where the absolute sway of the native sovereign has long ceased to be felt, and in the eastern provinces, which are subject to Europeans, the Regent assumes the state of a petty sovereign, and is the fountain of honour. The power and rank attached to particular titles, especially those of inferior importance, differs in some degree almost in every province.

The sons of the Regents, or of those who may be properly termed the nobles of the country, are usually called *Rádens*, and in the *Súnda* districts invariably so; but there is properly no hereditary nobility, no hereditary titles, although few people have a greater respect for family descent than the Javans; custom and consideration, in this as in other cases, generally supplying the place of law.

Nearly the same form of government is followed in the administration of each particular province as is observed in the general administration of the country, every *Adipáti*, or governor of a province, having a *Páteh*, or assistant, who acts as his minister. In general there is a *Páteh-huar*, and a *Páteh-dalam*; one for conducting affairs abroad or public business, the other for the superintendence of the household.

The

The same union of the judicial, reventual, and executive authority, which exists in the sovereign, descends to the governor of a province; and if there are subdivisions of the province, it descends to each head of the subdivision. This is also the case with each village; the consequence of which is, that every chief, of whatever rank, has an almost absolute power over those below him. The only exception to this, and the only part of the Javan constitution which wears the appearance of liberty, is the mode of appointing the heads of villages; these are elected by the people, as will be hereafter more particularly described.

In every considerable province or district there are several subdivisions, over which an inferior chief presides: the district of *Semarang*, for instance, has several. Although this absolute authority is vested in the different chiefs, according to their ranks, it is dangerous for a public functionary, whatever be his rank, and even for he *Susuhunan* himself, to violate what is called the custom of the country; and the ancient Hindu institutions are revered and generally followed by all classes. The priests also exercise a considerable influence; and although the power of the *Jaksa*, or law officer, is essentially reduced since the establishment of Mahometanism, and a great part of his authority transferred to the *Panghulu* or Mahometan priest, he is still efficient, as far as concerns the police and minor transactions. The observations which follow on the administration of justice and the judicial instructions established by the British government, will explain the present nature of his duties.

In the suite of every governor of a province, of his *Páteh*, or assistant, and of every public functionary of importance, are numerous petty chiefs, generally classed as *Mantris*, but having various titles, as *Demangs*, *Lúras*, *Kliwons*, &c. varying in authority and relative rank in different districts.

Three-fourths of the island having been long subjected to the European authority, and the provinces which still remain under native administration having been divided under two distinct authorities, and their original constitution otherwise departed from, it would be impossible to lay down a scale of rank for the different titles of honour, which should be applicable to every part of the island, but the subject will be resumed in a future chapter.

The following observations of Mr. Hogendorp, who resided on Java not many years before the arrival of the English, and was employed in a commission of inquiry into the state of the island, are extracted from a report or memoir which he drew up for the use of the Dutch government, recommending

mending a policy similar to that which we subsequently pursued. They contain a just account of the principles of the Javan government, and of the state of the regents under the Dutch Company. After remarking, in perhaps too broad and unqualified terms, that the structure of the government is feudal, he proceeds to state :

“ The first principles of the feudal system, which form the basis of the whole edifice, are : that the land is the property of the sovereign ; that the inhabitants are his slaves, and can therefore possess no property, all that they have and all that they can obtain belonging to the sovereign, who allows them to keep it no longer than he chooses ; and that the will of the prince is the supreme law.

“ These are the real fundamental principles of the feudal system : for though the English and French kings could not always maintain their despotic sway, but were sometimes opposed, hostilely attacked, and even forced by arms to treat for terms with their subjects, this was only the natural consequence of the acknowledged rule, that *tyranny destroys itself* ; and it is only necessary to revert to what James and Charles of England, in so late a period, thought their divine rights of royalty, to ascertain what were the rudiments of the feudal form of government : and even now, notwithstanding the numerous changes and revolutions which have happened in England, the most surprizing traces of that system are to be found, since in that country, so free, no individual soever possesses a foot of land in absolute property (allodium), but merely from the king (feodum), to whom only belongs the *dominium absolutum et directum*, although subsequent laws and regulations have rendered this title more imaginary than real.

“ The same system of government has been continued in the Company’s districts, under the pretext of allowing the natives to retain their own laws and customs, but in reality from ignorance and self-interest. Although they were too ignorant to effect any improvement, they knew perfectly well that this plan was the best adapted to promote their own interest and advantage.

“ The princes of Java, as well as those of Europe in former times, and as a natural effect of the same cause, were also almost continually at war with their chief vassals, until the Dutch power and influence re-established and maintained the general tranquillity. This, however, has never had any effect on the system of government itself, and the subject who
“ dethroned

“ dethroned his sovereign and then succeeded him, thought that he had
 “ thereby obtained the same *divine right* of property in the lands and per-
 “ sons of his subjects, as his predecessor had possessed.

“ The princes allotted the lands to their chiefs and immediate depen-
 “ dents, as rewards for military and other services. These chiefs (termed
 “ by the Dutch, regents) again subdivided the lands among others of
 “ inferior rank, on the same conditions, and so on, down to the poor
 “ labourer who cultivated the land, but to whom a very small proportion of
 “ the fruits of his labour was left for his own support.

“ The exclusive administration of the country was conferred on the
 “ regents, an appellation given to the native chiefs, who had acquired
 “ their lands from the Dutch, by contract or agreement, binding them
 “ annually to deliver, partly for payment and partly not, a quantity, in some
 “ cases fixed, in others uncertain, of the produce of such lands, obliging them
 “ also to the performance of feudal services, both of a military and other
 “ nature.

“ The titles of these regents are either *Adipáti*, *Tumúng'gung*, or
 “ *Ang'ebái*. The Prince of *Madúra*, styled *Panambáhan*, and the Prince
 “ of *Súmenap*, who is called *Pangéran*, are however only regents as well
 “ as the rest. The Prince of *Madúra* enjoys that title as being of the
 “ imperial family, and the Prince of *Súmenap* purchased his by a large
 “ payment to a Governor-General.

“ These regents are only officers of government, and possess not the
 “ smallest right to hereditary possession or succession. Yet when one
 “ of them dies, he is in general replaced by one of his sons, con-
 “ sidered most fit for the office, provided he can afford to pay the
 “ customary present to the governor of the north-east coast of Java ; for if
 “ he is unable to do this, or if any other person offers a more considerable
 “ sum, a pretence is easily found to exclude the children in favour of the
 “ more liberal purchaser.

“ These presents form a principal part of the emoluments of the governor
 “ of the north-east coast, and consequently all new appointments of regents
 “ are for his advantage. The present chief regent of *Samárang* paid
 “ 50,000 dollars for his promotion, and all the children of his predecessor
 “ were superseded. The others pay in proportion to the value of their
 “ regencies ; and as this is arbitrary and uncertain, it is easily to be
 “ conceived,

“ conceived, that they find means to recover the amount of their place-
“ money.*

“ These Regents, although very proud, are, with very few exceptions,
“ ignorant and idle persons, who give themselves little concern about
“ their lands and their people; of whom, indeed, they frequently know
“ nothing, but only endeavour to squeeze and extort from them as much
“ as possible, both for their own subsistence and pleasure, and to satisfy
“ the cupidity of government and of their immediate superiors. They
“ leave the administration of affairs entirely to their *Pátehs*, who are also
“ appointed by the Dutch, and are held accountable for every thing.†

“ To

* This payment is regularly termed by the Dutch, *ampt-geld*, or place-money, being money paid for the purchase of an office. By the Javans it is termed *sorok*, which, in its more general acceptation, means a bribe.

† With whatever fidelity this character of the Javan regents may have been drawn by Mr. Hogendorp, in the year 1800, it most certainly did not apply to them in the year 1811, nor in the subsequent years of the British government on Java; for, however negligent and corrupt many of them may have been rendered, by the system of government which prevailed under the Dutch East India Company, the changes effected during the administration of Marshal Daendals soon induced a character for energy and activity. His government was military and despotic in the extreme, and the regents were considered to hold a military rank, and required to exert themselves in proportion to its importance. They did so, and works of the greatest magnitude were constructed by their exertions. The chiefs were found active and intelligent, the common people willing and obedient. With regard to their character under the British government, it would be an act of injustice, if not ingratitude, were I to neglect this opportunity of stating, that, as public officers, the Regents of Java were almost universally distinguished by an anxiety to act in conformity with the wishes of the government, by honesty, correctness, and good faith; and as noblemen, by gentlemanly manners, good breeding, cheerfulness, and hospitality. In the observations made upon the Javan character in the text, I have spoken of the Javans as a nation generally; but I might select instances where the character of the individual would rise very far above the general standard which I have assumed. I might, for instance, notice the intellectual endowments and moral character of the present *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap*, *Náta Kasúma*. This chief is well read, not only in the ancient history of his own country, but has a general knowledge of Arabic literature, is conversant with the Arabic treatises on astronomy, and is well acquainted with geography. He is curious in mechanics, attentive to the powers of mechanism, and possesses a fund of knowledge which has surprised and delighted all who have had an opportunity of conversing with him and of appreciating his talents. Of his moral character I have given an instance, in the manner in which he liberated his slaves. He is revered, not only for his superior qualifications and talents, but also for the consideration and attention he pays to the happiness and comfort of the people committed to his charge.

Of

“ To their brothers, wives, children, and other near relations, they assign
 “ villages or *désas*, sufficient for their maintenance, for all these consider
 “ themselves born not to work, and look upon the peasantry as only made
 “ for the purpose of providing for their support.

“ In order to collect the rice and other kinds of produce, which they
 “ are by contract obliged to deliver to the Company as contingents, they
 “ compel the inhabitants of the district to furnish as much of it as is at all
 “ possible, without any fixed ratio or calculation, and without any kind of
 “ payment, leaving them scarcely what is absolutely necessary for their
 “ own support and that of their families, and even sometimes not nearly
 “ so much, especially in the event of failure in the crops; on which
 “ occasions, the miserable inhabitants desert by hundreds to other districts,
 “ where, at least in the first instance, they may expect a less rigorous
 “ treatment. Several regents also, when distressed for money, are com-
 “ pelled by want, to let out many of their best *désas* to the Chinese: these
 “ blood-suckers then extort from such villages as much as they can pos-
 “ sibly contrive, while the inhabitants of the other *désas* are alone obliged
 “ to

2 N

Of the capacity of the Javans to improve, of their anxiety to advance in civilization, and of the rapidity with which they receive knowledge and instruction, an instance might be given in the case of the two sons of the Regent of *Semarang*, *Kiái Adipáti Súra Adimangála*. This Regent, who, next to the *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap*, is the first in rank as well as character, shortly after the establishment of the British government on Java, sent his sons to Bengal, in order that they might there receive an education superior to what they could have at home. They remained there for about two years, under the immediate protection and patronage of the late Earl of Minto, and on their return not only conversed and wrote in the English language with facility and correctness, but evinced considerable proficiency in every branch of knowledge to which their attention had been directed. The eldest, in particular, had made such progress in mathematics before he quitted Calcutta, as to obtain a prize at a public examination, and had acquired a general knowledge of the ancient and modern history of Europe, particularly in that of Greece and Rome. He is remarked for his graceful and polite manners, for the propriety of his conduct, and for the quickness and correctness of his observation and judgment. As this is the first instance that has been afforded of the capacity of the Javan character to improve under an European education, it may enable the reader to form some estimate of what that character was formerly in more propitious times, and of what it may attain to hereafter under a more beneficent government. Among all the English on Java, who have had an opportunity of conversing with this young nobleman, there has not been one who has hesitated to admit, that his mind, his qualifications, and conduct, would be conspicuous among their own countrymen at the same age, and that, as an accomplished gentleman, he was fitted for the first societies of Europe. This young man, *Ráden Sáleh*, is now about sixteen years of age, and when the British left Java was an assistant to his father as Regent of *Semarang*.

“ to deliver the contingent required from the whole aggregate. It may
 “ easily be conceived, how oppressively this demand must fall upon those
 “ unhappy individuals; and how greatly these and other acts of injustice,
 “ which are the natural consequences of the present faulty administration,
 “ must tend to the ruin of the country, it would be superfluous reasoning
 “ to prove.”

The only restraint upon the will of the head of the government is the custom of the country, and the regard which he has for his character among his subjects. To shew what that character ought to be, what is expected of a good prince, and what are the reciprocal duties of a prince, prime minister, and people, I may here quote a few sentences out of the *Niti Prája*, a work in very high esteem and constantly referred to by the Javans.

Princes.

“ A good prince must protect his subjects against all unjust persecutions
 “ and oppressions, and should be the light of his subjects, even as the sun
 “ is the light of the world. His goodness must flow clear and full, like the
 “ mountain stream, which in its course towards the sea enriches and ferti-
 “ lizes the land as it descends. He must consider, that as the withered
 “ foliage of the trees awaiteth the coming of rain to flourish anew, so are
 “ his subjects waiting for his benevolence, to be provided with food, with
 “ raiment, and with beautiful women. If, on the contrary, a prince neg-
 “ lects to extend his benevolence and protection towards his subjects, he
 “ exposes himself to be abandoned by them, or at any rate to lose their
 “ confidence; for it is an undeniable truth, that no one will be faithful or
 “ attached to a man upon whom no dependence can be placed.

“ When a prince gives audience to the public, his conduct must be dig-
 “ nified. He must sit upright and not in a bending posture, and say little,
 “ neither looking on one side or the other, because, in this case, the people
 “ would not have a proper sight of him. He must assume a pleasing
 “ appearance, which will enable him to observe his subjects who surround
 “ him, and then inquire if any one has any thing to say to him; and if
 “ there is, he must animate him to speak openly.

“ In his discourse he must not speak loud, but low and with dignity,
 “ and not more than is necessary for the purpose; for it does not become
 “ a prince to withdraw his words if once given, and much less to give them
 “ another turn.

“ It is, above all, the duty of a prince to take notice of every thing
 “ going on in his country and among his subjects, and if possible to turn
 “ every

“ every thing to a good end : if he passes over unnoticed the least crime,
 “ he may create numerous enemies. It is further the duty of a prince,
 “ besides knowing the merits of his subjects and the state of his country,
 “ to explain all abstract and difficult expressions, particularly such as occur
 “ in writings.

“ It is a disgrace to a prime minister, for any hostile attack to be made on Ministers.
 “ the country intrusted to his charge without his knowledge, or that he
 “ should be careless or inattentive to the same, rather thinking how to
 “ obtain the favour of his prince than to secure the safety of the country.
 “ So it is when he does not understand how to administer the country pro-
 “ perly, or fails to invent what is useful ; when he makes many promises,
 “ but fulfils few ; when he is careless with regard to public affairs, and talks
 “ much about what is of no consequence, seeking to be admired by the
 “ people, and putting on fair appearances when his intentions do not corres-
 “ pond ; when he cares nothing about the misfortunes of his inferiors, pro-
 “ vided he gets money himself ; when, finally, he is not faithful but deceit-
 “ ful. Such a prime minister is like the hawk, which soars high in the air,
 “ but descends low on the earth to seize and steals its food.

“ But a good prime minister is he who is upright in his heart, moderate
 “ in his fear of the prince, faithfully obedient to all his orders, kind-
 “ hearted, not oppressive to the people, and always exerting himself to the
 “ utmost for the happiness of the people and the welfare of the country.

“ And a prime minister is good beyond measure, who can always please
 “ his prince in every thing that is good ; who knows every thing that is
 “ going on in the country, and takes proper measures accordingly ; who
 “ always exerts himself to avert whatever is likely to be injurious ; who
 “ considers nothing too trifling to merit his attention ; who accumulates
 “ not wealth, but offers to his prince whatever comes in his way that is
 “ curious ; who heeds not his own life in effecting what is right ; who con-
 “ siders neither friends, family, nor enemies, but does justice alike to all ;
 “ who cares not when he is praised or reviled, but trusts to the dispensa-
 “ tions of Providence ; who possesses much experience ; who can bear
 “ poverty, and cares not for the enjoyment of pleasures ; who is polite to
 “ every one ; who with good will gives alms to the poor and helpless ; who
 “ consults much with his brother officers, with whom he ought always to
 “ advise on affairs of business. Against such a prime minister it is impossi-
 “ ble for any one to speak, for he will be feared at the same that the people

“ will become attached to him : the people will then live quiet and happy,
 “ perform their labours with cheerfulness, and wish that his administration
 “ may be lasting.

“ A prime minister ought nevertheless not to be too confident in this,
 “ but always remain on his guard against the designs of bad men.

“ There are many examples of such prime ministers : among which is
 “ *Rāja Jájahan*, prime minister of *Mesir* Egypt), to whom all the people
 “ of the country, great and small, were much attached.

“ Whenever his brother officers intended to visit the prince for the pur-
 “ pose of paying their respects, they always assembled at the prime minis-
 “ ter’s house where they generally partook of a meal: after this they pro-
 “ ceeded to the court, followed by the prime minister on foot, dressed in
 “ white, with only three attendants, carrying a spear and other articles of
 “ state before him. By this conduct he supposed that he was screened from
 “ reproach and that he was freed from enemies ; but at the very time there
 “ were enemies conspiring against his life, as was afterwards discovered :
 “ therefore ought a prime minister not only to be virtuous, but cautious
 “ also, and always armed against his enemies, in the same manner as a
 “ sportsman arms himself against wild beasts.

Subjects.

“ A subject going into the presence of his prince must be clean and
 “ well-dressed, wearing proper *chelána* (pantaloon). He must have a good
 “ girdle and a sharp *kris*, and be anointed with aromatic oils. He must
 “ range himself with his equals, and convince them of his abilities and
 “ good breeding ; because from this it is that he has to expect favour or
 “ disgrace, grief or joy, happiness or misery ; for a prince can either
 “ exalt or humble him.

“ A prince is like a *dálang* (*wáyang* player), his subjects like *wayángs*,
 “ and the law is as the wick of the lamp used in these entertainments : for
 “ a prince can do with his subjects what he pleases, in the same manner
 “ as the *dálang* acts with his *wáyangs* according to his own fancy ; the
 “ prince having the law, and the *dálang* the lamp, to prevent them from
 “ going out of the right way.

“ In like manner, as it is incumbent on the *dálang* to make magnanimity
 “ and justice the principal subjects of his representation, in order that the
 “ spectators may be instructed and animated thereby, so should a prince,
 “ a prime minister, and chief officers of the court, direct the administration
 “ of the country with such propriety, that the people may attach themselves

“ to

“ to them ; they must see that the guilty are punished, that the innocent
 “ be not persecuted, and that all persons falsely accused be immediately
 “ released, and remunerated for the sufferings they may have endured.”

The judicial and executive powers are generally exercised by the same individual. The written law of the island, according to which justice is administered and the courts are regulated, is that of the *Koran*, as modified by custom and usage. The Javans have now been converted to the Mahometan religion about three centuries and a half, dating from the destruction of the Hindu kingdom of *Majapáhit*, in the year 1400 of the Javan æra. Of all the nations who have adopted that creed, they are among the most recent converts ; and it may be safely added, that few others are so little acquainted with its doctrines, and partake so little of its zeal and intolerance. The consequence is, that although the Mahometan law be in some instances followed, and it be considered a point of honour to profess an adherence to it, it has not entirely superseded the ancient superstitions and local customs of the country.

Administration
of justice.

The courts of justice are of two descriptions : those of the *Panghúlu* or high priest, and those of the *Jákṣa*. In the former the Mahometan law is more strictly followed ; in the latter it is blended with the customs and usages of the country. The former take cognisance of capital offences, of suits of divorce, of contracts and inheritance ; they are also, in some respects, courts of appeal from the authority of the *Jákṣa*. The latter take cognisance of thefts, robberies, and all inferior offences ; its officers are employed in taking down depositions, examining evidence, inspecting the general police of the country, and in some measure acting as public prosecutors : these last functions are implied in the title of the office itself, *jákṣa* meaning to guard or watch.*

Court and law
officers.

Their jurisdic-
tions,

At

* The following description of the office of a *Jákṣa*, and of the qualifications requisite for fulfilling his important duties, is taken from the *Niti Prája*, a work already referred to.

“ A *Jákṣa* must, in all cases, be impartial, to enable him to weigh all causes which come
 “ before him with the same exactness as merchandize is weighed in a scale, and nicely ba-
 “ lance the equilibrium, nothing adding or taking from either side.

“ He must be above all bribery, either by words or money, and never allow himself to be
 “ induced to commit an act of injustice ; for were a *Jákṣa* to commit an act of this kind, the
 “ consequences could not but be highly injurious to the country.

“ He must not accept presents of any kind from the parties whose cause comes before him,
 “ not only because he cannot expect to derive advantage therefrom, but also because the
 “ public will hold discourse concerning him highly injurious to his reputation.

“ All

At the seat of government are supreme courts of the *Panghulu* and *Jáksa*: to these there is an appeal from similar but inferior tribunals, established within each province. Petty tribunals, under like names, are even established under the jurisdiction of a *Demáng*, or chief of a sub-division, and sometimes of a *Bákal*, or head of a village; but in these the authority of the *Panghulu* and *Jáksa* extend no further than to take down evidence to be transmitted to some higher authority, to settle petty disputes, and perform the ordinary ceremonies of religion, inseparable among the Javans, as well as all other Mahometans, from the administration of justice.

Interference of
the executive.

Such however is the nature of the native government, that these officers are considered rather as the law assessors or council of the immediate superior officer of the executive government, than as independent ministers of justice. In such cases as come before them, they examine the evidence, and point out the law and custom to the executive officer, who is himself generally too ignorant and indolent to undertake it. When the evidence is gone through and the point of law ascertained, the whole is brought before him, at whose discretion it rests to pass judgment. It is however admitted, that in matters of little moment, where his passions and interests are not concerned, the division is frequently left to the law officers; but in all matters of importance he will not fail to exercise his privileges of interference.

The

“ All causes in dispute must be decided upon by him with the least possible delay, according to law, and not kept long in suspense, to the injury of the parties concerned, lest he be considered like a holy man, who, for the sake of money, sacrifices his good name.

“ A *Jáksa* must inquire into every circumstance relating to the causes brought before him, and duly investigate the evidence; after which he must take the cause into consideration. He must not, in the least, listen to what is false, and on all occasions must decide according to truth.

“ A *Jáksa* who attends to all these points is of high repute. Of less repute is a *Jáksa* who, in the decision of causes which come before him, listens to the advice of others: such a one is like that kind of bird, which in order to procure for itself the necessary food, dives under water, without thinking of the danger to which it is exposed of losing its life from the want of air. But entirely unfit for employment is a *Jáksa* who is haughty in his demeanour, and at the same time low enough to take advantage of persons who come before him: such a one is like a bat, that in the dark steals the fruit from the trees; or like a sportsman, who though destined to chase what is useful only, indiscriminately destroys whatever comes in his way, whether useful or not. In the same manner is it with a priest who every day attends at the temple, for no other purpose but to make profit by it; or with a writer, who knows not how to make any thing but by the prostitution of his writings; or with the head man of a village, who imposes upon the villagers; or a devotee, who gains his livelihood by necromancy.”

The court of justice in which the *Panghulu* or high priest presides, is always held in the *serambi*, or portico of the mosque; a practice which, as it inspires the people with a considerable share of awe, appears judicious. It is also convenient for the administration of oaths, which among the Javans are always administered within the mosque, and usually with much solemnity. The forms of the court are regular, orderly, and tedious; all evidence is taken down in writing, and apparently with much accuracy.

Where the courts are held.

The court, at least at the seat of government, consists of the *Panghulu*, the officiating priest of the mosque, and four individuals, also of the religious order, called *Páteh nagári*, meaning literally the pillars or supports of the country, to whom, after the examination of evidence in capital offences, the point of law and decision is referred. At the seat of government the sovereign or his minister passes judgment.

Mode of proceeding.

The court of the *Jákisa* at the seat of government consists of the head *Jákisa*, who may be styled the law officer of the prime minister, and the *Jákisas* of his *Kliwons* or assistants, for they too have their law councils. The functions of this court being of less importance, of a more mixed nature, and less solemn because less connected with religion, are still more subject than that of the *Panghulu* to the rude interference of the executive authority.*

The Javan code of law is divided into two departments, that of the Mahomedan law and that of custom and tradition. The former is distinguished by the appellation of *húkum állah*, the *commands of God*, from the Arabic; the latter by the Javan words *yúdhá nagára*, meaning consideration for the country, or in other words, allowance for the state of society.

Laws.

The decisions in Mahometan law are chiefly guided by several works in the Arabic language. In all the courts of Java these works are said to be consulted in the Arabic language, but reference is more frequently made to

* The following was the usual course of proceeding in *Japára*, and generally in the provinces subjected to European authority, previous to the interference of the British government. The plaintiff went to the *Jákisa* and made his complaint. If the case was important, the *Jákisa* took down the deposition in writing in the presence of witnesses, summoned the accused, and communicated the deposition to him. The latter then either acknowledged or denied the facts, witnesses were examined, and the proceedings of the suit laid before the Regent, who after perusal transmitted the same to the *Panghulu* for his advice, with which the latter complied, referring at the same time for a sentence to some of the collections on Mahometan law. The Regent having compared the sentence with the law and with equity, and finding the same correspondent with both, judgment was pronounced by the *Jákisa*.

to a collection of opinions extracted from them, and translated into the language of the country.

The law of custom is chiefly handed down by oral tradition, but has in part been committed to writing in the following performances.

The earliest work relating to jurisprudence which is now referred to, is that of *Júgul Múda Páteh*, or minister of *Sri Ma Púng'gung* (of *Méndang Kamúlan*), now *Wirosári*: it is computed to be about six hundred years old. The second bears the name of *Rája Kápa*, said to have been the son of *Júgul Múda*, and like him minister of his sovereign *Kandiáwan*, also prince of *Méndang Kamúlan*.

By the authority of the Sultan of *Demák*, the first Mahometan prince, a compilation of the Javan laws was made, in which they were in some measure blended with the Mahometan jurisprudence. Probably this was intended to pave the way to an entire introduction of Mahometan law. The body of regulations, &c. compressed in these codes is curious, from the laborious refinement of their distinctions, from the mixture of moral maxims and illustrations with positive law, from the most incongruous combinations, and from their casuistical spirit. In the Appendix will be found the translation of a modern version of the *Súria Alem*, a work of this description in high repute, as well as an abstract of the laws and regulations said to have been in force in the earliest periods to which Javan tradition refers.*

The proclamations (*úndang-úndang*), and the laws and regulations (*ánger ángeran*) of the sovereign, form another source of deviation from the Mahometan law. Collections of these have been committed to writing.

The prince, by himself or his officers, is always supposed vested with a discretionary power of adapting the Mahometan law to the circumstances of society, a prerogative liberally exercised. This power, which sanctions every deviation from the letter of Musselman law, the Javans, also, express by the term of *yúdha nagára*. The kringing of criminals instead of beheading them, the combat of criminals with tigers, the severe penalties for infractions of the sumptuary laws of the Javans, the constant commutation of corporeal punishment for a pecuniary fine, and in the case of persons of rank found guilty of murder the commutation of the strict law of retaliation for a fine, without regard to the wishes of the relations of the deceased,

* See Appendix C.

deceased, if the latter be of no consideration, were among the deviations from the Mahometan law sanctioned by the *Yúdhá nagára*.

Such was the composition of the courts, and the code of laws that existed on Java before the arrival of the Dutch, and remained unchanged at the conquest of the island by the British. The Dutch legislated for the colonists, but took little interest in the system by which the judicial proceedings of their native subjects were guided, excepting in so far as their own advantage or security was concerned in them. The following statement contains the changes introduced by the Dutch.

Besides the colonial laws and regulations, enacted from time to time by Colonial laws. the Governors in Council at Batavia; besides some standing orders of the Court of Directors, and some rules and provisions contained in the successive charters of the Company, and in what was called the *article brief*; the Dutch law, which was always considered as the foundation of the colonial law, was of authority, as far as it remained unaffected by these institutions.

A collection of the colonial statutes and regulations, called the *Placart Book of Batavia*, and an abstract of them, entitled the *Statutes of Batavia*, were made under the authority of the colonial government; but as the latter never underwent a regular promulgation, the rules contained in it were not considered as possessing the force of law, except in so far as they might be found to be conformable to the orders, proclamations, and regulations of the Indian government, or of the Directors of the East-India Company.

The power of the Directors and of the Council of Batavia to enact local laws and regulations, seems not to have been very circumspectly defined in the first charters of the Company, those charters conferring on them, in general terms only, authority to provide for the administration of justice and establishment of police.

But from the nature of the occasion it seems evident, that this power of making colonial laws, as far at least as related to the Council of Batavia, could only have been a limited one, to be exercised with considerable discretion, and only upon points requiring an immediate provision, subject always to the approbation of the authorities at home; and even the Directors could hardly be considered to have possessed a greater extent of legislative power, than was necessary for the security of their new territories, and of their rights and privileges, or to have been authorised to deviate wantonly from the established law of the country, or neglect the dictates of justice and equity.

In the great variety of matter comprehended in the colonial statutes, no subject seems to have occupied more attention than the laws respecting slavery. These, as already observed, appear to have been formed in general upon principles of humanity and consideration for the condition of the unfortunate beings to whom they related.

In consequence of a resolution of the year 1760, the Council of India ordered that the customs of the Mahometans, in matters of inheritance and successions *ab intestat*, &c. should be sanctioned and published.

In civil matters, natives and Chinese in the districts of Batavia seem to have been governed by the same laws as the European inhabitants.

Crimes committed by natives or Chinese in the city of Batavia and its environs, had, from the first settlement of the Dutch on the island, always been tried by European judges, and according to European law.

In Bantam the criminal jurisdiction over the natives was left to the Sultan, and that over the Chinese resident there, was exercised as at Batavia according to the European law.

The *Jakarta* and *Priang'en* Regencies seem formerly to have enjoyed a peculiar and fortunate state of tranquillity. Almost entirely removed from every communication and intercourse with Europeans, Chinese, and other foreign settlers found in the neighbourhood of Batavia, engaged in agriculture, and ruled by their own native chiefs, these districts seem to have been in a high degree free from crime; but whenever enormities did happen, the offenders were sent down to Batavia, and tried according to European law. It is to be observed, however, that on the first submission of those districts to the Company, their chiefs or regents reserved to themselves the jurisdiction over the inhabitants of their respective districts; but this stipulation appears to have been disregarded in the latter times of the Dutch Company, and under the late administration of Marshal Daendals, a court was established for these districts, the rule of which was European law.

From Chérison the Chinese were amenable, as from Bantam and Batavia; but the natives were subject to a *landraad* (or local court), of which the Resident was president, and the Sultans members; and this court was, partly at least, directed by a *papákam*, or native code, compiled under the sanction of the government.

In the Eastern Districts of the island, the Javans seem always, in criminal matters, to have enjoyed their own laws, founded on ancient custom
and

Jurisdiction in
different parts
of the island.

and the precepts of the *Koran*. Of these laws the Council of Batavia caused abstracts to be printed, for the guidance of the great *landraad* or high court, at *Semarang*, to which all the Javans in the European provinces, from *Losári* to *Banyuwangi* were amenable.

Under the native government, the prime minister (*Ráden Adipáti*) is the head of the police, as well as of every other department of authority. The higher class of functionaries is most frequently to be found in those parts of the country most remote from the seat of government, where, as governors of provinces, they possess some extension of powers. The great and fertile provinces near the capital, on the other hand, are divided into small appropriations, of from two hundred to one thousand *cháchas*, or families, placed under the administration of division officers, whose authority is limited to the duties of police.

Each village is possessed of a distinct organization within itself, has its chief, its *Kabáyan* or assistant, and if of any considerable size, its priest, whose advice is frequently had recourse to, and who generally decides petty disputes, especially respecting divorces and matters of inheritance. The chief of the village is not without his share of judicial authority, and often takes upon himself to punish by fine and imprisonment. In each village the inhabitants keep regular nightly watches and patrols.

The manner in which these little societies have been recently formed in the districts to the east of *Surabáya*, where the European authority had not interfered, and where the influence of the Mahometan government was scarcely felt, will tend to illustrate their nature and constitution.

The frequent wars, in which the people had been engaged with the inhabitants of *Báli* and *Madúra*, as well as with the Dutch, had reduced those provinces to a state of wilderness towards the middle of the last century. The encouragement held out to the people of the neighbouring island of *Madúra* brought over several adventurers, who were allowed to occupy the land they cleared; first rent-free, and afterwards at a fixed assessment. If several persons came together, their leader was invested with the authority of *Peting'gi* over the new village which they formed. When individuals associated to construct a village, the chief was elected by themselves, subject to the approval of the landlord; and they possessed the privilege, common in all the districts east of *Surabáya*, of annually electing their chief, or *Peting'gi*.

The nature of the duties rendered by this person was so essential to the well-being of a village, that this privilege was most intimately connected with its existence. Whenever a new assessment was imposed on the lands, it was the business of the *Peting'gi*, if the amount was too high, to represent the matter to the superior, and to state the inability of the people to make good the demand: the consequence was, either a reduction of assessment on the part of the principal, or desertion on that of the people. But when the amount of the assessment was considered reasonable (and any amount less than three-fifths seems to have been so considered), the *Peting'gi* had to assemble all the people, and to distribute to each, in the common presence of all, his individual proportion of land, with a statement of the produce to be paid. He had to keep a roster of all duties required of the people, and to see that every man took his proper turn. When the harvest ripened, he had to watch the collectors, that they exacted no more from each man than his proportion; and the cultivator, that he did not embezzle any part of the due of government. In large villages he had an assistant, called a *Kabáyan*, who represented him during his absence, and with the *Kamituah* and *Múdin* (priest), formed a court for settling petty village disputes; subject, however, to a reference, if the parties should be dissatisfied.

It was customary for the people of the village to cultivate the lands of their *Peting'gi* without payment. This and the honour of chiefship rendered the office an object of village ambition; while an annual election, and the fear, if turned out, of being called upon to justify his conduct, rendered this officer generally a steady and careful representative of his constituents.

All strangers passing through the country were expected to apply to the *Peting'gi* for the assistance they required; and if payment was tendered, all procurable necessaries were furnished. The *Peting'gi* also took charge of the strangers' property, examined the same in the presence of the other head-man, and was bound to return the whole undiminished the next morning, or to pay the value. If, however, the stranger preferred keeping his property under his own charge, and rested himself for the night under some of the public sheds, the loss he might sustain fell on himself alone, and all he could procure from the village was assistance to trace the offenders.

It

It was customary, as well to deter beasts of prey as thieves, for a part of the men of each village to keep a night watch round it, and to perform this duty in successive rotation.

Such appears to have been the internal regulation of these villages; and it seems to have been framed according to the ancient usage of the island, the similarity of which to that of Western India has been adduced as a strong instance of one common origin.*

It

* With the exception, perhaps, of the right of election, which I have not seen noticed in any account of Continental India, the constitution of the Javan village has a striking resemblance to that of the Hindus, according to the following statement in the Fifth Report of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. “ A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprizing some hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste lands; politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions: the *Potail* or head inhabitant, who has generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenues within his village, a duty which his personal influence and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns of the people render him the best qualified to discharge. The *Kurnum*, who keeps the accounts of cultivation and registers every thing connected with it. The *Tallier* and *Totie*, the duty of the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting among other duties in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them. The boundary man, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute. The superintendent of *tanks* and watercourses, distributes the water therefrom for the purposes of agriculture. The *Bramin*, who performs the village worship. The schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in a village to read and write in the sand. The calendar *Bramin* or astrologer, &c.

“ These officers and servants generally constitute the establishment of a village; but in some parts of the country it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions above described being united in the same person; in others it exceeds the number of individuals which have been described.

“ Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine, and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms: while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged. The *Potail* is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge and magistrate, and collector or renter of the village.”

In

It follows from the above, that each village has in itself the materials of a good police, and that a right of choosing their chiefs gives to the people a considerable share of real liberty.* This right of election in the inhabitants of the village, as before observed, would appear at one time to have been general throughout the island. It is still respected in the districts of *Surabáya*, where the office of *Peting'gi* was always elective, for although the same person might hold it for many years, a ballot for the situation was regularly held at specified periods, varying from one to three years.†

The right of election is also clearly acknowledged in the districts of *Japára* and *Jawána*. “ That the *Peting'gi* is elected by the inhabitants of “ a village,” observes the officer who introduced the settlement into those districts,‡ “ there cannot be a doubt; and if even the right of election is “ foregone by the people, though I have not met with a single instance of “ the kind, it may be taken for granted, that it is so only, in consequence “ of the influence of the Regent, to serve some particular purpose. While “ the *Peting'gi* continues in office, he is looked up to and obeyed by the “ people of the village to which he belongs as the immediate chief. He “ generally occupies the *paséban* usually to be found in villages of conse- “ quence, and has two or more men, inhabitants of the village, appointed “ to attend him wherever he goes. A *Peting'gi* was usually elected for one “ year, during which time he could not, according to the ancient usage, be “ removed, except in consequence of some gross misconduct, but if his “ conduct was such as to give satisfaction to the inhabitants, they continued “ him for several years. As far as I could learn,” continues the same officer, “ the Regent, or other superior native authority, seldom interfered “ in the election of a *Peting'gi*; but it was generally understood, that “ although he could not force a *Peting'gi* upon them who was disliked by “ the people, his confirmation was required before the person elected could “ act with effect.”

In

In examining the interior of a village on Java, we find that, in common with the Hindu usage, it possesses a constitution within itself, independent of the supreme governing power. Here, as in Western India, it will be found that each village possesses its *Peting'gi* or chief; its *Kabayan*, who is the deputy or assistant to the head of the village; its *Kamituah* or elders, generally men who have formerly been chiefs of the village; its *Múdin* or priest; its *Ulu-ulu* or *Kapala Bandang'an*, or superintendent of watercourses; its *Jeru-tulis* or writer, &c.

* See Report of Mr. Hopkins on the districts east of *Surabáya*.

† See Report of Colonel Adams on *Surabáya*.

‡ Mr. Mc. Quoid. See his Report on the Districts of *Japára* and *Jawána*.

In the *Súnda* districts of *Chéríbon* and *Tegál*, the appointment to this office is invariably made, if not by the election of the villagers, generally from among themselves, and always with their concurrence. It is a common practice for the people of a village, even where the right of election is not in use, to represent in a body the conduct of their chief if incorrect; and it has always been necessary for the chief native authority to remove him, if the complaints were justly founded.

A reference to the judicial regulations in the Appendix* will show how desirous the British government on the island has been to protect the privileges of these societies, and in particular the right of electing their chief.

When the British authority was established on the island, it was immediately seen that something must be done to supply the deficiencies and to correct the imperfections of the native code. All the other changes in contemplation for the encouragement of industry and for the abolition of oppressive and impolitic exactions, would have been nugatory, without such an improvement in the judicial and police regulations, as would secure, by a full and impartial administration of justice, the rights and privileges about to be conferred. It would have been in vain to define the limits of power, to issue directions for guiding the conduct of public servants in their transactions with the people, or to have abrogated the oppressive privileges of the chiefs, and to have assured the people of the intention of government to protect them against all invasion of their rights, either by open violence, by the exaction of services, or by oppressive contributions, without establishing effective means of obtaining redress when aggrieved. The system acted upon was at once barbarous and revolting. Practices prevailed under the sanction of native law, which were abhorrent to the criminal jurisdiction of any enlightened nation, without being at all necessary to the due administration of justice.† I allude particularly to torture and mutilation.

* Appendix D.

† Among many others, the following enactments, which were in force in some of the Eastern districts when the English arrived, will serve to shew the barbarities of the law then existing, in its operation on the people, and its leniency towards the great.

“ Any person murdering his superior shall be beheaded, his body quartered and given to the wild beasts, and his head stuck upon a *bambu*.

“ Any person disobeying his superior and attempting to murder him, may be killed by the superior, without giving any intimation thereof to the chief town.

“ Any person daring to destroy any public advertisement promulgated by government shall forfeit his right hand.

“ *Demángs,*

mutilation. These the Earl of Minto immediately abolished, by his proclamation of the 11th September 1811, in which, besides this beneficial and humane enactment, he laid down clearly and distinctly the liberal and enlightened principles which should guide the local government in the subsequent revision of the civil and criminal code of the colony. The result was the enactment of the code of judicial and police regulations which will be found in the Appendix to this work.* The outlines of these regulations, and the principles which dictated them, are contained in a Minute which I recorded on the 11th February 1814, when they were completed and promulgated; and the following quotations from that document may be sufficient to put the reader in possession of the change which was effected.

“ It was essential, in conducting the revenue arrangements, that the measures taken for the establishment of a good and efficient police, and the full and impartial administration of justice throughout the island, should preserve an equal pace.

“ Rights were not to be bestowed and defined, without a suitable provision for their being effectually guarded against any invasion; and it became an object of the first moment, to form such an adequate and consistent code of regulations, as should serve, in every instance, to guide the executive officers of government in the performance of their duty, and to make known, and secure to the people, the means of obtaining redress, whenever they felt themselves in any way aggrieved.

“ The system found existing on our first arrival was at once complicated and confused. In the principal towns there were established courts, but these were constituted in all the troublesome formalities of the Roman law;

“ A *Demang*, or other chief of a *désa*, being acquainted with any conspiracy tending to the injury of the state, and not giving intimation thereof, shall be punished by losing one ear, his head shall be shaved, and he shall be banished.

“ Any person daring to offer violence to a priest in the mosque or among the tombs shall forfeit one hand.

“ If a woman kills a man she shall be fined 500 reals *batú*.

“ If a superior kills an inferior he shall be fined 1,000 doits.

“ If a person puts out the eyes of another he shall be fined 500 reals *batú*; if one eye only, 50 reals.”

There were also different fines for maiming different parts of the body. For cutting out the tongue, 500 reals; for knocking out the teeth, 25; for breaking the thumb, 500; for breaking the finger, 100; and the like.

See Collection of Native Laws at Banyuwangi.

* Appendix D.

“ law; and in the different residencies were provincial courts, styled
 “ *landraads*, where the native form and law was left to take its course, with
 “ all its barbarities and tortures.

“ The Dutch government, proceeding entirely on the system of commer-
 “ cial monopoly, paid very inferior attention to their internal administra-
 “ tion. They had little other connexion with their best subjects, the
 “ cultivators of the soil, than in calling on them, from time to time, for ar-
 “ bitrary and oppressive contributions and services; and for the rest, gave
 “ them up to be vassals to the various intermediate authorities, the Regents,
 “ *Demángs*, and other native officers. These either at first purchased their
 “ situations, or stipulated for a certain tribute, in service or money, in
 “ consideration of which all the inferior classes of inhabitants were made
 “ over, to be dealt with by them as most pleasing to themselves. Policy,
 “ and the common attention to their own good, suggested to these a cer-
 “ tain equity of procedure, and it was generally the custom to leave each
 “ village to its own management with respect to police and settling the
 “ petty quarrels that occurred within its limits; but for the continuance
 “ of what was good in such a system, there was no security whatsoever,
 “ and oppression and injustice must have constantly occurred. Where
 “ the will of the lord was the paramount law, his vassals could only
 “ have depended on his natural goodness of disposition for being
 “ equitably treated. No remedy was afforded where the reverse was
 “ the case, and they possessed, in short, no security, no freedom what-
 “ soever.

“ On the propriety of the measures to be adopted by us to remedy such
 “ evils, no doubt could exist.

“ The first proclamation of the enlightened founder of the present go-
 “ vernment adverted immediately to this subject. As a step that could
 “ not, consistently with British ideas, admit of a moment's delay, it
 “ instantly ordained, that torture and mutilation should no longer make
 “ part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals; and it then
 “ proceeded to define clearly the relative situation of the English and
 “ Dutch inhabitants, laying down rules for the future guidance of govern-
 “ ment concerning them. This proclamation, dated 11th September, 1811,
 “ has long been before the world, and it would be superfluous, in this
 “ place, to dwell on that love of justice and benevolence of disposition,

“ which is to be traced through every part of it. It forms the basis of the present respective European rights in this colony.*

“ As a continuation of the measures so ably sketched out by my predecessor, I issued the proclamation, dated the 21st January 1812.

“ In this I attempted to simplify the clumsy and unwieldy structure of the former courts, by abolishing some, lessening the number of the judges in the remaining ones, and by defining, as accurately as I could, the limits of their respective jurisdictions.

“ It was found that, formerly, there were separate courts for investigating the conduct of the immediate European servants of the Dutch Company, and of Europeans not included in that service. This distinction, as Lord Minto observed, never could have been grounded on any sound principle; and it being resolved, that justice, under the British government, should be administered equal and alike to all classes and denominations, the judicial power of the College of Schepenen was abolished, and transferred to the jurisdiction of the courts of justice.

“ The great number of judges who, under the Dutch administration, formed a court, was reduced in each to a president and three members.

“ One court was established in each of the three principal towns, Batavia, Semarang, and Surabáya, the jurisdiction of which extended over its European inhabitants; proceeding, in civil cases, in the mode before established, but in criminal ones, so as to conform as much as possible to that established in Great Britain; in all cases confronting the prisoner with the evidence, and a jury being called to judge of the fact on the evidence so adduced.

“ To relieve these courts from numerous inconsiderable causes, courts, of the nature of Courts of Requests, were also established in these three towns, for the recovery of small debts.

“ For matters of police within the towns, magistrates were appointed; but they were ordered to confine themselves entirely to this branch.

“ An abuse which had been discovered to be usual, the compounding crimes and offences in consideration of a sum of money paid to the Fiscal or other officer, had also met with Lord Minto's most severe reprehension,

* See Appendix D.

“ hension, as being one of an abominable nature, and to be suppressed
 “ without delay. The practice was accordingly strictly prohibited, and
 “ consonantly with British ideas was termed scandalous.

“ Thus much had been done with regard to Europeans, and it has been
 “ found fully sufficient.

“ But with respect to the native inhabitants of the island, it was to
 “ be expected that much greater changes would be necessary.

“ In the first instance, it was ordered that courts should be established
 “ in the different districts, in which the chief civil authorities should pre-
 “ side, aided by the Regents and other native officers, for the purpose of
 “ hearing and trying all causes in which natives only were concerned ; the
 “ amount of their civil decisions, when exceeding fifty dollars, being sub-
 “ mitted for confirmation to the courts of justice ; and all criminal cases,
 “ of a capital nature, being made over by them to judges of circuit, who
 “ were ordered to be sent on this duty twice a year, from among the mem-
 “ bers of the superior courts.

“ Thus much was known not to militate either against the principles of
 “ universal and natural justice, or against the particular laws and usages
 “ of the country ; and thus much was only, at first, done, because it
 “ was resolved to obtain the fullest knowledge of the subject, with regard
 “ to the manners, habits, and institutions of our native subjects, before
 “ we established one general code of regulations for the internal administra-
 “ tion of the country.

“ In effecting this grand object, it was rather my wish to have it
 “ maturely and well done, than by accelerating it too much, to run the risk
 “ of taking up a crude system, which would require to be afterwards
 “ reconsidered, and perhaps entirely new modelled.

“ On the principle, however, which would eventually guide me, there
 “ was no doubt, nor is it necessary for me to dilate on the impolicy, the
 “ inconvenience, or the injustice, of subjecting the natives of Java to
 “ any other laws, than those of their ancient government and established
 “ faith.

“ The tranquillity of the country and the duties of police have been
 “ provided for, by preserving the original constitution of the villages,
 “ and continuing the superintendence and responsibility in the hands of
 “ those, whose rank enables them to exert a due influence, and to command
 “ respect. For the administration of justice, the duties of the Resident,

“ as judge and magistrate, have been considerably extended. In civil
“ cases, the mode of proceeding, and the establishment of petty courts,
“ are founded on the practice of the country; in criminal, the jurisdiction
“ and authority of the Resident has been considerably extended. Hither-
“ to, his duties had been strictly confined to police; but considerable
“ delay and injury to the parties accused, as well as to the witnesses,
“ had been occasioned by allowing all causes of a higher nature to lie over
“ for the Court of Circuit: and as the separation of the collection of the
“ revenue would afford more time to the Resident, it was resolved to
“ extend the criminal jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts to all cases,
“ in which the punishment for the crime alleged does not amount to
“ death. In these courts, which instead of being termed *Landraad*, as
“ heretofore, are now styled the *Resident's Courts*, the *Panghulu*, or chief
“ priest, and the superior *Jáksa*, or native fiscal, attend to expound the
“ law. The *Bopátis*, or Regents, with their *Pátéhs*, are present, to aid
“ and assist the Resident with their opinion in the course of the investi-
“ gation, but they have no vote in the decision. If the opinion of the
“ law officers appears to the Resident to be according to substantial justice,
“ and is in accordance with his own opinion, the sentence is immediately
“ carried into effect, provided the punishment does not extend to transpor-
“ tation or imprisonment for life.

“ In cases where the punishment adjudged is more considerable, or
“ wherein the opinion of the law officers may be at variance with that of
“ the Resident, a reference is to be made to the Lieutenant Governor; and
“ in all cases where the punishment for the crimes charged is of a capital
“ nature, the prisoner is committed to jail, to take his trial before the
“ Circuit Judge.

“ On the first establishment of the Courts of Circuit, it was directed
“ that the President, and one other member of the Courts of Justice,
“ should proceed once in six months, or as much oftener as circumstances
“ might require, to the different Residencies in their several jurisdictions,
“ for the trial of offenders. Much inconvenience, however, was found to
“ arise from the absence of those members of the courts from the towns
“ in which they were established, as it necessarily followed, that all civil
“ business was at a stand while they were away. On the other hand, to
“ prevent delay on the trial of criminals, it was necessary that they should
“ visit the Residencies more frequently than once in six months.

“ To

“ To remedy this in future, and to provide for the prompt and due
 “ administration of justice among the native inhabitants, in a manner that
 “ is not repugnant to their notions of right and wrong, one member of
 “ each of the courts of justice has been appointed a Judge of Circuit,
 “ who will be present in each of the Residencies at least once in every
 “ three months, and as much oftener as necessary. In the mode of
 “ proceeding, they are to avoid the formalities of the Roman law. A
 “ native jury, consisting of an intelligent foreman and four others,*
 “ decide upon the fact: the law is then taken down, as expounded by the
 “ native law officers, and the sentence, with the opinion of the Judge of
 “ Circuit, and on the application of the Dutch and Colonial law on the
 “ cases, is forwarded for the modification or confirmation of the Lieutenant
 “ Governor.

“ Hitherto the jury required by the Court of Circuit did not exceed
 “ five in number, and these, as justly observed, ‘ were chosen from a
 “ ‘ class of men (Europeans) who had no common feelings, no common
 “ ‘ rights; who were, in no shape or consideration, the equals of the
 “ ‘ person tried. The law was the law of Europe. The jury, under their
 “ ‘ best prejudices, were influenced by that law; and its meanings and
 “ ‘ penalties were applied to people who reason in a different manner, and
 “ ‘ who often never knew any thing of the laws of Europe, before they
 “ ‘ found themselves its convicted victims.’

“ The general jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice at Batavia, Semarang,
 “ and Surabáya, is now confined to Europeans and foreigners and to the
 “ inhabitants of those towns and their suburbs; and a line has been
 “ drawn, which distinctly separates the police of the country from that of
 “ the towns.

“ Collections of the different law-books and institutions of the country
 “ are now making, and a native establishment has been formed at Buiten-
 “ zorg, under my immediate superintendence, for examining and revising
 “ the judicial proceedings, and for affording to the native inhabitants that
 “ facility of appeal, which the remoteness of the Government, and the
 “ rules of Dutch administration, did not formerly admit of, but which is

“ so

* The number required to compose the jury was fixed in conformity with the ancient usages of the country, in which five persons are considered necessary to assist in the deliberation upon any matter of importance.

“ so consonant to the principles on which the new system of internal
“ economy has been established.”

Military esta-
blishment.

Under the native government, the whole of the male population capable of bearing arms was liable to military service; but the number of people required to cultivate the land, and to perform other public services, did not admit of more than one-third being spared for military purposes, except in cases of extraordinary emergency. The extent of the force permanently kept up by the sovereign in time of peace varied, of course, with the probability of approaching hostilities: when this was smallest, the number seldom exceeded what was required for the state and pomp of the court, and might have amounted to four or five thousand men. Until within the last sixty years, when the Dutch first obtained a supremacy over the whole island, the provinces under the native administration had for several centuries been in a continual state of warfare; but since that period the military spirit has been gradually subsiding, and, by the existing treaties with the native princes, they are restricted in the number of troops which they may maintain. Those of the *Susuhunan* are limited to a body guard of one thousand men: such further number as may be required for the tranquillity of the country, the European government undertakes to furnish.

Before the native sovereign was under this restriction, he used to raise the requisite force by a demand upon the governor of each province for a specified number, to be furnished at a certain time, varying according to circumstances. The governor or chief of the province apportioned this demand among the subdivisions, and the village chiefs selected from among the villagers as many as were required of them; and thus, in a country where every man wears a *kris* or dagger, and the spear or pike is the principal military weapon, an army, or rather a numerous armed mob, was easily collected in a few days. The men furnished from the villages, and of whom the mass of every large army necessarily consisted, were distinguished from the soldiers by profession (*prajúrit*), by the term *árahán*, or *prajúrit árahán*. During their absence from home, they were provisioned by the sovereign, and their wives and families were maintained by the head of the village, who required of the remaining cultivators to assist in working their fields or gardens.

The sovereign, as the head of the military and the fountain of military honour, assumes among his titles that of *Senapáti*, or lord of war. When

an

an army is to be raised, he appoints a certain number of his chiefs to be *widánas*, or commanders of corps of three hundred and twenty men. Under each *widána* are four *lúrah*s or *tindihs*, who command companies of eighty men, and have each two subaltern officers, called *babákals* or *sesábats*, each having the command of forty men. The *widánas* were remunerated for their services by grants of land, to the amount of a thousand *cháchas*, from which they had again to make assignments for the maintenance of the inferior officers, who were always nominated by them.

When troops march through the country, or supplies are required, a demand is made upon the neighbouring districts, which are obliged to contribute according to their means, without payment. When in an enemy's country, the troops, of course, subsist by plunder, the disbursement of money for provisions or supplies being unknown.

The native armies of Java consisted chiefly of infantry, but the officers were invariably mounted, and when cavalry was required, each province furnished its quota: the troops, whether on foot or mounted, joined the army properly equipped for action. It was thus unnecessary for the sovereign to keep up a store of arms. Each village has its provision of spears, and sometimes of fire-arms; the officer of subdivision keeps a further reserve for contingencies; and as the chief of the province is responsible for the proper equipment of the men, he generally has also a further store to supply any deficiency.

The annexed plates will exhibit the different weapons used in Java. Of Weapons. these, the most important and the most peculiar to the Eastern Islands is the *kris*, which is now worn by all classes, and as an article of dress has already been noticed.

The Javan *kris* differs from the Malayan, in being much more plain, as well in the blade as in the handle and sheath: it differs also in the handle and sheath from the *kris* of *Madúra* and *Báli*, as may be seen in the plate. The varieties of the blade are said to exceed an hundred; and as a knowledge of the *kris* is considered highly important by the Javans, I have, in a separate plate, offered specimens of the most common.

In the plates are also exhibited the different kinds of spears, darts, and other weapons, either said to have been in use formerly, or actually used at the present day. These are the bow and arrow (*gendewa*, *pana*) which are seldom used in modern days, except on state occasions. The arrows, termed *chákra*, *paspáti*, *trisúla*, *waráyang*, *diwál*, *róda dedáli*, and others of a similar

similar form, as well as the clubs called *indán*, *gáda*, and *dénda*, are represented as the weapons used by the gods, demigods, and heroes of antiquity, and are constantly referred to in the mythological and historical romances of the Javans, and exhibited in their scenic and dramatic entertainments. The *túhup* and *páser* represent the tube and the small arrows which are rendered poisonous by the *úpas*: these have not been used on Java for centuries, but they are common in the less civilized islands of the Archipelago, and particularly on Borneo. The *gánjing* is an iron bar, formerly used by the Javans. The *bandring*, or sling, is still used with considerable effect, and was employed in resisting the British troops in 1812. The *pedáng*, *bandól*, *badik*, *golók*, *mentók*, *lámang* or *klewáng*, and *chundrik*, are varieties of the sword. The *kúdi-tránchang* is a weapon which was formerly general on Java, but not now much used. The *wedúng* is a peculiar weapon, in the shape of a chopper, worn on occasions of state by all chiefs when in presence of the sovereign. Of spears and darts, there are several varieties distinguished by different names. Small round shields are still in use; the long shield is not. The matchlock exhibited in the plate is a representation of a piece manufactured on *Báli*.

Besides these instruments of war, the Javans have long been acquainted with the use of cannon, muskets, and pistols. Previous to the reduction of *Yúgya-kérta*, in 1812, by the British forces, the sultan cast brass guns of considerable calibre, and at *Grésik* they are still manufactured for exportation. Round the *kráton* of *Súra-kérta* are mounted several very large pieces of artillery, and great veneration is paid to some of them supposed to have been the first introduced on the island: two, in particular, are considered to be part of the regalia. For muskets and pistols they are principally indebted to Europeans. Gunpowder they manufacture, but to no considerable extent, and the quality is not esteemed.

From an army raised only on emergency, and composed of people who do not make the military life a profession, much discipline cannot be expected. The veneration, however, which the common people pay to their chiefs, the well defined gradations of rank, and the devotion with which all classes are willing to sacrifice themselves in support of their ancient institutions and independence, seem to render the Javan troops, while acting under their own chiefs, orderly and tractable. In their tactics and conduct they endeavour to emulate the examples given in their ancient romances; and in the plans for their pitched battles, the march of their armies, and the individual

individual heroism of their chiefs; they strive to imitate the romantic exhibitions contained in the poems of antiquity. In the great *Matárem* war, for instance, the result of which was the establishment of the present family on the throne, the disposition of the army is said to have been in the form of a shrimp or prawn, as represented in the annexed plate. This form is termed *mangkára bbyewá*, or the shrimp which hides its soul, alluding to the sovereign who is in the centre and not to be approached. The plan of this order of battle is said to have been taken from the poem of the *Bráta Yúdhá*, and was adopted by *Bimányu*, the son of *Arjúna*. The *diráda máta* is another form, said to have been used by the army of *Astina*, and has likewise been adopted by the modern Javans.*

Of the bravery and heroism required of a soldier, some notion has been given in the account of the Javan ethics; and a reference to their history, for the last three centuries, will abundantly prove, that although unacquainted with those evolutions and tactics which contribute so largely to the power of an European army, the Javans, as soldiers, have not been deficient, either in personal courage, or in such military principles as might be expected from the general state of society among them, and as are well suited to the nature of the country and the weapons they are accustomed to carry.†

It is the national boast, that it was not so much by force of arms as by intrigue and stratagem, that the Dutch obtained the superiority in the country. The history of the Dutch administration on Java will abundantly testify this, and at the same time prove, that among Asiatics there are few nations who have fought more obstinately in support of their independence than the Javans. It was by corrupting and bribing the chiefs, and sowing disunion among them, that the Dutch succeeded in dismembering an empire, already shaken, at the period of their arrival, by the constant wars which attended the establishment of Mahometanism. The comparison which has

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been

* In joining the battle it is usual for the warriors to shout, and for the trumpets (*sarenen*), gongs, and drums used in the martial music of the country to be sounded.

† The following verse from the *Níti Sástra Káwi* may be adduced, in further illustration of the notions entertained by the Javans regarding the bravery of a soldier.

“ The brave man who has been successful in war obtains his heart’s desire.

“ The brave man who dies in war is received into heaven and cherished by the *Widadaris*.

“ If a man is cowardly in war and dies, the keepers of hell seize upon him in a rage:

“ Should he not die, he is reprobated and despised by all good men, even to his face.”

been drawn by the Javans themselves of their own character, in contrast with that of the Dutch, may serve to illustrate the nature of the military feeling still existing in the country. "The Dutch," say they, "are superior to the Javans, inasmuch as they have good heads; they can calculate and they understand policy better, but then they have cold hearts: the Javans are poor simple beings, but they love their country and will never quit it; their heart glows and often burns."

The phrenzy generally known by the term *muck* or *ámok*, is only another form of that fit of desperation which bears the same name among the military, and under the influence of which they rush upon the enemy, or attack a battery, in the manner of a forlorn hope. The accounts of the wars of the Javans, as well as of the *Maláyas*, abound with instances of warriors running *ámok*; of combatants, giving up all idea of preserving their own lives, rushing on the enemy, committing indiscriminate slaughter, and never surrendering themselves alive.* Even at present, there are to be found among the Javans men who profess to be and are considered invulnerable; and there are some who, by a dextrous manner of receiving the spear, and other such artifices, completely impose upon the too credulous people. Nothing is so easy as for an artful man to persuade the common Javans that he possesses supernatural power. At the present day this pretension, and the artifices by which it is supported, are more generally of a religious nature, but during the wars, every fortunate chief was considered as partially vested with it.

The general term for a soldier is *prajurit*: the guards of the sovereign are distinguished by the term *tantómo*. *Sara g'ni* is the name given to those who carry fire-arms. *Gándek* are the couriers or messengers who convey the orders of the commanders. In every army there is a certain number called *jága béla*, whose duty it is to prevent the body of the troops from deserting, and to see that every man does his duty. *Pána káwan* is the term by which the youths who accompany their fathers and relations to battle are distinguished. *Semút gátat* is the general term for attendants, retainers, and followers of an army. But besides distinctions of office, there are others purely of merit and honour: those are called *niútra*, who are selected as superior to their comrades in person and strength: the

prawireng

* It is on these occasions that the parties frequently increase their desperation by the use of opium.

prawireng are those who have once distinguished themselves in battle: *magátsih*, those who sacrifice all other prospects in life in order to pursue the love of arms: *trúna-láyang*, gallant youths: *jága súra*, those whose courage is undisputed and who keep a good look out: *júdi páti*, those who hazard their lives in battle, as they would hazard a die in any common game of chance; literally, who play with death: *nirbáya*, those who are above a sense of pain or fear: *jáyeng sekár*, flowers of victory.* This latter term was chosen by Marshal Daendels for the native militia raised for the service of the Dutch government during his administration.

In the Dutch armies, the Javans were considered as inferior to the other islanders as soldiers, and from the facilities offered for desertion while serving on Java, it was with great difficulty that they could be disciplined. The men were invariably raised by conscription, and instances have occurred of their deserting by companies. Under the British, a corps of about twelve hundred men was raised, with little prospect of advantage for the first two years; but by the perseverance and ability of the officer who commanded them, they afterwards became a well disciplined corps, and on all occasions behaved themselves with fidelity and courage when called into action. As individuals, they are, for the most part, physically weaker than the *Maláyu*s and other islanders; and as a nation, their agricultural habits have considerably obliterated the military character which they once possessed. Their country however, particularly in the interior, is naturally very strong, full of ravines and fastnesses, and their mode of warfare is perhaps the best adapted for its defence. Were the whole energies of the nation united under one chief, with the experience which they now have of European tactics, it may be assumed, that they would render it impregnable to any open attack, either of a European or an Asiatic force; but, unfortunately for their independence, it has been their lot, as their history will shew, to be continually disunited, either by religious or political feuds. Their greatest resistance appears to have been made against European influence. They maintain with pride, that although virtually conquered, they still, as a nation and as individuals, pertinaciously adhere to their ancient institutions,

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and

* "As to their military character, it is certain," says Plutarch, "they were able commanders, both by sea and land. But as the champions, who in one day gain the garland, not only in wrestling but in the *pancratíon*, are not simply called victors, but by the custom of the games, the *flowers of victory*; so Cymon, having crowned Greece with two victories gained in one day, the one at land, the other at sea, deserves some preference in the list of generals."—*Langhorne's Plutarch: Cimon and Lucullus compared.*

Revenue. and have a national feeling, very different from that which is usually to be found among a conquered people.

The subject of revenue, for the support of the various establishments under the native government, has been so repeatedly touched upon, and came so much into view in the account given of Javan agriculture, that many further details here would appear tedious and unnecessary. All public officers, it has been often observed, from the highest chief to the lowest menial, are remunerated by grants of land revokable at pleasure, and all expences of the courts of justice, all police and military services, defrayed out of the same fund. There is no public treasury. When public works are to be executed or supplies are to be furnished, each village is called upon to furnish its quota of men, of provisions, &c. ; and on the equitable regulation of these services and contributions, depends the reputation of the native chief. The land constitutes the only treasury of the prince; and this is valuable according to its fertility, and the extent and number of its cultivators. There are, to be sure, certain general taxes and imposts levied throughout the country ; but these appear to have been of comparatively modern introduction, and unconnected with the genuine principles of the Javan government. The nature of several of these imposts and taxes has been explained, in treating of the landed tenure and the condition of the peasantry. The following statement, extracted from the Report of a Dutch Commissioner,* appointed to inquire into the subject of taxation in the year 1812, though it refers to the particular province of *Surabáya*, may be considered as applicable to the greater part of the island ; and I here produce it, in preference to any more general or more concise account of my own, because it will shew that the opinions I have so often expressed, concerning the oppressions of the Dutch authorities, the patient submission, the industry, and other good qualities of the lower classes of Java, are not peculiar to the English, but entertained by some of the subjects of a government, which profited by the abuses complained of, and must have been anxious to conceal their enormity.

“ The ordinary taxes annually levied in the district of *Surabáya* are as follow.

“ 1. The *grabág* or *peték*, or as it is sometimes called, the *chácha* or capitation tax, is generally levied at the rate of four rupees for each *chácha* a year ; that is to say, for such a quantity of profitable land as may be cultivated by one family.

“ 2. The

* Mr. Rothenbuller.

“ 2. The contingent or contribution of rice to government, being from fifteen to nineteen *pikuls* of clean rice from each *jung*, according to its situation and fertility.

“ 3. *Pári pánajung* (from which, however, are excused the distant districts), consisting generally of three *ámats* of *pári*, equal to from eight to ten *káti* of rice, from each *jung*. This is destined for the maintenance of those *Mántris* and chiefs who were not at all or insufficiently provided with rice fields of their own.

“ 4. *Pári pagondikan*, levied only in the districts near the capital, consisting generally of two *gédings* or double heaps of *pári*. This was destined for the extraordinary expences of the districts; as the maintenance of the government, state prisoners, native ambassadors from the opposite coast, and the like.

“ 5. *Pári pakásak*, consisted of three *gédings* from each *jung*, destined for the maintenance of those who superintend the direction of the water-courses, &c.

“ 6. *Pári zákat*, consisted of one *amat* of *pári* from each *jung*, and was destined for the maintenance of the church and chief priests.

“ 7. *Pitrah*, consisted in the payment of twenty *káti* of rice from each *jung*, also destined for the maintenance of the priests.

“ 8. *Málamán*. This consisted of a payment made to the Regent or chiefs of the districts, at each of the three festivals of *Múlut*, *Púasa*, and *Besár*, of ten *káti* of rice and three and a quarter stivers in money from each *jung*, one large fowl, five eggs, four cocoa-nuts, one bunch of plantains; and from those who held three or four *jungs*, was further required a bottle of oil, to add to the solemnity of the ceremony, to which persons of this condition were universally invited.

“ It is easy to conceive, that the common Javan was not able to make any money after paying these taxes and contributions, at least not so much as he wanted for himself and family; particularly if we take into consideration, that it is very seldom one man is the sole proprietor of a *jung* alone, but that it is often divided between three and four persons, and that, with the most successful harvest, such a *jung* does not produce more than thirty to thirty-five *ámats* of *pári*. With all this, however, the common Javan would feel himself satisfied, if he had no other taxes to pay, having generally a good many fruit trees, and a little cottage
“ farm,

Oppressiveness
of them.

“ and the subordinate chiefs of every description, assume the right of disposing of the services of the common people as they think proper, and themselves employ many of them in menial labour of all descriptions,* from which it arises, that the number of people employed away from their homes, on what is called public services, is almost incredible.

Reformation
necessary.

“ It is therefore more than time and highly necessary, that an end be put to this monstrous system of government. Humanity looks forward with pleasure to this step. Government, who are essentially interested, have the most perfect right to take it; but the change must be entire and radical. Where the machine is entirely bad, it would be vain to attempt the repair of a few of the parts of which it is composed: the whole would still remain worthless, and it would only result that the main defects being hidden by a specious covering, the whole labour would be worse than thrown away.”

The British government did accordingly alter the whole system of revenue. The subject was forced upon its attention, not only by the desire which every humane and liberal administration must feel, to promote the happiness of its subjects, but by considerations of a prudential nature. The resources of the country had sunk under a capricious and tyrannical system of exaction; industry was paralyzed, and confidence was destroyed. The opportunity for effecting a reformation was favourable, our means ample, and we had nothing to dread from the opposition of those interested in supporting abuses: it was, therefore, resolved to abolish all oppressive taxes, and to come immediately upon the soil for the support of our establishments, by appropriating a fixed portion of its produce, leaving the full enjoyment of the remainder to the cultivator, with every facility for turning his industry to account. What was done in consequence, by the land revenue arrangements, has been seen in the account given of landed tenure.

The subjects of the colony were freed from the sway of their chiefs, who were no longer permitted to demand at pleasure their services or their property. These chiefs were compensated for the loss of their former influence by salaries in money or allotments of land, which they either held on condition of performing the police duties, or collecting the revenue. When paid by the rent of land, they were permitted to exact no more than the assessment settled by government. No arbitrary power was allowed them

* This was the practice of the Europeans also.

them to disturb the peasant in the enjoyment of the remainder, or to drag him from his home and his duties to his family, for the purpose of swelling their idle pomp, or performing services about their person or household. The Chinese farmers of the revenue in *Chéribon* and other districts, having oppressed the people by every rapacious and tyrannical expedient, were, by the discontinuance of the farms, deprived of the power they had exercised over the persons and property of the natives. Forced services and all deliveries of produce at inadequate rates on government account were abolished; and for whatever colonial produce or supplies might be required for the public service, the fair market price was ordered to be paid. Duties on the transport of goods from one part of the country to another, and on the sale of commodities at markets or bazars, were, for the most part, abolished, as injurious to trade and discouraging to agricultural industry. The system of farming the import and export duties, which existed under the Dutch, was likewise annulled, and collectors were appointed to receive the duties immediately for government. Internal duties, of the nature of tolls and market dues, had been universally, though secretly, levied by the Chinese, in *Chéribon* and other places, in direct opposition to the orders of government and the terms of their engagement. This abuse, engrafted on the farming system, incalculably aggravated its evils and called loudly for redress. The farmer thrust his rapacious hand into every place where there was the least prospect of gain, and limited his demand only by the capacity of the merchant to satisfy it, or by an ill-defined custom, which might be perverted almost at pleasure, so as to accommodate itself to any exaction. The evils resulting from this mode of raising a revenue may easily be calculated, when it is stated, that, for a very trifling contribution to government by the farmer, duties were levied upon internal transport amounting to nearly fifty per cent. on the value of the commodities transported. Rice, on its transport from one part of the island to another, had been liable to duties of about forty-six per cent. Regulations were made for fixing the amount of import duties, and equalizing them over the island.

The restoration of the Dutch Indian empire to the sovereign of the Netherlands, at a period when these important changes were only in progress, may have perhaps prevented the full accomplishment by the English of the details in some districts, but the principles of the new system were not only introduced and thoroughly understood in all the more populous districts

under the European government, but an experience of three years fully demonstrated the advantages resulting from it to the public revenue. It would have been attended with great immediate loss, without any corresponding future gain, to have abolished at once all the former sources of revenue; but the thorough change of system was declared, and the principles of it were acted upon, as far as was consistent with the security of public tranquillity and the realization of the current resources of the country; and the results of these arrangements, as far as they went, proved that a land rent might, even with the existing taxes in the capitals, &c. be realized at the rate of at least six rupees annually from each cultivator, or after the abolition of the taxes bearing on agriculture, at the average rate of four Spanish dollars from each cultivator, giving in the one case a rental for the whole island of about six millions of rupees, and in the other of four millions of Spanish dollars, or at five shillings the dollar, a million sterling. Of this one-fourth would accrue to the native princes, and the remainder to the European government. The particulars of the land revenue settlement effected in each district, and the detailed resources of the different parts of the island, will be particularly noticed in the statistical accounts which will appear in a subsequent part of this volume, when the subject of revenue will be again adverted to; and, in the mean time, it may be sufficient, for the purpose of shewing the general resources, to refer to the annexed table, exhibiting the revenues and expenses of the Javan government for a period of three favourable years under the old Dutch Company, for three years under the administration of Marshal Daendels, when its real resources were first called forth and the revenue was higher than before known, and for the first three years under the British government, of which alone, the accounts are yet closed. The dependencies included in this table do not include the Moluccas or Spice Islands, the administration of which under the British government was kept distinct from that of Java.

By this statement it will appear, that the revenues actually realized in cash, on Java, in the year 1814-15, and before the land revenue arrangements had become fully effectual, amounted to upwards of six millions and a half of rupees: to this may be added one-third more for the revenue of the native provinces, making a total revenue of the island exceeding eight millions and a half of rupees, or above a million sterling.

From

ABSTRACT STATEMENT of the actual REVENUES and EXPENCES of the EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT DEPENDENCIES, during a Period of Nine Years, viz.

REVENUES.	ANTERIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF MARSHAL DAENDELS.						SUBSEQUENT TO THE ARRIVAL OF MARSHAL DAENDELS.						
	In the Year 1803-3.		In the Year 1803-4.		In the Year 1804-5.		In the Year 1808.		In the Year 1809.		In the Year 1810.		
	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	
<i>On the Island</i>													
Laud Rent	—	—	—	—	—	—	224,603	11	224,602	0	224,603	23	
Subsidies from the Regents in Specie	—	—	—	—	—	—	353,716	0	353,716	0	354,332	0	
Do. in Oil, Rice, &c.....	48,952	60	44,609	42	84,534	33	288,460	0	720,208	0	558,200	15	
Several Farms.....	594,293	32	595,259	42	762,449	59	1,525	50	215,848	0	549,005	15	
Opium do.	54,464	0	54,416	0	61,248	0	290,262	12	182,522	0	515,666	15	
Custom-House	532,704	0	520,698	26	616-400	0	3,918	0	18,264	0	86,961	15	
On Bazars, &c.....	112,800	0	110,900	0	113,400	0	450	0	1,100	0	1,573	0	
Port Duties	3,234	24	1,926	32	1,498	40	48,159	0	26,156	0	33,910	0	
Stamp do.	34,563	50	33,854	61	36,100	39	20,109	15	20,792	0	20,661	15	
Duties on Legacies and Successions.....	187,134	62	66,982	24	54,525	25	40,877	15	59,237	0	74,597	0	
Do. on Transfers on Houses and Land.....	67,331	37	111,150	98	89,006	27	6,422	0	6,161	0	18,974	15	
Registry of Vessels, Port and Anchorage Money....	17,511	19	8,288	80	8,396	36	9,870	0	10,560	0	12,300	0	
Toll on Roads and Bridges	5,711	18	5,689	0	5,913	28	—	—	—	—	15,090	0	
Orphan Chamber	—	—	—	—	—	—	51,150	0	56,193	0	60,300	0	
Vendue Department	90,397	53	57,811	23	77,741	20	15,807	15	26,400	0	30,150	0	
Lombard Bank	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Town Duties	—	—	<i>Included in the above.</i>			—	—	—	<i>Included in the above.</i>			—	—
Printing Office	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Taxes on Slaves	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Do. Houses and Lands	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Do. Horses	39,180	0	35,812	0	36,987	0	—	—	19,450	0	20,000	0	
Do. Cocoa-nut trees.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Head Money	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Salt Department.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	25,752	0	224,620	0	271,557	0	
Coffee	<i>Sent to Europe.</i>		<i>Sent to Europe.</i>		98,377	0	534,818	0	348,197	0	463,811	60	
Fines and Fees	34,622	31	4,737	16	6,884	86	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Birds' Nests collected at Surakarta and Yugyakerta ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Tcak Timber felled	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,318	0	12,519	0	
License for a China Junk to trade to Macasar.....	129,200	0	117,871	74	130,529	32	37,325	0	60,000	0	65,000	0	
Do. cutting Timber	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Tax on civil Employés of one-fifth of their Income	205,522	92	145,527	42	221,589	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Miscellaneous.....	68,801	3	63,611	32	53,235	35	18,319	0	15,890	0	27,300	0	
Java Rupees	2,226,423	81	1,979,145	92	2,458,815	92	2,056,307	27	2,632,897	20	3,440,352	77	
<i>From the Dependencies.</i>													
Revenues and Duties at Banjermasin	33,903	27	18,816	99	18,817	88	17,221	23	19,343	17	—	—	
Do.....do. .. Makasar	66,889	9	76,175	59	65,937	94	72,874	48	72,546	30	114,224	90	
Do.....do. .. Palembang and Banka, the	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Revenues collected in Tin, and disposed of....	48,000	0	16,000	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Total Receipts, Java Rupees	2,375,216	17	2,090,138	50	2,543,571	74	2,146,402	98	2,724,786	67	3,554,577	67	
EXPENSES.													
<i>On the Island.</i>													
Charges of the General Department.....	745,556	68	855,369	94	827,714	51	571,356	7	1,266,866	97	1,833,211	0	
Do. Judicial .. do.....	169,851	49	190,981	67	174,119	70	105,677	43	15,886	36	11,293	50	
Do. Revenues.. do.....	119,465	88	114,640	46	134,368	72	17,018	23	98,632	50	353,131	26	
Do. Commercial do.....	55,098	93	166,280	88	168,628	71	56,504	47	37,088	10	—	—	
Do. Marine... do.....	588,863	78	609,492	50	600,738	28	225,388	3	614,015	23	941,829	53	
Do. Military .. do.....	2,025,731	50	2,019,987	68	2,038,662	63	1,096,067	30	2,302,944	7	3,074,440	33	
Do. on Expeditions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Freight on Ships and Vessels	104,983	69	127,051	57	174,481	41	65,950	64	78,299	50	175,286	10	
Account of Interest and Miscellaneous	6,172	81	5,587	19	6,528	0	117,157	14	298,445	59	580,328	40	
Java Rupees	3,815,724	76	4,089,291	84	5,145,311	93	2,255,119	31	4,712,178	32	6,069,520	6	
<i>On the Dependencies.</i>													
At Banjermasin	33,757	78	36,861	13	42,194	10	48,143	39	66,027	77	—	—	
Makasar	133,929	56	181,032	89	168,881	15	211,449	33	216,138	14	112,916	60	
Palembang and Banka	23,720	91	23,937	86	26,639	37	17,785	33	20,451	88	19,345	10	
Total Expenses, Java Rupees	4,007,133	1	4,331,123	72	4,383,026	55	4,532,497	36	5,014,797	11	7,101,781	76	
Deduct the above Revenues.	2,375,216	17	2,090,138	50	2,543,571	74	2,146,402	98	2,724,786	67	3,554,577	67	
More Expences than Receipts, Java Rupees	1,631,916	84	2,240,985	23	1,839,454	81	2,386,094	38	2,290,010	44	3,547,204	9	

BATAVIA,
Accountant's Office, the 16th February, 1816.

(Signed) J. G. BAUER, Acc

From a colony which was able to furnish at such a moment so extensive a revenue from its own internal resources, after the drains, checks, and restrictions to which it had been subjected during the last two centuries, what might not have been expected, had confidence been once established in the permanency of the government, and the tide of British capital been once fairly turned into it?

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