

When and Why Java was Deliberated from the Slavery?

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Abstract

Java islands as one of the colonies on the European nations in Asia, had several changes since the Dutch Government liquidated the operation. This condition was caused by the change of the political constellation in Europe since the end of this century. As we knew that since 1795 till 1813, the Netherland was dominated by the French. From the year 1795, in January, the *Bataafsche* Republic was established in Netherland, supported by French after the governor (*Staathouder*) escaped by leaving his country to London. The result of this fact, the changes were happened in all provinces in Netherland and in almost of its colonies, included in Java. The form of the government was changed because of the implementation of the French Revolutionary ideas. How to overlook the colonies were different compared by the VOC era. In VOC era, East India had been looked as the economical point of view. In the other hand, in *Bataafsche* Republic era, it had been considered as the integrated territory of French. So, there was a different management of both. During the VOC era, East India was placed under the Ministry of trade and colony regions. Then, in the *Bataafsche* Republic era, it was located under the Ministry of Maritime Army and the Colonies.

The status of this colony was totally changed. The consequence of this change, there were a reformation of the social, politic and economic. The influences of the liberation idea, the main idea of French Revolution, was applied in almost all the regulations of its colony regions. Human rights guaranteed the rights not only as individual but also as a member of society. The Governor General deliberated all slaves in Java and others several islands to be trained as the soldiers. From the French point of view, Java would be set as centre of the French strategy in the effort to reoccupy India as before. According to Napoleon Bonaparte, India had natural resources more than the riches of all European kingdoms. So, the position of Java island geographically was very important because of his location was directly in front of India Ocean, and the military troupes could directly attack India. Java which was very rich of the natural resources as wood as the basic materials of ship industry, potassium nitrate, as the materials of ammunition and the Javanese who had the very special endurance were considered by the Emperor as a very ideal island. The Javanese could compete the Sepoy soldiers, the Indian indigenous soldiers formed by the British. So, Napoleon Bonaparte considered that the Javanese would be prepared to realize the Napoleonic strategy. Java had to be saved from the British attack.

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Introduction

The end of XVII until the beginning of XIX century, economic and political situation in Europe and their colonies were very instable and critical. This condition was happened because of the 4 years marine war between the British and the Dutch (1780-1784). Because of this war, the Holland was losen almost of all its marines. The Holland government tried to look for the solution, to make this country stronger than before, particularly the political constellation in Europe. The consequence of this worst condition, many people asked about the quality of their leader, the *Staathouder* Willem V from Orange dynasty. Many young people, particularly the students tried to study the other possibilities to change this bad political situation. They interested on the struggle of the young French who had the patriot spirit to change their government. They considered that the absolute monarchic had been to be placed. The young Dutch asked about the existence of the *Staathouder*, meanwhile the French revolution exploder in 1879 July 14. Inspired by this extraordinary event, the Dutch patriot commenced to frighten the *Staadhouder* away.¹

Supported by the French, the young Dutch patriot made a coup d'état. The first trial failed. In the beginning of Januari 1795, they had a big success to extrude the *Staadhouder*. He escaped himself to London. Finally, the 25 January 1795, they established the *Bataafsche Republiek* which unified all the provinces existing in Holland. This new state was led by *Raadpensionaris* Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck.

The *Bataafsche Republiek* took place until May 1806, and the Kingdom of Holland took place it. Based on the Napoleonic instruction, the *Bataafsche Republiek* was changed by the government of King Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (*King Lodewijk*), one of brothers Emperor. He commenced his government in June 1806. Before his coronation, he was known as one of the military leader in the Napoleonic army *Grande Armée*.²

Napoléon Bonaparte considered that the coronation of King Louis would make the political situation better. The real situation was that several of the Dutch colonies were occupied by the British as Ternate, Ambon, and Maluku. So, after the Amiens treaty, signed in 25 March 1802, between French, Spain, Dutch and British and Ireland, they agreed that Ceylon was a part of British, whenever the other colonies were assigned to the Dutch. The treaty went on only one year. In May 1803, the other war between French and British were exploded again. The continuity of this conflict, The British occupied Cape of a Good Hope on 25 January 1805. All the Dutch colonies in east of this cape was threatened to be occupied by the British. Referring to this situation, Napoléon stated that Europe was blocked for the British ship. French would destroy all British ships which embarked in all Europe territory. They would destroy all products made bu the British and changed it with other Europe products.

The British replied this continental block with ultimatum that they would occupy all Dutch Colonies in the east of The Cape included Java Island. This ultimatum caused the Emperor called the leader of Bataafsche Republiek, Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck in Tuileries Palace. He explained about the last situation in Europe and he had to make an important decision about the future Dutch. This territory was menaced by the British which made coalition with the Russia. If Holland was fall to the British, the position of French politically became very weak. The emperor finally changed the government of Dutch.

¹F.W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsche Indie*, Deel V (Amsterdam: Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1940), 15-21.

²Herman Wilem Daendels, *Staat der Nederlandsche Oostindische Bezittingen Onder Het Bestuur van den Gouverneur Generaal Herman Willem Daendels in de jaaren 1808-1811* Eerste and Tweede stukken, 1814, 30-34.

Napoleonic Order about the Defence of Java

Used to the change of the century XVIII to XIX century, the condition of battle ship in Java was very poor. However, from Europe the government had sent several battle ships to Java, but the condition was very weak. They did not have any battle spirit because of their salary which was very low, the needed more exercises and almost of the weapon were old. In 1791 and 1792, the government of VOC received 2.372 Dutch soldiers. But it became 434 soldiers in 1793 because the majority of them came back to Holland. Precisely in 1797, during the government of *Bataafsche Republiek*, one battalion from XII Division of French army embarked 516 soldiers in Java to complete the military troupes in Java. They came from Isle de France, leaded by the General de Gosson. They stayed in Java until 1802. They came back to Isle de France because of the new war after the Amiens treaty. The British stated the war after accusing French violated the treaty. This new war made French worried about the future of Java and surrounding this island. Consider to the European troupes which were very limited, they resent 216 soldiers to Java to fortify the defence of Java led by the general Jauffret.³ The General Jauffret called slaves who would be soldiers as the Napoleonic order. Based on the proposal of commission of the colony law made by *Bataafsche Republiek* edited by Meerman, Pontoi, Verhuell, van Hogendorp and Vout the august 31th 1803, they proposed to the Emperor in Tuileries Palace in Paris to consider several considerations:

1. It was very important to form a core troupes membered four or five thousand Europeans, selected soldiers from *zeni* and *artilerie* corps;
2. It was obvious to form the indigenous military troupes and multiplied it onto support the core troupes without added the European soldiers;
3. Due to the strategic position, Java had to be a center of colony areas, meanwhile other islands would be a supporting unit and under controlled by the government in Java;
4. To guard Batavia from the menace of the British, it was requirements to build one or two forts in the mountain range and functioned it as protection area. The enemies would be allowed to embark and enter in the hinterland. They would be killed by the ferocious of the local climate;
5. In the peace era, the government had to prepare five fleet and each of the fleet consist of 6 frigates, and several battle ships completed with canon to protect and cover Malaka Straits and Singapore, a strait which connected the commercial lines between China and Bengala, India. Also, the Sunda, Bali and Lombok straits must be in command, and the consequence was the British commercial ships which transported the from China must turned out far from the usual lane. The British commercial ship would be risked from the menace of the enemy if they passed in those three straits.
6. If the political problem raised, the emergency high speed frigates which concentrated in western coast of French to inform the important news to the Asian government quickly.⁴

But, based on the information from the ancient Governor General Wiese, he said that the weakness of the defence in Batavia was caused by the fragility of administration system and the mismanagement in the colony.

These proposals were read by Louis Napoléon after his coronation. He knew that in this moment the condition of Java was uncertain. After discussing to his brother, the King Napoléon, he looked for a person who could guard the prestige and the honor of French in the colony East India and had a capability to guard Java as long as possible against the menace of the British.

³ Anroij, "Herman Willem Daendels" in *Herman Willem Daendels 1762-1818*, edited by H. Akihari, et al. (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1991), 21-22.

⁴ J. Hageman, "Geschiedenis van het Hollandsche Gouvernement op Java" in *TBG, Deel V* (1857): 355-6.

Finally, he found an ex-officer of the Dutch army, called Herman Willem Daendels. The King Louis Knew well this officer because he had worked in *Légion Étrangère*, a foreign troupe formed by his brother, The Emperor during the struggle against the troupes of *Staadhouder* Willem van Orange. His bravery and his persistence ensured that he would be a future Governor General in Batavia.

The King Louis prepared him a set of instructions to realize his mission in Java. There were 37 articles for the Governor General and 25 articles for Governor General and *the Raad van Indie* to handle the eat Indie colony in Batavia. Besides of those two instructions, the main ideas of those were to defence Java against the menace of the British as long as possible and to apply the new order in administration of the state. The goals of those two targets were the European government could receive the advantage of the islands which known as the richest islands.

When Daendels left Europe, he went to meet the Emperor in Paris to ask the advice how to manage java. Many things were discussed between them, from the application of the French revolution until the territorial strategy to defence Java. He had to exploit the local inhabitants to multiply the number of soldiers in Java. The European soldiers had to prepare them as long as a professional soldier.

The plan of his itinerary to Java was known by the media. The information about the change of Governor General in Java became a main topic in almost of all journals. So, after 10 months of the marine trip to Java, he embarked in Anyer on 1 January 1808. Two weeks after his arrival, he commenced his authority in Java as governor general.

The Condition of the Battle Fleet in East India

As a person who amazed the French Revolution, in particular the idea of democracy, there were many things to do related with the importance of colonial in eat Indie: such as to defence Java as long as possible and to fight against corruption. Just after his governance, he received report from his staff that in the 23 of august 1800, 5 British battle fleets had attacked several times to Java, as to Jakarta bay. They destroyed all fleets in Onrust and Kuipers islands. The captain of those expedition, Captain Ball send a representative to Governor General to inform that the British fleets had blockaded the Java sea as the instruction of his commandant Admiral P. Rainier to occupy Java. Batavia did not give any response. Two months after first disembarkation, precisely in October 1800, the British had a success to put ashore the troupes to Marunda shore and persuaded the inhabitants to support them. Based on this reality, the Governor General asked to the Governor of Java East Coast Nicolas Englehard to attack the British. Finally, they escaped themselves and joint together with other British battle fleet to occupy Ternate, Ambon, and Maluku. This territory was occupied by the British since 1801.⁵

The condition changed after the signature of Amiens treaty. As consequence of this agreement, there was no war any more. Based on this treaty, all Dutch colonies which had been occupied by the British were returned to the Dutch, except Ceylon in India. Those rich three areas (Ternate, Maluku, and Ambon) were returned to the Dutch. And finally, the previous governor in the areas, Cranssens was stated as the new governor since 1804.

One year after the signature of Amiens treaty, the war broke down again and the open war between French and British exploded. To fortify Java, Admiral Dekker was sent to Java to prepare Java from the attack of the British. In 1804, he had to return to Europe. Unfortunately, the war on the see did not give any opportunity to him and his battle fleet to come back to Europe. Personally, he came back to Europe but his soldiers stayed in Isle de France joint with the marines of Admiral de Mist and Janssens. The both admirals continued their trip to The Cape

⁵ Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsche Indie*, 6.

of Good Hope guarded by three battle fleet completed with canons and artilleries. Based on the statistics, the battle fleets which were in East Indie in 1804 were 13 fleets.

The battle fleets in East Indie received several frigates and several battle fleets when Admiral Lenois came to Java together with 200 French marines under the commandant of General de Gosson. He gave the letter from the Emperor that de Gosson had received the order from Napoleon to take place as the new Governor General. Governor General Sieberg refused it, and finally de Gosson together with 40 officers left Java to Port Louis and they left their 200 French soldiers in Java.

In 15 June 1805 Sieberg was changed by Albertus Henricus Wiese as new Governor General. The British fleet blockaded around Java island. The colonial government could not do anything to sell all the commercial commodities as rice, sugar, coffee out from Java. Several commercial ships were arrested by the British battle fleets and deprived by them. The situation in Batavia bay changed when several British fleet led by Admiral Pellew arrived. They destroyed all ships which anchored in Batavia in 27 November 1806. Admiral Pellew received order to destroy all ships in Java. There were more than 20 commercial ships and 8 battle fleets were destroyed. With his 18 battle ships, Admiral Pellew had a great success to realize the order of his commandant.⁶ Pellew did not continue to disembark his troupes in Java. He continued to blockade Java. After this attack, he had a great success to take by force four Dutch commercial ships. The responsible of the Dutch fleet, Admiral Hartsinck hand this responsibility to the Governor General, because of this bad condition. As commandant of Dutch marine battle fleets, Wiese gave order to all marines to joint with the army troupes. All weapons in the battle fleet must be disposed. Just only one Dutch battle fleet, namely *Scorpio* which has complete weapons and several corvettes were defended by Wiese. When this ship guarded the commercial ships, this battle ship was lost deprived by the British.⁷

In the end of October 1807, the fleets of Admiral Pellew came again in Surabaya. He gave order to Rohtenbuhler, the *Staathouder* of Surabaya to hand all fleet to the British. He sent some marines as representative of Admiral Pellew. In the other hand, the military commandant in Gresik arrested them and brought out to Surabaya. This situation made the other marines of Admiral Pellew defended them and embarked the British troupes to Surabaya to deliberate their marines. Finally, FJ Rohtenbuhler sent DF van Alphen to officially go to find Admiral Pellew.⁸ Van Alphen deliberated all British marines and they agreed to help the British marines as follows: (1) The British would leave Gresik without take by force all ships in Surabaya and Gresik; (2) The Dutch fleets had to be destroyed; (3) All the armament equipment in Gresik and Madura must be discharged. (4) The Dutch had to support the fresh water to the British marines; (5) The Dutch had to permit all local traders to sell the meat to the British marines

Military Reorganization in East Indie

To defence Java, it was needed several regulations which served as a basis for the military reorganization. Based on the Instruction of the King Louis to the Governor General, article 18, decree No. 14, December 1806 and decree 17 December 1806, Daendels had to reform a strong military troupes in this colony. In the battle fleet side, he prepared 7 battle ships under the command of Admiral Buyskess, joint together with all fleets from Holland and French. To fortify

⁶ Djoko Marihandono, "Sentralisme Pemerintahan Herman Willem Daendels di Jawa 1808-1811: Penerapan Instruksi Napoléon Bonaparte" (PhD Dissertation, Univeristy of Indonesia, 2005).

⁷ Hageman, "Geschiedenis van het Hollandsche Gouvernement," 356.

⁸ G.H. von Faber, "Oud Soerabaia," Deel II Uitgegeven door de Gemeente Soerabaia ter gelegenheid van haar Zilveren Jubileum op 1 April 1931, 31.

the western part and eastern part, he built two military harbour, one in Meeuwen Bay, and other in Manari Straits, Gresik. He couldn't continue the construction of western army fleets because of the attack of the British before the buildings had been finished. He named the marine fort in Manary Bay as Lodewijk Fort to respect to his King Lodewijk in Holland.

To multiply the number of soldier, he deliberated all slave in Java, based on his instruction 16 February 1808 about the deliberation of slaves for the military needs. To complete other facilities, based on the instruction of 7 March 1807, he built several hospitals and weapon fabrication in Surabaya. As read in the report of Wiese before he gave his authority to Daendels, that in Java, there were 3.496 European soldiers, 8.347 indigene soldiers (regular), and 6.935 indigene voluntary soldiers, totally 18.778 soldiers. When Daendels took place the authority, there were enough ammunition in the government store. To repair the arms, he built a new arm fabrication in Surabaya. In this moment, there were not enough revolver to complete the soldiers. To resolve this problem, Daendels sent a letter to the Emperor to send in Java 20.000 revolvers, "*... ce dont nous avons un si grand besoin, ont de bonnes armés à feu, des pières à fusil, du drap, du fer, du cuivre* (what we need here is the arms, bullets, cotton, iron, and copper).⁹

Daendels publish a regulation in 7 March 1808 about the new structure of military hierarchy with the composition as follows: Governor General was the highest commandant of the army. He was supported by general staff with 12 personals, 3 regiments of infantry which had 3 battalions. One battalion consisted of 5 groups and one elite group *granadier* consisted of 9.000 soldiers. One battalion raiders with 1.000 people, which consisted of 5 groups. One artillery of 2.700 soldiers. Corps zeni (Construction) consisted of 12 officers. In the last report before Daendels left Java, dated 20 April 1811, the chief of general staff Brigadier Colonel Gutzlaff stated that the conditions were: 2.430 European soldiers, 1.506 ambones soldiers, and 13.838 indigenous soldiers. The total soldiers were 17.774 persons. All the soldiers were placed in Java, and only 400 soldiers were placed in Palembang, Makassar, and Timor. Based on the report of daendels in 1814, when he received the authority from Wiese, the number of troupes in East Indie were only 7.000 soldiers, consisted of: 3.600 Javanese soldiers and about 2.000 Mollucas soldiers and not 18.700 as Wiese had mentioned. As a general, Daendels did not consider to all reports made by Wiese. The real condition was it was needed to form a territorial defence in Java against the British attack. To multiply the soldiers number, he recruited from other regions as well as Ambon, Madura, Java, and collected almost 18.000 soldiers. To replace the desertion soldiers, he recruited slaves from Bali, and Banjarmasin. In March 11th, all the soldiers were: 2.430 European soldiers, 1.506 Ambones Soldiers, and 13.838 indigenous Javanese soldiers.

A short information on the army hierarchy of Java, based on the report of Brigadier GH. V. Gutzlaff on 11 Mei 1811 as mentioned. (1) The army was under command of Gouverneur General; (2) One battalion consisted of three division and one mobile division (cavalry); (3) Mobile Division was placed in Weltevreden; (4) Division I was placed in Batavia; (5) Division II was placed in Semarang; (6) Division III was placed in Surabaya.

Prangwedono Troupes

The military reorganization in the East Java Coast and the *Oosthoek* of Java was officially stated in 1 September 1808. He kept the Bupati as the highest local government and they had to obey all the orders of the *Prefekt*, the representatives of the government in the region. When this

⁹ Tania Murray Li, *Transforming the Indonesian Uplands* (Singapore: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1871).

instruction was available in all colony regions, the local indigenous soldiers called Jayengsekar. Based on the article 25 of the instruction, the toupes of Jayengsekar was formed in several regions as follows.

Table 1. Number of Local Indigenous Soldiers in 1808

No.	Prefektur	Number of Indigenous Soldiers
1.	Tegal	80 soldiers
2.	Pekalongan	50 soldiers
3.	Semarang	100 soldiers
4.	Jepara	50 soldiers
5.	Rembang	50 soldiers
6.	Gresik	50 soldiers
7.	Surabaya	80 soldiers
8.	Pasuruan	100 soldiers
9.	Sumenep	100 soldiers

Source: Ordonantieden den 18 Augustus 1808, 1814.¹⁰

His instruction, the *onderprefectur* of Bangkalan, Banyuwangi, and Bawean were free from the formation of Jayengsekar troupes. The Jayengsekar troupes were placed under the the authority of each *prefekt* and could be functioned to secure and protect all the citizens.

In each *prefecture* would be placed three European soldiers to guard their disciplines and their battle spirit. Their rank would be same of the rank of public prosecutor. They would be completed with special sign as well as their rank. For the soldiers would be ranked as well as *mantri besar* and *mantri kecil*. The reason was to make the difference with the ordinary people.

The soldier of Jayengsekar would receive the salary not in form of cash money but in form of land. The first commandant received 15 junks; the second commandant received 10 junks; the third commandant eight junks; the chief of guardians five junks; corporal four junks; and regular soldier received three junks.

They would be completed with one good horse with all accessories. They would be armed with a carbine and the bayonet. For the other weapon as revolver, the Bupati would cover all this weapon.¹¹

Conclusions

Based on the plan of defence in Java made by Daendels, it was impossible to ask the help from Europe as the consequence of the blockade of the British fleets. To multiply the number of soldier, it was recommended to recruit the indigenous soldiers in deliberating the slave. They were trained by the European soldiers and be completed with all personal weapon.

The troupes also had role to secure their own region, who had the famous name Pasukan Jayengsekar. They were well trained and sometimes were functioned as the soldiers joint together with other soldiers from Ambon, Madura. They were placed and concentrated in Mr. Cornelis Fort. The number of more than 17.000 soldiers were reported to Paris by the general Staff of East Indian Army Brigadier GH v. Gutzlaff on 11 May 1811, 4 months before the British occupation of Java.

¹⁰ "Ordonantieden den 18 Augustus 1808" from Herman Willem Daendels, Staat der Nederlandsche Oostiindische Bezittingen onder het bestuur van den Gouveneur-Generaal Herman Willem Daendels, Bijlagen, Eerste Stuk. 's-Gravenhage, 1814.

¹¹ Hageman, "Geschiedenis van Hollandsche," 182.

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