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Java as a Western construct: an examination of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles' "The History of Java"

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ABSTRACT

Among nineteenth-century books on Indonesia published in England, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles’ *The History of Java* holds a unique position. While serving as Lieutenant Governor in Indonesia, Raffles went to great length in documenting the island’s history, culture, architecture and contemporary civilization. His observations were published in a two-volume study entitled *The History of Java*, whose most outstanding feature is the sixty-six engravings it includes. Ten of these engravings are colored aquatints by William Daniell, illustrating Javanese life and costume. Published in 1817, Raffles’ *History of Java* is considered, to the present day, a highly important work, particularly because of its perceived accuracy in documenting Javanese costume and ethnography at the turn of the nineteenth century. This thesis questions Raffles’ claim to accuracy based on arguments derived from the critical debate over Orientalism triggered by the publication of Edward Said’s namesake book in 1978. While Raffles and Daniell purport to represent the people of Java as products of Javanese civilization, there is a clearly defined colonialist agenda looming behind the plates inserted in the *History of Java*. 
INTRODUCTION

From the time of the first discovery voyages to Indonesia, books on the country were published for the Dutch and French literary markets. The majority of these publications recounted the exploits of the Dutch overseas and depicted Indonesian topography and ethnography, complete with illustrations. Such books, in the form of travel descriptions, mostly highlight a perception of Indonesia that served to validate the conquest of the country from a European perspective.¹ Few books contained engravings of the people of Java, but in those that did, the content of the plates cannot be considered reliable, since often it was heavily edited. Following the practice of the time, engravers often introduced fictitious elements into the plates and tampered with the original compositions.²

Prior to the abolishment of the Dutch East India Company in 1798, there was an avalanche of books on the colonial system in Java, but very little information concerning Indonesian culture, customs or history. Even well into the nineteenth century, illustrated books on Indonesia published in the Netherlands were technically inferior to those being produced elsewhere, notably in London.³ Foremost among the books published in

1. Books dating since the first voyage to Indonesia include: J. H. Linschoten, *Itinerario*, (Amsterdam, 1596); Cornelis de Houtman, *Description of a Voyage made by Certain Ships of Holland into the East-Indies* (Amsterdam, 1598); Joris Spilbergen, *Historic Journal of the Voyage of Three Ships to the East-Indies* (Amsterdam, 1645); Wouter Schouten, *Oost-Indische Voyagie* (Amsterdam, 1676); Joan Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaerdige Zee en Lantreize door de voornaemste Landschappen van West en Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam, 1682); and François Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Amsterdam, 1724-26).

2. Often images of the Far East were altered in order to heighten the land’s exoticism, as a way to ensure popular European tastes for foreign lands. John Bastin and Bea Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints and Illustrated Books of Indonesia* (Antwerp: Het Spectrum Utrecht, 1979), 105.

3. Ibid., 1.
England was Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles’ *The History of Java*. While serving as Lieutenant-Governor in Indonesia for nearly five years, Raffles had collected innumerable artifacts of Javanese history and culture. He also went to great lengths in documenting the island’s architecture and contemporary life. His observations were compiled into the two-volume work *The History of Java*, whose most outstanding feature is its sixty-six engravings, ten of which are colored aquatints illustrating Javanese life and costume.

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles’ *History of Java*, published in 1817, is to the present day considered a highly important work, particularly because of its perceived accuracy in terms of pictorial depictions of Javanese costume and topography.4 The uncritical acceptance of this illustrated travel description is such that the plates were (and continue to be) frequently plagiarized, all the while being praised as dependable sources of Javanese customs, history, and culture.5 Although many books had been published on Indonesia and Java prior to Raffles’ *History of Java*, these publications either omitted

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4. According to John Bastin and Bea Brommer, “the importance of *The History of Java* can hardly be exaggerated.” Ibid., 6.

portraying the inhabitants of Indonesia or introduced factual inaccuracies in the
depictions.  Without exception, the plates in Raffles’ book illustrate the people of Java or
products of Javanese civilization. Popular opinion among most historians has been that
Raffles’ illustrations are based upon his own observations and collections. But is this
ture or were many aspects of Raffles’ images altered to fulfill ulterior motives? An in-
depth analysis of Raffles’ writings and a close examination of the color-plates made for
The History of Java reveal many distortions. Ultimately, these distortions invite us to
question the idea of accuracy, including who considered these images accurate and
whether there exist any truly reliable images of early nineteenth-century Indonesia.

Like other books published in England on this subject, the goal of Raffles’ book
was to explore and portray Indonesia’s customs and cultures with the utmost exactitude.
However, Sir Thomas Raffles’ outlook was that of an Orientalist. According to
numerous biographical accounts, Raffles attempted to deny any cultural differences
between the East and West, but if this is true, to what degree did he succeed? As the
cultural anthropologist and historian Anthony Forge states, Raffles wished to “present the
Javanese in a way that he knew would make them appear attractive to his English
audience, different of course but fundamentally civilized and nice.” How exactly did

6. Most accounts discussing Indonesia published prior to Raffles’ work depict Dutch voyages within
Indonesia or Indonesian topography. Very few writings or illustrations were made of Indonesian costume.
Possible reasons for why Raffles’ work was chosen as the most dependable source on the inhabitants of
Indonesia and why others have not been deemed reliable will be discussed throughout this thesis.

7. Anthony Forge, for example, states that Raffles’ illustrations are based upon his observations and
collections in the article “Raffles and Daniell: Making the Image Fit,” in Recovering the Orient (New York:

8. Ibid., 3.
Raffles represent the Javanese peoples? Were the images of the Javanese Europeanized or Orientalized, as they had been in illustrations published prior to *The History of Java*? Did they represent a hybridized image of what was actually Javanese culture with European ideals? Or were the images altered to fit a European view of the Far East? What were the reasons Raffles used to justify the images of the Javanese?

Although many colonialist accounts documenting the life, history and culture of foreign lands have been recently scrutinized, Raffles’ *History of Java* continues to remain the paramount source of information pertaining to Java. The reasons for this have yet to be explored fully. Perhaps the lack of scrutiny regarding *The History of Java* has been a result of comparing this work to other contemporary works, which highly Orientalized and stereotyped the East, whereas Raffles’ Orientalization of the Javanese was much more subtle. Perhaps appreciation of *The History of Java* is a result of the innovation to include colored aquatints of the natives’ costumes. Or perhaps it is due to Raffles’ own ingenuity when it came to promoting his character and political status.

Biographical accounts of Raffles have portrayed him as a humanitarian in his administrative policies and his views on political affairs. When *The History of Java* was published, the author was showered with praise for his generosity and unselfishness and

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9. Raffles introduced significant land reforms, outlawed the slave trade during his Governorship, introduced partial self-government, restored and researched Borobudur and other ancient monuments, and replaced the Dutch forced agriculture system with a land-tenure system of land management. Each of these instances has been the focus of historians when discussing Raffles’ life and career. As a result, the persona that emerges is one of charitable humanitarian and generous reformer.
was even described as a *discoverer* of Javanese culture.\(^{10}\) Raffles’ stated goal was to educate European (specifically British) peoples about Indonesia and its customs and make Europeans believe that the Javanese were no different than themselves.\(^{11}\) However, Raffles’ actions do not always support the image of the Good Samaritan that he tried to build.\(^{12}\) He was, beyond question, a colonialist whose intentions were to support the goals of the British Empire. Raffles’ dominant motive was to advance British interests. In comparison with other colonialists, Raffles was perhaps a more enlightened person, but his underlying goals cannot be altogether ignored when studying *The History of Java.* Can an outsider’s account be considered a reliable source of information when presenting the native, as has been the case with Raffles and *The History of Java*?

Many historians have asked this question and are re-analyzing nineteenth-century books, accounts, paintings and historical documents that were created by colonialists in the West and depict or reference the peoples, customs and lands of those that were


\(^{11}\) According to Forge, Raffles “wished to present Java as a civilization comparable to those of Europe and to establish this was the basic aim of the book.” He collected “an immense amount of data: statistics on every conceivable subject, but also a vast quantity of cultural materials, in the form of objects both ancient and modern, books, drawings, carvings in wood and metal, cloth, musical instruments, models, as well as natural history specimens, plants, animal skeletons and skins, in short every possible way of capturing information about Java.” Forge, 110.

\(^{12}\) As Syed Hussein Alatas suggests in his book *Thomas Stamford Raffles: Schemer or Reformer?*, Raffles cannot be a humanitarian reformer, since “a humanitarian reformer usually possesses a broad and tolerant outlook on other communities and nations. He does not scorn the religion and culture of other people. He does not scorn the religion and culture of other people. He does not naively preach the superiority of his own nation in a manner that requires the degradation of other nations.” Syed Hussein Alatas, *Thomas Stamford Raffles: Schemer or Reformer?* (London: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1971), 3 and 51.
colonized in the East.\textsuperscript{13} Within the past thirty years, a growing trend among historians has been to explore the current understanding of non-European cultures and to investigate how closely that understanding compares to what was portrayed by European colonialists throughout the nineteenth century. Until the late 1970’s the majority of historians believed that “in describing people and countries hitherto unknown, no description given by the pen will equal one correct drawing”; therefore, images such as those Raffles’ \textit{History of Java} were regarded as accurate illustrations of the other’s culture and way of life.\textsuperscript{14} However, post-colonial writings like Edward Said’s \textit{Orientalism}, published in 1978, have shifted this approach towards questioning whether an outsider could portray and describe another’s nation without any cultural bias.\textsuperscript{15}

Said was the first post-colonial theorist to point out that the European view of Oriental nations is tinged with preconceived notions. According to Said, a colonizer cannot truly understand and portray the culture and customs of the country that he has

\begin{footnotes}
\item[14] “In describing people and countries hitherto unknown, no description given by the pen will equal one correct drawing,” was written by Frank S. Marryat in 1848. Bastin and Brommer, 105.
\item[15] Said examined the Western tradition of depicting Asia and the Middle East and claimed that the images made by Western artists and authors perpetuated false assumptions about the East. Said believed that these images served as a way to implicitly justify colonial and imperial ambitions. Many nineteenth-century artworks that depicted the Orient were used in such a manner. Images representing an Oriental as savage, for example, were used to defend European colonization and justify the bringing of “our very best to these countries.” Said, 33.
\end{footnotes}
colonized because of his political notions of supremacy.\textsuperscript{16} In defining his theories on Orientalism, Said refers to Napoleon’s Egyptian Campaign as a landmark event for the spread of Orientalist biases.\textsuperscript{17} He explains how the principal publication that emerged from the campaign, the \textit{Description de l’Égypte}, became a tool that defended the invasion of Egypt after the fact, and helped to define Egypt through these Orientalists’ special expertise. Although Napoleon failed to conquer Egypt and expand France’s colonial empire, his \textit{Description de l’Égypte} became a source book for all things Egyptian. Other descriptions of Egypt written prior to Napoleon’s were ignored and replaced by the \textit{Description de l’Égypte}. As Said states:

\textsuperscript{16} The belief that a Westerner cannot truly understand and portray the culture and customs of the East is implied throughout Said’s \textit{Orientalism}. One example is his claim that although author Edward William Lane “was able to submerge himself among the natives, to live as they did, to conform to their habits,” Lane always retained his European identity as the basis from which “to comment on, acquire, possess everything around it.” Ibid., 160.

\textsuperscript{17} “[Napoleon’s] plans for Egypt therefore became the first in a long series of European encounters with the Orient in which the Orientalist’s special expertise was put directly to functional colonial use.” Ibid., 80. The \textit{Description de l’Égypte} was based on Napoleon’s four-year exploration and campaign within Egypt. In 1798 the French, under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte, invaded and quickly conquered northern Egypt. Their aim was to control trade with the East and to secure a French colony along the trade route to India. Napoleon also had the goal of recording his discoveries of ancient Egypt, current social conditions of Egypt, and the natural history native to the region. Accompanying his campaign were “167 scholars, including 21 mathematicians, 3 astronomers, 17 civil engineers, 13 naturalists and mining engineers, 4 architects, 8 draftsmen, 10 men of letters, and 22 printers.” James Stevens Curl, \textit{Egyptomania: The Egyptian Revival: A Recurring Theme in the History of Taste} (New York: Manchester University Press Publishers, 1994). On Napoleon’s command, this group of scholars gathered information, including a series of images, and began to document their cultural and scientific findings. “A Commission of Science and Art and the Egyptian Institute were founded, the latter under Baron Vivant Denon, later Director of the Louvre. Under their aegis, virtually all of Egypt's patrimony was systematically catalogued, mapped and meticulously drawn, from the obelisks to the vast statues on the banks of the Nile, as well as the country's flora and fauna.” Ibid. Although the Egyptian Campaign ended in failure in 1801, the work that the scholars compiled became a success as the largest publication in the world at that time. In 1802, Napoleon ordered the Imperial Press to begin publication of the discoveries found during the Egyptian expedition. After almost twenty years, the publication was complete. The result was the \textit{Description de l’Égypte}, made up of ten volumes including 837 copper engravings and around 3000 illustrations.
The *Description* thereby displaces Egyptian or Oriental history as a history possessing its own coherence, identity, and sense. Instead, history as recorded in the *Description* supplants Egyptian or Oriental history by identifying itself directly and immediately with world history, a euphemism for European history.\(^{18}\)

Egyptian history and the history of the Orient were contained by the parameters of whatever was described in the *Description de l’Égypte*. Raffles’ *History of Java* is in many ways similar to the *Description de l’Égypte* (fig. 1).\(^{19}\) Like the *Description de l’Égypte*, *The History of Java* helped to define a colonized nation in terms of standards set by the colonizer. The British colonialist, Thomas Raffles, determined what today is largely understood about Java’s history through his interpretations and writing about his experiences in Java.

Since the two publications have many similarities, it is interesting to see how post-colonial scholars and historians apply different sets of values today. Whereas theorists beginning with Edward Said have debunked Napoleon’s *Description de l’Égypte*, Raffles’ *History of Java* continues to be praised for its faculty to describe Java’s history with utmost authenticity. What differentiates *The History of Java* from the

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19. The similarities between the *Description de l’Égypte* and *The History of Java* are numerous. Both explored the marvels of the Oriental East, as defined and depicted by a Western colonizer. Both works were published within less than a decade of one another and distributed in about the same number of copies. *Description de l’Égypte* was started in 1809, and the final volume was published in 1822, with 1000 copies being released; Raffles’ *The History of Java* was published in 1817 and again in 1835, and approximately 900 copies of his book were released. And both described these regions of the East by analyzing ancient history, current ways of life and natural history. Specific similarities between the *Description de l’Égypte* and *The History of Java* emerge from comparing the plates in both publications (see fig. 1). Plate A from Volume II, État Moderne, of the *Description de l’Égypte* is particularly interesting since it appears to be so similar to the colored plates found in Raffles’ book. Both illustrate a single, central figure, surrounded by minimal scenery. In addition, both Plate A and the plates in *The History of Java* appear to highlight, with a great amount of detail, the customs and styles of clothing from these regions.
Fig. 1. Comparison of Description de l’Égypte, État Moderne, Vol. II, Plate A (top) with The History of Java, A Javan of Lower Class (bottom left) and A Javan Woman of Lower Class (bottom right).
Description de l’Égypte are minute factors that do not overtly indicate why there are differences in the interpretations of these works. It appears instead that The History of Java, which continues to be commended by contemporary historians, is perhaps an oversight on their part.

Through the re-examination of The History of Java undertaken in this thesis, this oversight will be remedied. My account begins with a chapter on the history of Java leading up to Raffles’ arrival and tenure in office there. Chapter 2 explores other major literary works pertaining to Indonesia and their relation to The History of Java. I will discuss works that influenced Raffles, as well as ways in which his account influenced future works on Indonesia. I will pay special attention to accounts that include illustrated plates. Chapter 3 investigates Raffles’ underlying motives for writing his account. I will compare The History of Java with two works written at this time as a way to establish what a European, specifically British, audience commonly believed about Java. This chapter also asks the question whether Raffles succeeded in his goal of portraying Java and the Javanese with exactitude. I examine how The History of Java was written and more specifically how the colored aquatints by artist William Daniell came to be created. The final chapter will discuss the inaccuracies found in the colored aquatints that Raffles had no control over, as they were the result of previous colonial conquests of Indonesia. I will not explain why The History of Java is currently used as an accurate source on Java’s history and culture, since this would be speculation. I do, however, hope to provide reasons why historians should re-examine The History of Java and its role in constructing Java in terms of the West.
Most of what is today known about the life of Sir Thomas Raffles is based on the nineteenth-century books *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* and *Life of Sir Stamford Raffles*. These works are viewed as the most reliable biographical accounts, since they are based on first-hand knowledge and factual documents. Both books depict a romantic view of Raffles’ early life, his career within the East India Company, and his role as Lieutenant-Governor in Java. As a result, the persona of Raffles that emerges from these biographical accounts is one of a humanitarian reformer and great conqueror.

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20. *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* was published in 1835, nine years after the death of Sir Thomas Raffles. It was written by Raffles’ second wife, Sophia Raffles. Lady Raffles’ *Memoir* traces Raffles’ career from his beginnings as a junior clerk in the East India Company’s London offices, to his becoming Lieutenant-Governor of Java. Although considered quite valuable, it is seen as incomplete. Perhaps this is because it was written by his wife and not a male author, or because it focused on Raffles’ discoveries within the Far East, and not always upon his life there. Many also feel that the written descriptions Lady Raffles’ made of her husband’s discoveries were actually her own and that she simply disguised her own account of the Far East as her husband’s memoirs. Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (Singapore: Oxford, 1992). *Life of Sir Stamford Raffles* was written by Demetrius Charles Boulger, in 1897. Boulger had first begun examining and classifying a large number of manuscript records in the India Office, when he came upon a considerable number of letters and dispatches by or about Raffles. At the time, several publishers were interested in studies of distinguished Englishmen, and Boulger felt that Raffles was entitled to one of the series. Boulger began the biography of Raffles, where he described and focused upon Raffles’ career, administrative policies, and political affairs. Boulger’s biography drew especially on the unused material in the India Office Records and is therefore considered accurate information. At the time, though, Boulger had become ill. Fearing that he would not be able to finish Raffles’ biography, he relied heavily upon the Reverend R.B. Raffles’ account of his cousin. The Reverend Mr. Raffles provided more information than the Office Records, but this is often overlooked. Adrian Johnson, *Life of Sir Stamford Raffles* (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1973), ix.
On July 5, 1781, Thomas Stamford Raffles was born aboard a ship leaving the British colony of Jamaica for England (fig. 2). Beyond the date and place of his birth, little is known about Raffles’ childhood. In 1795, at the age of fourteen, he began his career as a clerk for the East India House in Leadenhall Street, the headquarters of the British East India Company. In 1805, he traveled with the East India Company to Penang as the assistant secretary to the Governor. Impressively, during his six-month sojourn in Penang, Raffles taught himself Malay, an undertaking that was rarely attempted by the other British administrators of the region. Raffles’ achievements in Penang were rewarded in September of 1811, when he became Lieutenant-Governor of Java. There he ruled until March of 1816.

21. Raffles was born on board the West Indiaman ship called the Ann. His father, Captain Benjamin Raffles, was the master. The Ann was about three days out from the coast of Jamaica, on her way back to England. Most biographical accounts state simply that Raffles was born in Jamaica but the fact that he was actually born between Jamaica and England is more interesting. It is as if the British world of eastern and western hybridization he would later create in Java was the same as the one in which he was born into in Jamaica. Since 1713, Jamaica had been the center of British trade, specifically the slave trade. Between 1780 and 1790 it is estimated that ships made over 900 round-trips per year carrying 300,000 slaves, which were sold for fifteen million pounds. Interestingly, Raffles would later attempt to abolish slavery in Java. At the time of Raffles’ birth, the Ann was probably carrying rum, cotton, sugar and tobacco. This in itself is somewhat ironic, since Raffles would later promote many of these products as export goods from Java. Ultimately, Raffles’ birth greatly represents the context of British colonialism within the contemporary world. Ibid.

22. Penang is today Malaysia.
The events lending to Raffles’ rule within Java were a direct result of the Dutch colonization of Indonesia. Dutch interest in the Far East grew during a period known as “the Golden Age.” The Golden Age was a period in history where Dutch trade, science and art were among the highest acclaimed in the world. Although this period coincided with the seventeenth century, much of the Netherlands’ commercial success extended throughout the eighteenth century due to its prosperity as the colonial power and holder of the trade monopoly in the Indonesian archipelago.

Dutch interest in Indonesia grew with European demand for Indonesian goods. In 1585, a shift in financial centers from Antwerp to Amsterdam forced merchants to reacquire capital with which to trade. Since trade interest to most European merchants focused on agricultural products like Oriental spices, merchants wished to hold monopolies on those goods.

Realizing the importance of trade monopolies in Oriental spices, the Dutch parliament decided to act. On March 20, 1602, after persuading Dutch merchants to join forces and form a union, the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), or United East India Company, was established. The foundation of the VOC granted the company a monopoly on trade in the East Indies, whose main purpose was to supply agricultural products for the European market. Although its directors, the Heeren Zeventien

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24. Antwerp was captured by the Spaniards in 1585. Prior to its capture, Antwerp had been a center of financial and trading activities. After Antwerp’s decline, Amsterdam took over Antwerp’s role as the center of world trade and finance. Many influential Antwerp merchants fled to Amsterdam to continue their business and to free themselves from religious prosecution. Ibid.
(Seventeen Gentlemen), were motivated by profit, the VOC was more than simply a trading company, since it was authorized to build fortresses, wage war, and forge treaties with indigenous rulers.  

Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the governor general from 1619 to 1623, was determined to establish and maintain the VOC monopoly in the Indonesian spice trade. He seized land, forced the native people in these areas to surrender their agricultural produce to the Dutch, and removed all non-VOC traders from the islands. The Dutch monopolized all trade routes established within Indonesia, as well as those with other eastern nations, and forbade native merchants from trading with other international merchants without Dutch intermediaries. Called the “divide and rule” tactic, this strategy paralyzed any trade among the natives and reduced Indonesia to an agricultural country supplying the European market. To reinforce their power and to ensure their monopoly over Indonesian goods, the VOC undertook expeditions which restricted overproduction of goods, placed embargoes upon products, and prohibited production of materials without VOC intervention. With these restrictions in place, the VOC was now able to demand a regulated increase in production of Indonesian agricultural products as pure exports from the VOC to other European countries.

Between 1497 and 1499, the Portuguese age of exploration brought Vasco da


26. Ibid.

Gama to Indonesia and India.28 By 1509, Portuguese settlers were arriving in significant numbers at the archipelago. Their mission was two-fold: faith and profit. Orders by the pope demanded the conversion of Asia to Christianity, but the original mission of the Portuguese was the pursuit of the spice trade. As a result, they began establishing trading posts in Indonesia and seized all trade routes from Muslim merchants. The Portuguese established forts and trading posts that at their height extended from Lisbon by way of the African coast to the Straits of Hormuz, Goa in India, Melaka, Macao on the South China coast, and Nagasaki in southwestern Japan.29 But Portugal’s trading empire was brief and became overrun by the Dutch after their arrival and exploration of Indonesia in 1596.

By 1619, the Dutch East India Company had established its chief post in Batavia, which oversaw and regulated the production of Indonesian goods, specifically overseeing the spice trade monopoly. However, due to continuous wars on Java and the VOC’s mismanagement of funds, the company was dissolved by the end of the eighteenth century.30

Although during their reign the VOC maintained their monopoly over the spice trade, their corruption and mismanagement led to their downfall. The Library of Congress Country Studies.

28. Portuguese colonization was not the first time Indonesia had been explored and colonized. Starting in the 7th century, India began establishing centers in Java and Sumatra. By 1293, Java had become the most powerful Hindu state, extending its rule over much of Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula. Its power remained until the end of the 15th century. By this time, Arab traders were responsible for the spread of Islam in Indonesia. Initially both religions coexisted peacefully. By the end of the 16th century, Islam surpassed Hindu as the dominant religion in Indonesia, which resulted in the breakdown of the powerful Indonesian kingdoms into smaller states. Ultimately this division made Indonesia vulnerable to European imperialism. The Library of Congress Country Studies.

29. Ibid.

30. “[The VOC’s] personnel were extraordinarily corrupt, determined to shake the pagoda tree of the Indies, to use a phrase popular with its eighteenth-century British contemporaries, to get rich quick.” Ibid.
trade, they could not prevent other powers, specifically Britain and France, from growing and exporting spices in their colonies in the West Indies. As a result, the prices for Oriental spices dropped in the European markets. Moreover, by the late seventeenth century, European demand for spices was declining. VOC shipment of Oriental goods was also impeded by the war between the Netherlands and Britain between 1780 and 1784.

As a way to make up for their sales losses, the VOC turned to new cash crops and products, specifically textiles and coffee, both of which became Java’s most profitable exports from the early eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Mismanagement and corruption were so great within the VOC that despite the increase in export sales, in 1789 the Company discovered a deficit of around 74 million guilders. On December 31, 1799, the VOC was officially bankrupt and all of the VOC’s territories in Indonesia were taken over by the Dutch government, which renamed them the Dutch East Indies.

Meanwhile, French troops under the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte were invading the Netherlands. By 1795 the Netherlands became the Bataafse Republiek (Batavian Republic) and Napoleon’s brother, Louis Bonaparte, was made king. In 1808, Louis Bonaparte appointed Herman Willem Daendels as Governor General of the Dutch

31. This decline was due to the development in Europe of winter forage. Since livestock did not have to be slaughtered in autumn, meat did not have to be preserved with spices over the cold season. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. It wasn’t until 1810 that Napoleon incorporated the Netherlands into the French Empire.
East Indies. Upon his appointment, Daendels attempted to introduce reforms to Indonesia, which generated hostility among the Javanese nobility who had benefited from the old system.

Fearing that France would gain complete control over all Dutch possessions and thus threaten British interests in the Far East, Britain decided to invade Indonesia. In 1811 the British seized Batavia. A month later the French surrendered, leaving Indonesia to be ruled by the British East India Company.

In this situation Lord Minto, the Governor General of the British East India Company in Calcutta, India, appointed Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles Lieutenant Governor General of Java and its dependencies. As Java’s Lieutenant Governor General, Raffles, like Daendels, attempted to institute reforms. Unlike his predecessors, however, Raffles’ reforms were generally well accepted by the Indonesian natives. Raffles introduced partial self-government and attempted to abolish the slave trade; he abolished forced labor and fixed quotas for cash crops; and he gave peasants free choice of which crops to grow. He also introduced the land-tenure system, which eradicated the unpopular forced-agricultural system established by the Dutch, where crops were grown and surrendered to the government. In addition, he ordered the restoration of the Borobudur and other temples, as well as authorizing research to be gathered on these cultural buildings. Within this period of rule, Raffles increased his knowledge of the customs, history, beliefs, geography, and natural history of Java and compiled the information for a book, which would be published later.

Raffles’ reforms were not maintained for long. At the start of the Napoleonic Wars, the British government agreed that Dutch colonial possessions would be returned
to the Netherlands at the end of the war. Although Raffles objected, Dutch rule was reestablished in Indonesia in 1816. Upon the Dutch return to power, Raffles’ reforms were phased out. The new government returned to the system of enforced labor, production restrictions, and slave trade. In 1816, Raffles returned to England and a year later *The History of Java* was published.34

34. Shortly thereafter Raffles was knighted. He returned to Asia in 1818 to become the Lieutenant Governor of Bengkulu in Western Sumatra. During this time, the Dutch and British had once again become trade rivals. Raffles believed that Britain needed to act; from his position as Lieutenant Governor, Raffles formed the settlement of Singapore. He felt this could counter the Dutch influence in the region. Ultimately, he was successful due to Singapore’s location within the trade route to China. Sam Quigley, “The Raffles Gamelan at Claydon House,” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* (Vol. 22, 1996), 5-41.
Although *The History of Java* may have been considered an innovation, it was certainly not the first work to describe Indonesia. Works about Indonesia written by Westerners began to surface in Europe as early as the fifteenth century. At this time, most accounts were written by explorers whose primarily goal was to reveal a world unknown to Europeans. Accounts described explorers’ journeys and the peoples and lands that they encountered. In 1505, Ludovico di Varthema ventured to the Indonesian islands of Maluku. Upon his return to Europe in 1510, he published his *Itinerario*, which inspired further accounts by other explorers and adventurers (fig. 3). In 1596, Jan Huygen van Linschoten published *Itinerario; Voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selver Landen ende Zee-custen*, which became the

Fig. 3. Plate depicting Varthema as an explorer, from Varthema, *Itinerario*, 1510.

35. The 15th century was witness to the start of the Age of Exploration. During this era, European ships were travelling throughout the world in search of trade routes, which led to an increase in desirability of non-European goods such as spices.
standard text for explorers bound for the Indies at this time (fig. 4). Linschoten was a Dutch adventurer who accompanied a Portuguese vessel to India. His *Itinerario* was the first to describe the Portuguese Indies, which had formerly been viewed as a mysterious world. Included in his writings were several line engravings depicting the people of Java. The addition of illustrated plates depicting Indonesian topography and ethnography would become a recurring trend in travel accounts.

Among the finest seventeenth-century plates on Indonesia are those found in

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37. Surprisingly, Linschoten’s *Itinerario* “provided enough detailed information to unlock the Portuguese control on passage through the Malacca Strait. Linschoten advocated approaching the Indies from the south of Sumatra through the Sunda Strait, thereby minimizing the danger of Portuguese notice of reprisal.” Ibid.

38. “Highly fanciful illustrations are included in the early seventeenth century works of De Brys, as well as the classic *Begin ende Voortgangh Van De Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Vervantende De voornaemste Reysen by de Inwoonderen der selver Provincien derwaerts geden*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1645.” Other books with illustrations of Indonesia include: Wouter Schouten, *Oost-Indische Voyagie* (Amsterdam, 1676), Nicolaus de Graaff, *Reisen na Asia, Africa, America en Europa* (Amsterdam, 1701), Bartolome d’Argensola, *Histoire de la Conqueste des Isles Moluques* (Amsterdam 1706), and Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reizen over Moskovie door Perzie en Indie* (Amsterdam, 1711). Bastin and Brommer, 1.
Joan Nieuhof’s *Gedenkwaerdige Zee en Lantreize door de voornaemste Landschappen van West en Oost-Indien*, published in Amsterdam in 1682 (fig. 5). Today, however, the plates are not considered genuine renditions of seventeenth-century Indonesia. Following the practice of the time, the engravers tampered with the plates, which were derived from Nieuhof’s own drawings, by adding fictitious elements to the compositions.39 But the plates were popular and inspired many artists to recreate and reinterpret Nieuhof’s images (fig. 6).

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39. This work was published in two parts, the first relating to Brazil and the second to the East Indies. Nieuhof lived for nine years in Brazil while working for the Dutch West India Company. In 1655 he became a member of the first Netherlands embassy to China. There he published an account, which included an engraving of Batavia viewed from the sea. In 1659 he visited eastern Indonesia. Ten years after his death, Nieuhof’s journals were used to produce the written work on Indonesia. *Ibid.*, 105.
The first book to employ the combination of text and illustration was François Valentijn’s *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (fig. 7). Published in Amsterdam in 1724, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* is considered a primary source for descriptions of Indonesia. It contains substantial sections on the geography, society, topography, and natural history of Indonesia, as well as an account of the Dutch conquest of the island. The illustrations have less value because they were derived from drawings by artists who had not traveled with Valentijn. However, Valentijn’s work did inspire many writers to combine text with illustration.

*Fig. 7. View of Banda Naira and Gunung Api*, from Valentijn’s *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, drawn circa 1680.

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40. Dutch explorer François Valentijn was born in 1666 in Dordrecht. In 1685 he traveled to the Dutch East Indies, where he began to gather a large amount of information on Indonesia’s natural history, as well as the activities of the Dutch in Indonesia. Ibid.

41. Ibid., 105-106.
Explorers’ encounters with unknown peoples, customs, geography, animals, and plants were often documented and catalogued through the combination of text and illustration. This idea of cataloguing arose in the eighteenth century and remained a popular form of documentation and categorization of the unknown throughout the nineteenth-century. During the eighteenth century, the most notable catalogues were those in the field of natural history, namely works by Georgius Everhardus Rumphius.42 Rumphius was an expert on the flora, fauna and geology of the island of Ambon. In 1705 he wrote *D’Amboinsche Rariteitkamer*, which included descriptions and etchings of organisms found in the sea, such as crabs, shrimp, sea urchins, and mussels, as well as minerals and rare fossils taken from animals and plants (fig. 8).43 From 1741 to 1750 Rumphius published a series of works entitled *Herbarium Amboinense*, which consisted of 1,661 folio pages and 695 plates on taxonomy and botany.

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42. G. E. Rumphius, also known as the “Indian Pliny,” was one of the great tropical naturalists of the seventeenth century. Born in Germany, he worked for a military branch of the Dutch East India Company and was stationed on the island of Ambon in eastern Indonesia. Rumphius eventually traded in his military assignment for a civilian one and settled on the island of Ambon, where he spent the rest of his life. E.M. Beekman and Georg Eberhard Rumpf (translation), *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

43. Rumphius concluded the descriptions of animals with cooking instructions, or warnings that the animals were inedible.
During the nineteenth century, travel and topography books illustrated with plates were particularly popular.\textsuperscript{44} Writers from countries other than the Netherlands began exploring Indonesia. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the most spectacular plates of Indonesia were published in London.\textsuperscript{45} John Barrow’s \textit{A Voyage to Cochinchina}, for example, featured the first aquatint of Java.\textsuperscript{46} A quarter of Barrow’s book describes his voyage to Vietnam, and the remainder illustrates his exploration of Madeira, the Canary Islands, Rio de Janeiro, the Cape, Batavia, and Java. Among the three colored aquatint plates, one depicts an encounter between a Javanese native and a shark off the west coast of Java (fig. 9).\textsuperscript{47} The

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Javanese and the Wounded Shark, from Barrow, \textit{A Voyage to Cochinchina}, 1806.}
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45. Bastin and Brommer, 2.

46. John Barrow was the private secretary to Lord Macartney, Ambassador of Great Britain to China. \textit{A Voyage to Cochinchina} is an account of Barrow’s voyage through Vietnam, while on his way to China. It was the best-known source of information on Vietnam at the time and was translated into French shortly after its publication in London in 1806. Ibid., 113.

47. Thomas Medland completed the aquatint plates after drawings by English artist William Alexander. Alexander accompanied Lord Macartney’s embassy to China as a draughtsman, and executed a number of drawings of Java during the embassy’s brief stay in the island during the outward and homeward voyages in 1793 and 1794. Medland was an exceptionally accomplished engraver, both in line engraving and aquatint. Ibid.

plate, “Javanese and wounded shark,” accompanied a narrative describing Barrow’s narrow escape with a “voracious shark” and the native Javanese whose boat was almost overturned by the “ten foot eight inch long” shark. Barrow described how the shark was harpooned by this native, hoisted aboard Barrow’s ship, and cut open revealing the contents of its stomach. The image accompanying this description was not, however, greatly concerned with an accurate depiction of the Javanese native. Its sole purpose was to enhance the exotic and adventurous themes Barrow wished to express in his story.

Five years later, British Orientalist William Marsden featured eight large colored aquatints and several uncolored plates in the third edition of his written account entitled *The History of Sumatra*. The majority of these plates, completed by Joseph C. Stadler and based on drawings by Samuel Andrews, depict natural history, animals and plants. Two plates illustrate weapons, two depict landscapes, and two feature houses with small figures. Stadler’s plates depicting the British settlement of Fort Marlborough are considered to be of the greatest historical importance; however, a plate of equal importance is the frontispiece illustrating an anonymous Malay, native of Bencoolen, by engraver Anthony Cardon (figs. 10 and 11). Unlike previous artists who depicted

48. Among the contents of the shark’s stomach were “the complete head of a female buffalo, a whole calf, a quantity of entrails and bones, and large fragments of the upper and under shells of a considerable sized turtle.” John Barrow, *A Voyage to Cochinchina* (London: Cadell & Davis, The Strand, 1806), 163.

49. In 1770, William Marsden joined the British East India Company in western Sumatra, and at the age of 16 was appointed a writer. In 1754 he was appointed sub-Secretary and from 1771 to 1779 he worked as Secretary of the Fort Marlborough government. In 1811, he published *The History of Sumatra* in London. Bastin and Brommer, 35.

50. Forge, 114.
Indonesian natives, Cardon carefully studied the features of the Malay and attempted to capture an accurate representation. Although the image appears to be somewhat romanticized, giving the sitter elongated, Europeanized features, it does represent a growing interest in ethnographical studies.51

![Fig. 10. (top) Joseph C. Stadler, Soongey Lamou Hills from Fort Marlborough, from Marsden, The History of Sumatra, 1810.](image1)

![Fig. 11. (right) Anthony Cardon, Frontispiece of an anonymous Malay, native of Bencoolen, from Marsden, The History of Sumatra, 1810.](image2)

In 1810, French writer C.F. Tombe wrote *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, which featured four colored ethnographical plates of Malays, Javanese and Balinese. Each plate was completed by engraver V. Adam and based upon Tombe’s own drawings. When analyzing the lack of background in the first three plates (“Malais de Java avec la coiffure

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51. Anthony Cardon (1772-1813) was a Belgian engraver with a specialty in stipple engraving. Bastin and Brommer, 2 and 110.
ordinaire,” “Malais de Java avec la coiffure de ceux de Bantam,” and “Ronguine de Java
dansant”), it appears that Tombe wished to focus solely upon the native inhabitants and
their costumes (figs. 12, 13, and 14). The figures stand on small plots of land and are
posed in a manner that indicates a moment within the daily life of a Javanese native.
Besides the inclusion of several small palm trees, the figures’ surroundings have little to
do with the Orient. The amount of Oriental imagery and exoticism within these plates is
minimal, and very few embellishments have been included. On the other hand, the
Oriental imagery in the fourth plate, “Malais de l’Isle de Baly,” is presented in excess
(fig. 15). The Balinese figure is made to appear like an Oriental savage. He too is the
central figure, but he is much larger than those in the previous plates, and his jungle-like
surroundings, although not as recognizably Oriental in their appearance as the palm trees,
almost overwhelm the figure. Besides his large stature, the figure appears to be very
hairy and muscular. His costume and clothing are kept to a minimum. Whereas the
previous plates document Javanese clothing, the Balinese figure simply wears a plain-
colored loincloth.

Tombe’s concentration on the Javanese natives at the expense of their
surroundings greatly influenced Raffles’ History of Java. After serving as Lieutenant
Governor of Java, Raffles returned to London and began preparations for the publication
of The History of Java. His plans for this project dated back to 1811. For this purpose,
he had collected numerous documents of Javanese culture, including ancient and modern
musical instruments, models, books, drawings, cloth, and carvings in wood and metal, as
well as natural history specimens like plants, animal skeletons and skins. This immense
collection was then transported to London and served as source material for Raffles’
Fig. 12. Malais de Java avec la coiffure ordinaire, from Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, 1810.

Fig. 13. Malais de Java avec la coiffure de ceux de Bantam, from Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, 1810.

Fig. 14. Ronguine de Java dasant, from Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, 1810.

Fig. 15. Malais de l’Isle de Baly, from Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, 1810.
account. *The History of Java* was written within a year, and a total of 900 copies were published in May of 1817 by the East India Company’s booksellers, Black, Parbury & Allen, and John Murray. What made *The History of Java* exceptional at the time was its inclusion of sixty-six plates. Ten of these plates, completed by artist William Daniell, represented Raffles’ extensive interest in ethnography.\(^{52}\) Nine of the plates are colored aquatints depicting Javanese costume, and one portrays a Papuan who assisted Raffles in Java and even accompanied him to England in 1816.\(^{53}\)

Besides the images in Tombe’s *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, Raffles also took inspiration from works such as Valentijn’s *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië*, Barrow’s *A Voyage to Cochinchina*, and Rumphius’ *Herbarium Amboinense*. Within *The History of Java*, Raffles cites many works, and often the reader is reminded of Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* by way of content and style (fig. 16).\(^{54}\) Borrowing from these works, Raffles chose to catalogue multiple aspects of Javanese culture and history, and to document his encounters with the natives.\(^{55}\)

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52. William Daniell and his role in the completion of the ten colored aquatints will be discussed in Chapter 4.

53. These plates will be discussed and described further in Chapter 3.

54. Denis Diderot’s (1713-1784) *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* was one of the first encyclopedias. It was first published in France in 1751, and the final volume was published in 1772. Forge, 114.
The extent to which prior travel accounts shaped Raffles’ is most evident when comparing *The History of Java* to William Marsden’s *History of Sumatra*.\(^{56}\) Beyond the similarities in titles, both Raffles’ *History of Java* and Marsden’s *History of Sumatra* are, according to Bastin and Brommer, considered to be the most serious and reliable English studies on these parts of Indonesia.\(^{57}\) Marsden’s account describes the government, laws,
customs, and manners of the native inhabitants. Raffles’ account of Java covers the same topics. Each chose to document natural history and ancient history, including images and descriptions of geographical features, natural phenomena, wildlife, flora, and objects of trade. Both works also contain information on the natives and their culture, including behavioral differences amongst their neighbors, marriage customs, laws, foods, crafts, and maps.

What separated Raffles’ *History of Java* from Marsden’s *History of Sumatra* and other written works concerning Indonesia prior to 1817 was Raffles’ interest in ethnography and the profundity of his concentration on the Javanese people and their costume. Although previous publications established a basis for what was known about Java and Indonesia, they neglected to fully investigate Indonesia from an ethnographical perspective. It is apparent that the style Raffles employed for *The History of Java* was not original, but no previous book combining text and imagery on history, culture, and antiquities had been devoted to the sole subject of Java. As a result, Raffles’ *History of Java* stands apart from other works published exclusively on Java at this time.

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58. John Joseph Stockdale’s *Island of Java*, for example, although published in London six years before Raffles’ (which would make it the first work in English to focus exclusively on the island of Java) did not include illustrations. It is interesting that Stockdale chose not include images, since as stated in his the preface he too was influenced by C.F. Tombe. Stockdale’s *Island of Java* will be discussed further in Chapter 3. The first work exclusively describing the island of Java combining text with aquatints was Major William Thorn’s *Memoir of the Conquest of Java*, published in London in 1815. However, the work did not include a description of Java beyond its military history. Thorn described the British invasion of Java in 1811 and included details such as a fish market and herbal antidotes for poisonous dagger wounds. His *Memoir* contained thirty-five plates, of which eighteen were maps and charts, and seventeen were uncolored aquatints by Joseph Jeakes. Most of the uncolored aquatints depict the topography of Batavia and the coastal towns of northern Java.
One may also wonder about the methodology used by Raffles to document the Javanese people. In a letter dating January 2, 1809, William Marsden wrote to Raffles:

In the next Edition of my Sumatra, which I purpose setting about in the course of this year, I shall give plates of the Characters employed by the people of the Eastern islands, so far as my materials will enable me.59

Although Marsden never produced a work illustrating the natives of Sumatra beyond the frontispiece in The History of Sumatra, it is possible that this letter inspired Raffles to collect materials and document the natives of Java.

Because of Raffles’ innovations in depicting multiple aspects of Java, specifically the pictorial depictions of Javanese costume, The History of Java became a tremendous success. The first edition had a print run of 900 copies, of which only 200 remained unsold seven months after its publication in May of 1817.60 At the end of that year, Raffles made arrangements to publish a second, quarto edition of the book, but for a number of reasons the second edition was not published until 1830.61 The second edition comprised 1500 copies and was greeted with equal success.62

Due to The History of Java’s popularity, interest in works on Indonesia dealing with ethnographical subject matter grew after 1817. Authors and artists too a greater

59. Bastin and Brommer, 110.
60. Ibid., 118.
61. Preliminary arrangements for the second edition of The History of Java were entrusted to Raffles’ cousin, Elton Hamond. Hamond began to assemble Raffles’ notes and drawings, but he took his own life in 1818. Many of Raffles’ papers were mixed with Hamond’s and ultimately lost with the dispersion of Hamond’s estate. Ibid.
62. The second edition of The History of Java was published by John Murray. It had been abridged by Lady Raffles and printed with her work, Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. Ibid., 6.
interest in the study and depiction of the inhabitants of Indonesia. In 1824, French author J.F. Marchal wrote Description Géographique, Historique et Commerciale de Java et des Autres Îles de L’Archipel Indien, which contained the first colored lithographs depicting Indonesian costume and topography. Published both in Brussels and Paris, Marchal’s Description combined Raffles’ History of Java and John Crawfurd’s History of the Indian Archipelago.63 It contained forty-five plates, ten of which were colored lithographs and thirty-five uncolored lithographs. The plates illustrating Javanese antiquities and costumes were taken directly from Raffles’ plates; some, however, were printed in reverse (fig. 17).64 In fact, Marchal’s Description was not the only work to have plagiarized the plates found in Raffles’ account.65 Amongst the many works that either reversed or reinterpreted Raffles’ plates were the illustrations in Frederic Shoberl’s 1824 account, The World in Miniature, and the first three plates in J.B.J. van Doren’s 1851 publication Reis naar Nederlands Oost-Indie of Land- en Zeentogten gedurende de twee eerste jaren mijns verblijfs op Java.66 The figures in the 1857 lithograph plate “Een Rongging Dans in de Binnen-Landen van Java” by E. Spanier and C.C.A. Last appear similar in pose and costume to those of Raffles’ image in A Rong’geng or Dancing girl (fig. 18).

63. John Crawfurd’s History of the Indian Archipelago will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

64. Bastin and Brommer, 9.

65. As a result of Marchal’s use of Raffles’ images, the importance of his book from the point of view of lithographic illustration has been overlooked. Ibid.

66. According to Bastin and Brommer, Shoberl’s plates were “of the few in which [Raffles’] colored aquatints retain any of their original charm.” The first three plates of J.B.J. van Doren’s Reis naar Nederlands Oost-Indie of Land- en Zeentogten gedurende de twee eerste jaren mijns verblijfs op Java (The Hague, 1851) – “Danseuse à Jáva,” “Javanais en costume de Guerre,” and “Javanaise en habit de cour” – were all subjects and titles taken from Raffles’ The History of Java. Ibid., 117
Fig. 17. (left) Habitant de Madura ayant le rang de Mantri, from Marchal, Description Géographique, Historique et Commerciale de Java et des Autres Îles de L’Archipel Indien, 1824.

Fig. 18. (top) E. Spanier and C.C.A. Last, Een Rongging Dans in de Binnen-Landen van Java, 1857.

Fig. 19. (left) William Spreat, Bengal Civilian, from Kinloch’s Rambles in Java and the Straits in 1852.
“Bengal Civilian” by William Spreat, from Charles Walter Kinloch’s *Rambles in Java and the Straits in 1852*, copies the image of *A Javan of the Lower Class* and *A Javan Woman of the Lower Class* from *The History of Java* (fig. 19). The image of a Papuan in the second volume of *The History of Java* is duplicated in the plate entitled “Papua and Negro” from John Crawfurd’s *History of the Indian Archipelago* (figs. 20 and 21).67

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Fig. 20. Papua and Negro from John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, 1820.

Fig. 21. *A Papuan or Native of New Guinea, 10 years old*, Frontispiece, from Raffles, *The History of Java*, Volume II, 1816.

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67. According to Forge, “*The History of Java* continued to remain a great source of illustrative materials throughout the 19th century. The plates from *The History of Java* were used throughout Europe, reversed, reclothed, and put in different but equally stock settings.” Forge, 147.
Swiss writer Joseph J.X. Pfyffer zu Neueck included sketches of the island of Java and several colored lithograph plates depicting Javanese topography and costume in his 1829 work *Skizzen von der Insel Java und derselben Verschiedenen Bewohnern.*

Neueck’s account contains fifteen lithograph plates on costume, scenery, weapons, and coins by engraver Johannes Schiess. Schiess’s ethnographical plates depict figures similar to those in Raffles’ *History of Java*. The Orientalist imagery is kept to a minimum and the figure is central to the plate so that the viewer can focus on the figure’s costume.

In “Ein Leibgardist des Sultans von Djocjocarta” several small shrubs and two palm trees flank the figure, and in “Ein Kapilie, Hauptmann der Leibgarde” the figure is simply placed amongst some shrubs (fig. 22). Much like the plates in *The History of Java*, Schiess’s compositions depicted every detail of the figures’ costumes. The fabrics’ patterns enhance the status of the wearer, as did the fabrics worn by Raffles’ figures.

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68. J.J.X. Pfyffer zu Neueck was a Swiss officer in the Netherlands Indies Army from 1819 until 1827. *Skizzen von der Insel Java und derselben Verschiedenen Bewohnern* was published in Schaffhausen, Switzerland in 1829 and 1832. Bastin and Brommer, 133.

69. The significance of the fabric and patterns worn by the figures in Raffles’ plates will be discussed further in Chapter 3 and 4.
Schiess’s figures also attempt to recreate Javanese natives without exaggerating their features. In this respect, the plates in Neueck’s account may have been more successful than those found in Raffles’.  

A series of works published between 1830-1847 by François Vincent Henri Antoine de Stuers focused so exclusively on the ethnography of Indonesians that each plate featuring a native only depicts a close-up, half length figure (fig. 23). Although the facial features of the figures are prominent, minimal attention is given to their costumes. The figure is a prominent Indonesian leader, whereas Raffles’ figures are non-specific representations of the Javanese. The figures in de Stuers’ account may not be as noteworthy in their portrayal of costume; they are deserving of attention due to their depiction of physiognomical defects. Like the plates in Neueck’s account, the portraits in de Stuers’ Mémoires sur la Guerre de L’Ile de Java de 1825 à 1830 illustrated the upper body of the individual.  

Fig. 23. C.C.A. Last, Dipo Neogro, c. 1835, from de Stuers, Mémoires sur la Guerre de L’Ile de Java de 1825 à 1830.

70. The figures in The History of Java, for example, have been Europeanized. Their features have been elongated and the color of their skin has been lightened, whereas in Neueck’s account the figures are darker skinned and have features more typical of a Javanese native. The Europeanization of the Raffles’ figures will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

71. The portraits in de Stuers’ account illustrate Sultan Dipanagara (Dipo Neogro), his principal religious adviser, Kjahi Madja, and the military commander of the rebel forces, Ali Basah Sentot Prawiradirdja.
class, whereas the figures in Raffles’ account covered several social classes. These portraits were the first large lithographs of Indonesian ethnography to be published.\(^{72}\)

Some of the finest colored lithograph plates on the subject of Indonesia are those found in C.J. Temminck’s *Verhandelingen over de Natuurlijke Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Overzeecche Bezittingen*. Temminck’s work consists of twenty-nine parts, published in Leiden between 1839 and 1847. It is broken into three categories – *Zoologie*, *Botanie*, and *Land-en Volkenkunde* – the majority of which are devoted to publishing the results of investigations undertaken by members of the Natural Sciences Commission.\(^{73}\) The Zoology category consisted of 100 lithograph plates, eighty-one of

\[\text{Fig. 24. A.S. Mulder, } \textit{Heraut Amarassie, from Temminck, Verhandelingen over de Natuurlijke Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Overzeecche Bezittingen, 1839-1847.}\]

\(^{72}\) The plates are about 32 x 45 cm.

\(^{73}\) Bastin and Brommer, 14.
which are hand colored. The Botany section comprises 259 pages of text with seventy lithograph plates on the general flora of Indonesia. Sixty-six of these plates are hand-colored. The *Land-en Volkenkunde* (Geography and Ethnology) volume contains 472 pages of text and eighty-six lithographs, twenty of which are hand colored. Twenty-two of the lithograph plates from *Land-en Volkenkunde* illustrate Java, and much of the account investigates ethnography and Indonesian costume (fig. 24). Although the overall compositions are similar to those of Raffles, the costumes in Temminck’s plates are highly decorative and undoubtedly Orientalizing. Again the figures hold a central location, dominating the landscape that is either minimized or altogether removed from the plate. Temminck’s figures wear ornamental costume, ranging from feather headdresses and bells to fur and tassels. Even though there is nothing in the landscape to suggest the figure’s place of origin, the over-embellished costumes would have been interpreted as nothing other than Oriental. Temminck’s figures are therefore quite different than Raffles’. Raffles wished to illustrate the natives of Java and have his European audience personally identify with his figures, whereas Temminck’s goal was to illustrate their differences. As a result, Temminck exaggerated and Orientalized his figures’ costumes. Regardless of their pictorial accuracies, however, the ethnographic plates in Temminck’s *Verhandelingen* are visually stunning.

The influence of Raffles’ *History of Java* even affected accounts that did not

74. Raffles’ motives and intentions for his ethnographic plates will be discussed further in Chapter 3.
address costume or ethnography. Among the most comprehensive works on Indonesia’s natural history was Carl Ludwig Blume’s *Rumphia, sive Commentationes Botanicae Imprimis de Plantis Indiae Orientalis*. Published in multiple volumes around the same time as Temminck’s *Verhandelingen over de Natuurlijke Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Overzeeche Bezittingen*, Blume’s writings extensively cover the study of Java’s flora. Although the majority of *Rumphia* depicts natural history, the Frontispiece of Volume I plagiarizes and combines several plates from Raffles’ *History of Java*, thus illustrating the impact Raffles’ work had on a wide range books published on Java after 1817 (fig. 25). The Frontispiece of Volume I depicts the scholar Blume surrounded by antiquities. The three standing figures behind the scholar are copies, reversed and

![Frontispiece from Volume I of Blume’s *Rumphia*](image)

**Fig. 25. Frontispiece, from Volume I of Blume’s *Rumphia*.**

75. Blume’s botanical knowledge led to the botanical journal *Blumea*, which was named after him and still exists today.
changed in scale from Raffles’ plates. The figure hovering over the scholar is a reversed copy of Raffles’ “A Javan Woman of the Lower Class.” The figure in the back is a revised version of “A Madurese of the Rank of Mantri.” The final figure on the far left is a combination of two of Raffles’ figures. The headdress of the figure is reminiscent of Raffles’ “A Penganten Wadon or Bride,” and the profile and pose are copied from “A Rong’geng or Dancing Girl.”

The first books devoted solely to the inhabitants of Indonesia were Auguste Van Pers’ *Nederlandsch Oost-Indische Typen* and Ernest Hardouin’s *Java. Tooneelen uit het Leven*. These accounts describe the various ethnic groups and social orders in Java, in both traditional settings and the environment of the colonial towns. Among all accounts concerning the inhabitants of Indonesia, the plates in Van Pers’ and Hardouin’s works are arguably the most indicative of what nineteenth-century Javanese life, customs, culture and costume like. Although it is not as renowned or widely reproduced as the aquatints from Raffles’ *History of Java*, their imagery provides a more comprehensive view of the inhabitants of the country. Unlike Raffles’ images, Van Pers’ and

76. Forge, 147.

77. Auguste Van Pers’ *Nederlandsch Oost-Indische Typen* was published in Leiden between 1853-1862, and Ernest Hardouin’s *Java. Tooneelen uit het Leven* was published in The Hague between 1853-1855. Prior to their publication in the Netherlands, both had been published in the 1840’s in Batavia. Bastin and Brommer, 30.

78. Ibid.

79. In 1857, Hardouin’s plates were reproduced as small colored lithographs for the first color-plate children’s book on Indonesia, entitled *Java. Prentenboek voor de Nederlandsch-Indische Jeugd*. Although this was the first children’s book to contain colored plates, the first illustrated children’s book on Indonesia was Johannes Oliver’s *Tafereel van Oost-Indie voor Jonge Leiden van Beiderlei Kunne*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1840-1841, and again in 1844. Interestingly, the subjects of many of Oliver’s plates are plagiarized from Raffles’ *The History of Java*. Ibid., 35-36.
Hardouin’s plates not only illustrated the native inhabitants of Java, but also those Muslim, Chinese, and African immigrants living in Java (figs. 26 and 27). A great deal of attention is given to the costumes of the figures represented, but they are depicted in their surroundings instead of on a non-specific plot of ground. As a result, the focus in these plates appears to be on the figure in its native setting, whereas Raffles’ plates seemed to focus exclusively on the figure and the native costume. The setting itself does not overshadow the figure. Instead it helps to reveal aspects of the inhabitants’ daily lives and their interactions with one another as well as with outsiders. In addition, the figure’s Raffles’ (Van Pers’ plates more so than Hardouin’s). As a result, Van Pers’ and Hardouin’s images suggest a
captured moment in time. Their figures are not simply on display, but seem to illustrate what life may have been like in nineteenth-century Java.

Nonetheless, it is Raffles’ images from *The History of Java* which are more often assumed to be accurate depictions of nineteenth-century Java. Perhaps this perceived accuracy reflects the contributions of the immense collection Raffles brought back with him from Java. This collection was the result of Raffles’ quest for exactitude and proved that he worked directly from numerous examples of Javanese culture. He was not a mere visitor to Java who returned to write an account of his experience, like many other nineteenth-century authors did. A close analysis of *The History of Java* will reveal this perceived accuracy as exaggerated.
CHAPTER 3

RAFFLES’ OBJECTIVE
FOR THE COLORED AQUATINTS

Until *The History of Java* was published, the European world viewed Indonesians and their neighbors as inferior, lazy, unclean and untrustworthy. Numerous works published throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contained writings and illustrations about Java and the rest of the Indonesian Archipelago. These works were the cornerstone of what was known about this region of the world and informed future writers, like Raffles, who attempted to change preconceived notions. Each account promised to portray Indonesia with the utmost exactitude, which, of course, meant the way the writer viewed it. Most of these writings, however, simply perpetuated common stereotypes about the Far East that catered to a European audience. What was known by Europeans about Java around the time of the publication of *The History of Java* can be documented with the help of accounts by John Joseph Stockdale and John Crawfurd. These accounts were informed by the British conquest and occupation of Java, and they stand as reminders of preconceived notions about the history of Java.⁸⁰

In 1811, Stockdale published in England the first book relating to the British conquest of Java. In fact, Stockdale’s *Island of Java* was the first account in any language exclusively dedicated to Java. Stockdale began writing his account shortly after news reached London of the British invasion of the island.⁸¹ Although his work was

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⁸¹. Ibid.
innovative in that it documented multiple aspects of contemporary Javanese culture, it continued to perpetuate Orientalist notions. The title page of Stockdale’s 1811 account identifies *Island of Java* as a book that includes “sketches, civil and military, of the island of Java and its immediate dependencies: comprising interesting details of Batavia and authentic particulars of the celebrated poison-tree.” The inclusion of material relating to the infamous poison tree proved very successful and created a popular demand for his book.

In 1783 German surgeon J.N. Foersch published a description of the poison tree, known as the Upas, in *The London Magazine: or, Gentlemen’s Monthly Intelligencer*, and six years later Erasmus Darwin popularized the Upas in his epic poem *The Botanic Garden*, where he called it “the Hydra-Tree of death.” Further inquiries into the Upas were made by Lord Macartney (for whom John Barrow, writer of *A Voyage to"

82. Although Stockdale’s *Island of Java* did not contain any illustrations, it was highly innovative in that it included many topics relating to Java. Whereas previous accounts were limited to natural history, ancient history, or contemporary culture, Stockdale chose to give an overview of Java. Book I discussed Java’s climate, productions, geography, and religion, the relationship of the Javanese to their neighbors and other non-Javanese inhabitants of Java, Java’s government and military, diseases, slavery, dress, and the temperament of the Javanese, as well as the fall of the Dutch VOC. Book II covers the topics of geography, animals, criminals and ancient buildings. Book III outlines Java’s productions, dependencies, relation with the VOC, and the character and appearance of the Javanese. Book IV reviews the government, commerce, ceremonies, and Javanese rulers. Note that some topics are included in more than one book. According to the Preface of Stockdale’s *Island of Java*, “although the plan of comprising each separate account in one Book subjects the reader to some repetition; it is calculated to do more justice to the respective travelers.” Ibid.


84. Ibid.

85. Bastin, from *Island of Java*, i.
Their writings on the Upas included first-hand accounts of the poison tree and its violent effects. However, they were written for a European audience already under the impression that the Far East was cruel and uncivilized; dwelling on these aspects further enhanced the works’ appeal. Stockdale, aware that Europeans knew little about Java beyond the Upas, treated the subject because it increased public interest in his account. As a result, this inclusion only amended but did not substantially alter the opinion that Java was primitive and different.

Stockdale built upon these Orientalist notions by describing the Javanese as “proud, lazy and cowardly.” He continued by describing them as promiscuous and polygamous, beyond what previous writers suggested:

They marry as many wives as they can maintain, and take their female slaves for concubines. … The women are proportionally more comely than the men, and are very fond of white men. They are jealous in the extreme, and know how to make an European, with whom they have had a love-affair, and who proves inconstant, dearly repent his incontinence and his fickleness, by administering certain drugs, which disqualify him for the repetition of either.

This statement, in conjunction with Stockdale’s description of Javanese women as “in general of a very delicate make, and of extremely fair complexion,” seemingly confirmed Western fantasy by portraying native women as fair-skinned, exotic, and subservient.

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86. The Upas tree was among the first subjects that Raffles investigated shortly after his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Java. Ibid.
87. Stockdale, 32.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., 107.
Perhaps most indicative of the Orientalist perception of Java is Crawfurd’s *History of the Indian Archipelago*. Published in Edinburgh in 1820, Crawfurd’s account, like Stockdale’s, attempted to give an overview of Java’s history, peoples and culture by means of several engraved plates. In the advertisement included in the 1820 edition of the book, Crawfurd stressed his extensive knowledge of the island and the belief that his account was the most accurate to date:

The materials [within *History of the Indian Archipelago*] were collected by [Crawfurd], during a residence of 9 years in the countries of which it professes to give an account. In the year 1808, he was nominated to the medical staff of Prince of Wales’ island, and, during a stay of 3 years at that station, acquired such a knowledge of the language and manners of the native tribes, as induced his distinguished patron, the late Earl of Minto, to employ him on the public service, in the expedition which conquered Java in 1811. During a residence in that island of nearly 6 years, he had the honor to fill some of the principal civil and political offices of the local government, and thus enjoyed opportunities of acquiring information regarding the country and its inhabitance, which no British subject is again likely, for a long time, to possess. A political mission to Bali and Celebes, and much intercourse with the tribes and nations frequenting Java for commercial purposes make up the amount of his personal experience.90

The advertisement continues to promote the *History of the Indian Archipelago* as an accurate account by stating that “the sketches of antiquities were executed chiefly by a native of Java and they have at least the merit of being drawings with the minute fidelity.”91 Crawfurd had established himself as an expert, as revealed by the advertisement, and used a reliable native by the name of Adi Warna as the specialist for his sketches. As a result, Crawfurd’s account was perceived to be an accurate, first-hand account of Java’s history and culture.


91. Ibid.
Crawfurd was, however, a Scottish Orientalist. His stereotypical views of Java are abundantly expressed throughout his *History of the Indian Archipelago*. Besides his admission in Book IV that the products of Java are more in demand by Europeans than by natives, the majority of Crawford’s work describes Java or the Javanese in a negative manner. In fact, most of Crawfurd’s account suggests a nation of individuals from “a lower stage of civilization.”

In his discussion of the manners and character of the Indian islanders, Crawfurd describes the Javanese as “athletic but never active,” “defective in personal cleanliness,” “slow of comprehension and having narrow judgement,” “faithless” and “superstitious,” and whose “intellectual facilities are feeble.” In his chapter on dress, Crawfurd falsely states that the Javanese were so content in their nakedness and savageness that they did not know about “the use of cotton in the fabrication of clothing.” Even one of the few complimentary statements on the character of the Javanese is overridden with negative observations. According to Crawfurd:

> The Dutch have been fond of comparing the Javanese to their own favorite animal the buffalo, and denounce them as dull, sluggish, and perverse. But the man and the animal, I believe are culminated. It would be more just to observe, that the Javanese, like the buffalo, is slow, but useful and industrious, and with kind treatment, docile and easily governed.

This statement reveals Crawfurd’s Orientalist disposition when it came to the Javanese.

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92. Ibid., 43.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., 207
95. Ibid., 43.
Even though his views may appear harsh, his statements are indicative of European Orientalist attitudes towards the inhabitants of the Far East.

What Europeans during the first quarter of the nineteenth century knew about the inhabitants of Indonesia can be inferred from Stockdale’s and Crawfurd’s accounts written at the time. When these works are compared to *The History of Java*, it becomes clear why Raffles is thought of to be a humanitarian. Although several accounts of Java have met with harsh criticism, especially by post-colonial historians, very few scholars, if any, have criticized *The History of Java*. This is because, according to most modern-day historians, Raffles’ wished to display Java as a civilization comparable to Europe. Unlike the accounts by Stockdale or Crawfurd, Raffles’ account makes very few overtly Orientalist statements. In fact, most statements in Raffles’ *The History of Java* describe the Javanese in a favorable manner. As a result, his perceived objective in writing *The History of Java*, as John Bastin suggests, was “prompted by sincere humanitarian

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96. Crawfurd was critical of Raffles’ *The History of Java*. In the advertisement to his *History of the Indian Archipelago*, he stated that “no British subject is again likely, for a long time, to possess” the knowledge of Java, like he did. In an article for the *Edinburgh Review* of March 1819 he wrote: “[*The History of Java*] is hastily written, and not very well arranged. It is a great deal too bulky, and too expensive to be popular; and has, consequently, not been nearly so much read as its intrinsic merits entitle it to be. The style is fluent, but diffuse, and frequently careless. We should guess that Sir Stamford Raffles composes with too much facility, and blots too little. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which give an account of the Religion and History, are by far the worst. In determining the Chronology, great errors have been committed. There is a propensity to magnify the importance of the early story of the Javanese; and, in calculating and adapting the Native, to Christian time, the principle has been wholly mistaken, and an error of several years throughout the whole is the consequence.” Bastin, from *The History of Java*, introduction. Raffles then attacked Crawfurd’s account as being inaccurate and faulty. John Bastin, “Malayan Portraits: John Crawfurd,” *In Malaya*, Vol. 3, December 1954, 697-698. Apparently Crawfurd got the final word in the descriptive dictionary *Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries*, 1856. There he described Raffles as “an intrepid innovator,” not “an original thinker, but [who] readily adopted the notions of others - not always with adequate discrimination.” Ernest C.T. Chew, “Dr John Crawfurd (1783-1868): The Scotsman Who Made Singapore British,” *Raffles Town Club*, Vol. 8, July – Sept 2002.
motives.” Of course not all historians agree with the idea that Raffles wrote *The History of Java* because of charitable attitudes towards the Javanese. Others suggest that Raffles simply wrote the book because of his benevolence towards Dr. John Caspar Leyden, who came to Java with the same literary objective but passed away before doing so.98

There is no doubt that Raffles describes the Javanese in a positive light, especially when compared to other accounts of Java. However, to suggest that his motives for writing *The History of Java* were purely humanitarian would mean to ignore Raffles’ actions as an imperialist colonizer and Orientalist and to underestimate the power his account had in establishing the accepted basis for Javanese history. The truth is that Raffles, although concerned with creating attitudes that were fundamentally favorable to the Javanese, had a vested interest in shaping a favorable picture of his tenure as Lieutenant Governor of Java.99 His motives for writing *The History of Java* were not entirely humanitarian but partially motivated by the politics of imperialism. Above all, Raffles wanted his actions in Java to be viewed as positive. In order to do so, he needed the British to believe that he was capable of transforming these savage, backward natives into a civilized nation. Raffles hoped to make the British sympathetic towards the

97. Bastin adds: “For above all Raffles was a product of the late eighteenth-century humanitarian movement, which had found its inspiration in the writings of Rousseau and in the myth of the noble savage.” Bastin, *The Native Policies*, xii.

98. “The decision to [create *The History of Java*] was influenced by the tragic death in August of 1811 of Dr. John Caspar Leyden who had accompanied the British expedition with the object of writing a book; certainly it is possible to infer from the moving tribute in the opening pates of the *History* that Raffles might not have undertaken the task had his friend lived.” Bastin, from *The History of Java*, ii.

Javanese. He needed to shift the commonly held Orientalist views of the Javanese and to replace them with the idea that the Javanese were quite similar to the British, especially in appearance. Once this view was established, he would be granted the status of an enlightened, scholarly administrator.\(^{100}\) As a result, Raffles purposely adjusted his own writings and the colored plates so that Europeans would better be able to conceive of the Javanese as a civilization similar, yet still inferior, to their own. The degree to which he modified his account is extensive, making his work not one which should be perceived as an accurate portrayal of early nineteenth-century Java, but rather one that fabricated the Orient as a way to strengthen his political motives.

When analyzing his text it becomes apparent that Raffles perpetuated the Orientalist view that Indonesia was dependent upon Britain. In discussing Javanese commerce, for example, Raffles devotes a majority of his account to describing the dependency of other nations in the Far East on Javanese goods. Although this statement is accurate, he continues by listing a number of products that were exported to the British market, and claims that this exportation was solely for the betterment of the Javanese people, as a way to help supply them with a system of barter among Far Eastern nations.\(^{101}\) In truth, the Europeans, after first arriving on the shores of Indonesia, discovered a system of barter that had been established there for centuries. Raffles supports his inaccurate statement by illustrating the Javanese market’s dependency upon

\(^{100}\) Ibid., 110.

\(^{101}\) Raffles, *History of Java*, 212.
European cloth. Ironically, the cloth Raffles to which refers were textiles originally exported from Indonesia and India, printed in Europe, and re-imported back to Indonesia by way of the British East India Company.

In designing the colored plates, the artists themselves were the first to skew the representation of Java. During the nineteenth century, artistic skill was determined by training. Craftsmen and professionals, such as engineers, needed no formal training to draw objects, such as buildings and machines, but artists depicting landscapes typically received formal training. Those portraying the human figure were required to receive full academic art training, which included working from a model. Ideally, Raffles would have traveled with an academically trained artist or a Javanese native who would have been capable of producing Western-style depictions of Java to be used for *The History of Java*. However, while in Java he had no specialist artists attached to his staff. Instead Raffles used several British military engineers, who had backgrounds as technical draftsmen.

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102. Ibid., 216.

103. The exportation of Indonesian textiles and importation of European-modified, Indonesian textiles will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

104. Forge, 112.

105. Although non-Europeans were believed to be incapable of creating art, they could be trained to become draftsmen. During his expeditions in Sumatra and Singapore, Raffles used non-European, specifically Javanese, Sumatran and Chinese artists. Ibid.

106. Captain G.P. Baker and H.C. Cornelius were two draftsmen who created most of the drawings for Raffles’ *The History of Java*. Baker was a Lieutenant in the Bengal Light Infantry, whose military duties included plans and maps of the Jogya kraton and repairing the roads for the British artillery. Cornelius had been recruited by Raffles from among the Dutch. Ibid., 113. Cornelius was the Civil Surveyor and Superintendent of Buildings at Semarang. Bastin and Brommen, 315.
Most of the pen and ink sketches created by the engineers, in particular the architectural images, were accurate and full of detail, but seven representations depicting the human figure are considered very poor in terms of quality and accuracy. From a stylistic comparison one can tell that all seven sketches were drawn by the same person. The first six illustrate the figure in a perspective similar to that of ancient Indonesian puppets. Characteristics of Indonesian puppets, known as wayang, include a twisted perspective, where the head is shown in profile, the shoulders, elongated arms and body are seen from the front, and the legs and feet are viewed from the side (fig. 28). The seventh sketch depicts the figure in a more European perspective of three-quarter view from the back. Although the pen and ink

107. Forge, 112.

108. Leather shadow puppets native to Central Java are known as wayang kulit, and wooden puppets from West Java are called wayang golek.

109. Many art historians believe that a native inhabitant may have been responsible for these seven sketches since they are in the wayang tradition. However, the three-quarter viewpoint seen in the seventh sketch was unconventional for wayang. Therefore it can be deduced that this sketch, at least, was completed a European. In addition, Anthony Forge argues, “if the sketches were by a Javanese artist, certainly if by one trained in the wayang tradition, the faces would be more stylized and the accuracy of detail different.” Forge continues by stating that two pencil sketches drawn beside the ink drawing of the figure of the “Dancing Girl,” which depict how the earring plug fits into the ear, were familiar to a Javanese and would have been ignored by a Javanese artist. However, this type of earring was unique to Europeans and would therefore be more likely to have been a topic of focus. Forge, 115.
drawings lack technical merit, they became the basis for the colored plates in *The History of Java*.\(^{110}\)

In addition to the quality of the initial sketches, the second constraint to the realization of accurate representations is due to the engraver. When Raffles returned to England, he sought a trained engraver capable of converting the pen and ink sketches, wooden models and cloth samples into figures whose poses would conform to the European tradition.

According to most historians, the primary choice for the engraver fell on the artist William Daniell (fig. 29).\(^ {111}\) As Bastin and Brommer note, “Daniell was at this period the recognized master of colored aquatinting of Asian topography and costume, his craft having been perfected between 1795 and 1808 when he was working with his uncle on the large

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\(^{110}\) The set of models was carved, painted and mounted onto solid base. Although the artist is unknown, Anthony Forge suggests that a Javanese craftsman created them. The Javanese cloth Raffles had shipped to England did not survive to become a part of his collection, but a great deal is known about the cloth Raffles brought back from the shipping logs. The London Dock Minute Book from October 10, 1816 records “twenty-two pieces of Java clothes intended as specimens for the English manufactures,” which have been credited as being a part of Raffles’ collection. Ibid., 116.

\(^{111}\) William Daniell (1769-1837) was an English-born painter who was sent to live with his uncle, Thomas in 1779. Thomas Daniell was an artist, and William Daniell became his pupil. In 1785 they traveled throughout China and India, returning to England in 1794. There they exhibited works illustrating their travels. In 1819 William Daniell published an illustrated book entitled *A Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*. He also published *A Voyage Around Great Britain*, which included sketches of the British countryside. In 1825, he won a prize for the *Battle of Trafalgar*, exhibited at the British Institution. Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
English color plate book on India, *Oriental Scenery.* It may be interesting to note that Daniell was not Raffles’ first choice. In a letter dated September 11, 1816, Raffles stated that he was in “some confusion respecting the engravings as I find Mr. Walker not equal to the task he undertook.” The original engraver that Raffles refers to in this letter was Mr. J. Walker, who, for some undocumented reason, was unable to complete his task and was later replaced by Daniell.

It is believed that William Daniell was commissioned to illustrate *The History of Java* because of his reputation as “an expert on the Orient” and because of his experience in the field of color aquatinting. Between 1795-1808 and 1812-1816, Thomas and William Daniell worked to create 144 plates for six issues of *Oriental Scenery,* a popular publication that primarily documented India and included several images of Oriental costume. In addition to this publication, what may have attracted Raffles to Daniell were his fifty aquatints found in *A Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China,* published in London in 1810. Amongst these aquatints were ten plates of Java, including three of the Malay and two illustrating groups of Indonesians (figs. 30 and 31). The latter were admired for their accurate representation of the Javanese people, and the images of the

112. Bastin and Brommer, 5.

113. Forge, 116.

114. J. Walker was the engraver responsible for the foldout map of the archipelago in John Crawfurd’s *History of the Indian Archipelago.* More than likely Walker was unable to meet the deadlines Raffles set for the publication of *The History of Java,* and was then replaced by Daniell.

115. In 1785 William Daniell had visited Java with his uncle, Thomas Daniell, and again nine years later en route to China. Their voyage resulted in the 1810 publication of *A Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China,* in which ten colored aquatints depicting western Java were included. Forge, 117.
Fig. 30. William Daniell, *Malays of Java*, from *A Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*, 1810.

Fig. 31. William Daniell *Malays of Java*, from *A Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*, 1810.
Malay were considered foremost among reproductions of Indonesian costume. However, neither of the Daniells had had formal training in the human physiognomy. Landscapes and architecture were their specialties, and the inclusion of figures was often for scale or to give the image a touch of color.\textsuperscript{116} As a result, even though the Malay figures are the focus of the picture, they appear almost secondary characters in quality compared to the landscape and vegetation around them. The mountains, water, trees and buildings are depicted with great precision, whereas the figures, with their heavy forms, flat color and pronounced shadows, look almost like cartoons.

When comparing the figures Daniell created prior to \textit{The History of Java} to those within the account, it is apparent that the form in Daniell’s earlier images enhances the primitive nature of the inhabitants. This was a direct result of Daniell’s own Orientalist attitudes towards the Indonesians. Unlike Raffles, Daniell was not sympathetic toward the native inhabitants. He regarded them as prone to idleness and mischief and claimed that for their intervals of leisure, they have neither useful nor agreeable occupations, and have no resource but in gaming.\textsuperscript{117} Daniell’s Orientalist views are also apparent in his landscapes (fig. 32). His landscapes combine elements of visual clichés that indicate his figures were staged among the

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{William Daniell, \textit{The Watering Place at Anjer Point in the Island of Java}, 1794.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 121.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
Orient. His exotic plants, native huts, distant boats and palm trees are all signs commonly used by European artists to convey the genuineness of the Oriental scene.\textsuperscript{118}

When William Daniell began the oil proofs for the plates in \textit{The History of Java}, his Orientalist convictions had not diminished.\textsuperscript{119}

Daniell’s recollection of Indonesia would have been based on his brief travels there twenty-two years earlier. While in Indonesia he had ventured no further than a Dutch outpost located in the far western portion of the island and, as Anthony Forge suggests, “had never seen a Javanese and certainly not one from the courts of central Java.”\textsuperscript{120} Therefore, to create the plates for \textit{The History of Java}, Daniell relied greatly upon outside resources beyond his own experiences. The pen and ink sketches created by Raffles’ engineers were not greatly detailed, nor were there numerous sketches from which Daniell could work.\textsuperscript{121} As a result, to produce the oil sketches for the colored plates, Daniell also relied on wooden models, cloth samples and native Javanese inhabitants brought back by Raffles.\textsuperscript{122}

Before returning to England, Raffles had commissioned a group of wood carvings

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 121.

\textsuperscript{119} Seven small oil paintings on cardboard, the sketches for the plates for \textit{The History of Java}, are housed in the British Museum Department of Ethnography’s Library of the Museum of Mankind. Although they are not signed, they have been attributed to William Daniell. It is believed that Daniell did not sign these proofs because he had not created the original pen and ink sketches.

\textsuperscript{120} Forge, 121.

\textsuperscript{121} The seven preliminary pen and ink drawings, done on four sheets, are today located at the British Museum in the Department of Oriental Antiquities.

\textsuperscript{122} Napoleon returned to France with Mamelukes after his conquest of Egypt, much like Raffles returning to England with Javanese inhabitants.
to be made (fig. 33). Unlike the pen and ink sketches, these wooden models were more than likely created by native inhabitants of Java. The accuracy and variety of the carved costume is too great to have been created by a Westerner, who would not have understood or noticed the subtleties and significance of Javanese patterns. It is apparent that the aquatint “A Madurese of the Rank of Mantri” was created using the wooden models Raffles brought back with him (figs. 34 and 35). Three wooden models match the figures in this aquatint so perfectly that beyond the shift in medium and addition of vegetation and landscape, very little differentiates the wooden models from the illustration.

Fig. 33. Wood carvings from Raffles’ collection.

Fig. 34. Three wooden models brought back by Raffles.

Fig. 35. A Madurese of the Rank of Mantri, from Raffles, The History of Java, Volume I, 1816.
Three aquatints appear to have been inspired neither by pen and ink sketches nor wooden models, but by Daniell’s own observations and experience. The figure in “A Javan Chief in his Ordinary Dress” closely resembles the portrait of Ráden Rána Dipúral seen in the Frontispiece of the first volume of *The History of Java* (figs. 36 and 37). Ráden was Raffles’ assistant and guide while in Java and even accompanied Raffles to England. It is likely that while in England, Ráden posed for Daniell’s design of the frontispiece. Comparison between the physical features and clothing worn by Ráden and the figure in “A Javan Chief in his Ordinary Dress” reveal notable similarities.¹²³

¹²³ The figures in the Frontispiece and “A Javan Chief in his Ordinary Dress” wear identical jackets, known as a lurik, shirts and , head cloths, and each carries a similar knife or *kris*. Forge, 123.
Similarly, no evidence indicates that Daniell relied upon pen and ink sketches to create the aquatints “A Javan of the Lower Class” and “A Javan Woman of the Lower Class” (figs. 38, 39, 40, and 41). These aquatints do, however, have oil proofs, which suggests that the original sketches for these plates have simply been lost. Comparison with the figures that Daniell created for *A Picturesque Voyage to India* seems to indicate that perhaps these images were based on Daniell’s recollection of what the Javanese looked like.

Fig. 38. (top left) Oil proof of *A Javan of the Lower Class*.  Fig. 39. (top right) Oil proof of *A Javan Woman of the Lower Class*.  Fig. 40. (bottom left) *A Javan of the Lower Class*, from Raffles, *The History of Java*, Volume I, 1816.  Fig. 41. (bottom right) *A Javan Woman of the Lower Class*, from Raffles, *The History of Java*, Volume I, 1816.
For the remainder of the colored plates, Daniell consulted the pen and ink sketches created by his engineers. His oil proofs elongated and thus Europeanized the figure, perhaps at Raffles’ own insistence. In most of the oil proofs a figure stands in a central position in the composition, taking up a quarter of the image. Certain details are carried over from the sketch to the oil proof, such as specific items of clothing and accessories like knives or hats, whereas other details are replaced, omitted altogether or created from Daniell’s imagination.

The stylistic changes and technical processes the sketches went through before their conversion to the final colored aquatints can be seen by means of a comparison of each step from the original pen and ink sketch to Daniell’s oil proof and aquatint.\(^{124}\) The pen and ink sketches of “A Javan in the War Dress” and “A Javan in the Court Dress” are depicted on the same sheet of paper (fig. 42). In comparison

Fig. 42. *A Javanese Chief in his War Dress* (left) and *A Javanese Chief in his Court Dress* (right), ink drawings.

\(^{124}\) Only four pen and ink sketches still exist today. Of these sketches, only three have final aquatints within *The History of Java*, and two of these three sketches depict two figures per page. The remaining two sketched figures have no oil proofs. Ibid.
with the proof of “A Javan in War dress,” the oil painting retains the figure’s peaked hat, spear and elaborate belt with two *kris* (fig. 43).\(^{125}\)

In the oil proof, however, Daniell illustrated the figure facing forward with his head turned only slightly to his right, as opposed to the *wayang* tradition where the sketched figure faces the left, with his head in profile. This repositioning allowed Daniell to elaborate on the figure’s costume, revealing an *iket* under his cap, *lurik* jacket and trousers, white shirt, *kain* and batik *kawang* pattern.\(^{126}\) In addition, Daniell removed the sketched figure’s military boots and moustache, which would have been synonymous to a British audience with bandits or Napoleonic generals.\(^{127}\) Daniell also staged the figure in one of his landscapes with visual clichés that reveal the scene to be situated in the Orient. Palm trees flank both sides of the figure, and a fort topped with an unidentifiable flag is on the far right. Similarly, the sketched figures of “A Bride” and “A Bridegroom,” which are illustrated on the same page, have also been altered for the oil proof (figs. 44, 45, and 46). The oil

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125. *A kris* is an Indonesian knife.

126. *Iket* is a type of native Indonesian fabric. *A lurik* jacket is a military style jacket. *Kain* is a specific type of *kawang* pattern to be discussed in Chapter 4.

127. Forge, 147.
Fig. 44. A Javanese Bride with her Ornament (left) and A Javanese Groom with his Ornament (right), ink drawings.

Fig. 45. Oil proof of A Penganten Wadon or Bride.

Fig. 46. Oil proof of A Penganten Lanang or Bridegroom.
proof of “A Bridegroom” retains a similar wayang pose. His face is in profile, facing the left, revealing head, chest and arm ornamentation, a kris in his gold belt, a dark dodot cloth in an alasalasan design and shoes with up-turned toes, much like the original pen and ink sketch. Perhaps the only major modification Daniell made to this figure was the addition of muscles to his physique. Daniell did, however, construct an environment around the figure, as in the oil proof for “A Javanese in War Dress,” that contains various visual stereotypes as a way to reveal the figure’s Oriental origins. Behind the bridegroom are two figures standing near a pagoda. One man is seated near a gate and the other carries an umbrella. Palm trees overshadow the scenery, even extending beyond the borders of the picture itself. Several more palm trees appear in the background in the direction of the figure’s gaze. The oil proof for “A Bride” has similar vegetation. The figure stands on a plateau, amongst palm trees and shrubs, a raised wooden house and a small hut. Although the figure’s gold headdress, bracelets, and breast ornament are similar to those seen in the pen and ink sketch, Daniell depicted the figure in the oil proof as facing the viewer. The figure’s hair has been softened, removing the points that came down onto her forehead in the pen and ink sketch, and the body has been elongated. In addition, the figure’s shoes have been modified slightly, removing the up-turned toe.

Daniell’s final step in creating the aquatints increased the number of inaccuracies found in the colored plates. By comparison with the oil proof, the aquatint draws greater

128. Dodot cloth and the alasalasan pattern will be discussed further in Chapter 4.
attention to the figure than to the figure’s surroundings. In “A Bridegroom,” for example, the overgrown landscape of the trees and vegetation has been diminished (fig. 47). Similarly, the palm trees in the aquatint of “A Javanese in the War Dress” have been significantly reduced in size and number (fig. 48).

The other differences between the oil proof and the aquatint of “A Javanese in the War Dress” are minuscule but significant. Several changes were made to the figure’s appearance which would have strengthened the figure’s status. For example, the batik pattern illustrated in the oil proof suggests a kawang pattern, but in the aquatint the

129. The greatest noticeable change is that the aquatint figure of the bridegroom has been reversed. The reason for the reverdal is uncertain, but perhaps it was done so that the kris could be more visible.
figure is dressed in a *parang rusak* design, which would have been considered more appropriate.  

Having little experience with the Javanese peoples and customs, Daniell had no obvious reason for introducing these costume changes; at least there is no existing documentation of Daniell’s interest in the cultural significance of Javanese textiles. Therefore it can be assumed that these costume changes were a result of Raffles’ instructions. For Raffles, the intent to illustrate costumes accurately is apparent. All changes Raffles ordered to the figures’ clothing raised the status of the wearer in Javanese terms (fig. 49).  

Raffles’ adjustments to Daniell’s oil proofs are not restricted to the changes in costume. As noted above, considerable differences can be observed between the oil proof and the final plate in the treatment of the background. The visual clichés and

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130. Forge, 122.

131. The clothing in the sketch for “A Javan in the Court Dress” is difficult to determine. In the aquatint, however, it is easy to see the *dodot* pattern the figure wears. As a result, the figure is elevated to a high status in Javanese society. In the pen and ink sketch, that status is ascertainable from the title: “A Javanese Chief in his Court Dress.” The title for the aquatint removes the word “chief,” but the figure is still understood to be a chief based upon his clothing. Interestingly, though, the clothing’s significance as a mark of social status was virtually unknown to most Europeans. Therefore, this change in costume would have been meaningless to the audience of *The History of Java*. Ibid., 146.
Oriental vegetation were trademarks of Daniell’s landscapes and more than likely not something he would have chosen to remove himself. Again, it can be assumed that, following Raffles’ instructions, Daniell replaced the vegetation in the background with more houses and people, possibly to give the impression of well-tended land cultivated by a prosperous, peaceful population.\textsuperscript{132}

Raffles intended the colored aquatints in \textit{The History of Java} to present the Javanese as highly civilized, even by European standards. As a result, he needed to reduce the exoticism seen in the typical Oriental landscape, and he needed to portray the Javanese themselves in terms that would have been easily recognized as European. Presumably, he ordered Daniell to minimize the amount of exotic vegetation and to give the figures bodies that would resemble those of Europeans, even if they were still wearing Javanese clothing. All the female figures, for example, are made to look respectable and modest. “A Rong’geng or Dancing Girl” minimizes such Oriental features as the post earring, which was emphasized in the original pen and ink sketch, and replaces the harsh Oriental features seen in the sketch with long, slender, flowing arms, a more classical profile, and fabric with a more sophisticated pattern, changes that serve to create a more typically European character (figs. 50 and 51). Even the image “A Penganten Wadon or Bride” replaces Oriental features like the upturned shoes, which both she and the bridegroom are seen wearing in the sketch, with simple flat slippers (fig. 52). According to Anthony Forge, “the overall effect is persuasive. Raffles was consciously using the illustrations to present the Javanese in a way that he knew would

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid.
Fig. 50. *A Javanese Ronggeng*, ink drawings.

Fig. 51. (above) *A Rong’geng or Dancing Girl*, from Raffles, *The History of Java*, Volume I, 1816.

Fig. 52. *A Penganten Wadon or Bride*, from Raffles, *The History of Java*, Volume I, 1816.
make them appear attractive to his English audience.”

As discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, in other books, such as C.F. Tombe’s *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, illustrations depicting native clothing focused solely upon the figure’s costume. These images were purely ethnographic, illustrating the figure dressed in traditional costume. The addition of any background was unnecessary. Why then, if Raffles intended to portray the Javanese in their costume so accurately, did he not remove all vestiges of Oriental vegetation? If, as believed by most historians, Raffles intended to illustrate the Javanese with great precision, then why did he need to alter their appearances at all? Why did he need to elongate them and Europeanize them? And why did he feel the need to deviate from the pen and ink sketches instead of leaving his figures in the tradition of the *wayang*, especially since he intended the viewer to see examples of the *wayang* in other illustrations in *The History of Java*?

If it is accepted that Raffles’ intentions for writing *The History of Java* were politically motivated and self-serving, then these questions begin to make sense. Although Raffles wanted his audience to consider the Javanese figures as similar to Europeans, nineteenth-century viewers would have denounced him and his account had he attempted to show that they were the same as Europeans. Because of this, Raffles was forced to incorporate elements that suggested Eastern origins, and, most importantly, he needed to indicate the Javanese dependency on the West. This is perhaps the reason for the military fort and flag in the background of “A Javan in the War Dress.” It is also

133. Ibid., 147.
more than likely the reason why Raffles chose to leave out the oil proof image of “A Soldier Exercising in the Presence of his Chieftain,” which was based on the pen and ink sketches “A Javanese Gambuh” and “A Madurese Gambuh” (figs. 53 and 54). The figure of the warrior in a combative, martial pose would have suggested an aggressive, savage society.

Ultimately Raffles intended Europeans to view the Javanese as individuals not unlike themselves. He hoped Europeans would then infer that Raffles was the cause of the transformation of Javanese refinement – that he was capable of civilizing the Javanese. For this reason he would have been considered a great humanitarian of his time.

Raffles failed in his stated goal, still accepted uncritically by many historians, to present in *The History of Java* colored aquatints of the utmost exactitude. When work began on the colored plates, the main barrier for creating the images with precision
resulted from an overly literary reliance of the artists on Raffles’ collection. Once
William Daniell, who had not accompanied Raffles, joined the project, the problem lay in
the fact that Daniell was working from his recollections of Java from twenty-two years
earlier. Apparently this major source of inaccuracy made no impact on later historians,
who have viewed the illustrations as accurate simply because they belong to an account
by a man who claimed to have attempted accuracy.
CHAPTER 4
RAFFLES’ CHOICE IN TEXTILES

Not all of the inaccuracies found in Raffles’ plates were the result of his modifications and adjustments. Arguably the largest obstacle to accurately illustrating the Javanese in their native clothing was the influence exerted by European conquerors prior to Raffles’ arrival in Java. Ever since the first European colonial powers arrived in Indonesia, traditional native textile designs started to change. The degree to which some textiles were altered by foreign influences was so significant that oftentimes traditional designs became unrecognizable within a matter of years. By the time Raffles began his rule in Java, many articles of native clothing had been replaced with textiles that mixed traditional styles and tastes with European standards. The results were hybridized textiles that emerged under the influence of the European colonial powers in Java.

To state that Raffles accurately illustrated images of native Javanese costume is somewhat misleading, for in fact very little of what early nineteenth-century Javanese were wearing was genuinely native. Instead, most nineteenth-century Indonesian textiles featured ancient patterns modified by European colonizers as a way to either suit the tastes of an emerging European market, or to lessen the traditional significance of the patterns and thus stifle potential native uprisings. It is not surprising that, whenever Raffles focused on the patterns, they were inevitably the ones most appreciated by the European market. Those illustrated textiles more difficult to decipher were closer to the ancient Indonesian textiles and showed very few European modifications. However, these latter textiles would have held the highest symbolic meaning for Indonesians. As a
result, it appears that Raffles deliberately obscured these unaltered textiles so as to not offend the taste of his European audience.

For the native peoples of Indonesia, textiles not only functioned as clothing but were also widely displayed in both domestic and public settings and served temporal and spiritual purposes. Raffles studied the integral role in local tradition and beliefs of Indonesian cloth, devoting most of his observations and writings in The History of Java to batik. Raffles mentions the existence of a hundred different batik designs, many of which he collected and brought back to London along with his other specimens of Javanese culture (fig. 55). In fact, in most of the preliminary pen and ink sketches for the plates in The History of Java and in each of the colored aquatints, Raffles illustrated some variant of batik patterns. For example, the kawung batik pattern is seen in the plates “A Javan of the Lower Class” (fig. 40) and “A Penganten


135. Batik is originally an Indonesian-Malay word, but now a generic term referring to a process of dyeing fabric through a resist technique. Areas of cloth are covered with a resist substance to prevent the cloth from absorbing the dye colors. Pepin Van Roojen, Batik Design (Boston: Shambhala, 1997), 11-12.
Lanang or Bridegroom,” (fig. 47) and the pen and ink sketch of “Javanese in War Dress” (fig. 42). Check or ging’am batik is illustrated in the plates of “A Javan Woman of the Lower Class” (fig. 40) and the background figures of “A Madurese of the Rank of Mantri” (fig. 35). The udan liris batik pattern is worn by “A Javan Chief in his Ordinary Dress” (fig. 37). Parang rusak batik pattern is visible in the plate “A Javan in the War Dress” (fig. 48) Ceplok batik is worn by the figure in the foreground of “A Madurese of the Rank of Mantri” (fig. 38) and the pen and ink sketch of “A Javanese Ronggeng” (fig. 51). Patola is seen in “A Penganten Wadon or Bride” (fig. 52). And a semen batik pattern is worn by the central figure in the plate “A Javan in the Court Dress” (figs. 49 and 67). Most of these batik patterns, although undoubtedly worn by early nineteenth-century Javanese natives, had been altered by European colonizers within Java.

Cloth had been used for centuries by Arab, Indian, Malay and Javanese merchants as the central commodity in the merchant world of exchange. Soon after the Dutch East India Company (VOC) arrived in eastern Indonesia, its agents discovered the importance of cloth and began buying it cheaply and trading it through a bartering system for other goods. Batavia became the hub for all VOC shipping traffic, and from there the Dutch sought to impose their vision of a textile monopoly throughout Indonesia. The VOC imposed a ban on all non-VOC textile trade in Indonesia and instituted annual hongi expeditions to impose the embargo.\(^\text{136}\) As a way to enforce the restrictions on acceptable fabrics and to distinguish VOC textiles from non-VOC, the Dutch introduced the practice

\(^{136}\text{A hongi is a war canoe. Guy, 87.}\)
of stamping textiles with the VOC seal (fig. 56). Before long the Dutch held exclusive rights to the textile trade of the region, and, as a result, the VOC’s stock of cloth grew rapidly. By the mid-1750s the factory headquarters at Batavia stored between 500,000 and 1,000,000 bales in its warehouses.\(^\text{137}\) Bales of textiles, *baftas* of plain cloth or dyed in red or blue, chintz, calicos and silk were among the many fabrics moved through the VOC factories and warehouses.\(^\text{138}\) As a result of the VOC’s control over Indonesian textiles, the patterns produced on these fabrics or even the methods of creating them were adjusted from the ceremonial and/or cultural standards of the native market to suit the tastes of a new European market.

Among the most prized and sought-after cloths in Indonesia, especially for the Indonesian nobility or as part of bridal attire, was *patola*. The Dutch realized the commercial potential of *patola* and forcibly secured the Asian *patola* trade. Three types of *patola* designs were produced for the Indonesian market: those featuring one or more caparisoned elephants, those in which the elephant alternates with a tiger, and those with a range of geometric patterns based on flower motifs of varying degrees of abstraction.\(^\text{139}\) The first mentioned design, the elephant design, was produced prior to the Dutch *patola*
monopoly (fig. 57). Both prior to and after the Dutch monopoly, the classic elephant design was the most popular *patola* among the Indonesians, as well as the largest fabric and that of the highest quality, because of its “royal” significance to the natives.\(^{140}\) The classic elephant design has:

- two pairs of confronting elephants with richly decorated canopied *howdah*. The *howdah* has a *mahout* positioned above the elephant’s head and two princely figures, holding fans, seated behind. A chariot, standard-bearer, footman and soldiers on horse and camel provide escort. The landscape is further populated with peacocks and ducks, and the presence of deer and tiger suggest that the scene is a royal hunt. Decorative upper and lower borders are provided either by a continuous floral pattern or by alternating flowers and elephants.\(^{141}\)

The elephant-and-tiger design was introduced to Indonesia after the Dutch *patola* monopoly (fig. 58). It is a more loosely adapted version of the classic elephant design and was created under the supervision and guidance of the VOC. Although this design retained the royal elephant, the princes on a royal hunt were excluded and replaced with the image of the tiger, as a way to deter the fabric’s cultural significance for the Indonesians.

The third *patola* design was permitted within a wider circulation because of its lack of “royal” significance (fig. 59). It was also the most popular among Europeans and therefore the most adapted and reproduced design by the VOC. Originally the Indonesians created geometric patterns as an element to echo the natural world,

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\(^{140}\) The elephant was a symbol of military power and ceremonial authority. It has a long tradition which was well understood in Indonesia. The elephant design as a decorative theme has an early ancestry in textiles. Ibid., 78.

\(^{141}\) Ibid., 90. The *howdah* and *mahout* refer to the chariot-like traveling vessel on the elephant’s back.
Fig. 57. (left) Classic elephant design patola.

Fig. 58. (above) Elephant and tiger design patola.

Fig. 59. (left) Geometric design patola.
especially flowers and leaves. The most popular pattern was based on the eight-pointed
encircled flower known in Java as jilamprang.\textsuperscript{142}

Although \textit{patola} had been originally developed as a form of commodity for the
VOC in the spice trade with other Asian markets, \textit{patola} textiles slowly made their way
to Europe, sparking an increased demand for
Indonesian textiles. As a result, the VOC
began producing “native” Indonesian
textiles for the European market by
modifying the original pattern and
integrating it with a more commonly
European look. Indonesian religious and
culturally celebrated motifs were
abandoned. These new European versions
modified the original patterns, specifically
the scheme with a centerfield, geometric
borders and end panels, of the original
Indonesian textiles (fig. 60).\textsuperscript{143} Two
alternative versions of the geometric \textit{patola}
designs emerged in textiles intended for the

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig60}
\caption{(left) Silk \textit{patola} ceremonial cloth and detail of the end panel, c. 1700. (center) Imitation \textit{patola} cloth in cotton and detail of the end panel. (right) Modified \textit{patola} cloth and detail of the end panel, c. 1900.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., 91.

\textsuperscript{143} A centerfield is the central section of the garment.
European market: a diamond-and-flower motif and the eight-pointed flower medallion (fig. 61). It was this European version of the *patola* design, as opposed to the traditional Indonesian elephant, tiger-and-elephant, or even geometric *patola* designs, that Raffles chose to represent in the plate “A Penganten Wadon or Bride” (fig. 52). Raffles’ decision to illustrate the *patola* design which had been adapted for a European market was more than likely a conscious one based on his desire to cater to European tastes.

Similar European modifications were forced upon *dodot* textiles as well. The *dodot*, or oversized outer wrap, was a ceremonial garment made up of a repeated non-geometric pattern called *semen*. The most popular ancient *dodots* followed the flower, fruit and leaf motif which had a “diamond-shaped centerfield, usually decorated with the motif reserved on a white ground, surrounded by borders with a related pattern on a colored ground, usually red or blue (fig. 62). Other common motifs included the bird

144. Guy, 94.

145. Ibid., 98-99.
motif, animal motif, rock and cloud design, and mountain and landscape design.

References to the wearing of a dodot can be traced back as far as the ninth century and reveal the garment’s ancient and ceremonial importance. These sources also indicate that the garment’s pattern had not been altered significantly since this period. However, adaptation of Indonesian textiles by the VOC brought considerable change to the dodot garment. As a way to sell the fabric to a European market, the Dutch began to alter its pattern, initially by removing the diamond-shaped centerfield and introducing a wider variety of colors, or by introducing curvilinear, decorative designs (figs. 63 and 64). Other modifications included introducing a ship motif or a human figure motif.

Fig. 63. Dodot-inspired European chinoiserie in flamboyant, symmetrical floral pattern, c. 1720.

Fig. 64. Dodot-inspired French cloth in asymmetrical pattern, c. 1715.
These modifications encouraged dodot designs which featured images of European ships or even European fairy tales (fig. 65).

Two of Raffles’ plates illustrate figures wearing dodots. “A Javan in the Court Dress” (fig. 49) is shown wearing the semen design known as alasalasan. The alasalasan, or forest design, depicts mountains surrounded by animals from both the natural and mythical worlds (fig. 66). Although this dodot design worn by “A Javan in the Court Dress” was an arguably more traditional example of a dodot, in the aquatint the pattern is difficult to interpret as alasalasan. The second plate that illustrates a dodot is “A Penganten Langang or Bridegroom” (fig. 47). Here the figure is depicted in what appears to be the kawung batik.
pattern (fig. 67). The *kawung* pattern is one of the oldest and most popular designs among royal Indonesians, consisting of circular or elliptical shapes that touch or overlap.\(^{146}\)

The *kawung* pattern is also illustrated in the plate “A Javan of the Lower Class” (fig. 40) and the oil proof for “Javanese in War Dress” (fig. 43).\(^{147}\) However, Raffles modified the batik pattern worn by the figure in “Javanese in War Dress” for the final aquatint (fig. 48). The plate “A Javan in the War Dress” instead illustrates a figure in the batik pattern known as *parang rusak* (fig. 68). *Parang rusak* was reserved solely for Javanese royalty or warriors and symbolized a supreme status. Literally meaning “broken knives,” the *parang rusak* pattern depicts a curved design that runs diagonally, divided by parallel lines with small ornaments.\(^{148}\) A closely related version of the *parang*

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\(^{146}\) Van Roojen, 50.

\(^{147}\) Although the figure in A Javan of the Lower Class is illustrated wearing the *kawung* pattern, this pattern was typically reserved for royalty, and it would have been unusual to have seen an inhabitant of the lower class wearing this pattern. Ibid.

\(^{148}\) Ibid., 59.
The *rusak* pattern is the *udan liris* batik pattern, known as the “light rain” design, shown in the aquatint “A Javan Chief in his Ordinary Dress” (fig. 37). Interestingly, the *parang rusak* pattern was modified for a European market. Often the colors and motifs were modified to reflect European tastes (fig. 70). These modifications went so far as to incorporate the symbolism of the traditional *parang rusak* pattern with images of European soldiers (fig. 71).
The colored plate “A Madurese of the Rank of Mantri” (fig. 35) and the pen and ink sketch for “A Javanese Ronggeng” (fig. 50) reveal the geometric, repetitive pattern known as *ceplok*. *Ceplokan* designs consist of symmetrical motifs in the form of stars, crosses, rosettes, lozenges, or polygons (fig. 72).\(^{149}\) These designs were influenced by Turkish rugs and Muslim merchants trading in Indonesia. Although Raffles chose to illustrate the *ceplokan* design very clearly for the image of “A Madurese of the Rank of Mantri,” he altered the image of “A Javanese Rong’geng” for the final plate. The aquatint of “A Javanese Rong’geng or dancing girl” (fig. 51) instead reveals no identifiable pattern.

The extent to which European colonizers influenced Indonesian costume is perhaps most recognizable in the jackets worn by the figures in “Ráden Rána Dipúral” (fig. 36), “A Javan Woman of the Lower Class” (fig. 40), and “A Javan Chief in his Ordinary Dress” (fig. 37). Without a doubt, these jackets were “articles of dress, in imitation of Europeans,” closely resembling old Friesland jackets, or Dutch military jackets (fig. 73).\(^{150}\)

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150. Raffles, 86.
Raffles states that the Javanese “seem inclined to adopt many parts of European dress,” and he describes this combination of European articles of clothing with those commonly associated with Indonesian textiles as “forming a most grotesque appearance.”

Of great interest, however, is the extent to which Javanese textiles were adapted to European dress. The nineteenth century witnessed the peak of batik, then fashionable not just with Indonesians and Indo-Europeans (figs. 74 and 75). For continental Europeans, specifically women, batik and batik-inspired fashion became highly desirable. Workshops were established throughout Europe and Indonesia to produce batik cloth decorated with designs and colors based upon European taste.

Fig. 74. European batik with *ceplokan* design and bird and flower motif.

Fig. 75. Title page from Daniel Réal’s *Les Batiks de Java*, illustrating a French batik, c. 1900.

151. Ibid.

152. Van Roojen, 22.
Design books with line drawings of batik patterns called *batikmuster* and books with samples of textiles were published with great popularity in the Netherlands and Germany (fig. 76). European ladies’ fashions incorporated the *udan liris*, *ceplokan*, and *parang rusak* designs in everything from dresses to gloves (figs. 77, 78, and 79).

Fig. 76. (above) *Batikmuster*, book with samples of textiles. Fig. 77. (below) Dress with *udan liris* pattern, 1861.

Fig. 78. (above, left) Dress with *parang rusak*-inspired trim. Fig. 79. (above, right) Design for glove with *Ceplokan* design, c. 1880.
CONCLUSION

“Image is a very promiscuous word. In a basic sense, an image means a picture, whether the referent is present as an object, or in the mind. At the same time, a picture, in the sense of a sign that resembles – a picture is of something – cannot really be in the mind, as a moment’s reflection will show.”153

Today, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles is commemorated throughout the Far East, most notably where streets, hotels, schools, and restaurants are named after him. Statues have been erected in honor of the man who “as governor of Java during the British interregnum (1811-1816), made his mark as a champion of Southeast Asian culture” (fig. 80).154 One of Raffles’ most noteworthy gifts to the Far East was an account documenting Java’s history. According to many historians, before Raffles wrote The History of Java in 1817 “there were virtually no reliable published images of the inhabitants of the East Indies.”155 However, such a statement is simply untrue. Prior to the publication of The History of Java hundreds of accounts had been published documenting the inhabitants of the Far East. Their customs, culture, history, natural history and traditions had all been analyzed and described in works written as early as the sixteenth century. Even to claim


155. Forge, 110.
that Raffles was the first and only author to have illustrated the inhabitants of the Far East by the nineteenth century seems to miss the point. Raffles was one of many. Certainly *The History of Java* was not the first work on explore the inhabitants of the Far East, nor was it the first to devote an entire work on the culture of the Javanese. However, it was the first work to document Javanese culture exclusively, customs and history and to combine these writings with illustrations. His illustrations alone are considered innovative, because, “in short, every plate in Raffles’ *The History of Java* is directed to showing the Javanese and the products of Javanese civilization.”156 As John Bastin noted in the introduction to the 1965 publication of Raffles’ *The History of Java*:

> There is no space [in this introduction] to attempt to assess the place which *The History of Java* occupies in the development of Indonesian studies, but it would seem impossible to exaggerate its importance. Since its publication the general estimation of the book has increased enormously. … In 1817 *The History of Java* represented a pioneer study; today it stands as one of the classics of South-East Asian historiography.157

In fact, *The History of Java* is the most excerpted and quoted account of nineteenth-century Java, particularly in current works concerning the history of Javanese textiles and clothing.

The reasons frequently given for the continued popularity of *The History of Java* appear questionable. Examination of the book not only reveals Raffles’ work to be politically motivated but also discloses its numerous flaws and embellishments in both word and images. Although the colored aquatints in *The History of Java* remain standard

156. Ibid., 114.


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references in South-East Asian historiography, the adjustments made to the plates should alert historians to the questionable authenticity of this version of nineteenth-century Java. Certainly, when studying Javanese history, to gather information from Raffles’ account is unavoidable, since his work was created and published during the nineteenth century and undoubtedly affords insights into this region at the time. However, to utilize *The History of Java* as the tell-all source of Javanese history is dangerous, since the views that Raffles expressed were those of a European colonialist who was seeking to promote his own political agenda.

Raffles cannot be perceived as a humanitarian administrator who simply adored Java and its inhabitants and unselfishly provided the world with an account of this civilization, as many publications about Raffles tend to affirm. Instead, Raffles was an imperialist ruler who felt that England was the only nation capable of leading the Indonesian people from despotism into the civilized world. In a letter dating October 9, 1820, Raffles wrote:

> Whether the power to which [the Javanese] bow be the despotism of force or the despotism of superior intellect, it is a step in their progress which cannot be passed over. Knowledge is power, and in the intercourse between enlightened and ignorant nations, the former must and will be the rulers. Instead, therefore, out of an affected respect for the customs of savages, of abstaining from all interference, and endeavoring to perpetuate the institutions of barbarism, ought it

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158. According to Syed Hussein Alatas, Raffles was not a humanitarian reformer because: “(a) A humanitarian reformer is guided by principles of humanity; (b) a humanitarian reformer possesses a broad and tolerant outlook on other communities and nations, and does not preach the superiority of his own nation; (c) a humanitarian reformer does not consider it his mission to build an empire at the cost of other nations, as Raffles did.” Alatas, 51.

159. Ibid., 4.
not rather to be our study to direct the advancement and improvement of the people, that power and influence with which our situation and character necessarily invests us?\textsuperscript{160}

In other words, Java, under the rule of England and Raffles himself, could be brought to a greater prosperity than the Javanese themselves were capable of generating. Or, as author Edward Said observed, Raffles brought “the very best to these countries,” where “these” refers to countries whose cultures and customs were different from those of European nations.\textsuperscript{161}

The “selfless gift” of The History of Java was used to justify Raffles’ role as Governor-General of Java and to advocate the continuation of British rule in Java.\textsuperscript{162} Raffles was motivated by “the advancement of British imperial interest and his own career.”\textsuperscript{163} As a result, he modified his account and the images in the hope that his British audience would embrace Java as a civilized nation, and then equate that notion with Raffles’ successful leadership.

In his pioneering book Orientalism, Edward Said focused on Middle Eastern studies, where, he argued that there has been a tendency for scholars and other commentators to address a tradition of interpretation rather than the actual data which they claim to be describing or investigating. The books which they write are concerned not with the Orient but with the discourse of Orientalism.\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., 51.
\textsuperscript{161} Said, 33.
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{163} Alatas, 6.
What emerged from Said’s innovative work was a cultural analysis of the constructed essence of the Oriental “other.”\textsuperscript{165} These characteristics, deemed inherently Oriental, were reviewed and debunked by Said and others as Western constructs of non-Europeans inhabitants. Yet this development left \textit{The History of Java} untouched. Raffles’ account continues to be used as a source of information with little or no analysis of its inaccuracies in terms of colonialist views, even though these inaccuracies indicate a Western construct of nineteenth-century Javanese inhabitants.

Reasons why \textit{The History of Java} remains a prominent source of Javanese history remain conjectural. For whatever reason, it has been (and continues to be) the primary account of nineteenth-century Java. There is no argument about this fact. \textit{The History of Java} is an account revealing life in Java during the nineteenth century. However, the question which arises from the analysis of Raffles’ work is not whether he documented this region, but whether he portrayed it with exactitude. The question is one of accuracy. Certainly the account was accurate for Raffles himself, a colonialist motivated by political incentives. But did he portray a Java in a purely documentary format – unbiased and impartial? Historical evidence suggests the contrary.

But perhaps it would be impossible for a non-native to create an impartial account. A European who is submerged among natives would still retain his European identity as the basis for his commentaries.\textsuperscript{166} So did Raffles in writing \textit{The History of Java}.

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\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{166} Said, 160.
What Raffles presented in his account should not be ignored by students of South-East Asia. In fact, it should be investigated further. A re-examination of his work should take into account the factual adjustments he made to his text and images. The current understanding of historians about nineteenth-century Java is partially based upon Raffles. Therefore, today’s understanding remains influenced by colonialist views. Perhaps it is an impossible task to fully understand the history of Javanese culture during the nineteenth century without comparable accounts written by natives (which do not exist). In any event, The History of Java should cease to be taken as the ultimate guide to Javanese culture and history without taking the more nuanced and critical view of the post-colonial observer.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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APPENDIX A.
ILLUSTRATION CREDITS


A Zewa Chief in his ordinary dress.
A Javan in the Court dress.

London, Published by John Murray & Allan So Ballard 1821.
A Bengarton, L不至于or, Budgeverm.
A Bengawan Woman or Bride.
Dear Ms. Mault,

I thank you for this request.
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Sincerely yours,
Fred van der Zee

-----Oorspronkelijk bericht-----
Van: Natalie Mault [mailto:namault@hotmail.com]
Verzonden: zondag 30 oktober 2005 22:52
Aan: info@rodopi.nl
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To Whom It May Concern:

Your company is in the middle of publishing a work from the Interculturalism: Exploring Critical Issues conference in which my paper is one of the chapters. This paper is also part of my thesis for my Masters degree. I am writing to obtain permission to use part of my conference paper for the thesis. If you need any additional information, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you,
Natalie A. Mault
VITA

Natalie A. Mault was born in Bad Cannstatt, Germany. She was raised in a military family and spent her life growing up all over the United States and Europe. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree in studio art from Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, in 2001. In the fall of 2003, she began the graduate program in art history at Louisiana State University, with a concentration in 18th and 19th century European painting. While completing her Master of Arts degree, she presented and published a paper on colonization and textile designs for the “Second Global Conference on Interculturalism” in Vienna, Austria, and a paper on the erotic works of Gustave Courbet for “Exploring Critical Issues” in Budapest, Hungary. She is currently employed with the Louisiana State University Museum of Art as the Curatorial Assistant. She is a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in art history, which will be awarded in December of 2005.