

NINETEENTH CENTURY JAVA: AN ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL SOURCES AND METHOD

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A FEW YEARS AGO, I STATED IN A BOOK REVIEW THAT THE new orientation for the writing of the history of Southeast Asia which places the people of Southeast Asia at the center of the narrative is now generally accepted.¹ It was my hope to move the profession on beyond the dispute about orientations and viewpoints of Southeast Asian history and into the actual process of producing the "new," or to use Smail's term, the "autonomous" historical writing for the area.² Despite the objections to the above statement made from one or two sources who felt that the old "colonial" or Europa-centered orientation was still very much alive and only awaiting the auspicious moment to again rear its head, I am inclined, upon reviewing Southeast Asian historical scholarship over the intervening years, to let it stand. In short, I am prepared to accept the fact that all serious historical scholarship related to Southeast Asia which is being, and will be, produced, will be oriented toward the particular society of Southeast Asia with which it deals, will seek to understand and interpret that society, and will relate the historical events to the developments of that society.

Having made this unequivocal testimonial, I hasten to add that I do not think the above-stated ideal has yet been realized, nor will it be easily accomplished. It does seem to me, however, that virtually all contemporary historians of Southeast Asia desire the production of this new style of historical scholarship about which so much has been said in recent years. The purpose of this paper is first, to discuss some of the methodological and technical problems involved in producing this new style history; second, to relate some of these theoretical factors to certain specific problems and considerations relative to the writing of nineteenth century Indonesian, specifically Javanese, history.

No one, to the best of my knowledge, has suggested that the new orientation for Southeast Asian historiography be based on anything but scientific principles of historical research. Scientific is perhaps a somewhat misplaced word when applied to the methods of the historian, but certainly it seems axiomatic that the methods of analyzing and evaluating historical sources, the careful and judicious formulation of generalizations, the inclusion of all relevant evidence, and the candid appraisal of lacunae and prejudices, as these have been developed in the historical tradition of the West during the past two centuries, lie at the root of what should be ideally practised. To this must be added the consideration cogently stated by Tom Harrison that the

¹ *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 23 (1960-61), 200.

² John R. W. Smail, "On the Possibility of an Autonomous History of Modern Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1961), 72-102.

historian of Southeast Asia must have an understanding and strong appreciation of the peoples, or particular people, of Southeast Asia about whom he would write.³ All historians must be able to read between the lines of their evidence, but for such an area as Southeast Asia where historical evidence is often scarce and one-sided, this is particularly necessary, and a deep understanding of the peoples is essential to this.

The principles of historical research as here stated are accepted today on a world-wide basis and are not the private property of the Western world. Well-written, brilliant historical writing is art—it always has been, and probably always will be—but it knows no racial or national limitations. The application of a new orientation to Southeast Asian history will in no wise guarantee high quality historical writing, but it will open avenues of research which will, hopefully, attract persons of all nations who are well-founded in the principles of historical scholarship and who will bring their genius to the task at hand. The next question is how to begin.

It is obviously easier to talk about the new orientation for Southeast Asian history than to produce it. The veritable trickle of historical studies in the past decade might be regarded as a dilemma in the application of the new orientation. The new orientation is more than merely changing a pro-colonial to an anti-colonial view,⁴ nor does it mean excluding the Europeans from the historical narrative as if they had never affected Southeast Asia. To reduce the depth of the European impact is possible, but their total elimination is rather nonsensical. Neither the larger histories of Southeast Asia which have appeared recently,⁵ nor the national histories have been able to accomplish the new orientation satisfactorily. The history of the last two or three hundred years is especially difficult to reorientate, for the actions of the Europeans seem so strongly deterministic of events. It is only when we turn to more detailed local studies, which rely upon fundamental source materials, and undertake the analysis and description of a smaller historical area—both in time and space—that we begin to discern the emergence of a new historical orientation.⁶ The new approach, it seems, must be built from the ground up, not in reverse.

More extensive historical accounts—whether for all Southeast Asia or for a single country—must, of necessity, be based upon existing monographic material and secondary sources. These are the very materials which are considered outdated because they either incorporate a discarded point of view, or ask questions of the fundamental materials no longer considered valid. Yet, where else will one find the necessary assemblage of basic facts upon which to construct the narrative? Obviously nowhere. One can keep abreast of the latest research relative to one's area of interest, and incorporate new viewpoints into the narrative, when these seem to apply to the new orient-

³ *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1962), 161, 165.

⁴ Smail, *op. cit.*

⁵ Particularly D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London, 1964, second edition), and John F. Cady, *Southeast Asia; Its Historical Development* (New York, 1964).

⁶ One of the finest examples to appear is John R. W. Smail, *Bandung in the Early Revolution 1945-1946: A study in the social history of the Indonesian Revolution* (Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph Series, 1964).

ation. Lacking these, one can apply sociological theories which seem to fill in interpretative concepts about Southeast Asian societies, or one can develop speculations premised upon empathy and understanding of the particular people being studied. All these things have been done, and are being done, by historians, and each has obvious merit. In themselves, however, these are not sufficient. The historian lives uncomfortably with the theoretical generalization; his whole training and his approach to man in society demands specific evidence to reinforce his generalizations. For the historian, the re-orientation of Southeast Asian historiography must be built on firm foundations, if it is to be consistent with the principles of his discipline.

To the historian, therefore, the present state of Southeast Asian historical scholarship calls for a return to the study of the primary sources of Southeast Asian history, and for their basic reinterpretation and re-evaluation. With new questions to ask of the sources and with interest in the local, minute developments within Southeast Asian communities, the historians will, hopefully, begin to produce studies which can serve as the basis for future extensive generalizations. The emphasis upon study of fundamental sources will hopefully encourage a search for new material, as yet untapped, but this is a hope for the future. The new orientation, meanwhile can be based in large measure upon already available sources. Most fundamental sources for Southeast Asian history have been subjected to only limited use and are certainly capable of yielding much new information. A deeper analysis of these materials will yield much that is pertinent to advancing the new orientation; the skill of the historian has a wide area in which to be tested. As new questions are asked of the material, new truths will appear.

Turning from the abstract to the concrete, I would like to give some indication of the application of the statements concerning re-evaluation of sources to the rewriting of nineteenth century Javanese history. What are the sources that could be used in producing local historical monographs of portions of Java, and what are some avenues that might be explored in the re-evaluation of these sources? These questions cannot receive full consideration here, but selective samplings should produce some suggestions that may stimulate thinking on this matter.

Indonesian or Javanese language sources concerned with the nineteenth century are not now known to be numerous, but even what is known has been little used in the writing of history. Drewes has indicated that the development of written history by Javanese in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has never yet been fully explored. Without being specific, he indicates that an indigenous historiography which has only been partly made available narrates events at least as far as the Java War (1825-30).⁷ The *Babad Dipanagara*, mentioned by de Graaf and used in part by Louw, remains to be fully explored; what is known of it would indicate that it is a highly accurate account of the activities of Diponegoro.⁸ Even beyond specifically

⁷ G. W. J. Drewes, "Over werkelijke en vermeende geschiedschrijving in de Nieuwjavaansche litteratuur," *Djawa*, Vol. 19 (1939), 248.

⁸ H. J. de Graaf, "Later Javanese Sources and Historiography," in *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography* edited by Soedjatmoko, et. al. (Ithaca, N. Y., 1965), 132-133. P. J. F. Louw en E. S. de Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-1830* (6 volumes; The Hague, 1894-1909).

historical accounts, however, there have never been full scale investigations into the Javanese primbons of the nineteenth century—personal accounts of particular events frequently with religious overtones. Nor have the nineteenth century Javanese efforts at reconstructing Javanese history or in editing certain *wajang* texts (such as the *Serat Kanda*), been evaluated and interpreted in the light of developments and attitudes of the time.⁹ To the best of my knowledge, the court records and archives of the various successor states of Mataram in the nineteenth century have never been consulted or analyzed in the reconstruction of this history despite the fact that they are known to exist and are available in *toto* or in part.¹⁰

The extent and depth of the Javanese and Indonesian sources can only be surmised for there has been no exhaustive search for family records, local land records and administrative orders, diaries, and letters. At the moment, Western language sources for nineteenth century Javanese history are both more accessible and quantitatively larger. The reorientation and reconstruction of local Javanese history will have to proceed in large part from western language sources. Therefore, it is chiefly with these sources that the historian will have to undertake his re-evaluation and reinterpretation. It is with these sources that the remainder of this paper will be concerned.

For purposes of convenience in the ensuing discussion, I have divided western language source materials concerned with nineteenth century Java into six categories. These are: Published Government Documents, Unpublished Government Documents, Government Reports, Unpublished Personal Archives and Family Papers, Published Memoirs and Diaries, and Travel Accounts. These are rather loose categories which lay no claim to completeness nor exclusiveness.

The quantity of Published Government Documents concerned with nineteenth century Javanese history is extremely great. Most of these documents are in Dutch—as are most of the source materials listed hereafter—and many will deal with other parts of Indonesia too, but our immediate concern is with Java. Basic, of course, are official gazettes, state papers, and the like.¹¹ These have been provided with indices, cross-reference guides, and other useful devices to aid the scholar.¹² As is evident from the preceding note, most of these begin with the re-establishment of Dutch authority in Java in 1816. For the earlier years of the century, the latter volumes of de Jonge's work

⁹ Drewes, *op. cit.*, 255.

¹⁰ Portions of the archives of Jogjakarta have been microfilmed and are available to scholars in this form. The old archive of Modjokerto covering the first half of the nineteenth century is to be found in the manuscript collection of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in The Hague. The history of the royal of Madura which has been translated by W. Palmer van den Broek, *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasche Genootschap*, XX (1871), 241ff., makes reference to events in Java during the 1830's.

¹¹ The official papers for the East Indies are: *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie* which commences in 1816; *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie* starting in 1857; *Bataviaasche Courant* running from 1816 to 1827 which then becomes the *Javasche Courant* from 1828; *Koloniaal Verslag* starting in 1849 as a portion of the *Handelingen van de Staten-Generaal*; and *Jaarcijfers voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden: Kolonien* which begin in 1891.

¹² Of particular use is J. Boudewijnse en G. H. van Soest, *De Indo-Nederlandsche Wetgeving: Staatsbladen van Nederlandsch Indie, bewerkt en met Aanteekeningen...* (23 vols.; Amsterdam, 1876-1924).

come up to 1811,¹³ English reports are available for the years from 1811 to 1816,¹⁴ and M. L. van Deventer and P. H. van der Kemp have extended the publication of government documents to cover the years from 1811 to 1820.¹⁵ S. van Deventer has published selected documents relative to the agrarian system in Java; these extend beyond the middle of the century.¹⁶ The official correspondence of such leading government figures as C. T. Elout, J. van den Bosch, J. C. Baud, and D. J. de Eerens has been published.¹⁷ Moreover, a series of dissertations known collectively as the Utrecht Contributions to the History, Politics, the Economy of Netherlands India (Utrechtsche Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, het Staatsrecht en de Economie van Nederlandsch-Indië—C. Gerretson en H. Westra—25 volumes), contain large numbers of documents in the form of appendices.¹⁸ These documents are drawn from government archives and deal principally with nineteenth century problems. The *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1838-1902) has published government documents of various sorts,¹⁹ and still other documents can be found in the appendices to secondary accounts such as the works of Steyn Parve and Cornets de Groot.²⁰ The official advices of Snouck Hur-

¹³ J. K. J. de Jonge, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië* (13 vols. & supplements; The Hague, 1862-1909). Especially useful for the nineteenth century is volume 13 which contains documents for the period 1799-1811 and the supplement to volume 13 which is subtitled "Documenten omtrent Herman Willem Daendels..." and was assembled by L. W. G. de Roo.

¹⁴ In addition to materials available in the India Office, we have the invaluable records of T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, (2 vols.; London, 1817); *Substance of a Minute Recorded by Thos. Stamford Raffles* (London, 1814) and *Proclamations, Regulations, Advertisements, and Orders, printed and published in the Island of Java, by the British Government...* (3 vols.; Batavia, 1813-1816). Also Lady Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles...* (London, 1830).

¹⁵ M. L. van Deventer, *Het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java en Onderhoorigheden sedert 1811* (The Hague, 1891). The works of P. H. van der Kemp are too numerous to list here—they can be found in W. P. Coolhaas, *A Critical Survey of Studies on Dutch Colonial History* [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical Series No. 4] (The Hague, 1960), 86, 92, 93, 94 & 100.

¹⁶ S. van Deventer, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis van het Landelijk Stelsel op Editor Java*, (3 vols.; Zalt-Bommel, 1865-6).

¹⁷ P. J. Elout van Soeterwoude, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Koloniaal Beheer* (The Hague, 1851); *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Koloniaal Beheer* (The Hague, 1861), and *Bijdragen betreffende Koloniale en andere aangelegenheden in den Raad van State behandeld* (The Hague, 1874). J. J. Westendorp-Boerma, *Briefwisseling tussen J. van den Bosch en J. C. Baud 1829-1832 en 1834-1836*, 2 volumes (Utrecht, 1956). F. C. Gerretson & W. P. Coolhaas, *Particuliere Briefwisseling tussen J. van den Bosch en D. J. de Eerens 1834-1841* (Groningen, 1960).

¹⁸ These are individual dissertations of students of the Utrecht University Indology program. They vary greatly in quality. The late Professor Gerretson influenced the conclusions of some of these with his conservative views. Of special interest for our purpose is the vast quantity of documentation reproduced in most of these dissertations.

¹⁹ This journal became the organ of the liberal interests in colonial affairs, especially after 1849, when W. R. van Hoevell became more active in its management. It was generally opposed to government interference in the cultivations and other enterprises, and the documents it reproduced were designed to support its stand.

²⁰ D. C. Steijn Parve, *Het Koloniaal Monopoliestelsel getoetst ann geschiedenis en staatshuishoudkunde, nader toegelicht door den schrijver* (Zalt-Bommel, 1851). Appendix contains, among other documents, the Du Bus Colonization Report of 1827 and the reactions of Elout and Van den Bosch to it. J. P.

gronje which extend into the twentieth century have also been made public.²¹ There is, as this incomplete listing will indicate, a wealth of readily available material for the historian.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that these published documents form the basis of many of the secondary works and have thus directly or indirectly found their way into most general accounts of nineteenth century history. But what is rather surprising is that most of the documents have been interpreted only once, namely in the particular publication or study in which they appear. It is as if these particular source materials are capable of conveying only one truth; once this truth has been extracted, they can be of no further use. Take, for example, the standard work of S. van Deventer on the agrarian system. Here we have three volumes of documents, meticulously cross referenced,²² laced together with commentary and interpretation. The publication was undertaken at the behest of the government at a time when strong liberal views prevailed. As might be expected, the selection and interpretation of the documents are heavily biased against government enterprise in the agrarian sector of Javanese life. But if one reads only the documents without commentary, and particularly if one augments these with documents not published by van Deventer but now available in the archives, one could not only come to extremely different conclusions but also—and this is more pertinent to our particular interest—obtain information and insights into matters which did not interest the original compiler. Many of the documents of this collection are reports on local conditions, particularly relevant to the introduction of export crops. They contain information about local conditions and local reactions to the new cultivations which illuminate aspects of Javanese society. The documents have never been systematically restudied to see what information they might yield concerning Javanese life. One specific example, as illustration, may suffice: in a couple of pages dealing with rice cultivation (volume 2, pp. 733-737), the existing interpretation highlights the unwillingness of the government to encourage private enterprise in this sector of the economy, but totally left aside are interesting references in the documents to marketing techniques in the distribution of rice and to the expansion of rice growing terrain. These latter facets of information, if tied in with other shreds of evidence found in other documents, can serve to enlarge our understanding of specific conditions in areas of Java. It can hardly be expected that van Deventer's questions of a century ago would be the same as ours today, even overlooking his biases. New historical orientations will not, however, develop if we continue to accept the evaluations and interpretations of the past and do not return to the documents in an effort to squeeze new information from them. It is unfortunate that the interpretation of van Deventer have indirectly been conveyed into many of the stand-

Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg, *Over het beheer onzer Kolonien* (The Hague, 1862). Appended are documents concerning the census of 1861, the Van den Bosch Report of October 1830, and agricultural production statistics for Java from 1829 to 1861.

²¹ E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse, *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889-1936* (2 vols.; The Hague, 1957-1959).

²² J. Boudewijnse, *Alphabetisch Overzicht van het werk van den Heer S. van Deventer Jszn. . . .* (The Hague 1868).

ard western language accounts of nineteenth century Java;²³ it is doubly unfortunate that the questions with which he began his analysis and selection of the documents have not been fundamentally reconstructed and recast, in an effort to draw out information much more relevant to our present-day historical interest.

More challenging, and perhaps, even more extensive are the Unpublished Government Documents which emanated from the various branches of the Dutch colonial government. The Indonesian National Archives (Arsip Nasional) in Djakarta, houses unbelievable quantities of material, most of it related to eighteenth and nineteenth century affairs. Some of the materials situated in this archive are to be found also in the Netherlands, but the reports from local administrators and the records of local affairs were never sent back to the motherland by the colonial regime and are still in Djakarta, in so far as they still exist. These are precisely the materials that could be of great value in reconstructing local developments and attitudes. Unfortunately, however, the Indonesian government has not encouraged the use of these archival materials by either their own or foreign nationals.

The greatest quantity of unpublished archival materials presently available are in the Netherlands. The State Archives in The Hague (Rijksarchief) contain all nineteenth century papers of the former Ministry of Colonies.²⁴ This Colonial Archive contains all reports, letters, and decrees passing between the government in Batavia and the Ministry in the Hague. Normally, these are concerned with high level policy and personnel decisions, but frequently, the papers relevant to particular local matters were also forwarded, especially if a crisis had developed in a particular locality. This means that revealing materials are frequently buried in the midst of rather routine correspondence, and although indices and cross-references to the Colonial Archive will provide some guidelines, they do not list the specific contents of each folio. In this Archive are to be found such virtually unused items as the Cultivation Reports for the period from 1834 to 1851 (beginning in 1852 the information they contained was incorporated in the Koloniaal Verslag), the Memorials of Transfer available for the latter part of the century, some 150 boxes of Mail Reports covering the years from 1872 to 1900 and containing much material of local interest, and a scattering of General Accounts (Alegemeene Verslagen) of various residencies in Java. Moreover, there are also such interesting items as an extensive multi-volume statistical compilation for the year 1836,²⁵ copies of all contracts and agreements closed between the colonial government and various Javanese rulers,²⁶ records of all action and deliberations

²³ See Robert Van Niel, "The Function of Landrent under the Cultivation System in Java," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIII (May 1964), 357-375.

²⁴ The archive of the former Ministry of Colonies is situated in the Netherlands State Archives and is open to researchers for the entire nineteenth century. The materials through 1849 are housed in The Hague. Materials from 1850 through 1899 are located in the archival depot at Schaarsbergen. Materials from 1900 to the present are still in the archive of the Ministry which has been fused into the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is generally possible to obtain permission to consult these later materials.

²⁵ J. M. van Beusischem, *Statistiek van Java en Madoera* (Colonial Archive, Folios 3042-3064.)

²⁶ Colonial Archive, Folios 2958-2962.

of the governors-general (both in council and outside council),²⁷ and the private correspondence between many of the governors-general and the respective Minister of Colonies.²⁸

Taking one of these items for more specific treatment, we might say a few words about the General Accounts which the residents of Java submitted annually. These reports were designed to provide the government in Batavia with a report on the internal condition within each residency. An established outline of topics to be included in the report, tended to make these reports uniform in style; a desire to present only favorable information made many of these reports highly inaccurate appraisals of the actual condition within the residency. Many quips have been made about the content of some of these reports, and any historian using them would be well advised to take account of the hard facts of nineteenth century bureaucratic life in evaluating them. But these reports are far from being valueless for the reconstruction of local events. I have before me copies of the annual account of Pasuruan for 1832 by J. F. W. van Nes, and a five-year summary report of Rembang for 1844 to 1849 by L. W. C. Keuchenius, both of which are anything but man-pleasing in their appraisal of internal conditions, and which contain interesting accounts of local conditions among the little people and far-reaching proposals for change.²⁹ Here is to be found information which, if properly and sympathetically interpreted, could yield new insights into the life and development of the people of these particular areas of Java.

Turning next to Government Reports, we enter a rather familiar domain. Since these reports are generally available to the researcher, they have been used frequently by historians. Such reports as the final summation of the investigation of native rights to the soil,³⁰ the complete report of the investigation into the diminishing welfare (prosperity) of Java,³¹ the report on government coffee cultivation,³² the reports on village services,³³ the proposals for changes in the renting of lands by Javanese to foreigners,³⁴ and the raw economic statistics prepared by W.M.F. Mansvelt.³⁵ The conclusions

²⁷ Colonial Archive, Folios 2435-2765 and 2770-2890.

²⁸ Those already mentioned above, under Published Government Documents, were drawn from this archive. I have found the correspondence of J. J. Rochussen to be present in this archive, and have reason to believe that many other private and semi-official correspondences may be found there also.

²⁹ Algemeen Jaarlijksch-Verslag, Residentie Passorouang, 1832. K. I. T. L. V., Ms. No. 104. Korte Schets of Staat der Residentie Rembang. Colonial Archive, Folio 3066.

³⁰ *Eindresumé van het... Onderzoek naar de Rechten van den Inlander op den Grond op Java en Madoera...* (3 vols.; Batavia, 1876-1896).

³¹ *Onderzoek naar de Mindere Welvaart der Inlandsche Bevolking op Java en Madoera* (9 vols. in 27 parts, Batavia, 1905-1912). [Under direction of H. E. Steinmetz.]

³² *Gouvernements-Koffiecultuur: Rapport van de Staats-Commissie* (The Hague, 1889).

³³ F. Fokkens, *Eindresumé van het... Onderzoek naar de Verplichte Diensten der Inlandsche Bevolking op Java en Madoera*, 3 volumes (The Hague, 1901-1903), and C. J. Hasselman, *Eindverslag over het Onderzoek naar den druk der Dessadiensten op Java en Madoera* (Batavia, 1905).

³⁴ J. Mullenmeister, *Ontwerp-ordonnantie tot herziening der regelen omtrent de verhuring van grond door Inlanders aan niet-Inlanders op Java en Madoera...* (Batavia, 1895).

³⁵ Mansvelt published a series of short statistical studies through the Central

of these reports are generally well known, but much of the detailed information which they contain would be particularly susceptible to re-evaluation by a historian seeking to impose the new orientation on it. Many of these reports already have their raw information broken down into localized sub-headings, thereby enhancing their usefulness for the researcher.

One example must again suffice. The Eindresume of the investigation into native rights to the soil contains detailed information about agrarian conditions in various parts of Java. The conclusions of the report which have been conveyed into the English language literature through Day's writings are only a partial reflection of the valuable insights which this report contains.³⁶ A full evaluation of the basic data contained in this report would be a painstaking process, but I have often thought it would be extremely rewarding, for many of its general conclusions were virtually predetermined by the biases of the time and have only a tangential relationship to the data. Furnivall, it might be noted, had reservations about aspects of the report,³⁷ and the later *adat* law studies provided much supplemental material on the subject of land rights.³⁸ Here is a report whose conclusions might well be challenged in many respects, but whose basic data can be invaluable to the reconstruction of historical narratives oriented to indigenous society.

Unpublished Personal Archives or Family Papers of individuals closely associated with affairs in Java during the nineteenth century, can often contain insights never found in official or governmental papers. It is to be hoped that more of these archives can be located and made available in the future; especially desirable would be the records of some Javanese families. Some of the Personal Archives known to me, and generally little used by historians, are the following. In the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague are to be found the family papers of J. P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaienburg (1808-1878)³⁹ and L. W. C. Keucheninus (1822-1893).⁴⁰ The State Archives in the Hague contain numerous personal archives which contain material related to Java. The archives with which I have had some first hand contact and can vouch for the vast quantity of untapped material which they contain are of L. P. J. viscount du Bus de Gisignies, J. van den Bosch, and J. C. Baud. I am told there are others present here. The Koninklijke Instituut voor

Office for Statistics in Batavia; these studies seem to be little known among research scholars. Coolhaas, *A Critical Survey...* (*op. cit.*, p. 111), lists the titles which have appeared.

³⁶ C. Day, *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (New York, 1904). Cf. note on p. 370 concerning refutation of L. W. C. van den Berg's concepts. It should, in all fairness, be noted that Day, pp. 4-5, accurately notes the methodological problem inherent in the use of the *Eindresume*, but does not heed his own advice when dealing with its evidence.

³⁷ J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy* (Cambridge, 1939). See especially Chapter I, 11-13.

³⁸ B. ter Haar, *Adat Law in Indonesia* (New York, 1948) provides a thoughtful discussion of the matter in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

³⁹ D. J. H. ter Horst, *Overzicht van het Familie-Archief Cornets de Groot* (The Hague, 1940).

⁴⁰ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. No. 68 El-F17. Also in the K. B. relative to nineteenth century Java is the correspondence between Governor General Jacob and Minister of Colonies de Brauw (Ms. 76B57), the letters of R. L. van Andringa de Kempnaer (Ms. 131C42), and letters received by H. G. Nahuys van Burgst (Ms. 129E28).

Taal-, Landen Volkenkunde, also in The Hague, possesses a number of manuscripts in western languages which are, in large measure, the personal archives and family papers of individuals associated with the East Indies and especially with Java. The recently published catalogue of these manuscript holdings will provide the researcher with many tempting avenues of research, for here are to be found letters and reports of persons at all levels of the administration.⁴¹ Other personal archives may be found in diverse places. The Alfred A. Reed Papers, recently described in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, are now housed at Yale University.⁴² Others may be found in the archives of banking and commercial establishments in Amsterdam, in the economic historical archive in The Hague, and in the archives of such cities as New York and Boston.

What can one hope to find in these personal archives that might further our understanding of the indigenous historical developments in Java? Sometimes, as in the case of the Cornets de Groot papers, disappointingly little. But among the Baud papers, for instance, a great deal. Baud's papers contain records, reports, and letters about many local, specific events and situations in Java. Also the jottings and notations made by Baud during his tours of the island are included; these contain notes on his conversations with Javanese officials about conditions within their particular districts.⁴³ Here, in short, is a vast amount of information which must be evaluated with caution, but which can provide useful insights into local developments.

Published Memoirs and Reminiscences are fairly numerous for the nineteenth century. These were, for the most part, written by European administrators, doctors, military men, or entrepreneurs who felt compelled to tell the story of their experiences in The East. As might be suspected, many of these were written with ulterior motives—either to explain away blame or failure—or to castigate another individual, or to forward particular nations about colonial policy. It is understandable that these accounts must be used with the greatest possible caution, but this hardly explains why they have not been used at all for serious historical research. A quick survey of the published memoirs will produce a list of ten to fifteen books ranging from the four-volume work of Daendels (in explanation of his actions at the beginning of the century)⁴⁴ to the account of forty years of service by Pruys van der Hoeven at the end of the century.⁴⁵ Such books as Hasselman's account

⁴¹ H. J. de Graaf, *Catalogus van de Handschriften in Westerse Talen toebehorende aan het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (The Hague, 1963).

⁴² R. Van Niel, "The Alfred A. Reed Papers," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 120 (1964), 224-230.

⁴³ A few examples from the extensive Baud Archive must suffice here. Folio 391 contains Reports about the Residencies Preanger, Bagelen, Pekalongan, Banka, and Bantam in 1835. Folio 452 is a packet of Local Reports concerning the comparative advantages of rice cultivation with sugar and indigo in 1834. Folio 462 contains notations made on an inspection trip in 1834.

⁴⁴ *Staat der Nederlandsche Oostindische Bezittingen, onder het bestuur van den Gouverneur-Generaal Herman Willem Daendels . . . in de jaren 1808-1811* (4 vols.; The Hague, 1814).

⁴⁵ A. Pruys van der Hoeven, *Veertig jaren Indische dienst* (The Hague, 1894).

of his experiences in cochineal production and sugar cultivation⁴⁶ and Crone-man's narrative of his experiences as a doctor in Java,⁴⁷ have information to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of Javanese society and its local alterations and developments. Here is certainly a source of information which historians will want to examine for their new orientation.

Finally, the Travel Accounts are sources of information; most of these were written by Europeans, but even one Chinese account has not been published.⁴⁸ A hasty and, admittedly, incomplete count turns up no less than twenty published travel accounts dealing in part or totally with Java during the nineteenth century. If these have been used by historians in the past, the fact is not evident. For the most part, they contribute little to our understanding of administration and government which were the chief concerns of colonial historians. Moreover, many of them are highly superficial descriptions of geographical wonders and ethnographic peculiarities noted by the untrained eye of the casual traveler. It is doubtful, therefore, that they will provide startlingly new information. But between the lines may well lie hidden bits of information which are useful. I have used Domis's notations on Pasuruan toward very useful ends in obtaining information on that part of Java in the early part of the century.⁴⁹ Even an account as fatuous and evangelical as that of van Rhijn, can provide interesting asides which help in developing the historian's image of the Javanese scene at the time. For instance, quite in passing, he tells of his experiences on a trip into Kadu which could serve as a stinging testimonial of the transportation services required of the population and enhance our understanding of the communications in that part of Java at that time.⁵⁰

There is, probably, no point to be proved immediately by all this, for the proof will lie in the doing. It is my impression that as research progresses into these historical materials, our picture of Java's response to the West will change, for we will increasingly come to understand that the primary factors conditioning this response lay within Javanese society, and it is here that we must look for the rationale of this response. There is little doubt that the members of Javanese society were not making the high level decisions of the colonial government during the nineteenth century, and one cannot expect to find the strong features of this society emerging in this fashion. But it was within Javanese society that the response to the West was conditioned and that changes and alterations were occurring which determined the later forms and values of that society. One may well conclude that the strength of Javanese society lay in its flexibility; its ability, to use Coral Bell's simile,⁵¹

⁴⁶ B. R. P. Hasselman, *Mijne ervaring als fabriekant in de binnenlanden van Java* (The Hague, 1862).

⁴⁷ J. Groneman, *Bladen uit het Dagboek van een Indisch Geneesheer* (Groningen, 1864).

⁴⁸ Wang-Ta-Hai, *The Chinaman Abroad* (Shanghai, 1849).

⁴⁹ H. I. Domis, *De Residentie Passeroeang op het Eiland Java* (The Hague, 1836).

⁵⁰ L. J. van Rhijn, *Reis door den Indischen Archipel, in het belang der Evangelische Zending* (Rotterdam, 1851), 120.

⁵¹ Coral Bell, "A Look at the Record," from *The World Today*, London, reprinted in *Atlas, The Magazine of the World Press*, Vol. 9, No. 6 (June 1965), 330-333.

to behave like a sandbank among the currents pressing upon it from without—always present as a protean force, always indestructible, but always dispersing, reforming, changing shape, and adapting itself to the prevailing currents. To study the sandbanks of Southeast Asia, one must be conscious of their composition, and one must use all shreds of evidence which will tell something of the shape and form which they assumed at a given time in the past. Toward accomplishing this goal, the historian must seek out new evidence and must also re-evaluate and reinterpret all forms of already existing and already known evidence.