

# **The Bali-Dutch Wars, 1846-1849**

## **Dirk Teeuwen MSc, Holland**



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**Honouring General-Major A. V. Michiels, 1797-1849; page 26**

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**Karl Bernhardt von Saksen-Weimar-Eisenach (1792-1862), commander of the third Dutch-Bali Expedition 1849; served the colonial army from 1849-1851 after a remarkable career in the Dutch army in Europe. (Kepper, page 219)**

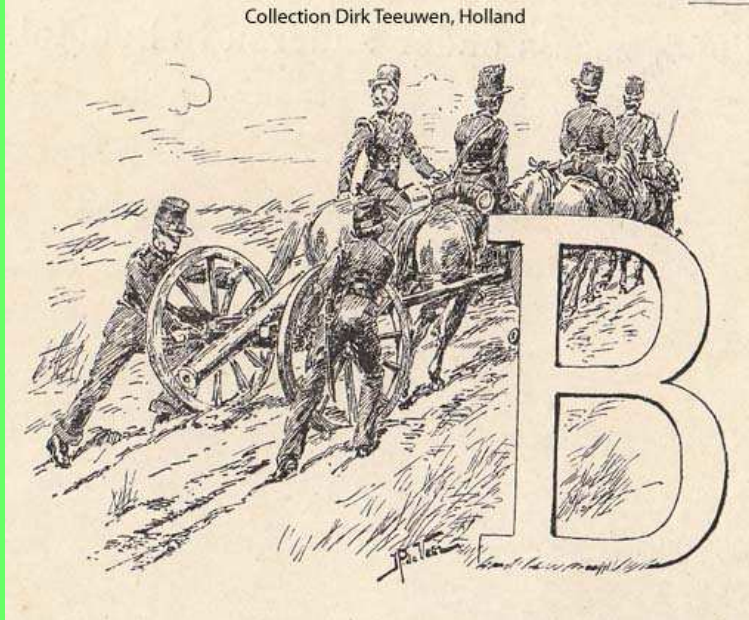
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## Consulted and recommended literature

(from: library Dirk Teeuwen)

1. Nielsen, A. G.: *Leven en avonturen van een Oostinjevaarder op Bali* (Life and adventures of the Danish merchant Mads J. Lange in Lombok and Bali); Amsterdam 1928  
Note! Mads J. Lange, a merchant from Denmark, lived on Lombok and Bali from 1834-1856.
2. Vugt, E. van: *De val van Bali* (the defeat of Bali); Haarlem Holland 1987 (novel in Dutch)
3. Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung: *Bali in the 19th century*; Jakarta 1991
4. Kraan, Alfons van der: *Bali at War*; Clayton Australia 1995
5. Klerck, E. S. de: *History of the Netherlands East Indies, volume II*; Rotterdam 1938
6. Nieuwenkamp, W. O. J.: *First European Artist in Bali*; Abcoude Holland 1997
7. Gerlach, A. J. A.: *Fastes Militaires des Indes-Orientales Néerlandaises*; Zalt-Bommel Holland
8. Gerlach, A. J. A.: *Neerlands heldenfeiten in Oost-Indië* (Dutch acts of heroism in Dutch East-India/Indonesia), volume II; The Hague Holland 1876  
New, actualized edition. The old one (nr 7) was for sale in French only.
9. Witkamp, F., and others: *Gedenkboek KNIL* (Memorial Book of the Royal Dutch East-Indian Army; Amersfoort Holland 1961 by the Madjoe Non-Commissioned Officers KNIL Society  
(Madju, Indonesian language = "ahead: attack")
10. Zwitter, H. L., Heshusius, C. A.: *Het Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger 1830-1950*; The Hague Holland 1977
- Heijboer, P: *Klamboes, Klewangs en Klapperbomen*; Houten Holland 1987
11. Kepper, G. L.: *Wapenfeiten van het Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger*; The Hague Holland 1902 (with drawings by J. P. de Veer)
12. Stapel, dr. F. W.: *Indië schrijft zijn eigen geschiedenis*; Amsterdam 1942
13. Magazine: *Indië, Illustrated Weekly, volume 1917*; Haarlem Holland 1917
14. Stapel, dr. F. W.: *Geschiedenis Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. V*; Amsterdam 1940

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Dutch colonial mountain artillery in 1849 (Kepper, page 192)

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**Assault on Jagaraga by the Dutch, April 1849  
(Kepper, page 201)**

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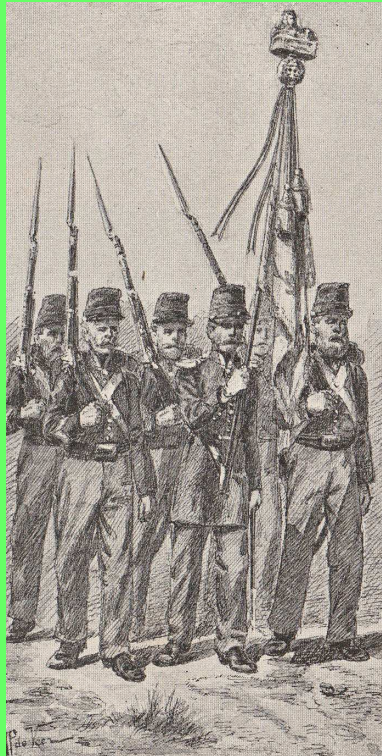


**Balinese warriors  
(Magazine "Eigen Haard" volume 1898)**

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## Glossary

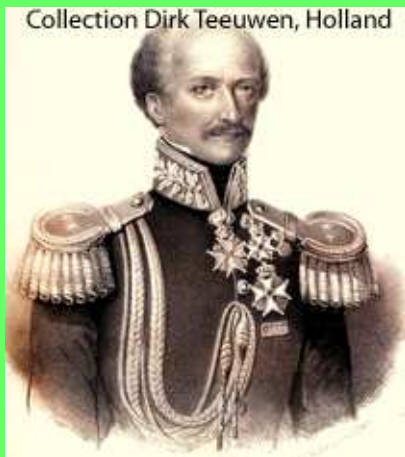
- **Jagaraga:** strong Balinese fortress complex in the north of Bali near Kampong (Village) Jagaraga, in the state of Buleleng; location between two rivers, controlling the traffic between northern Bali and the south. Near Jagaraga Village this road led through a narrow pass in the mountains. Sangsit River as well as Bungkulung River flew/flow through mighty deep canyons. The distance between the two rivers, some kilometres, was completely filled up with the most advanced, modern, Balinese fortresses south from (and close to) the narrow pass. Balinese knowledge of fortress architecture was superb. (Gerlach, chapter VIII, Dutch edition)
- **Buleleng:** a small state in the north of Bali.
- **Buleleng:** also the name of the capital of the state of Buleleng and is called Buleleng Capital by me for practical reasons. Etc.: Klungkung Capital f.e.
- **Karang Asem Capital:** now called Amlapura (near the eastern point of Bali)
- **Governor-General:** Vice Roy of The Netherlands in the Dutch East-Indies
- **Schout-bij-Nacht:** Rear Admiral
- **Kampung:** village or hamlet
- **Desa:** could be also village or hamlet, but mostly a (municipality of) number of Kampung
- **Madura:** island north-east from Java, a couple of kilometres from Surabaya
- **Chiefs:** subordinated aristocrats in Bali
- **Bandar:** harbour master
- **Government:** Dutch East-India Government, called Gouvernement in Dutch. Gouvernement was a proper noun: the common name of those in power in Dutch East-India / Indonesia.



Decorated colours of the 7<sup>th</sup> Battalion Infantry of the Dutch East-Indian Army, decorated after heroic assaults on the west side of the Balinese Fortress of Jagaraga by the 7th in 1849. Kepper, page 201

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# 1. Portrait gallery



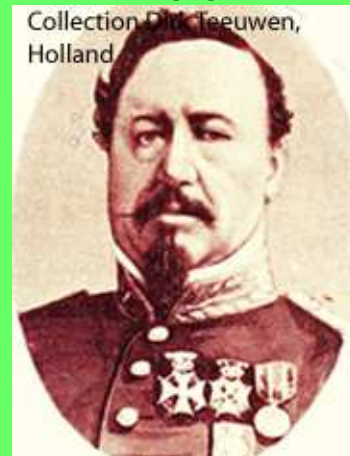
**1. General A. V. Michiels  
1797-1849 killed in battle  
Commander of the Third Bali Expedition  
1849**



**2. Lieutenant-Colonel J. van  
Swieten 1807-1888  
Second in command 1848 and  
1849**



**3. Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. De Brauw  
1809-1862,  
hero of the Jagaraga Battle 1849**



**4. Lieutenant-Colonel B. F. G. H. Le  
Bron de Vexela 1809-1872,  
hero of the Jagaraga Battle 1849**



**5. War-horse/ironside, Major T. Poland  
1795-1857,  
Jagaraga 1849**

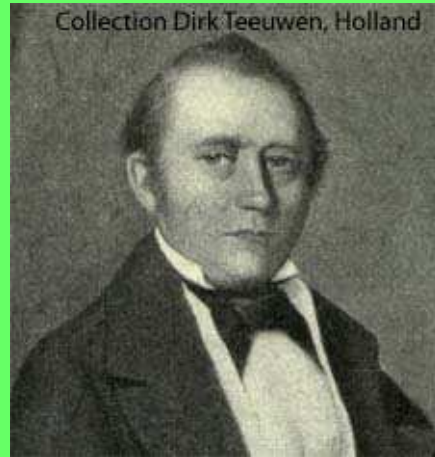


**6. Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. L.  
Sutherland  
Jagaraga 1846**

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**7. Governor-General of Dutch East-India**  
**J. J. Rochussen 1797-1871**  
**Term of office 1845-1851**



**8. Mads j. Lange 1807-1856 Danish merchant (shipping and trading), Bali (Kuta)-Lombok (Amparan) 1834-1856. Mediator on behalf of the Dutch as well as the Balinese**



**9. Major C. de Vos 1808-1890**  
**Buleleng, Singaraja, Jagaraga 1846**



**10. Raja, regent 1849-1882, of Buleleng: Gusti Jilantik, appointed by the Dutch**

**Balinese warriors were in battle equipped with short swords, lances, modern rifles and small canons**



**Balinese warriors From the Magazine "Eigen Haard" 1895 Haarlem Holland**

**Sources portraits:**

- 1 – 6 > Kepper, chapter 4; 7 > Stapel, page 192; 8 > Nielsen, page 2; 9 > Gerlach volume II page 66; 10 > Magazine Indië 1917, page 374**  
**10 > Also in Cool, Capt. W.: De Lombok Expedition 1894; Batavia 1896**  
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## 2. Maps



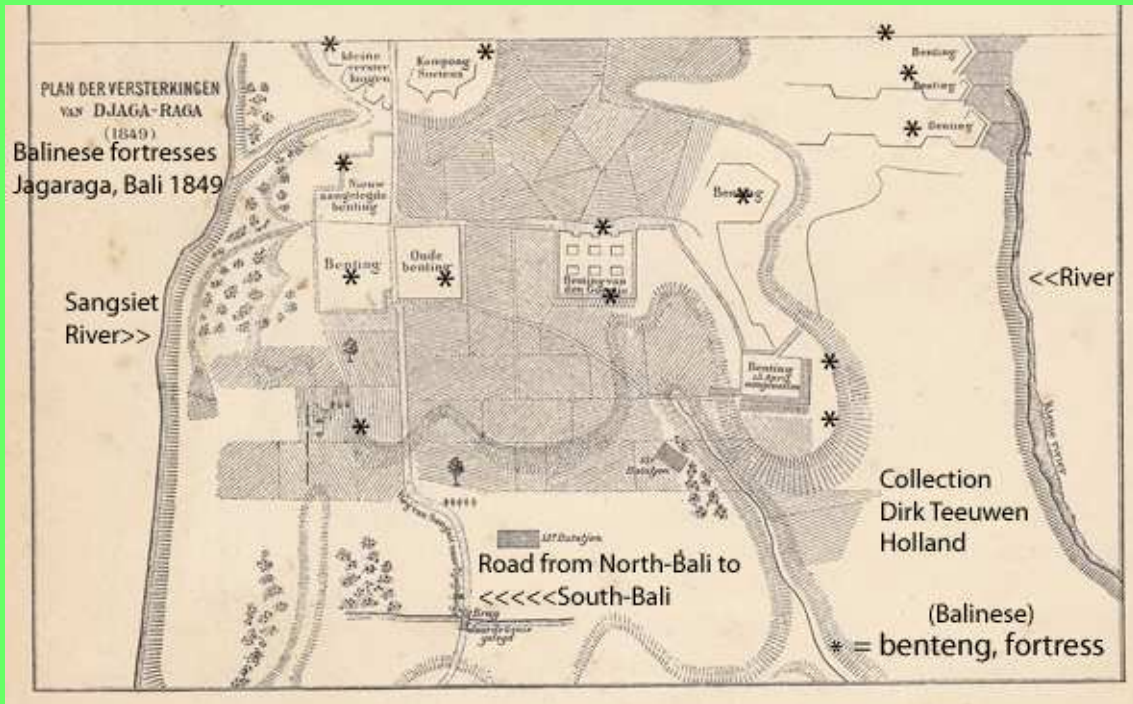
Bali, 1846-1849 (Kepper appendixes)



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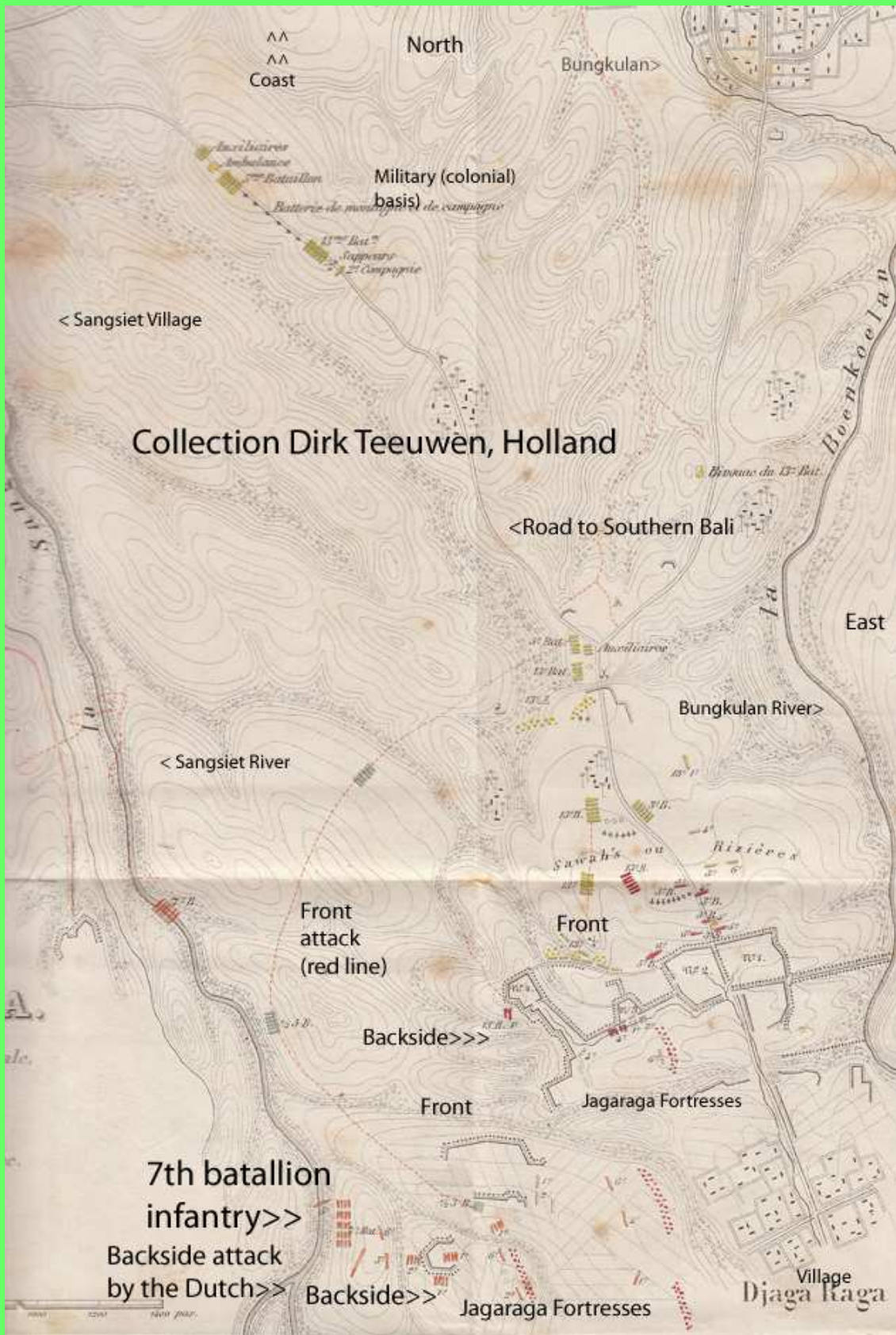


**Balinese fortresses at Jagaraga, Bali 1849 (Kepper, appendixes)  
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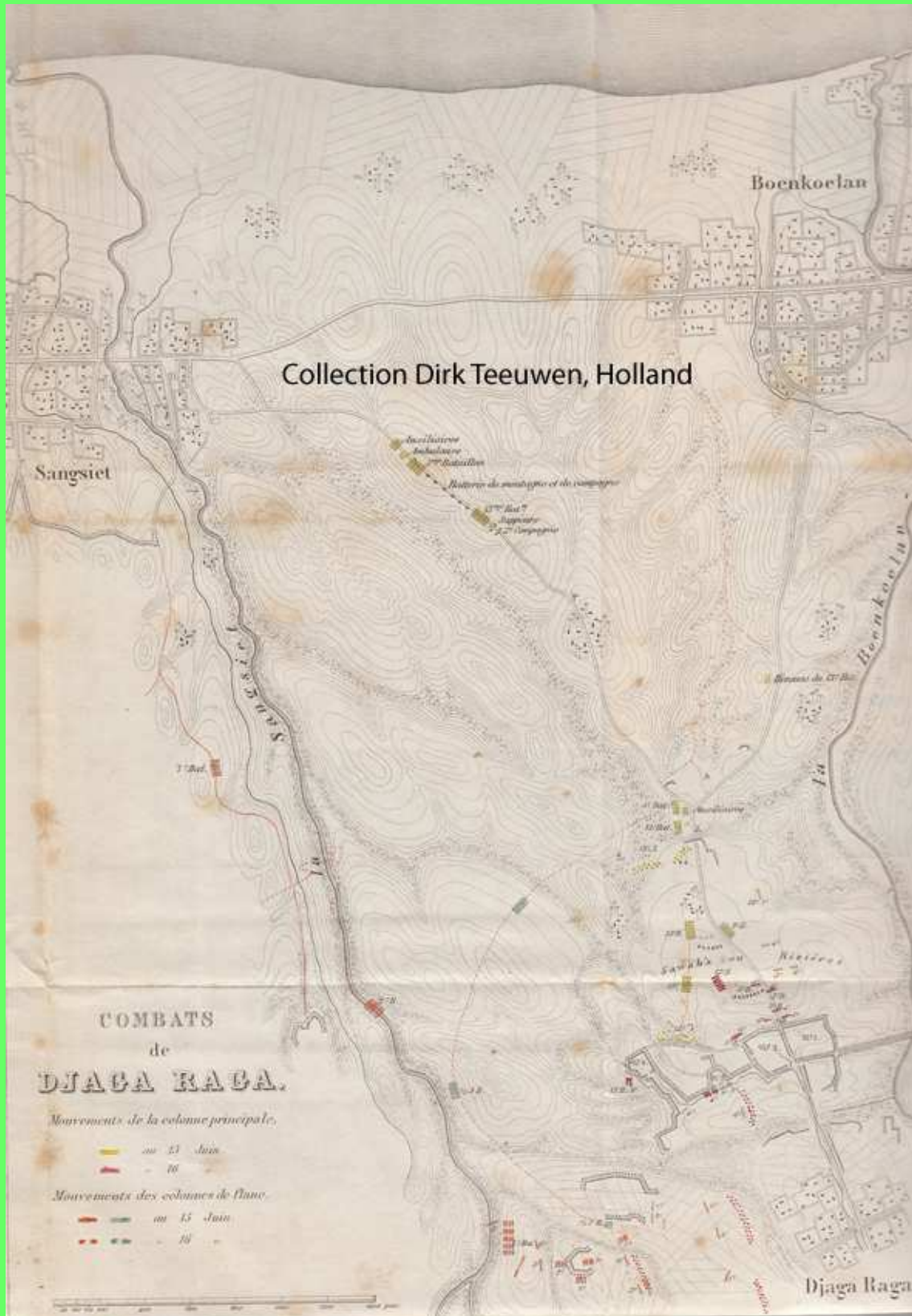


**Balinese fortresses at Jagaraga, Bali 1849 (Gerlach, appendixes)**





**Jagaraga fortresses and vicinity, Northern Bali 1849 (Gerlach appendixes)  
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**Jagaraga fortresses and vicinity, Northern Bali 1849 (Gerlach appendixes)  
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**

### **3. Causes of the Dutch military actions against Bali states**

The most important of the Sunda Islands, east from Java, was (and is) Bali. Bali served as a refuge for Hinduism when this religion was ousted from Java and from other islands by Islam. According to an old local myth, a Hindu prince had arrived from Java a long time ago. According to this myth he proclaimed himself Dewa Agung, the Lord Supreme, and the Balinese state of Klungkung had to become his kingdom.

In 1846 the Raja of Klungkung exercised indeed a certain supremacy over the other eight Balinese petty states: Karangasem, Mengwi, Badung, Bangli, Tabanan, Gianyar, Buleleng and Jembrana.

Balinese influence has long been exercised in the large district of Balambangan in the eastern part of Java. This influence came to an end towards the close of the 18th century. Since that time the Dutch relations with Bali were only concerned with the supply of slaves for households and the colonial army.

For example! During the Java War 1825-1830 slave trade between the colonials and the Balinese was resumed under the euphemistic label of enlistment, for it was the need of recruits which prompted the government to place a representative, Hendrik Huskus Koopman (Ide Agung p. 39), at Badung in Bali in 1839.

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Some problems

1. (De Klerck p. 319) In 1846 an old custom still existed in Bali, according to which every ship that ran ashore was confiscated by the Rajas with all hands and cargo. When a Dutch ship, the frigate *Overijssel*, was wrecked on the Bali coast in 1844, a commissioner was dispatched to request the Balinese Rajas to forgo their so-called shore rights. The commissioner met with success and was even able to obtain the acknowledgement of Dutch supremacy. However it soon filtered through that the Rajas had no intention of honouring the treaties. The Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem showed themselves very obstinate. Specially the one of Buleleng Raja Gusti Ngurah Made showed rude behavior.

2. (Kraan p. 7) Export of rice from Bali and Lombok was very profitable. The expansion of sugar and indigo cultivation in Java, because of the forced so-called Cultivation System, was realized at the expense of Javanese rice production. The System reduced the Javanese rice exports, but as a result stimulated the rice cultivation in other islands. About the year of 1835, European merchants, from Denmark and England, were active in Bali and Lombok. They took over positions of Chinese Bandars: f.e. in Ampenan in Lombok and in Kuta in Bali. A Bandar was a harbour master and one of his activities was the purchasing and selling of rice. The Bandar purchased rice from local farmers/aristocrats and sold it to foreigners. More in general: a Bandar managed the imports and exports of Balinese and Lombok states. The Raja received the most of the yield (tax revenues in fact). The Bandar kept a considerable part of the proceeds for himself. The harbour master was a rich man as well as, locally, an important man. He pulled some strings. Europeans, Englishmen specially, pulling strings in Bali and Lombok, became a thorn in the flesh of the Dutch authorities.

3. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Singapore became the most important harbour for the distribution of goods and services in the Far East. The glory of Batavia / Jakarta and its harbour was a thing of the past and its radius was more or less regional. Singapore was an economic threat for the Dutch.

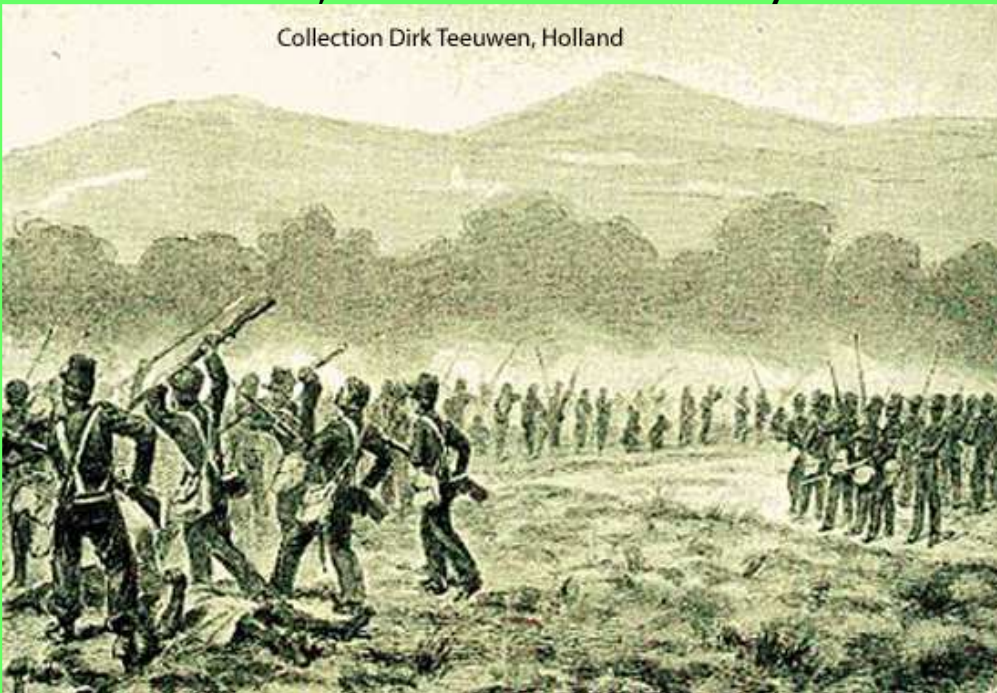
**4. Continuation of 3. Other British activities in the Archipelago could be an even greater threat for Dutch colonial interests. The British occupation of North-Borneo (1845-1846) was still fresh in their, Dutch, minds.**

## **4. First attack by the Dutch, 1846**

**When another Dutch ship (compare problem 1, page 11) ran ashore and the request to deliver it up was refused, the Government decided on reprisal measures. Schout-bij-nacht (Rear Admiral) Van den Broek was appointed Commander of the expedition. The landing party was in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bakker. The land-forces numbered 400 Europeans, 100 Negroes (recruits from Dutch Gold Coast, Ghana), 700 natives and 600 Madurese auxiliaries; the navy consisted of a considerable number of ships, 58, and a landing party of 600 (De Klerck p. 320). The Balinese were reckoned among the bravest, best disciplined and organized native foes the Dutch army ever had to fight against in the Archipelago. The Balinese had excellent knowledge of fortress architecture.**

**After proclaiming an ultimatum, Buleleng Capital was attacked by the Dutch on June 28<sup>th</sup> 1846. A bombardment by the fleet dislodged the Balinese from that place and from Singaraja Village, which was located very close to Buleleng Capital. Nevertheless there was fighting. The Dutch occupied Singaraja June 29<sup>th</sup> 1846; the Puri (palace) was conquered, plundered and shot on fire.**

**The Raja of Buleleng and his troops had withdrawn to the mountain fortresses of Jagaraga (see Glossary, page 4!!), south-east from Buleleng Capital along the road to the south. The Raja of Karangasem and his army joined the Radja of Buleleng there. The main force of the Rajas, 10.000 men with rifles and small canons, was still intact and absolutely not defeated.**



**Assault on Singaradja 1846, advancing through along. This meant advancing through stiff grass, more than a meter high. (Kepper, page 193)**

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

The Raja of Karangasem, Gusti Gde Ngurah swore their allegiance, which was soon followed by the Raja of Buleleng, Gusti Ngurah Made, and his chancellor and uncle, Gusti Ketut Jilantik. The two Rajas were brothers. The Rajas recognized that their lands were possessions of the Dutch colonial Government and recognized the abolition of their shore/reef rights as well. Contracts like these were already signed in 1843.

Governor-General Rochussen ratified the treaties concluded. The Rajas compelled to furnish a war indemnity of 300.000 guilders and to demolish their defensive works within three months. This could be considered as very unreasonable and unrealistic (Ide Agung p. 76). The Rajas were rich, but their states had no proper tax systems. The Rajas received revenues from farmers, from estates (goods, money, children, women, slaves, land) and from imports, exports, from robbery and plundering. Nevertheless the Dutch policy was absurd. The Dutch victory was a Pyrrhic victory. The war appeared to be rather expensive and the results were very limited.

The Dutch occupied the fortifications near Buleleng Capital and garrisoned it with 200 men at the Rajas' expense. The Rajas, their turn, immediately ordered their people to avoid contacts with the Dutch near Buleleng Capital and not to sell any provisions to the garrison. This was an ignorance of some articles in the treaties, which were in fact harsh settlements, with the Dutch. Everything, such as food etc., was to be brought from Java to the Buleleng Dutch garrison. The harsh settlements appeared to be no basis for a lasting peace.

In 1847 the Rajas of Klungkung, Badung, Bangli, Gianyar and Mengwi took the side of Buleleng and Karangasem.

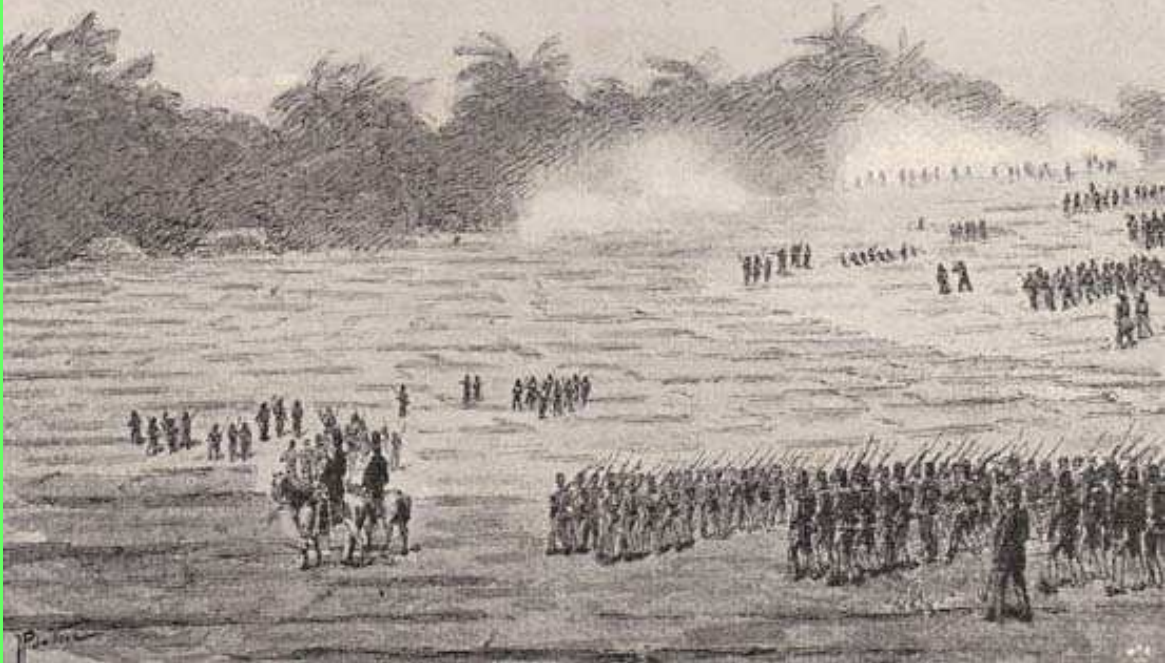
## **5. Second Dutch attack, 1848**

The Dutch garrison of the Buleleng fortress was badly equipped. Balinese entrenchments, anywhere, were not razed. On the contrary, others were built behind the existing earth works. New Balinese strongholds were set up. The war reparation monies were not paid either. Other Rajas joined the enemy in 1847. The shore rights were again applied by the Balinese to two ships, one of them being of British nationality. Buleleng once more became the soul of the resistance. In 1848 after the issue of a futile warning, the coast was blockaded and preparations were made for another expedition directed to Buleleng, Karangasem as well as Klungkung. The troops consisted of infantry, 1500 military men totally (commanders Sutherland and Le Bron de Vexela), 400 auxiliary troops from Madura, two halfway equipped batteries of mountain artillery. As well as ninety sappers, some medical orderlies, cavalry, sharpshooters and 500 coolies. The expeditionary navy counted 980 sailors and marines. (Gerlach volume II page 62). Totally about 4000 men as in 1846, against 12000 well equipped but badly drilled Balinese warriors; armed with short swords, lances, modern rifles and small canons. These modern weapons were imported into Bali from Singapore via Buginese sailors (from Celebes/Sulawesi), Chinese merchants and Europeans.

The Commander of the expedition, General Van der Wijck, was granted as few troops as possible. In addition, he was instructed to hurry on, because the Governor-General wanted the troops to return to Java as soon as possible. There were a lot of revolutions in Europe in 1848 and the colonial Government was afraid of the arising of a wave of violence in Java as well as afraid of a conflict between the Sultans of Solo and Jogyakarta in Java.

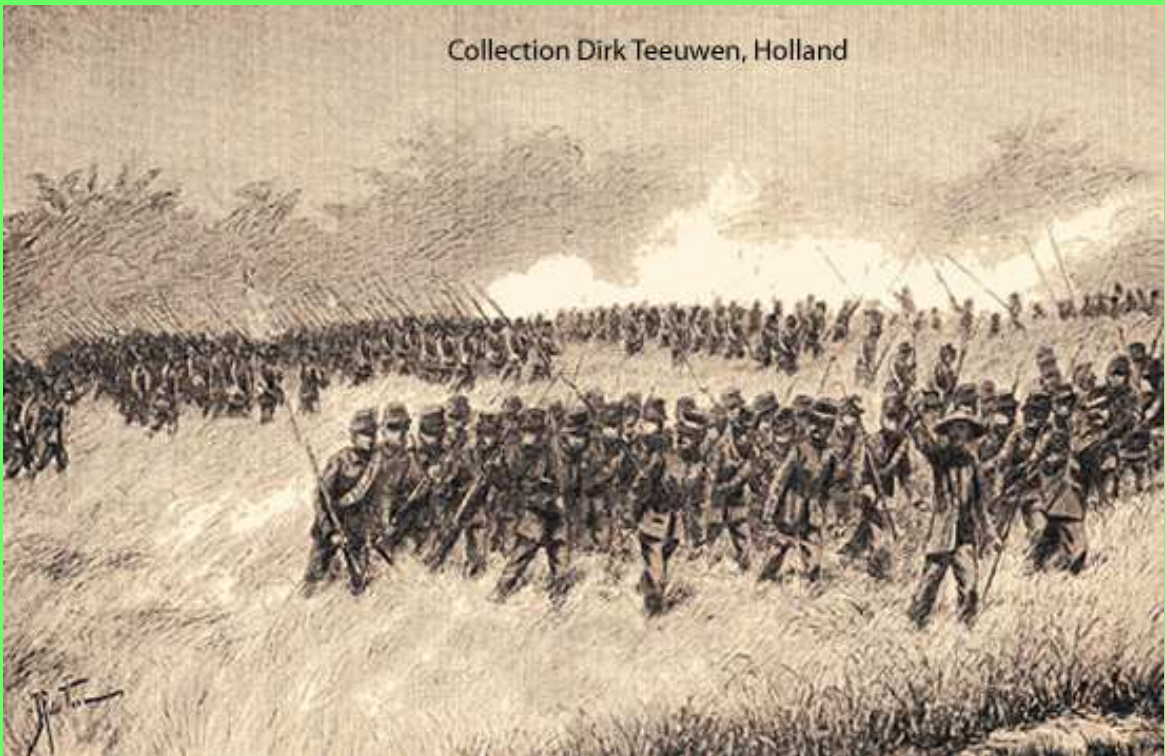
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**Attacking Kampung (Village) Bungkulan, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1848 (Kepper, page 195)**

Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



**Fighting nearby Kampung Bungkulan, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1848. (Kepper, page 194)**  
Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

Before the opening of the campaign a, much too stringent, ultimatum with a lot of financial claims was addressed to the Rajas of Buleleng, Gusti Ngurah Made; Karangasem, Gusti Gde Ngurah; and Klungkung, the Dewa Agung. The ones of Badung and Bangli promised to take no active part in the resistance. No response was given concerning the ultimatum.

So, the troops landed near Buleleng Capital on June 7<sup>th</sup> 1848. Kampung (Village) Bungkulan near Jagaraga was captured and two days afterwards, June 10<sup>th</sup> then the of fortification, Jagaraga (see Glossary, page 4!!), south-east from Buleleng Capital, was attacked. Jagaraga, along the road to Gianyar and Klungkung, proved extremely tough. After three hours of fighting the Dutch troops, exhausted with fatigue and heat, had to retreat. The total Dutch forces which took part in this combat were 2400. The casualties amounted to 216 killed and wounded. Enemy losses were more than 2000 among whom 200 chiefs (De Klerck p. 321). The Governor-General Rochussen refused to send reinforcements, because of an acutely threatening conflict between Jokyakarta and Surakarta (Solo) in Java. Maybe the European year of revolution 1948 still played an important role regarding this refusal, because as a result of the situation in Europe the colony could be left more to its own devices (DT).

On June 20<sup>th</sup> 1848 the expedition returned to Java, leaving the post at Buleleng unoccupied.

## 6. Third Dutch attack, 1849



Reconnoitring Jagaraga, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1848, Kepper page 201

The Dutch East-India Government did not let the matters rest there. A third expedition was made ready and was to be commanded by General Michiels. Lieutenant-Colonel Van Swieten was appointed second in command. The forces were to be twice as strong as the former and equipped with heavy guns.

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**Michiels had to restrict himself to the administering of punishment on the recalcitrant Rajas. Serious resistance was anticipated from Klungkung, Buleleng, Karangasem and Mengwi. Neutrality from Badung, Bangli, Gianyar and Tabanan. Jaganagara had been strengthened by the Balinese and retrenchments had been thrown up at Singaraja, Kasumba, Klungkung Capital and Karangasem Capital.**

**Michiels decided on taking Jagaraga by approaching it step by step by assaulting it in the front as well as in the flank and eventually in the rear. He had 4000 men at his disposal, a third were Europeans. The navy was strongly in evidence. On March 31<sup>st</sup> 1849 Singaraja was taken and the Rajas asked for negotiations. The Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem, attended by 1500 Balinese soldiers, arrived at Michiel's headquarters near Singaraja. Terms were fixed, such as:**

- submission;**
- demolition of fortifications;**
- extradition of deserters;**
- handing over of arms (De Klerck, p. 322).**

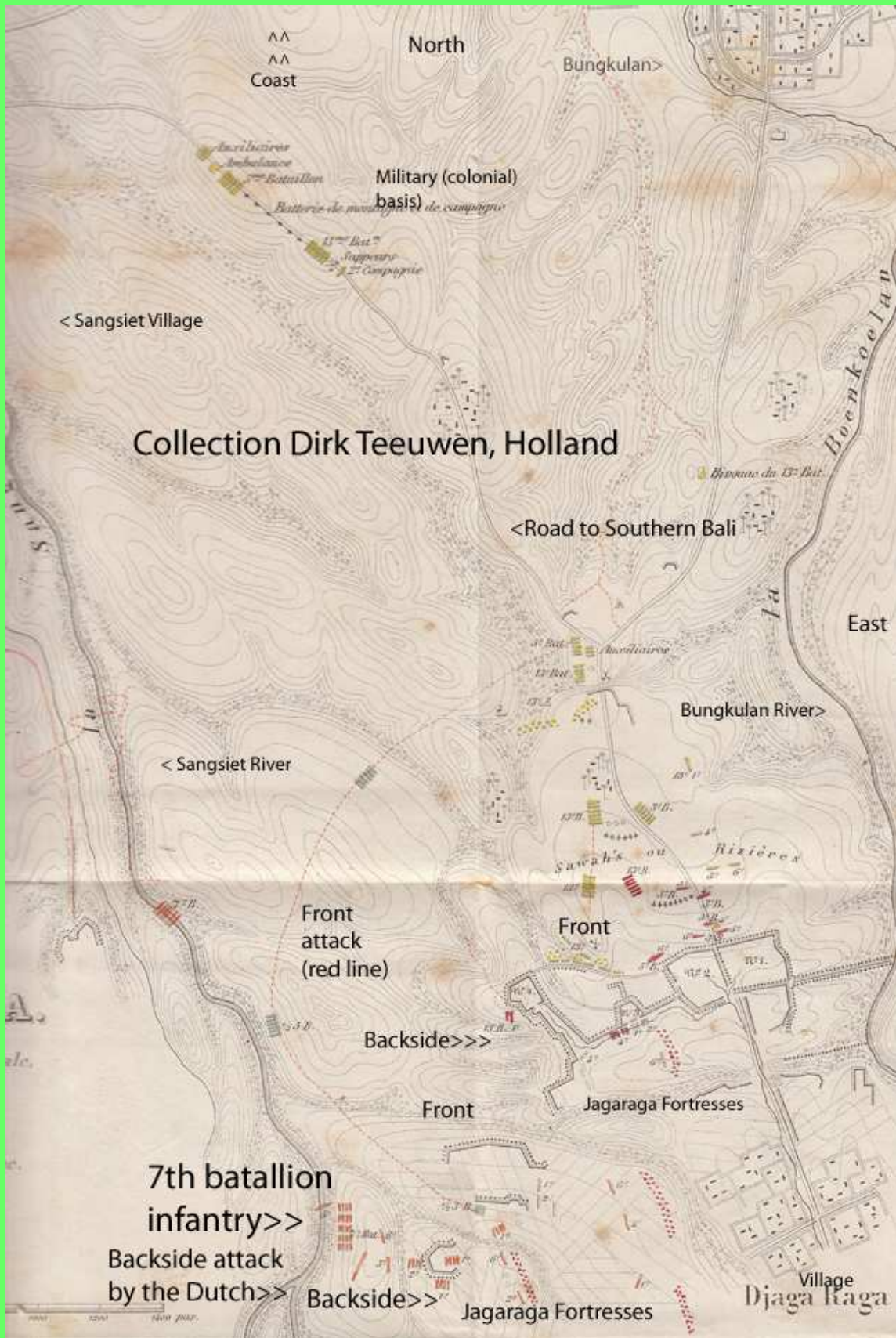
**When a second visit was paid to Michiels, the Rajas behaved themselves rather rude. It seemed that they did no efforts whatsoever to carry out the terms.**



**A state of tension, Singaraja March 31<sup>st</sup> 1849! Kepper page 198  
The Rajas (surrounded by colonial cavalry) pay a visit to the Dutch military command. The Rajas are accompanied by 1500 Balinese warriors to show their military power (right). Colonial soldiers, left, are told to be very alert as well as told to shoot on the slightest provocation.**

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**The Dutch, superior assault, on Jagaraga (on superior Balinese fortresses, absolutely), April 1849, Gerlach, appendixes Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**



**Detail of page 12. Fortresses Jagaraga, Bali April 1849 (Gerlach, appendixes)**



**Dutch mountain artillery; on its way to Jagaraga, Bali April 1849 (Kepper, page 203)**

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So the Dutch offensive was resumed. On April 14<sup>th</sup> General Michiels marched from the northern coast, from Kampung (Village) Sangsit to Jagaraga (see Glossary, page 4!!) with 3200 men infantry; the 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> battalions. The 7<sup>th</sup> battalion - 1200 troops and some packhorses, lieutenant-colonel De Brauw in command - got the order to follow Sangsit River, west from the Jagaraga fortresses to try to surprise the Balinese defenders from there. Lieutenant-Colonel Le Bron de Vexela and Major Rocqué and some of their soldiers followed De Brauw later.

Three hundred auxiliaries from Madura as well as a battery of field artillery (six-pounders and twelve-inch howitzers) and 2000 coolies were under Michiels' attacking command also. (Gerlach, page 81) In the fortresses 10,000-15,000 Balinese warriors were waiting for them. They were eagerly looking forward to meet the colonial Dutch.

The main force under Michiels followed the road which led from Sangsit Village to the southern coast of Bali. Near Jagaraga this road was only a narrow mountain pass. Dutch sappers had to remove several obstacles there. After the removals a Dutch artillery bombardment started, but seemed to cause not so much damage, because of superiour Balinese fortress architecture. There was a continuous rifle fire from the Balinese fortresses. At 13.00, April 14<sup>th</sup>, the 13<sup>th</sup> battalion under command of Major Sorg marched past the artillery to the western Jagaraga benteng (fortress). In front of this benteng, north from it, they had to cut a path through bamboo duri (thorn bushes) under dangerous rifle fire. The troops reached dry moats, but they lacked storm ladders. The assault on April 14<sup>th</sup> 1849 failed. The artillery lieutenant-colonel Meis, Major Sorg and five other officers were wounded, two lieutenants were killed. Circa 25 colonial soldiers were killed, circa 100 were wounded. (Gerlach, page 82) Then the artillery bombardment was intensified.

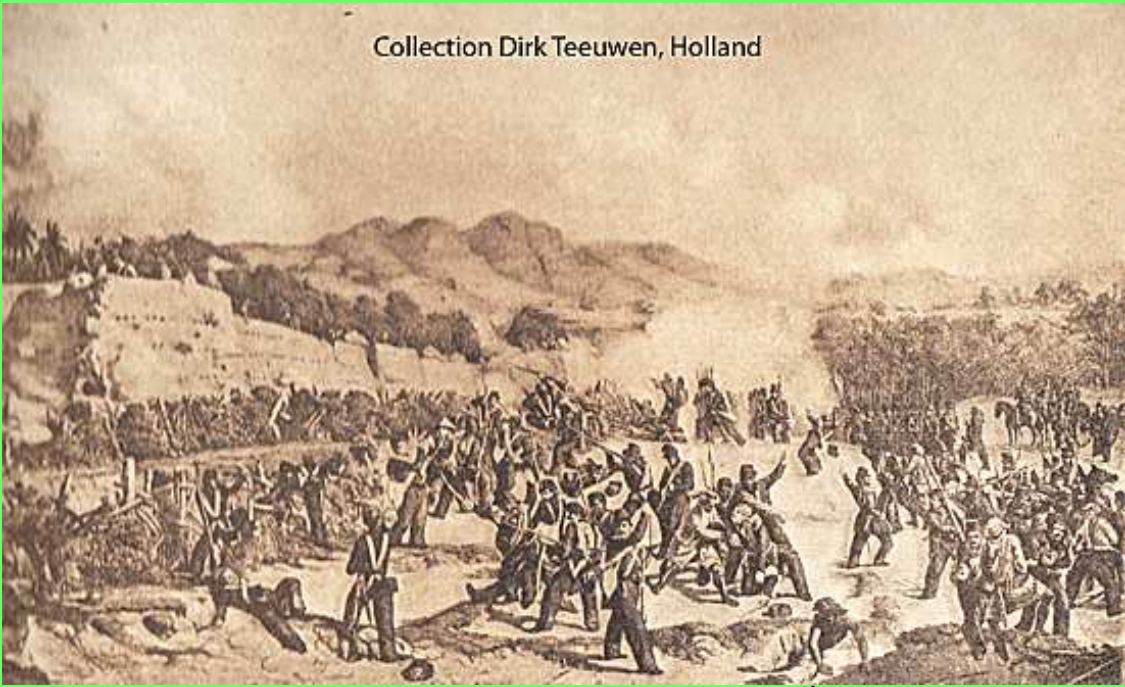
In the late afternoon, April 14<sup>th</sup>, the Balinese started - yelling and with a frightening roll of drums - a mass sortie with lances and short swords. They were able to attack the train (hospital, etc.) located behind (!) the Dutch frontal troops. But the Madurese auxiliaries, guarding the train, rolled back the enemy, causing the enemy great losses.

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De Brauw and his soldiers followed Sangsit River. The column first had to march along the riverbed and later they had to wade knee deep, because the river started to flow through a narrow gorge over a very long distance. After many, many hours De Brauw discovered a small winding path leading upwards to the upper edge of the ravine. His troops and the horses followed him. From here they could see the western sides of three Jagaraga fortresses at a distance of 400 meters. These fortresses were meant to defend the main bastions behind these fortresses, more to the east. The troops managed to go on: undiscovered by the Balinese standing on top of their fortresses. It was April 15<sup>th</sup> in the early morning.

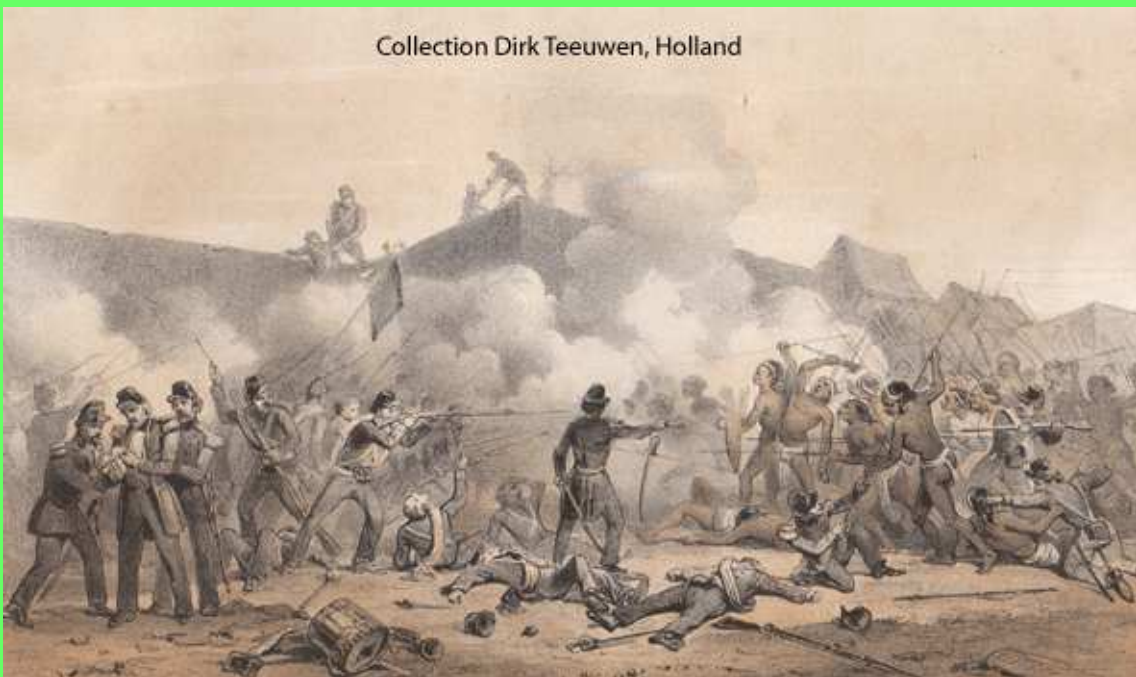
The men cut a path through the thorny bambu duri in front of the defense walls, still undiscovered! But now De Brauw ordered to assault. The Balinese did not expect an attack from the western side and were completely surprised by this Dutch sneak attack. De Brauw succeeded to gain a firm footing, but after some time they were bitterly attacked by the Balinese. However De Brauw and (the later arrived) Le Bron de Vexela hold their ground despite the need of continuous fighting for a day, the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1849, as well as during the morning after. During that morning after a new frontal attack under command of Michiels by the Dutch began in order to support De Brauw, whereupon the enemy fled. Jagaraga was Dutch. Most of the Rajas, involved in this war, offered their submission. The Raja of Buleleng, Gusti Ngurah Made, fled to the mountain area in the centre of Bali and then to Karangasem Capital to continue the war.

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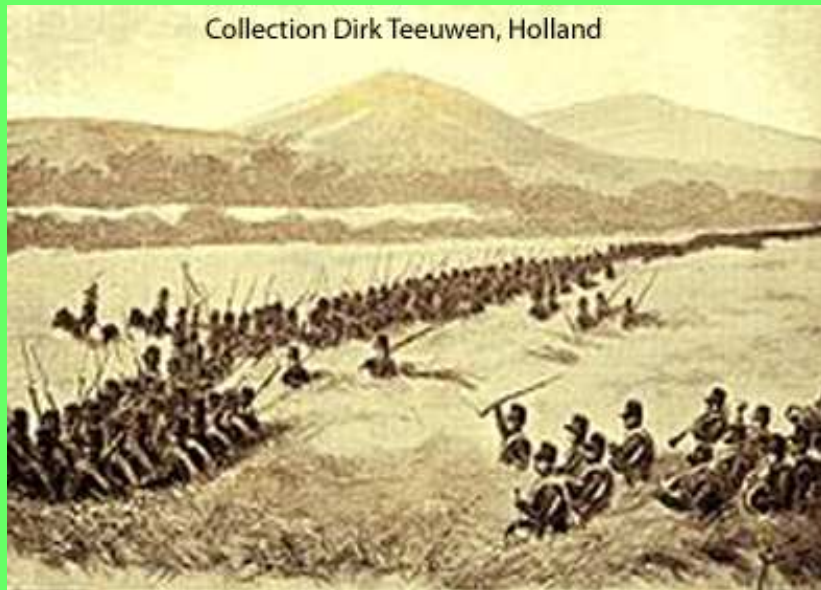
**Assault on the Balinese fortresses of Jagaraga, April 14<sup>th</sup> 1849 under command of General Michiels. (Stapel, page 311)**

Collection Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

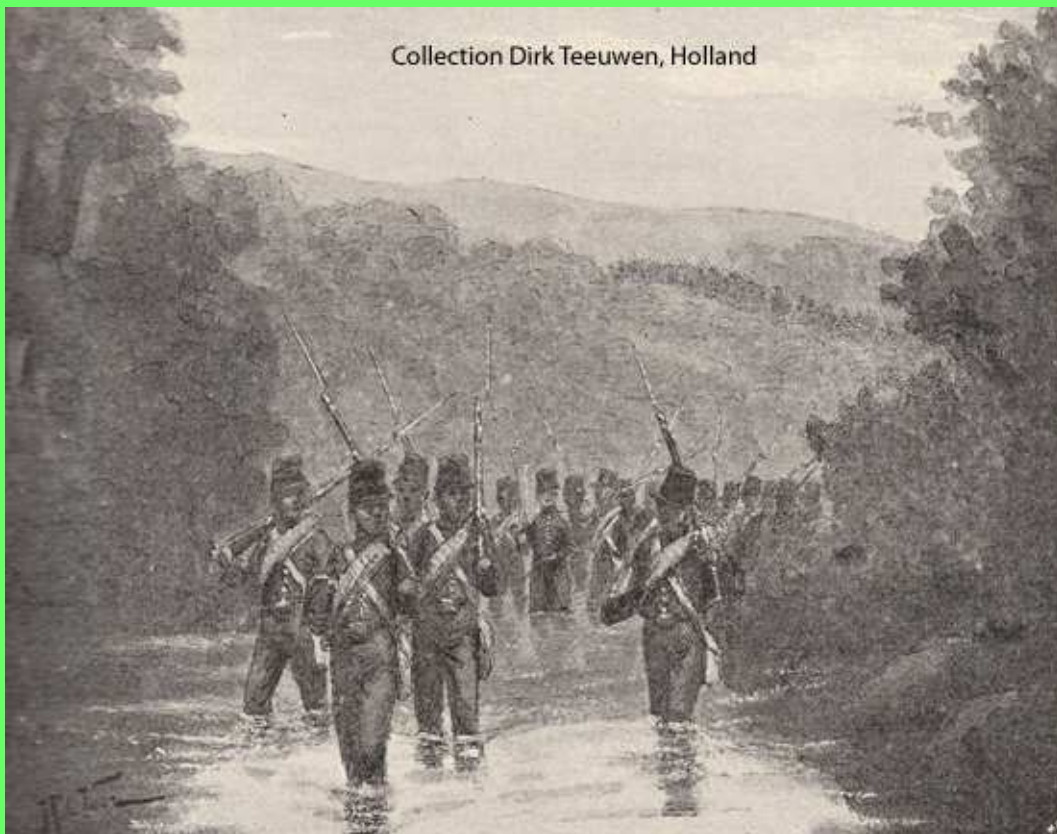


**Assault on the Balinese fortresses of Jagaraga by De Brauw, April 15<sup>th</sup> 1849 under command of General Michiels. (Gerlach, page 597, French edition)  
De Brauw himself was wounded by an arrow with barbed hooks in his chest. He survived.**

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**Lieutenant-Colonel De Brauw and his troops approaching the fortresses of Jagaraga from the west, a very brave surprise attack. (Kepper, page 204)**



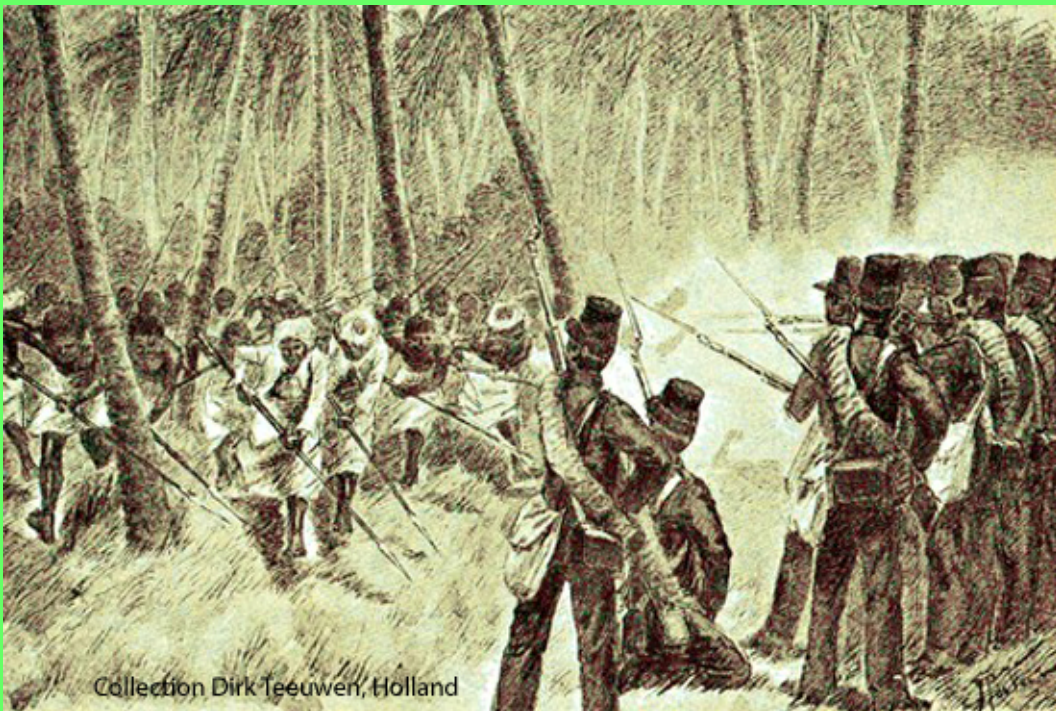
**Lieutenant-Colonel De Brauw and his troops marching through Sangsit River (Kepper, page 204)**

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On May 8<sup>th</sup> General Michiels and his troops marched from the north of Bali, from Sangsit and Jagaraga, to the south: over Bali to Amok Bay. Nowadays a tourist beach area, west from Candidasa. His aim was to occupy Padang Kowe, a small harbour at the western end of Candidasa Beach (Amok Bay), as well as to conquer Karangasem Capital (now Amlapura). Both towns were taken, the Rajas of Buleleng and Karangasem as well as their entire families had been killed in battle before near Karangasem Capital. Murdered by, recently arrived, auxiliary troops; 4000 men from the Balinese state of Mataram in Lombok.

The harbour village Kasumba, two kilometres south-east from Klungkung Capital, was taken on May 24<sup>th</sup> and now came the turn for Klungkung Capital. However, during a night attack, the Dutch bivouac was surprised by Balinese warriors. They were repulsed, but General Michiels was badly wounded and died. Van Swieten took over the command and retired to Padang Kowe to await instructions from Batavia (Jakarta). Only the half of the original Dutch forces were available, the morale of the troops was shaken by the death of Michiels. Shortage of ammunition as well as dysentery were important problems for the Dutch.

The Raja of Klungkung concentrated his army north-west from Padang Kowe. However, totally unexpected, Van Swieten received a message from the Raja of Klungkung and others offering their submission.



**Kasumba Village in southern Bali, May 24<sup>th</sup> 1849, a surprise attack by Balinese warriors. (Kepper, page 205)**

Without further orders of the Governor-General Rochussen peace negotiations started and resulted in acceptance of the following at Badung Capital June 15<sup>th</sup>:

- the Rajas acknowledged Dutch authority;
- the Rajas refrained from any relations whatsoever with other foreign nations;

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**Tombstone of General-Major A. V. Michiels, Tanah Abang European Cemetary  
Dirk Teeuwen, Jakarta 2006**

Dirk Teeuwen, Holland

- the Balinese fortifications should be razed;
- the colonial Government promised not to occupy the land of the Rajas;
- the colonial Government promised not to interfere with the internal affairs of the Rajas;
- the Rajas were told to stop piracy, slavery and to waive shore rights (De Klerck, p. 324).

Here we could rub our eyes out with astonishment: the Dutch did not demand the presentation of a yearly embassy in Batavia (Jakarta) and did not demand a war indemnity!!

The Raja of Bangli was to be appointed Raja of Buleleng, now subordinate to the Dutch. The Balinese Raja of Mataram, in Lombok, became Raja of Karangasem. The state of Jembrana, West-Bali, formerly a dependency of Buleleng, was to be made an "independent" state, under Dutch control.

## **7. Aftermath**

This was the end of one of the most important campaigns of the Dutch East-Indian Army, but the Dewa Agung, the Raja of Klungkung and also the questionable Lord Supreme of Bali, was not destroyed. There was no decisive victory over Klungkung. The Rajas of Badung and Tabanan, who had chosen the side of the colonial Government, hoped for expansion at the cost of Klungkung. They were deceived. The annexation of Bali should have been the end of the war. Now, in Bali, there were to expect endless series of fighting between the Rajas to the detriment of the native population of the Bali states. The lot of the population became very bitter from time to time.

In 1854 the Punggawas (chiefs) of Buleleng refused obedience to the Raja of Bangli. Buleleng was granted to the Raja of Bangli by the Dutch in 1849. In 1854 he ceded Buleleng to the Dutch Government.

One of the three local district chiefs was appointed as "regent" under Dutch supervision. As a result the other two set up the population against the colonial Government. Another expedition was decided in 1858, which ended with the exile of the two troublemakers to Java. A Dutch Assistant Resident was placed at Buleleng Capital and other chiefs were appointed. Another revolt broke out again in 1868 in Buleleng. Commander De Brabant succeeded in breaking the resistance. The chiefs were exiled. Now the Regent of Buleleng, no longer fearing the Punggawas (chiefs), started to squeeze the natives. He was also removed to Java.

In 1856 the population of Jembrana flushed their Raja out of his Puri. He ceded his kingdom to the Dutch and died on Java later.

Finally, in 1868, order was restored in Buleleng and Jembrana. Both states were ruled by a board of native Chiefs under supervision of Dutch officials. Prosperity became the result of this change. People from other states in Bali began to settle in Buleleng and Jembrana. There, in Buleleng and Jembrana, slavery had been abolished as well as the custom of widow burning. Elsewhere in Bali miserable conditions remained including slavery and widow burning.

In 1882 the two states of Buleleng and Jembrana were brought under direct rule of Batavia (Jakarta). A Dutch Resident was appointed for Bali and Lombok.

Nevertheless two more Bali-Lombok wars were the result of a Dutch barren non-active policy regarding the other Bali states: the Lombok Expedition in 1894 and the Bali War in 1906.

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## Honouring General-Major A. V. Michiels

Honouring General Michiels, one of the most excellent soldiers of the Royal Dutch East-Indian Army. He fought in Bali, in Sumatra, Java, wherever, always rousing his troops personally in front of the enemy lines with real contempt for death. This imprudence ended in a disaster for him near Kasumba in Bali 1949.

He died 52 years old, too young. He only left an old mother in Maastricht, Holland. The Netherlands owe him and his soldiers, Indonesians and Europeans a lot.



**Michiels Memorial Monument, Batavia-Jakarta 1880 (right, Catholic Cathedral)**



**Michiels Memorial Monument, Batavia-Jakarta 1915 (right, the new Catholic Cathedral)**

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Postcard collection, Dirk Teeuwen, Holland



**Michiels Memorial Monument, Batavia Jakarta 1910**

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**General-Major A. V. Michiels 1797-1849**

**End**

**Dirk Teeuwen, Holland**